

CONFIDENTIAL
FM LUXEMBOURG
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 171

Confidential

OF 162011Z JUNE 86
AND TO IMMEDIATE UKREP BRUSSELS
INFO IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK, WASHINGTON, CAPE TOWN, PRETORIA
INFO PRIORITY EUROPEAN COMMUNITY POSTS

FRAME EXTERNAL

FROM UKREP BRUSSELS

FOREIGN AFFAIRS COUNCIL, LUXEMBOURG, 16 JUNE 1986.
SOUTH AFRICA.

SUMMARY

1. DISCUSSED OVER LUNCH. MOER WANTED ECONOMIC MEASURES AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA TO BE IMPOSED NOW OR AT THE LATEST BY THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL. YOU, WITH SUPPORT FROM FRANCE, GERMANY AND PORTUGAL, ARGUED SUCCESSFULLY THAT NO DECISION SHOULD BE TAKEN UNTIL AFTER FURTHER REFLECTION ON THE BASIS OF ADVICE FROM THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE. FOR DISCUSSION ON THIS BASIS AT THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL.

DETAIL

2. VAN DEN BROEK (PRESIDENCY) SAID HE HAD MET THE COMGEP CO-CHAIRMEN ON 11 JUNE, AND THEIR REPORT HAD OF COURSE NOW BEEN PUBLISHED. THE OUTCOME OF THE COMGEP EXERCISE WAS VERY DISAPPOINTING. IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WERE UNWILLING TO ENTER INTO A DIALOGUE WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BLACK AFRICAN COMMUNITY. IN THEIR FINAL PRESS CONFERENCE THE CO-CHAIRMEN HAD SAID THAT ONLY IF THE PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA WERE NOW STEPPED UP WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE TO HELP AVOID THE WORST BLOODBATH SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR. TO THAT HAD TO BE ADDED A DETERIORATION ON THE GROUND IN SOUTH AFRICA.

3. IN THE LIGHT OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS THE PRESIDENCY HAD CONCLUDED THAT IT WAS NOW NECESSARY TO ACTIVATE THE CLAUSES AT THE END OF THE STATEMENTS MADE BY THE 10 SEPTEMBER LUXEMBOURG FOREIGN AFFAIRS COUNCIL AND THE E.C./FRONT LINE STATES MEETING IN LUSAKA. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY EXPECTED THE TWELVE TO REVIEW THE SITUATION. THE PRESIDENCY THEREFORE PROPOSED SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF WHAT STEPS THE TWELVE SHOULD NOW TAKE. THE TIME HAD COME TO CONSIDER SHOWING TEETH, ALBEIT WITH A VIEW TO PROMOTING DIALOGUE. WITHOUT THAT, THE SITUATION WOULD GO ON DETERIORATING, AND THERE WOULD BE MORE VIOLENCE. A CLEAR-CUT SIGNAL WAS NECESSARY. POINTING TO THE PRESIDENCY STATEMENT IN THE RECENT MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, HE SAID THAT THE TWELVE COULD NOT SIMPLY IGNORE THE SITUATION AND FAIL TO REACT TO IT. THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL WOULD HAVE TO ADDRESS ITSELF TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION.

4. VAN DEN BROEK THEN REFERRED TO THE FRESH MEASURES PROPOSED BY THE COMMONWEALTH GROUP AND THE U.S CONGRESS, AND IN POLITICAL CO-OPERATION. HE HIMSELF AGREED WITH THE COMGEP LINE THAT THE AIM SHOULD NOT BE SANCTIONS, WHICH WOULD DESTROY THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY, BUT MEASURES THAT WOULD ENCOURAGE AN END TO APARTHEID ITSELF. THE PRESIDENCY THEREFORE PROPOSED CERTAIN SELECTIVE BUT EFFECTIVE MEASURES. THEY HAD REFERRED TO E.C IMPORTS, NOT TO EXPORTS TO SOUTH AFRICA, SINCE IT WAS EASIER FOR THE TWELVE TO FIND ALTERNATIVE SUPPLIERS THAN ALTERNATIVE MARKETS. HE RECOGNISED THAT THESE ISSUES RAISED DIFFERENT DIFFICULTIES FOR DIFFERENT MEMBER STATES. THE PRESIDENCY PREFERENCE WOULD BE TO ARRIVE AT ONE UNIFIED POSITION RATHER THAN A NUMBER OF DIFFERENT STANDS. IT WOULD BE BETTER TO TAKE RELATIVELY MODEST STEPS COLLECTIVELY THAN LARGER ONES ON AN INDIVIDUAL BASIS. THE SITUATION WAS NOT ONE IN WHICH INDIVIDUAL CONCLUSIONS COULD SENSIBLY BE DRAWN. THE AIM SHOULD BE TO REACH SOME COMMON ORIENTATION, AND THUS TO PREVENT HEADS OF GOVERNMENT FROM HAVING TO START FROM SQUARE ONE AT THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL.

5. GENSCHER (GERMANY) ARGUED IN FAVOUR OF USING THE PERIOD UP TO THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL TO RUMINATE ON THE COMGEP REPORT AND THE PRESENT DISCUSSION. IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO REACH DECISIONS TODAY. RAIMOND (FRANCE) SAID IT WAS OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE THAT THE TWELVE SHOULD ARRIVE AT A COMMON VIEW.

Confidential

16.

6. YOU AGREED WITH THEM BOTH. REFERRING TO THE COMMONWEALTH REVIEW MEETING IN AUGUST, YOU SAID THAT IT WOULD BE PREMATURE FOR THE TWELVE TO REACH ANY DECISION BEFORE THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL.

