

CONFIDENTIAL

GRS 1100

CONFIDENTIAL

FM LUXEMBOURG 270850Z JUL 85

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 257 OF 27 JULY

INFO PRIORITY UKMIS NEW YORK, HELSINKI

INFO ROUTINE ALL EC POSTS, MOSCOW, WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO, OSLO
PRETORIA, LUANDA, LUSAKA, LILONGWE, MAPUTO, MBABANE,
DAR ES SALAAM, KINSHASA, KAMPALA, HARARE

INFO SAVING UKDEL STRASBOURG, ANKARA, LISBON, MADRID, TOKYO,
WELLINGTON, OTTAWA, MEXICO CITY, BERNE.

EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION: MEETING OF AFRICAN DIRECTORS:

LUXEMBOURG 27 JULY

SUMMARY

1. WIDE RANGE OF VIEWS ON POSSIBLE ECONOMIC ACTION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. UK AND FRG FIRMLY OPPOSED. ITALY, BELGIUM AND LUXEMBOURG MODERATELY SO. FRANCE OPPOSED TO MANDATORY ACTION. OTHERS SUPPORT FRENCH PROPOSALS FOR VOLUNTARY ACTION ONLY AS SECOND BEST TO MANDATORY ACTION.

2. SIMILAR DIVERSITY OF APPROACH TO NONECONOMIC MEASURES. AGREED THAT AFRICA WORKING GROUP SHOULD COMPILE, FOR INTERNAL USE, INVENTORY OF EXISTING MEASURES.

3. PRESIDENCY TO EXPLORE FURTHER POSSIBILITY OF MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION IN HELSINKI.

DETAIL

4. WURTH (PRESIDENCY) OPENED THE DISCUSSION BY SUGGESTING AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE MEASURES PROPOSED BY FRANCE IN HER DRAFT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION. NATIONAL POSITIONS, IN THE ORDER PRESENTED, WERE AS FOLLOWS SEMICOLON

AUSSEIL (FRANCE): RECENT PERIOD HAD SEEN RAPID DETERIORATION IN SOUTH AFRICA. FRENCH MINISTERS HAD MADE THEIR VIEWS KNOWN ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS. PUBLIC AND THIRD WORLD OPINION DEMANDED A RESPONSE. FRENCH IDEAS INTENDED TO PROVIDE THIS. MEASURES PROPOSED WERE VOLUNTARY AND INDICATIVE. FRANCE REMAINED OPPOSED TO MANDATORY ECONOMIC ACTION.

JOHNSON (UK): SHARED ABHORRENCE OF APARTHEID. BUT VOLUNTARY MEASURES WOULD INEVITABLY LEAD TO MANDATORY ONES. WHAT WOULD THOSE ACHIEVE? WOULD THEY MAKE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT MORE FLEXIBLE? WHO WOULD THEY HURT? ANSWERS TO ALL THOSE QUESTIONS ARGUED FIRMLY AGAINST SUCH MEASURES. WOULD NOT BRING END TO APARTHEID ANY CLOSER, WOULD MAKE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT MORE RIGID, AND WOULD MOST HURT BLACK COMMUNITY AND SOUTH AFRICA'S BLACK NEIGHBOURS. MOST VIABLE ROUTE TO POLITICAL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA REMAINED THROUGH ECONOMIC GROWTH. SHOULD ASSIST THIS EG THROUGH HELP TO TRAINING SCHEMES FOR BLACKS. MUST REMAIN ENGAGED WHILE PRESSING FOR NECESSARY REFORMS.

CONFIDENTIAL

/ SOLIMMA

SULIMMA (FRG): VERY SIMILAR VIEWS TO UK. ECONOMIC MEASURES WOULD NOT WORK AND WOULD AFFECT THE WRONG PEOPLE. BUT SOME RESPONSE WAS REQUIRED TO PUBLIC PRESSURE. FRG LOOKING AT POSSIBILITIES SUCH AS JOINT WITHDRAWAL OF AMBASSADORS. MINISTERS SHOULD DISCUSS IN HELSINKI.

HASLUND (DENMARK): DENMARK HAD SUPPORTED MANDATORY SANCTIONS FOR 20 YEARS. SUPPORTED FRENCH IDEAS AS SECOND BEST (DESPITE FEARS THAT PARLIAMENT WOULD REJECT THEM AS TOO WEAK) WORKING WITH OTHER NORDICS ON NEW RANGE OF NONECONOMIC MEASURES TO PRESENT TO NORDIC FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING ON 17-18 OCTOBER.

KAPPEYNE VAN DE COPPELLO (NETHERLANDS): SIMILAR APPROACH TO DENMARK. SUPPORT FRENCH PROPOSALS AS SECOND BEST. WOULD HAVE APPRECIATED PRIOR CONSULTATION. PLANNING TO MAKE CODE OF CONDUCT MANDATORY

CORRIAS (ITALY): EQUIVOCAL OPPOSITION TO FRENCH IDEAS. SANCTIONS INEFFECTIVE AND MISDIRECTED. BUT PUBLIC OPINION REQUIRED SOME RESPONSE. MINISTERS IN HELSINKI SHOULD DISCUSS WHETHER FRENCH IDEAS MIGHT CONSTITUTE THIS.

VAN DEN MAAGDENBERG (BELGIUM): OPPOSED TO ECONOMIC MEASURES FOR SAME REASONS AS UK. BUT LOOKING AT OTHER POSSIBILITIES SUCH AS FREEZING CULTURAL LINKS, DISCOURAGING TRAVEL TO SOUTH AFRICA AND EXCLUDING SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY ATTACHES.

