

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

4 August, 1986.

Van Julian.

Thank you so much for your two letters, both of them very useful. I have taken careful note of what you say on South Africa, which will come in useful for the Commonwealth Meeting. I think we must wait and see how matters develop in August, particularly at President Botha's party conference, before giving thought to the possibility of a meeting. But I agree with you that, if we were to meet, we should need to be assured of a successful outcome.

Lourun Pay and

The Rt. Hon. Julian Amery, M.P.

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FROM: THE RT. HON. JULIAN AMERY, M.P.

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1st August, 1986

PERSONAL & SECRET

Jan Lar John M

Dear Mayant,

I think you ought to see the enclosed letter
from Harry Oppenheimer. His opinion weighs more
with me than any other South African's. What he
has to say seems sound in itself and revealing since
it represents the view of probably the most liberal
minded of the influential whites.

I am convinced that the ANC is heavily influenced by the Communist Party and, indeed, the Soviet Union.

But whether I am right or wrong it is certainly the perception of the South African Government and of most well informed South African whites. They are thus unlikely to be persuaded or coerced into accepting the ANC as their main partner in any dialogue. If I am right in this it would be more fruitful to try and get Pretoria to repeal the remaining apartheid laws particularly the Group Areas Act and the Registration Act from which the former stems. If this were achieved we could claim that apartheid as such was dismantled.

By contrast the release of particular prisoners or the unbanning of particular political parties, whether desirable or not, seems to me to have no direct bearing on the dismantling of apartheid and to go beyond legitimate interference in the internal affairs of an otherwise friendly country..

Harry's reference to a possible meeting between yourself and President Botha seems to me significant; and though he does not say so specifically, his letter suggests he may have discussed it with the President himself. Here much must depend on what the President has to say on August 12th. If you should decide in favour of such a meeting it would be essential to prepare the ground in advance to ensure a successful conclusion. If I can be of any help here please let me know. There are times when - to paraphrase Clemenceau - "diplomacy is too serious a matter to be left to diplomats".

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Julian Amery

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July 24, 1986.

Dews Julian.

I should have written before now to thank you very much for sending me a copy of your speech in Parliament of June 17. I thought this was splendid and very much enjoyed reading it. It was nice to talk to you on the telephone. I am seeing Geoffrey Howe this morning and of course will be very interested with anything he feels able to tell me. I am afraid there is an atmosphere of great gloom here about the growing stampede for sanctions, though certainly so far Mrs. Thatcher and President Reagan have shown remarkable courage in opposing it. The trouble of course is that if sanctions in a broad sense were imposed, it is difficult to see how they could ever be removed. Certainly the black states will not be concerned with the establishment of a free and democratic system here. How indeed could they be but only with the replacement of the present government by the ANC? Since that is an objective which can only be obtained by fighting a successful war against South Africa, the use of sanctions will lose all chance of altering the attitude of the government. I saw P.W. Botha about a week ago. He struck me as being certainly in a mood to negotiate a package deal if he could. So perhaps something may come of Mrs. Thatcher's reported willingness to meet him. It would be better still if the Americans could be associated with some such initiative.

Yurs my

H.F. OPPENHEIMER

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