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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR ONE-ON-ONE MEETING WITH  
NELSON MANDELA

Courtesy

- I will return to this later in the larger group in more detail, but I want to emphasize the great respect and admiration we all have for you, and for the sacrifices you have made for the cause of freedom in South Africa.
- I know that as the leader of a great political movement you must maintain unity, but I want to mention a few issues of great concern to us, and I would welcome your most candid reaction.

Violence

- We oppose violence from all quarters in South Africa. I want to assure you that we recognize the violence that comes from the Government, and that we will not hesitate to condemn it publicly and work privately to stop it.
- However, we believe that the time will shortly come when the ANC will have to renounce the armed struggle. Without a commitment to end the armed struggle when negotiations begin, violence may destroy the South Africa we are all working for.
- We live in an era in which leaders around the world are taking bold moves to achieve freedom and democracy. A commitment now to end your armed struggle will place all the

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PER NSC WAIVER #2021-02  
By MM NARA, Date 7/16/2021

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burden on the South African government to fully control the army and the police, in the full view of the international community.

Economy

- I recognize the sense of frustration and outrage that blacks in South Africa feel over economic deprivation, and the inequitable distribution of resources.
- We Americans believe firmly in individual initiative and private enterprise, but we recognize that this requires a level playing field. Everyone must have an equal opportunity.
- A post-apartheid South Africa must offer equal opportunity and increased prosperity for all South Africans.
- The key to increased prosperity is growth, and expanding the pie that is available to everyone.
- Clearly, there must be decisive action to bring about a more equal distribution of wealth, but this has to be done in a fashion that preserves the fundamental strength of the economy.
- This will require a vibrant, efficient, market-oriented economy.
- I encourage you to look to such means as anti-trust laws, and other measures that minimize state control of the economy. Breaking up economic concentration makes sense,

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but the companies broken up this way should remain in the private sector.

- We want to help the post-apartheid economy grow, but our best resource is private investment that can create jobs in a dynamic private sector.

Natal

- I am very concerned about the situation in Natal, which is a terrible human tragedy that threatens black unity, the values of multi-party democracy, and even the negotiations on South Africa's future.
- If not brought to an end, I fear that we could see a repeat of the violent chaos that prevails in Lebanon.
- I am not in a position to judge who is responsible for this situation. I only know that it has to stop.
- I was very impressed by your call, soon after your release from prison, to cast the weapons of Natal into the sea. However, we sense that you may have "given up" on seeking an accommodation with Chief Buthelezi that might bring this violence to an end.
- We were very recently assured that Buthelezi is prepared to meet with you privately any time and any place. We do not believe that this represents mere posturing. We would be glad to pass any message you might wish to pass, adding that we give our full support to efforts to end the violence.

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Supporting de Klerk

- Frankly, you need Mr. de Klerk, and he needs you in order for this process to work out. There simply are no alternatives available.
- When I see President de Klerk, I will make the same point to him, that he needs you, and must not do anything to undercut your authority and flexibility.
- At the same time, De Klerk must retain sufficient authority, and support among his constituency, to continue making the tough decisions that will be necessary to move South Africa into non-racial democracy.
- I will do my best to support both of you, but it is really you and President de Klerk who must support each other.
- I'm not asking you to give up any of your principles. But you will have to be careful not to undercut de Klerk's position, particularly during this early phases before actual negotiations begin.