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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

29 May, 1984

Dear John,

A.J.C. 20/5

p.a.

Visit of the South African Prime Minister: Anti-Apartheid
Movement

Thank you for your letter of 24 May informing us that a delegation from the Anti-Apartheid Movement may call on the Prime Minister at 5 pm on 30 May. I enclose a brief for the Prime Minister accordingly.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement have fiercely opposed Mr Botha's visit. The delegation will no doubt wish to reiterate their disagreement with the invitation to Mr Botha, and then present their own view of the key issues, possibly seeking commitments for the Prime Minister about the line she will take. We recommend that the Prime Minister should in general avoid giving any commitments, while leaving the delegation in no doubt of the firmness of her resolve.

Sir John Leahy or Mr Squire are ready to attend if an adviser is required.

I am copying this letter and brief to Hugh Taylor (Home Office).

Yours ever,

Peter Ricketts

(P F Ricketts)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

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THE PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH A DELEGATION FROM THE
ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT: 5PM ON 30 MAY

POINTS TO MAKE

General

1. Understand your concern at Mr Botha's visit. But no sense in which this visit condones apartheid or confers respectability on South Africa's racial policies.
2. The Government's commitment to racial equality in the UK is unquestionable. Mr Botha's visit does not diminish this.
3. Firmly believe in dialogue. Important issues on which we wish to influence South Africa: Namibia, South Africa's relations with its neighbours, internal policies. Wrong not to take this opportunity to put our views across to Mr Botha. Sanctions, further isolation, will not produce the results we all want.
4. Exposure to views of number of Western countries very important: will dispel any doubts Mr Botha has about Western attitudes to apartheid.

Namibia

5. Government's commitment to an early settlement on the basis of SCR 435 is clear.
6. South African disengagement from Angola almost complete. Meets immediate Angolan security concern. Indispensable



first step towards Namibia settlement.

7. Vital that other issues blocking settlement are now tackled. May not like South African/US demand for agreement on Cuban withdrawal, but the issue cannot be ducked.

8. An enduring settlement must ^{be} negotiated: cannot be imposed.

South Africa's Relations with its Neighbours

9. Encouraged by Nkomati Accord (SA/Mozambique security agreement). Condemn violence, believe in dialogue. Long made this clear to South Africans.

10. Important that benefits flow to both sides. Watching implementation closely.

11. South Africans aware of our concern that neighbours must not be pressed into agreements.

SA Internal

12. Firm belief in need for progress towards system of government which has support of majority of South Africans.

13. New constitution: recognise serious shortcoming (no role for South African blacks). But think it wrong to condemn. Better to judge after new constitution has been put to the test.

Human Rights

14. South Africans in no doubt of our repugnance for human rights abuses involved in apartheid system.
15. Nelson Mandela: deplore imprisonment of people for their political views. Mandela's release would be an important gesture of national reconciliation.
16. Forced relocations: deeply repugnant aspect of apartheid.

Arms Sales: Coastguarder Aircraft

17. General: have honoured and will continue to honour our obligations under Arms Embargo.
18. Coastguarders: not our practice to give decisions on hypothetical proposals. No approach from South African Government or British Aerospace for an export licence for Coastguarders. Will consider any application on its merits. But will fully honour our obligations under Arms Embargo.

ANC Office in London

19. ANC members are free to live and work here providing they observe our laws.

Improper Activities by the South African Embassy

20. Concerned at improper or illegal activities by members of any diplomatic mission in London.
21. Where allegations of improper activity are supported by evidence, they will be investigated. Where the evidence is



substantiated, appropriate action will be taken.



THE PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH A DELEGATION FROM THE
ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT: 5PM ON 30 MAY

BACKGROUND

1. The Anti-Apartheid Movement are opposed to Mr Botha's visit to the UK. They believe it confers respectability on South African policies, and condones apartheid. They regard it as an insult to the UK's own black community. In seeking a meeting with the Prime Minister, their concern, now that they know the Prime Minister will not recind the invitation, is probably to seek commitments about the line she will take on key issues. They may urge the need for economic sanctions. The Prime Minister will probably wish to avoid making any commitments, though she may wish to stress the firmness of her approach on the issues which concern the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and to indicate in general terms her attitude to them.

Namibia

2. The Anti-Apartheid Movement will regard Namibia as at an impasse, and be extremely sceptical about the motives for the current withdrawal of South African forces from Angola; they are vehemently opposed to any linkage with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. In contrast, we regard the South African withdrawal as meeting an immediate Angolan security concern and as an indispensable first step towards the implementation of SCR 435. While we do not condone linkage, we also believe that this issue cannot be avoided.



