

PRIME MINISTER

MEETING WITH THE EMINENT PERSONS GROUP

You have agreed to see the whole Group at midday tomorrow, after which you will have a private word with General Obasanjo. I enclose in the attached folder:

- A - a list of the members with biographical notes.
- B - a brief, covering both the work of the Group and points on Nigeria.
- C - the Commonwealth accord on Southern Africa.

You might begin by asking the Group how they intend to carry out their task. You will want to encourage them to proceed by quiet diplomacy, to avoid public statements while their mission is in course and to try not to give the impression of telling the South African Government how they should be running the country. The chances of success will be in direct proportion to the degree to which the Group can avoid public provocation of the South African Government. This is said not because we in any way condone some of that Government's policies and activities but because we see the role of the Mission as being to encourage progress towards an internal dialogue. You also hope that they will focus particularly on mechanisms for such a dialogue, who should participate in it, what subjects should be discussed. It is particularly important that the various black leaders within the country should be encouraged to think about these problems and have their ideas ready. You recognise that a considerable effort of self-restraint may be involved and that this will be difficult for perfectly understandable reasons. But you hope that members of the Group will make the sacrifice, to give themselves the greatest possible chance of success. Finally, as a country with an Embassy in South Africa we stand ready to provide any practical help which the Group would find of use.

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With General Obasanjo you will want to refer to the improvement in relations with Nigeria since the installation of the new Government and say that you are looking forward to meeting the Foreign Minister when he comes to the UK in January. You could ask him about prospects for managing Nigeria's economic problems. You will also want to touch on the question of the Bristows engineers and to make clear that there can be no question of a swap with Yusufu.

CDP.

Charles Powell

12 December 1985

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List of Members.

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Members of Group of Eminent Persons

(2) Mr Malcolm Fraser, proposed by the Prime Minister of Australia. Mr Fraser was the Prime Minister of Australia 1975-83, after having held a number of cabinet positions from 1968. He entered parliament in 1955, after graduating from Oxford University in 1952. As Prime Minister, Mr Fraser chaired the Commonwealth summit held in Melbourne in 1981 and was responsible for initiating the series of Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meetings for the Asia/Pacific region. Lately an International Fellow of Harvard University, Mr Fraser was Chairman of the United Nations Panel of Eminent Persons which recently reported on the Activities of Transnational Corporations in South Africa and Namibia. He is a member of the Inter Action Council of former Heads of Government formed in 1983. (Co-Chairman)

(1) General Olusegun Obasanjo, proposed by the President of Zambia and the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, was the head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria from 1976-79, when he handed over power to an elected civilian government, headed by President Shehu Shagari. A Fellow of the University of Ibadan from 1979, General Obasanjo served on the Independent (Palme) Commission on Disarmament and Security and he is a member of the Inter Action Council of former Heads of Government. As an officer in the Nigerian army which he joined in 1958, he served with the UN forces in Congo in 1960. He served as Federal Commissioner for Works and Housing in 1975 and was promoted Lt-General in 1976. (Co-Chairman).

(7) Lord Barber of Wentbridge, proposed by the Prime Minister of Britain, has been Chairman of the Standard Chartered Bank since 1974. Having served as Economic Secretary to the British Treasury 1959-62, Financial Secretary to the Treasury 1962-63 and Minister of Health 1963-64, Lord Barber was Chancellor of the Exchequer 1970-74. He was Chairman of the Conservative Party 1967-70 and a member of the Falkland Islands Inquiry Committee (Franks Committee) in 1982. A graduate of Oxford University and a barrister, he entered Parliament in 1951.

(3) Dame Nita Barrow, proposed by the Prime Minister of the Bahamas. A Barbadian national; Dame Nita Barrow was President of the World YWCA 1975-83 and has been a President of the World Council of Churches since 1983 and President of the International Council for Adult Education since 1982. She was the convenor of the Non-Governmental Organisations Forum for the World Conference to review the UN Decade for Women held in Nairobi this year. After being Principal Nursing Officer in Jamaica and Nursing Adviser to the Pan American Health Organisation for the Commonwealth Caribbean, she served as Associate Director 1972-75 and Director 1975-81 of the Christian Medical Commission of the World Council of Churches in Geneva. She was made a Dame of St Andrews in 1980.

(4) Mr John Malecela, proposed by the President of Zambia and the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, was Foreign Minister of Tanzania 1972-75. He later held other positions in the Cabinet (Agriculture 1978-80, Minerals 1980-82, Communications and Transport 1982-84 and Communications and Works 1984-85) until he relinquished office earlier this month. He was Vice-Chairman of the Independent (Maitland) Commission for Worldwide Telecommunications Development. As Tanzania's Permanent Representative at the UN 1964-68, Mr Malecela was elected Chairman of the UN Committee on Decolonisation in 1967. He was a Minister in the East African Community before becoming a Minister in Tanzania in 1972. He studied at the Universities of Bombay and Cambridge.

5 Mr Swaran Singh, proposed by the Prime Minister of India, has been in public life since 1946 and served as India's Minister of External Affairs 1964-66 and 1970-74 and as Minister of Defence 1966-70 and 1974-75. He had held a number of other portfolios in the Indian Government from 1952 onwards. A leader of the Indian delegation to the United Nations General Assembly on eight occasions, he was elected to the Executive Board of UNESCO this year. He was a member of the United Nations Panel of Eminent Persons on Regional and Inter-regional Co-operation 1982-84, and has been Co-Chairman of the Policy Board of the Inter Action Council since 1983.

