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EUROPEAN COUNCIL, LUXEMBOURG

27/28 APRIL, 1980

POLITICAL COOPERATION

Brief by Foreign and Commonwealth Office

The following Briefing Material is attached:-

Annex A - IRAN

B - AFGHANISTAN

C - MIDDLE EAST

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

18 April 1980

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IRAN

Objective

1. Ministers will not wish European Council to discuss at length US policy over American hostages or Afghanistan, or EC reactions to US pressure for support. If there are attempts to initiate a debate on these points, the Prime Minister may wish to suggest that they be remitted for consideration to the Foreign Ministers or to some more appropriate forum.

Points to MakeSupport for US

2. Important that Nine implement effectively measures agreed by Foreign Ministers on 22 April.
3. Must attract as wide support among other friendly states as possible.
4. Danger if allies do not support US of more severe measures, which could upset entire region.

Background

Reference A State of 22 April of EC Foreign Ministers meeting in Luxembourg

Reference B part of paragraphs of vetoed Security Council Resolution on

Economic Sanctions

Sanctions

5. Some parts of EC agreement relating to sanctions still need clarification. In particular, whether sanctions to be applied to
 - (i) existing contracts (as at 22 April)
 - (ii) financial measures (which UK has taken voluntarily since December 1979)

/Legislation

Legislation

6. Some measures under Security Council Resolution can be implemented under 1939 Act. Such legislation required for those relating to:

- (i) sale or delivery of goods subject to grant of export licence.
- (ii) shipment of goods
- (iii) financial measures
- (iv) prevention of new service contracts

We are taking steps to draw up legislation required to cover these measures.

British Embassy in Tehran

7. Now reduced to Ambassador and four UK-based staff. Sir J Graham returned to Tehran on 26 April.

British Community

8. About 300-350. Has been advised (most recently on 22 April) to leave if no pressing business reasons to stay.

EC Ambassadors' demarche

9. Luxembourg agreement called for joint approach to President Bani Sadr to report Luxembourg decisions and press for release of hostages. Demarche fixed for 28 April.

Iran Internal

10. Serious fighting in universities over last week following successful attempt by religious extremists (backed by Khomeini) to expel left-wing political groups. Some killed and many injured. Has further weakened authority of Bani Sadr who, having first criticised the campaign, has subsequently had no choice but to endorse it. Recent serious renewed fighting in Kurdistan.

DECISION BY THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE NINE ON IRAN

1. The Foreign Ministers of the nine Member States of the European Community meeting in Luxembourg on 22 April discussed the implications of the recent events in Iran in the light of the reports by their ambassadors following the demarche to the president of Iran decided upon by the Foreign Ministers at their meeting in Lisbon on 10 April.
2. The Foreign Ministers expressed the solidarity of the Nine with the Government and people of the United States at this time of trial.
3. While welcoming the visit by the ICRC to the hostages on 14 April and noting the assurances given by President Bani Sadr as to the living conditions of the hostages, the Foreign Ministers expressed their profound regret that the Iranian Government has been unable to give precise assurances about the date and methods by which the hostages would be released. The Iranian Government continues to ignore the clear call of the UN Security Council and the International Court of Justice to bring to an end a flagrant violation of international law and release the hostages.
4. Since the hostages were first detained the Nine, fully respecting the independence of Iran and the right of the Iranian people to determine their own future, have insisted that they must be released. The fact that after six months they are still detained, despite the efforts of the Nine and the clear condemnation by the community of nations, is intolerable from a humanitarian and legal point of view.
5. The Foreign Ministers of the Nine, deeply concerned that a continuation of this situation may endanger international peace and security, have decided to request their national parliaments immediately to take any necessary measures to impose sanctions against Iran in accordance with the Security Council resolution on Iran of 10 January 1980, which was vetoed, and in accordance with the rules of international law.

They believe that these legislative processes should be completed by 17 May, date of the Foreign Ministers' meeting in Naples

If by that time there has not been any decisive progress leading to the release of the hostages, they will jointly implement sanctions.

Steps will be taken within the Community in order that the implementation of the measures decided upon should not obstruct the proper functioning of the Common Market.

The Ministers consider that, as of now and pending the entry into force of the measures mentioned above, no new export or services contract with persons or organizations in Iran should be concluded.

6. The Foreign Ministers decided meanwhile to put into effect without delay the following measures, to the extent that they are not already in force:-

- (i) reduction in Embassy staffs in Tehran;
- (ii) a reduction in the number of diplomats accredited by the Government of Iran in their countries;
- (iii) the reintroduction of a visa system for Iranian nationals travelling to member countries of the Nine;
- (iv) the withholding of permission for the sale or export of arms or defence-related equipment to Iran.

7. The Foreign Ministers instructed their ambassadors to return to Tehran in the interval in order to convey the present decision to the Iranian government, to follow the situation, and to undertake all possible efforts to alleviate and improve the living conditions of the hostages pending their release.