3. South African withdrawal from Angola is expected to be completed in the next few days. Diplomatic activity concerning Namibia is at a high level: the US/Angola dialogue is very much alive and well (NOT FOR USE: The US and Angolans met in Lusaka on 28 May), SWAPO and the Namibian Internal Parties met in Lusaka under President Kaunda's chairmanship in mid-May, and the South Africans and Angolans met in Lusaka on 21 May. There is considerable suspicion between the parties, and the Cuban issue remains a major obstacle to further progress. The US/Angola dialogue seems to hold out the best hope of further movement.

South Africa's Relations with its Neighbours

4. The AAM regard the Nkomati Accord (South Africa/Mozambique security agreement) as an unequal agreement forced on Mozambique after a period of South African-stimulated destabilisation. They are concerned that similar agreements will be exacted from other countries in the region. We believe that although South African pressures play an important part in persuading Mozambique to sign the Nkomati Accord, other factors (the failure of Mozambique's economic policies, the lack of substantial Soviet economic aid, Western pressures on South Africa to change policies and negotiate not bully) also played their role. Our concern now is that Nkomati should be made to work, and bring clear benefits to Mozambique. We are also anxious South Africa should exercise restraint in its policies towards other neighbours (eg: Botswana, Lesotho) and not impose unreasonable pressures to exact similar security agreements.



South Africa Internal

5. The AAM believe that far from initiating reform Mr P W Botha has strengthened the apartheid system. They condemn the new South African constitution (which brings Indians and Coloureds into a new tricameral parliament, and creates a powerful Executive Presidency, without diminishing white control - there are no concessions to political rights for blacks). We fully recognise the serious shortcomings of the new constitution, and have acknowledged these publicly. But we have declined to condemn it, believing that it should be judged only after it has been put to the test.

Human Rights

6. Nelson Mandela is the imprisoned leader of the banned African National Congress (ANC).

7. Forced relocations: independent studies suggest that nearly 3½ million people have been relocated in South Africa since 1960, many to the homelands. The South African Government itself puts the number of removals at about 2 million, and have admitted that there has been an element of force in some. Removals mostly involve Africans, though some Indians and Coloureds have also been affected. This is one of the most unpleasant aspects of apartheid. There are numerous categories of people who have been subject to removal eg those living in black spots (black areas surrounded by white ones), surplus farm workers, "legal" and "illegal" residents of urban squatter camps and other townships. Recent examples to attract publicity are Magopa



and the recently announced plans to remove the blacks settled
in the squatter camp at Crossroads near Cape Town to a new
black township in the Western Cape.

Arms Sales: Supply of Coastguarder Aircraft

8. Press reports have recently suggested that the South Africans are interested in purchasing British Aerospace Coastguarder aircraft to replace their aging fleet of Shackleton maritime surveillance aircraft. British Aerospace have reportedly confirmed that discussions have taken place with the South Africans about the purchase of a number of Coastguarders. No export licence application has been submitted.

9. Mr Robert Hughes MP, chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, wrote to Mr Rifkind recently seeking a commitment that the Coastguarders would not be supplied. Mr Rifkind responded that it was not the Government's practice to give decisions on hypothetical cases, and that any export licence application would be considered on its merits, while stressing the Government's determination to honour fully its obligations under the UN Arms Embargo.

10. Mr Hughes has since written again, pressing for the commitment he sought. He and other members of the AAM are doubtful of the Government's commitment to the Arms Embargo. They believe the recent supply of Marconi and Plessey radar equipment (in both cases for civil air traffic control) represented a breach of the Embargo. The Government has repeatedly affirmed that supply of this equipment did not



represent any such breach.

ANC Office in London

11. The South African press has recently been highly critical of our tolerance of an office of the ANC in London. The South Africans allege this is the centre for the planning of terrorist activity in South Africa. (NOT FOR USE: The South African Government last year formally approached us to seek closure of the ANC office and expulsion of ANC members from the UK. Ministers declined to do this.) The AAM may seek a commitment that the Prime Minister will reject any proposal from Mr Botha to close the ANC office here.

Improper Activities by the South African Embassy

12. The AAM believe that the South African Embassy in London is a centre for intelligence operations against the ANC and SWAPO offices here, and against members of the AAM itself; it is also a centre for improper propoganda and other activities. Robert Hughes MP, chairman of the AAM, recently wrote to the Secretary of State enclosing two memoranda on such activities and referring to allegations made in an ITV programme "The British Desk" broadcast earlier this month. Although there was nothing new in the material supplied by Mr Hughes, in reply to him the Secretary of State has reaffirmed the Government's determination not to tolerate improper activities by members of the South African or other embassies, and its readiness to take appropriate action where the evidence justifies this. (NOT FOR USE: The Secretary of State has recommended that the Prime Minister should raise the question of improper activities by members of the South African Embassy with Mr Botha during his visit.)