6 The Most Rev Edward Walter Scott, proposed by the Prime Minister of Canada, has been the Primate of the Anglican Church of Canada since 1971. Educated at the University of British Columbia and the Anglican Theological College of British Columbia, he was ordained in 1942. He served as Director of Social Service and Priest-in-Charge of Indian Work in the Diocese of Rupertsland 1960-64 and Associate Secretary of the Council for Social Service of the Anglican Church 1964-66 and was Bishop of Kootenay 1966-71. Archbishop Scott was Moderator of the Executive and Central Committees of the World Council of Churches 1975-83. He was made a Companion of the Order of Canada in 1978.



THE COMMONWEALTH ACCORD ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

We consider that South Africa's continuing refusal to dismantle apartheid, its illegal occupation of Namibia, and its aggression against its neighbours constitute a serious challenge to the values and principles of the Commonwealth, a challenge which Commonwealth countries cannot ignore. At New Delhi we expressed the view that "only the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of majority rule on the basis of free and fair exercise of universal adult suffrage by all the people in a united and non-fragmented South Africa can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation prevailing in Southern Africa." We are united in the belief that reliance on the range of pressures adopted so far has not resulted in the fundamental changes we have sought over many years. The growing crisis and intensified repression in South Africa mean that apartheid must be dismantled now if a greater tragedy is to be averted and that concerted pressure must be brought to bear to achieve that end. We consider that the situation calls for urgent practical steps.

2. We, therefore, call on the authorities in Pretoria for the following steps to be taken in a genuine manner and as a matter of urgency:

- (a) Declare that the system of apartheid will be dismantled and specific and meaningful action taken in fulfilment of that intent.
- (b) Terminate the existing state of emergency.
- (c) Release immediately and unconditionally Nelson Mandela and all others imprisoned and detained for their opposition to apartheid.
- (d) Establish political freedom and specifically lift the existing ban on the African National Congress and other political parties.
- (e) Initiate, in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides, a process of dialogue across lines of colour, politics and religion, with a view to establishing a non-racial and representative government.

3. We have agreed on a number of measures which have as their rationale impressing on the authorities in Pretoria the compelling urgency of dismantling apartheid and erecting the structures of democracy in South Africa. The latter, in particular, demands a process of dialogue involving the true representatives of the majority black population of South Africa. We believe that we must do all we can to assist that process, while recognising that the forms of political settlement in South Africa are for the people of that country - all the people - to determine.

4. To this end, we have decided to establish a small group of eminent Commonwealth persons to encourage through all practicable ways the evolution of that necessary process of political dialogue. We are not unmindful of the difficulties such an effort will encounter, including the possibility of initial rejection by the South African authorities, but, we believe it to be our duty to leave nothing undone that might contribute to peaceful change in

South Africa and avoid the dreadful prospect of violent conflict that looms over South Africa, threatening people of all races in the country, and the peace and stability of the entire Southern Africa region.

5. We are asking the President of Zambia and the Prime Ministers of Australia, The Bahamas, Canada, India, the United Kingdom and Zimbabwe to develop with the Secretary-General the modalities of this effort to assist the process of political dialogue in South Africa. We would look to the group of eminent persons to seek to facilitate the processes of dialogue referred to in paragraph 2(e) above and by all practicable means to advance the fulfilment of the objectives of this Accord.

6. For our part, we have as an earnest of our opposition to apartheid reached accord on a programme of common action as follows:

- (i) we declare the Commonwealth's support for the strictest enforcement of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, in accordance with United Nations Security Council Resolutions 418 and 558 and commit ourselves to prosecute violators to the fullest extent of the law;
- (ii) we reaffirm the Gleneagles Declaration of 1977, which called upon Commonwealth members to take every practical step to discourage sporting contacts with South Africa;
- (iii) we agree upon, and commend to other governments, the adoption of the following further economic measures against South Africa, which have already been adopted by a number of member countries:
 - (a) a ban on all new government loans to the Government of South Africa and its agencies;
 - (b) a readiness to take unilaterally what action may be possible to preclude the import of Krugerrands;
 - (c) no Government funding for trade missions to South Africa or for participation in exhibitions and trade fairs in South Africa;
 - (d) a ban on the sale and export of computer equipment capable of use by South African military forces, police or security forces;
 - (e) a ban on new contracts for the sale and export of nuclear goods, materials and technology to South Africa;
 - (f) a ban on the sale and export of oil to South Africa;
 - (g) a strict and rigorously controlled embargo on imports of arms, ammunition, military vehicles and paramilitary equipment from South Africa;

- (ii) an embargo on all military co-operation with South Africa; and
- (i) discouragement of all cultural and scientific events except where these contribute towards the ending of apartheid or have no possible role in promoting it.

7. It is our hope that the process and measures we have agreed upon will help to bring about concrete progress towards the objectives stated above in six months. The Heads of Government mentioned in paragraph 5 above, or their representatives, will then meet to review the situation. If in their opinion adequate progress has not been made within this period, we agree to consider the adoption of further measures. Some of us would, in that event, consider the following steps among others:

- (a) a ban on air links with South Africa;
- (b) a ban on new investment or reinvestment of profits earned in South Africa;
- (c) a ban on the import of agricultural products from South Africa;
- (d) the termination of double taxation agreements with South Africa;
- (e) the termination of all government assistance to investment in, and trade with, South Africa;
- (f) a ban on all government procurement in South Africa;
- (g) a ban on government contracts with majority owned South African companies;
- (h) a ban on the promotion of tourism to South Africa.

8. Finally, we agree that should all of the above measures fail to produce the desired results within a reasonable period, further effective measures will have to be considered. Many of us have either taken or are prepared to take measures which go beyond those listed above, and each of us will pursue the objectives of this Accord in all the ways and through all appropriate fora open to us. We believe, however, that in pursuing this Programme jointly, we enlarge the prospects of an orderly transition to social, economic and political justice in South Africa and peace and stability in the Southern Africa region as a whole.

Lyford Cay, Nassau
20 October, 1985