They expressed the hope that the Iranian authorities would act along the lines suggested in this statement.

8. The Foreign Ministers of the Nine, believing that this situation should be a matter of concern to the whole international Community, call upon other governments to associate themselves with these decisions.

9. The Foreign Ministers decided immediately to contact the Government of the United States through the Presidency and to inform it of the decisions taken by them.

REFERENCE B

SECURITY
COUNCILS/1385
10 January 1980

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

United States of America: draft resolutionThe Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 457 (1979) of 4 December 1979, and 461 (1979) of 31 December 1979,

Recalling also the appeal made by the President of the Security Council on 9 November 1979 (S/13616) which was reiterated on 27 November 1979 (S/13652),

Having taken note of the letters dated 13 November 1979 and 1 December 1979 concerning the grievances and views of Iran (S/13626 and S/13671, respectively),

Having taken into account the Order of the International Court of Justice of 15 December 1979 calling on the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to ensure the immediate release, without any exception, of all persons of United States nationality, who are being held as hostages in Iran (S/13697) and also calling on the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to ensure that no action is taken by them which will aggravate the tension between the two countries,

Further recalling the letter dated 25 November 1979 from the Secretary-General (S/13646) stating that, in his opinion, the present crisis between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the United States of America poses a serious threat to international peace and security,

Bearing in mind the adoption by the General Assembly by consensus on 17 December 1979 of the Convention Against the Taking of Hostages,

Mindful of the obligation of States to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered and, to that end, to respect the decision of the Security Council,

Conscious of the responsibility of States to refrain in their international relations from the threat of use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations,

Affirming that the safe release and departure from Iran of all those being held hostage is an essential first step in resolving peacefully the issues between Iran and the United States and the other States members of the international community,

Feeling that once the hostages have been safely released, the Government of Iran and the United States of America should take steps to resolve peacefully the remaining issues between them to their mutual satisfaction in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations,

Further taking into account the report of the Secretary-General of 6 January 1980 (S/13730) made pursuant to resolutions 457 (1979) of 4 December 1979 and 461 (1979) of 31 December 1979,

Bearing in mind that the continued detention of the hostages constitutes a continuing threat to international peace and security,

Acting in accordance with Articles 39 and 41 of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Urgently calls, once again, on the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to release immediately all persons of United States nationality being held as hostages in Iran, to provide them protection and to allow them to leave the country;

2. Decides that, until such time as the hostages are released and have safely departed from Iran, all States Members of the United Nations:

(a) shall prevent the sale or supply, by their nationals or from their territories, whether or not originating in their territories, to or destined for Iranian governmental entities in Iran or any other person or body in Iran, or to or destined for any other person or body for the purposes of any enterprise carried on in Iran, of all items, commodities, or products, except food, medicine, and supplies intended strictly for medical purposes;

(b) shall prevent the shipment by vessel, aircraft, railway, or other land transport of their registration or owned by or under charter to their nationals, or the carriage whether or not in bond by land transport facilities across their territories of any of the items, commodities, and products covered by subparagraph (a) which are consigned to or destined for Iranian governmental entities or any person or body in Iran, or to any enterprise carried on in Iran;

(c) shall not make available to the Iranian authorities or to any person in Iran or to any enterprise controlled by any Iranian governmental entity any new credits or loans; shall not, with respect to such persons or enterprises, make available any new deposit facilities or allow substantial increases in existing non-dollar deposits or allow more favourable terms of payment than customarily used in international commercial transactions; and shall act in a businesslike manner in exercising any rights when payments due on existing credits or loans are

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shall be on time and shall require any persons or entities within their jurisdiction to do likewise;

(d) shall prevent the shipment from their territories on vessels or aircraft registered in Iran of products and commodities covered by subparagraph (a) above;

(e) shall reduce to a minimum the personnel of Iranian diplomatic missions accredited to them;

(f) shall prevent their nationals, or firms located in their territories, from engaging in new service contracts in support of industrial projects in Iran, other than those concerned with medical care;

(g) shall prevent their nationals or any person or body in their territories from engaging in any activity which evades or has the purpose of evading any of the decisions set out in this resolution;

3. Decides that all States Members of the United Nations shall give effect forthwith to the decisions set out in operative paragraph 2 of this resolution notwithstanding any contract entered into or licence granted before the date of this resolution;

4. Calls upon all States Members of the United Nations to carry out these decisions of the Security Council in accordance with Article 25 of the Charter;

5. Urges, having regard to the principles stated in Article 2 of the Charter, States not members of the United Nations to act in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution;

6. Calls upon all other United Nations bodies and the specialized agencies of the United Nations and their members to conform their relations with Iran to the terms of this resolution;

7. Calls upon all States Members of the United Nations, and in particular those with primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, to assist effectively in the implementation of the measures called for by the present resolution;

8. Calls upon all States Members of the United Nations or of the specialized agencies to report to the Secretary-General by 1 February 1980 on measures taken to implement the present resolution;

9. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the progress of the implementation of the present resolution, the first report to be submitted not later than 1 March 1980.

