

SOUTH AFRICA

<DIST>  
PRT: MACNAMARA  
SIT: ORDWAY RAGLE VAX

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IMMEDIATE

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RUEHSA

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FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

<TO>  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4371

<SUBJ>  
PRESIDENT BUSH'S LETTER TO NELSON MANDELA

<TEXT>  
BT  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 PRETORIA 09427

EXDIS  
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, SF  
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT BUSH'S LETTER TO NELSON MANDELA  
REF: (A) STATE 202403; (B) STATE 202404;  
- (C) STATE 202402

1. ~~1~~ - ENTIRE TEXT
2. I DELIVERED PRESIDENT BUSH'S LETTER (REFTEL A) PERSONALLY TO NELSON MANDELA AT HIS HOUGHTON HOME AT 1430 HOURS LOCAL ON JUNE 25, FOLLOWED BY A HALF HOUR DISCUSSION. (MR. MANDELA IS AT HOME WITH THE FLU, AND IS NOT OTHERWISE SEEING VISITORS OR ACCEPTING PHONE CALLS.)
3. I EXPLAINED CAREFULLY TO MR. MANDELA THAT THE PRESIDENT WANTED TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT HE HAD READ HIS LETTER BEFOREHAND SHOULD THEY SPEAK BY PHONE. MANDELA PROCEEDED IMMEDIATELY TO READ THE LETTER AND DWELT ON IT FOR SOME TIME IN SILENCE, THEN SAID "VERY GOOD." BEYOND THAT HE MADE NO DIRECT RESPONSE TO THE OPERATIVE LAST PARAGRAPH EXCEPT TO SAY HE APPRECIATED THE OFFER AND IT WOULD RECEIVE HIS VERY CLOSE ATTENTION. HE REITERATED SEVERAL TIMES HIS REQUEST TO SPEAK WITH THE PRESIDENT BY PHONE.
4. MANDELA WAS MOST GRATEFUL BOTH FOR THE LETTER AND THE WHITE HOUSE'S QUICK RESPONSE TO HIS JUNE 24 REQUEST TO SPEAK WITH THE PRESIDENT BEFORE HIS MEETING WITH STATE PRESIDENT DE KLERK ON JUNE 26. (MANDELA SAID ANC GENERAL SECRETARY CYRIL RAMAPHOSA AND NATIONAL PARTY

DECLASSIFIED

PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015

By MM NARA, Date 1/31/2022

NEGOTIATOR ROELF MEYER WERE MEETING TODAY TO ARRANGE A DE KLERK/MANDELA MEETING TOMORROW. HOWEVER, THERE WILL BE NO DISCUSSION, MANDELA SAID; MANDELA WILL MERELY PRESENT DE KLERK THE ANC'S ULTIMATUM COMPRISING A SERIES OF DEMANDS AND ASK FOR A REPLY IN WRITING.)

5. MR. MANDELA SAID THAT, AS HE IS CONFINED TO HIS HOME TODAY BECAUSE OF HIS ILLNESS, HE WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO SPEAK WITH THE PRESIDENT AT ANY TIME TODAY, INCLUDING LATE THIS EVENING. (HIS NEW NUMBER -- WHICH CHANGES ALMOST DAILY -- IS COUNTRY CODE 27, CITY CODE 11, NUMBER 728-3446.) SOUTH AFRICA IS SIX HOURS AHEAD OF WASHINGTON TIME.

6. I ASKED MANDELA WHETHER HE PLANNED TO DISCUSS ANY SPECIFIC ISSUES WITH THE PRESIDENT. HE SAID HE PRIMARILY WISHED TO BRIEF THE PRESIDENT ON THE SITUATION HERE SINCE CODESA II AND THE BOIPATONG MASSACRE. HE SAID HE HAD LOST A LOT OF CONFIDENCE IN DE KLERK WHOSE ARROGANT BEHAVIOR, ESPECIALLY SINCE THE REFERENDUM, WAS ERODING HIS, MANDELA'S, OWN CREDIBILITY. MANDELA SAID HE HAD WORKED HARD TO CONVINCHE HIS CONSTITUENTS THAT DE KLERK IS AN HONEST LEADER WHO COULD BE TRUSTED.

7. MANDELA SAID THE ONE SPECIFIC ISSUE HE WANTED TO RAISE WITH THE PRESIDENT WAS THE ANC'S APPEAL TO HAVE THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL TAKE UP THE SOUTH AFRICAN PROBLEM. WITHOUT PRESIDENT BUSH'S SUPPORT, MANDELA SAID THIS INITIATIVE COULD NOT SUCCEED. (IN THIS REGARD, MANDELA SAID THAT HE HAD NEVER TOLD ME THIS BEFORE BUT THAT HE IS UNDER "PERPETUAL PRESSURE", ESPECIALLY FROM THE YOUTH, TO COUNTER THE VIOLENCE AGAINST BLACKS BY ENGAGING IN ORCHESTRATED VIOLENCE AGAINST WHITES. HE HAS ANSWERED THEM TIME AND TIME AGAIN THAT THIS COULD ONLY LEAD TO CIVIL WAR AND A BLOODBATH.)

