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Prime Minister

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

The resulting text
is within the guidelines
which you agreed with
the Foreign Secretary.

19 July, 1985

Dear Charles, Content for him to endorse it next week?

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Yes
no

Joint Statement by the Ten on Southern Africa

In your letter of 12 July you set out the Prime Minister's reactions to the proposed draft statement by the Ten on Southern Africa. This question was discussed at a meeting of the European Political Committee in Luxembourg on 17 July and you will wish to be aware of the outcome, reported in Luxembourg telegrams numbers 231-233.

As you will see, the Luxembourg Presidency took the view that it would be regrettable if the work which had been done at Milan on South Africa did not result in a statement by Foreign Ministers on the same lines. The Dutch and French representatives at the meeting had already told Derek Thomas that they would strongly favour a statement by the Foreign Ministers of the Ten next week on the lines of the Milan text, if the UK was in a position to lift its reservations. From the known positions of other member countries, it was clear that there would be overwhelming support from others for this position. When the Luxembourgers raised it, therefore, Derek Thomas indicated that provided a sufficiently balanced final text could be agreed, he would be able to go along with the rest of the text which others had been prepared to accept at Milan. He then proposed a number of amendments to bring the Milan text into line with the version enclosed with my letter of 8 July, as amended by yours of 12 July. It was unfortunately not possible to get the passage in square brackets at the end of paragraph 2 of the Milan text dropped, as the Prime Minister would have preferred. This was the absolute minimum that the others were prepared to accept. The French position in particular was governed by the commitment which M. Fabius has given in public to ban new investment in South Africa within 18 months in the absence of specific measures to end discrimination. (The French position on general economic sanctions is one of clear cut opposition. But they have recently ruled out participation by French companies in one important contract for South Africa). The only other sentence in our proposals which gave difficulties was the sentence at the beginning of the fifth paragraph which

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set out our belief that European companies which continued to operate in Southern Africa should play a positive role in promoting peaceful change. The Dutch Political Director explained that this would put his Foreign Minister in grave difficulties since it was in conflict with a position which he had taken up in the Dutch Parliament. Thomas therefore reluctantly agreed to let it fall, even though in our view it was a positive point.

[Attached] The revised text, which is to be submitted to the Ten Foreign Ministers at the Foreign Affairs Council on 22 July, is contained in Luxembourg telegram number 232. Although it is not exactly as we would wish, because of the inclusion of the sentence (already in square brackets in Milan) which he and the Prime Minister discussed on 2 July, the Foreign Secretary believes that this text taken as a whole will be of real value, without offering any new hostages to fortune, in our preparations for CHOGM and the UN General Assembly. He therefore proposes to endorse it at the Foreign Affairs Council on 22 July. He would not of course accept any amendments to it that would be damaging to the UK interest.

You will see from Luxembourg telegram number 233 that in a discussion restricted to Political Directors only on 17 July the Commission representative drew attention to what he described as a barrage of questions from the European Parliament about the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa by the Community. The Presidency representative did his best to short-circuit any detailed discussion of this. But the Italian Political Director took it up and suggested that in the light of proposals in Congress and recent decisions by the Canadians, the Ten would do well to start thinking about what selective economic pressures the Community might be able to apply if it had to.

Derek Thomas set out briefly the principal arguments against action of this kind. In order to head off possible consideration of a proposal for looking at selective sanctions, and to allow the case against this course to be fully considered, he also suggested that the Political Committee should look at the wider implications of economic measures in the context of South Africa and how to deal with the kind of pressures which were developing from the European Parliament. This suggestion was accepted, and there will be a general discussion of the subject in September. This will give us an opportunity to meet trouble half way in the Community and set out our arguments (for which there will be a good deal of support from the Germans and others) about the ineffectiveness of economic sanctions in any circumstances

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and their particular undesirability in the case of South Africa. It will moreover be preferable to handle this question in the Political Committee rather than risk having the Commission go off on its own.