BARRINGTON (IRELAND): SIMILAR APPROACH TO NETHERLANDS. REGRET WEAKNESS OF MINISTERIAL STATEMENT OF 22 JULY. NATIONALLY OBSERVING STRICT COMPLIANCE WITH ARMS EMBARGO AND BAN ON PUBLIC SECTOR IMPORTS FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

WURTH (LUXEMBOURG): SURPRISED BY FRENCH INITIATIVE. DO NOT BELIEVE THAT OBLIGATORY MEASURES WOULD BE EFFECTIVE. AND COULD ONLY SUPPORT VOLUNTARY MEASURES IF CONFIDENT THEY WOULD BE WIDELY IMPLEMENTED.

KARACASSIS (GREECE): CHIEF MOTIVE OF POLICY IS CONCERN FOR GREEK COMMUNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA. COULD ONLY SUPPORT FRENCH IDEAS IF IMPLEMENTED BY ALL THE TEN.

SERRANTIE (COMMISSION): (IN RESPONSE TO A DIRECT QUESTION) COMMISSION WOULD NOT PROPOSE JOINT COMMUNITY ECONOMIC ACTION IN ABSENCE OF POLITICAL CONCENSUS AMONG TEN.

5. WURTH THEN PROPOSED THAT THE GROUP GO IN DETAIL THROUGH THE FRENCH AND OTHER IDEAS TO SEE WHICH WERE GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE. JOHNSON OBJECTED. THIS GROUP HAD NO MANDATE TO PROPOSE JOINT ACTION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. TO DO SO WOULD BE TO PREJUDGE A MAJOR QUESTION OF POLITICAL PRINCIPLE. CORRIAS AND (SURPRISINLY) AUSSEIL AGREED. WURTH RESPONDED THAT THE GROUP MIGHT EXCHANGE INFORMATION ON THE VARIOUS IDEAS UNDER DISCUSSION, ALTHOUGH WITHOUT SEEKING TO REACH AGREED RECOMMENDATIONS. THIS WAS ACCEPTED.

CONFIDENTIAL (2)

/ b. THL

6. THE RESULTING TOUR DE TABLE LARGELY REITERATED POINTS ALREADY MADE. ALL THOSE WHO SPOKE SAID THEY DISCOURAGED SPORTING CONTACTS. SULIMMA SAID THE FRG WAS REFUSING TO ALLOW THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY ATTACHE IN BONN TO BE REPLACED. HASLUND GAVE AN ENORMOUS LIST OF MEASURES AGREED BY THE NORDICS INTENDED SO FAR AS POSSIBLE TO EXCLUDE ANY ECONOMIC, CULTURAL, SCIENTIFIC OR SPORTING CONTACT WITH SOUTH AFRICA (FULL LIST BY BAG TO DEPARTMENT). JOHNSON SAID THE CHIEF CRITERION FOR THE UK WAS WHETHER, IN OUR VIEW, A PARTICULAR ACTION WOULD EFFECTIVELY CONTRIBUTE TO PEACEFUL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA. KAPPEYNE VAN DE COPPELLO SAID THAT WHILE THE NETHERLANDS HAD TAKEN CERTAIN MEASURES TO REDUCE CULTURAL, SCIENTIFIC AND SPORTING CONTACTS THEY HAD NO PLANS AT PRESENT TO WITHDRAW THEIR AMBASSADOR.

7. IN THE LIGHT OF THIS EXCHANGE IT WAS AGREED THAT THE AFRICA WORKING GROUP AT ITS NEXT MEETING SHOULD COMPILE, FOR INTERNAL USE, AN INVENTORY OF NATIONAL MEASURES ALREADY INTRODUCED BY MEMBERS OF THE TEN. VAN DEN MAAGDENBERG SUGGESTED THAT THE COMMON KERNEL OF THIS INVENTORY MIGHT BE EFFECTIVELY PRESENTABLE AS THE JOINT POSITION OF THE TEN. HASLUND NOTED THAT DISCOURAGEMENT OF SPORTING CONTACTS SEEMED TO FORM PART OF THAT COMMON KERNEL.

8. WURTH SUGGESTED THAT THE GROUP CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF WHAT MIGHT BE MEANT BY THE REFERENCE IN THE MINISTERIAL STATEMENT TO 'REASONABLE DELAY' WITHIN WHICH THE TEN WOULD RECONSIDER THEIR POSITIONS. SULIMMA, JOHNSON AND CORRIAS POINTED OUT THAT THIS WAS A PREMATURE, AND VAGUE, QUESTION. AUSSEIL SUGGESTED THAT THE 'REASONABLE DELAY' MAY ALREADY HAVE ELAPSED.

9. FINALLY, WURTH SOUGHT AGREEMENT THAT MINISTERS, SHOULD TAKE DISCUSSION FURTHER IN HELSINKI. SULIMMA AND AUSSEIL SUPPORTED. CORRIAS PLEADED LACK OF INSTRUCTIONS. JOHNSON ASKED WHAT PURPOSE SUCH A DISCUSSION WAS LIKELY TO SERVE IN VIEW OF THE LACK OF CONSENSUS AT OFFICIAL LEVEL. OTHERS SEEMED TACITLY TO ACCEPT THAT MINISTERS SHOULD MEET. WURTH CONCLUDED THAT THE PRESIDENCY WOULD PURSUE THE IDEA. AMBASSADORS IN HELSINKI WOULD DISCUSS POSSIBLE DATES.

F C O PLEASE PASS SAVING TO ALL.

FILES

(REPEATED AS REQUESTED)

[COPIES SENT TO NO 10 DOWNING STREET]

SOUTHERN AFRICA

STANDARD(PALACE)

S AF D

OADS

UND

NAD

ECDs
SOVIET D

MR J R J JOHNSON
CABINET OFFICE

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
SOUTHERN AFRICA

3

CONFIDENTIAL