8. TO UNDERSCORE THE POINT, MANDELA RECALLED THAT THE DOMINANT CHANT WHEN HE VISITED BOIPATONG LAST WEEKEND WAS "MANDELA, GIVE US GUNS." LATER THAT SAME DAY AT EVERTON A CROWD OF 20,000 REPEATEDLY SANG THE SAME REFRAIN: "YOU ARE BEHAVING LIKE A LAMB WHILE OUR ENEMY CONTINUES TO KILL US." THEREFORE, HE SAID, UNSC ATTENTION TO SOUTH AFRICA WOULD DO A LOT TO CALM EMOTIONS HERE AND RESTORE CREDIBILITY TO THE PROCESS. (COMMENT: AS WE ALSO DISCUSSED HIS DESIRE TO HAVE INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS HERE TO MONITOR THE VIOLENCE, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THIS ISSUE MIGHT ALSO ARISE. END COMMENT.)

9. IN CONNECTION WITH THE ANC'S SEVERAL DEMANDS ON THE SINGLE SEX HOSTELS, MANDELA SAID HOSTEL DWELLERS IN THE DUBE SECTION OF SOWETO SHOT FOUR INNOCENT PASSERBYS LAST EVENING. HE SAID HE HAD TRIED IN VAIN TO CONTACT THE SAP COMMANDER GENERAL JOHAN VAN DER MERWE; SOWETO POLICE HEAD, GENERAL MALAN; AND GENERAL ERASMUS.

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 PRETORIA 09427

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10. MANDELA REVEALED THT THE ANC HAD JUST BEEN TIPPED OFF THAT A BATTALION OF KOEVOET SOLDIERS HAD BEEN BASED AT ONE OF THE GOLDFIELD MINES AND, ACCORDING TO THEIR SOURCE INSIDE THE KOEVOET BATTALION, HAD BEEN PRESENT AT THE BOIPATONG MASSACRE. AT HIS INSTRUCTION, THIS TIP OFF HAD BEEN PASSED ON TO THE GOLDSTONE COMMISSION WHICH FOUND FORTY KOEVOET SOLDIERS UNDER COMMAND OF A WHITE SERGEANT. BEING NAMIBIAN, THEY COULD NOT SPEAK ANY OF SOUTH AFRICAN'S AFRICAN LANGUAGES ALTHOUGH THEY HAD SOUTH AFRICAN PASSPORTS. HE SAID THEY HAD BEEN RESIDENT ALL OVER THE COUNTRY AND ARE NOW OPERATING FROM GOLDFIELD.

11. CHANGING SUBJECTS, MR. MANDELA EXPRESSED HIS HIGH REGARD FOR DP HEAD ZACH DE BEER AS WELL AS HELEN SUZMAN AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN GENERAL. "WE SEE EYE TO EYE ON A LOT OF THINGS," HE SAID. IN THIS REGARD, MANDELA SAID HE HAD INITIALLY SOUGHT TO DISSUADE THE FIVE DP MEMBERS WHO DEFACTED FROM JOINING THE ANC, URGING THEM TO STAY IN THE DP AND MAKE THEIR CONTRIBUTION FROM THERE.

12. MR. MANDELA CONCLUDED BY EXPRESSING HIMSELF AS "STILL OPTIMISTIC, BUT NO LONGER IN THE SENSE THAT WE CAN EXPECT VERY MUCH COOPERATION FROM DE KLERK AND THE NATIONAL PARTY." RATHER, HE SAID, HE IS CONFIDENT THAT THE ANC HAS THE WHEREWITHAL TO BRING ABOUT THE NECESSARY CHANGES IN SOUTH AFRICA -- NOT THROUGH VIOLENCE, HE EMPHASIZED, BUT MOBILIZATION OF THE PEOPLE.

13. COMMENT: I FOUND MR. MANDELA AS CALM AND CONFIDENT AS EVER DESPITE THE NEGOTIATIONS IMPASSE AND HIS OWN BAD COUGH AND THE FLU. HE SEVERAL TIMES REPEATED HIS DESIRE TO SPEAK WITH THE PRESIDENT BY PHONE, NO DOUBT REFLECTING ONCE MORE THE GREAT IMPORTANCE HE ATTACHES TO THE PRESIDENT'S FRIENDSHIP AND COUNSEL AND THE U.S. POSITION AT THE UN AND IN THE WORLD COMMUNITY.

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