ANNEX B

AFGHANISTAN AND EAST/WEST RELATIONS

OBJECTIVE

1. To secure agreement among our partners to continue to promote the proposal for a neutral and non-aligned Afghanistan.

POINTS TO MAKE

2. Russians, while avoiding outright rejection of the neutrality proposal, have repeated unacceptable pre-conditions about guarantees of non-interference before they would be prepared to consider withdrawing their forces. We should keep up the pressure on them.

3. The Warsaw Pact summit in May may produce a "peace offensive" designed to distract from united and sustained pressure on the Russians. We must not fall for this if it comes: solidarity of Western countries is now more important than ever.

4. Aim now should be to build on wide measure of approval already secured for European idea, and obtain committed support from, in particular, the Islamic and Non-Aligned countries. This will help to maintain pressure on the Russians.

5. Islamic Conference in Islamabad in May will be very important. We hope that the Conference will declare its support.

6. Olympics. Important to Soviet Union for political and propaganda reasons. Boycott therefore very effective; it cannot be hidden from Russian people. British Government doing everything possible to dissuade athletes from going. Decision of United States Olympic Committee not to go will be influential, and will diminish value of medals won at Moscow.

Annex B

Background

1. The latest contact between our Ambassador at Moscow and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Zemskov took place on 11 April. It revealed no movement or hint of flexibility in the Soviet attitude. The two main Soviet pre-conditions were simply repeated: advance guarantees of non-interference from outside before there could be talk of a Soviet withdrawal, and emphasis on the unacceptability of arrangements made without the participation of the Kabul regime.
2. The 25th anniversary of the signature of the Warsaw Pact will be celebrated on 14/15 May. The Russians have been slow to mount their expected 'peace offensive' to appeal to those Western countries which are more concerned about preserving the gains of detente, and to encourage splits in Western solidarity. We expect an initiative from the Warsaw Pact summit, possibly connected with arms control and detente in Europe. They could, for example, re-launch their proposal for a conference on security and military detente in Europe first put forward in 1979.
3. Chancellor Schmidt has been invited to visit Moscow in the summer. The FRG notified some, but not all EC members of this invitation, and have said they will wish to hold consultations about it. No follow-up approach has yet been received.
4. We need to get away from the neutrality and non-alignment proposal being seen as a 'European idea'. It is essential that committed support be generated among the Islamic and Non-Aligned countries. Habib Chatty, Secretary General to the Islamic Conference, spoke warmly of the proposal when he saw Lord Privy Seal in London on 3 April. If the Conference in May issues a strong statement in favour of neutrality that could be a turning point.
5. Posts accredited to members of the Islamic Conference have been asked to explain our views and to suggest that the forthcoming Conference could usefully declare its support.

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ANNEX C

MIDDLE EAST

OBJECTIVE

1. To agree a short statement, if proposed.

POINTS TO MAKE

Arab/Israel

2. Work should continue on options for Nine in event of failure of autonomy talks.
3. Statement involving balanced commitment to Palestinian self-determination and security for Israel could be valuable, but no point if it says nothing new.

Lebanon

4. Pressure should be kept up on Israel to cooperate with UNIFIL.

BACKGROUND

5. [Not to be revealed]. Our idea for a new Security Council resolution after 26 May remains under discussion in the Nine. The response has been lukewarm so far. The Germans have doubts about superseding 242, while French scepticism may be largely because it is not their idea.
6. [Not to be revealed]. There has been talk at Political Director level of the possibility of a statement on Arab/Israel by the Heads of Government. Alternative drafts have been produced but there has been no agreement on what sort of statement, if any, would be appropriate. One difficulty would be the inclusion of any reference to Camp David and the autonomy talks, given French sensitivity. We have argued that a statement which did not contain a reference to Palestinian self-determination, balanced by a reference to Israel's

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security, would be widely seen as a step backwards. The Political Directors will consider the desirability of a statement again on 27 April in Luxembourg.

Following May be Used Freely

7. A breakthrough in the autonomy talks before 26 May looks unlikely but they are likely to continue beyond the deadline. A decision may then be needed on whether they have sufficient life in them to inhibit action by the Nine, eg to promote a new Security Council resolution.

8. The UN force in South Lebanon (UNIFIL) continues to be seriously harassed by Major Haddad's militia, who are supported by Israel. The force (to which the Irish, Dutch, Italians and French contribute) is in a precarious position. We have suggested that the Nine should work together for greater Israeli cooperation. The Irish have pressed for a hard line with Israel - three Irish soldiers have recently been killed. The UN have attached the blame to Haddad's forces.