Yours ever,

L V Appleyard

(L V Appleyard)
Private Secretary

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10 Downing Street

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FM LUXEMBOURG 171819Z JUL 85

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 232 OF 17 JULY

INFO ROUTINE ALL EC POSTS, MOSCOW, WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO,

UKMIS NEW YORK, OSLO, PRETORIA

SAVING TO UKDEL STASBOURG, ANKARA, LISBON, MADRID, TOKYO,

WELLINGTON, OTTAWA, MEXICO CITY, BERNE

MIPT: EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION POLITICAL COMMITTEE,
LUXEMBOURG 16/17 JULY: SOUTH AFRICA

**FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DRAFT STATEMENT ON SITUATION IN SOUTH
AFRICA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA**

THE TEN FOREIGN MINISTERS EXPRESS THEIR PROFOUND CONCERN
OVER THE CONTINUING HUMAN SUFFERING CAUSED IN SOUTH AFRICA
BY THE APARTHEID SYSTEM WHICH THEY STRONGLY CONDEMN.

THEY DEPLORE ALL ACTS OF VIOLENCE. IN SOUTH AFRICA, VIOLENCE
AFFECTS THE BLACK POPULATION IN PARTICULAR, AND THE TEN CALL
FOR ITS RENUNCIATION BY ALL CONCERNED. THEY URGE THE GOVERNMENT IN
PRETORIA TO EMBARK WITH DETERMINATION ON A POLICY INVOLVING
SPECIFIC ACTIONS LEADING TO THE ABOLITION
OF THE APARTHEID SYSTEM AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RIGHTFUL
POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS OF THE BLACK POPULATION. **IN THE
ABSENCE OF ANY SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS WITHIN A REASONABLE PERIOD
OF TIME, THE TEN RESERVE THE RIGHT TO RECONSIDER THEIR ATTITUDE.**

IN THEIR VIEW THE FIRST REQUIREMENT IS THE RAPID OPENING OF A
DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE PRESENT SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND THE
GENUINE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NON-WHITE COMMUNITY, WITH THE
DECLARED AIM INTER ALIA OF GIVING PROPER REPRESENTATION TO THE
BLACK COMMUNITY AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL.

TO IMPROVE THE PROSPECTS FOR SUCH A DIALOGUE, THE TEN BELIEVE
THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD:

- **RELEASE IMMEDIATELY AND UNCONDITIONALLY MR NELSON MANDELA:**
- END DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL:
- ABANDON THE PRACTICE OF FORCED REMOVALS:
- REMOVE DISCRIMINATORY LEGISLATION INCLUDING THE PASS LAWS
AND THE GROUP AREAS ACT.

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THE CODE OF CONDUCT FOR EUROPEAN FIRMS WITH SUBSIDIARIES IN SOUTH AFRICA HAS PROVED TO BE A USEFUL INSTRUMENT FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF BLACK WORKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA. IN VIEW OF THE IMPORTANT CHANGES THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE FIELD OF LABOUR RELATIONS THERE, THE TEN CONSIDER THAT THE ADAPTATION AND STRENGTHENING

OF THE

CODE WHICH THEY ARE URGENTLY TO UNDERTAKE SHOULD ALLOW IT TO CONTRIBUTE MORE EFFECTIVELY TO THE ABOLITION OF THE SYSTEM OF RACIAL SEGREGATION IN FORCE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE TEN ALSO NOTE WITH DEEP CONCERN THE PERSISTENCE OF CONFLICTS, THE EXISTENCE OF SERIOUS THREATS TO THE SOVEREIGNTY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF STATES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND, AS REGARDS THE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA, CONTINUING OBSTACLES TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 435. THEY EARNESTLY HOPE THAT PROGRESS CAN BE MADE THROUGH A PROCESS OF DIALOGUE INVOLVING ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED, WITH RESPECT FOR THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND SOVEREIGNTY OF ALL THE COUNTRIES IN THE AREA AND THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

LOCKTON

MEETINGS OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE

LIMITED

ECD(E)	SED	SIR W HARDING	
ECD(I)	MAED	MR EGERTON	
FED	SAD	MR JENKINS	COPIES TO:
MED	SEAD	MR JOHNSON	MR WILLIAMSON) CABINET
NENAD	DEF D	MR DAVID THOMAS	MR M JAY) OFFICE
TRED	ACDD	MR DAUNT	
UND	FID	MR WILSON	
WED	NED	MR BRAITHWAITE	
S AF D	MCAD	MR FERGUSSON	
OADs	S AM D	MR BROWNING (ODA)	
EED	MR DEREK THOMAS		(REPEATED AS REQUESTED)
SCD	MR GOODALL		
PLANNING STAFF	SIR C TICKELL (ODA)		
SOV D	MR RENWICK		
	MR ADAM FERGUSSON		

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