

26.1.90

MANDELA PAPERS: 1 Memo to de Klerk on 12.12.1989;
2. Report to NEC of ANC on 19.12.89

Memo. 1

p. 1. Me President

Release of 8 fellow prisoners deeply appreciated & clearly a major event
Calls on govt to create proper climate for negotiatipn & meeting with ANC
'I have spent more that three years urging the Govt to negotiate with ANC'
Government insists on ANC making a commitment to peace . The ANC will
make such a commitment at the instance of the government or any other
sourceHistory of liberation movement. especially in last 41 years, should
make this point clear.

No pol. org. will talk peace when an aggressive war is being waged vs. it
At Nigel, shortly before the last general election, you called on black
leaders to negotiate with govt., & refrain from setting pre-conditions.
It now appears that the appeal was addressed only to blacks who work
in apa theid structures.

p. 2. Govt itself imposes pre-conditi ns, as when it demands from ANC a
commitment to peace before we fan talk.

ANC is far ahead of govt . in proposing negotiations, as in the recent plan
approved by FL States, OAU, Non-Aligned Movement. & most ∇ /wealth Nations.
OR's interview with Anthony Heard on 4.11.85: violence comes gtom aprtheid
The Govt, & not ANV, started civil war in this country, imposed state of
emergency, place black areqs under military occupartion, banned people's
organistsns, forced leaders into exile. prisons, or banned them

p. 3 Doubts whether govt will meet the ANC even if it complies with demands.
During your discussions with 'homeland' leaders & urban counterparts,
you avided meeting UDF, COSATU, Natal IC, Tvl IC - non-violents bodies-
which hold the key to peace in the country

Inaugural address on 20.9.89 called for reconciliation, seeking mutual
solcutions, negotiationg constitutions , seeking permanent understanding
You aroused expectations from far and wide; gave hope that dreams would
be fulfilled

Blacks who operate apartheid structures are creation of the NP. Their
principal role is to impede struggle for majority rulein a unitary state
& defend NP's policy of group domination, & race discrimination

p. 4 Many people see no fundamental difference between NP policies &
those of Conservative party. Both are regarded as apartheid parties

p.4

Democratic party is not in need of a call for reconciliation. It is not banned; its leaders are free

The conflict you had in mind is between the Govt & extra-parl. organisations whose activities have turned SA into a land of tensions and fears (Note by Jack: an incorrect formulation. Tensions result from govt policies & ~~xx~~ resistance to them)

Govt would prefer to make peace with those who accept its policies. This mistake should not be repeated.

In lengthy discussions with govt officials, I urged that negotiations take place in two stages: 1) where both sides work out pre-conditions for negotiations; & 2) the actual negotiations themselves. 'These are my personal views & not those of the ANC, which sees the problem quite differently'. Its attitude is sound & should be accepted

p.5

Govt admits that apartheid is unjust & claims to be moving away from it. People who were punished & suffered for anti-apartheid activities were unjustly condemned. First step to reconciliation is to dismantle apartheid

NP's 5 year plan is another attempt to 'modernise apartheid' without abandoning it. It expects us, at the height of our heroic struggle, yield to a disguised form of minority rule & put up racial separation, the source of agony & bitterness.

We equally reject the Govt's plan to hold racially based elections to determine who should take part in negotiations. Overwhelming majority are striving for non-racial system of government.

We reject Govt view that a lasting solution will be found only after years of consultation. There is nothing complicated in replacing minority rule with majority rule & a non-racial social order.

p.6

Govt claims that it can have discussions only in the presence of other representatives of black aspirations. We reject this example of intransigence

Calls for release of four fellow prisoners sentenced to life imprisonment by a Natal court in 1978 & held in Robben Island:

Matthew Mayiswa (66); Elphas Mdlalose (66); Anthony Xaba (56);
John Nane (# 56)

First sentenced in 1964 to 10 & 8 years. Convicted & sentenced to life imprisonment in 1978. Nelson expected Mdlalose & Meyiwa to be freed with the 8 fellow prisoners for reasons explained to Gerrit Viljoen & Kobie Coetzee on 10.10.89