7. PANGALOS (GREECE) SAID HE AGREED WITH THE PRESIDENCY BOTH ON THE GENERAL APPROACH AND THEIR PARTICULAR PROPOSALS (AN EMBARGO ON THE IMPORT FROM SOUTH AFRICA OF FRUIT, VEGETABLES AND WINE). ORDONEZ (SPAIN) ALSO AGREED. THE TWELVE COULD NOT REMAIN INACTIVE. BIRMINGHAM (IRELAND) SPOKE IN SUPPORT. MIRANDA (PORTUGAL) SAID MORE TIME WAS NEEDED TO CONSIDER THE PROBLEM. ESPER-LARSEN (DENMARK) NOTED THAT DENMARK HAD ALREADY TAKEN STRONG MEASURES, AND ENCOURAGED OTHERS TO FOLLOW SUIT. HE DESCRIBED THE PRESIDENCY SUGGESTIONS AS USEFUL, WHILE EXPRESSING UNDERSTANDING OF THE NEED FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION FELT BY OTHER MEMBER STATES. POOS (LUXEMBOURG) REFERRED BACK TO THE LUXEMBOURG F.A.C OF THE PREVIOUS SEPTEMBER, AND NOTED THAT THE SITUATION HAD DETERIORATED SINCE THEN. THE COMMUNITY SHOULD CONSIDER ITS POSITION SO AS TO REACH CONCERTED CONCLUSIONS ON NEW MEASURES. FURTHER ACTION WAS NECESSARY IF THE TWELVE WERE TO RETAIN THEIR CREDIBILITY IN THE FACE OF THE ARBITRARY DISREGARD OF HUMAN RIGHTS NOW TAKING PLACE IN SOUTH AFRICA. GIVEN THE PRESSURE FROM THE FRONT LINE STATES AND THE COMMONWEALTH, LUXEMBOURG COULD SUPPORT THE PRESIDENCY PROPOSALS. THERE WAS AN URGENT NEED FOR ACTION TO BE TAKEN NO LATER THAN THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL.

8. YOU POINTED OUT THE IMPACT THAT AN EMBARGO ON THE IMPORT OF FRUIT, VEGETABLES AND WINE WOULD HAVE ON BLACK EMPLOYMENT. FOR THAT REASON IT WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE U.K. VAN DEN BROEK NOTED THAT THE BLACK COMMUNITY (WITH THE EXCEPTION OF BUTHELEZI) WAS READY TO MAKE THE NECESSARY SACRIFICES. AND THE PROPOSED EMBARGO WOULD HIT TRADITIONAL BOER FARMERS - A GROUP ON WHICH IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO IMPOSE POLITICAL PRESSURE.

9. PICKING UP THE THREAD AFTER A BREAK IN THE DISCUSSION, VAN DEN BROEK SAID IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO AGREE ON THE NEED FOR SOME ECONOMIC MEASURES. HE DID NOT CHALLENGE THE NEED FOR CAREFUL STUDY, BUT IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO REACH CONCLUSIONS ON FURTHER MEASURES BEFORE LONG, NOT JUST BECAUSE OF THE REIMPOSITION OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY, BUT BECAUSE OF EVENTS SINCE LAST SEPTEMBER (INCLUDING 1,500 DEATHS).

10. HE THEN SPOKE OF THE NEED TO AVOID GIVING THE IMPRESSION OF A SUDDEN DEVELOPMENT IN THE COMMUNITY POSITION. HE UNDERSTOOD THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S POSITION, WITH THE COMMONWEALTH REVIEW GROUP MEETING IN AUGUST. BUT HE DID NOT THINK THE COMMUNITY COULD POSSIBLY DELAY FURTHER ACTION BEYOND THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL. YOU SAID THAT THE MOST THAT COULD BE DONE WAS TO ASK THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER THE MATTER AND PRODUCE ADVICE BY THE TIME OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL AS TO HOW THE COMMUNITY SHOULD REACT. IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO TAKE FULL ACCOUNT OF THE ATTITUDES OF OTHERS. VAN DEN BROEK SAID HE SAW THAT NEED BUT STRESSED THAT THE COMMUNITY'S RESPONSE SHOULD NOT BE DEPENDENT ON THE RESPONSE OF OTHERS, THOUGH THERE SHOULD OF COURSE BE CONSULTATION.

11. RAIMOND SAID THAT CAREFUL REFLECTION WOULD BE NEEDED BEFORE FURTHER STEPS, HOWEVER SMALL, COULD BE TAKEN. HE JARGUED IN FAVOUR OF STEPPING UP POSITIVE AID TO SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS. VAN DEN BROEK SAID THAT POSSIBILITY COULD ALSO BE EXAMINED BY THE E.C HEADS OF MISSION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

12. GENSCHER UNDERLINED THE DIFFICULTY OF REACHING AGREEMENT THERE AND THEN ON GUIDELINES FOR FURTHER HANDLING OF THE SUBJECT. HE FAVOURED SIMPLY TELLING THE PRESS THAT AT THE NEXT MEETING OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE ALL MEMBER STATES WOULD BE FREE TO INJECT THEIR IDEAS. BIRMINGHAM AGREED. POSITIVE MEASURES SHOULD CERTAINLY ALSO BE CONSIDERED. IRELAND FOR ITS PART WOULD NOT WISH TO STOP SHORT OF THE PROPOSALS ALREADY MADE BY THE PRESIDENCY.

13. PANGALOS SAID THAT IN PRINCIPLE THE F.A.C SHOULD NOW BE ABLE TO TAKE THE POLITICAL DECISION TO TAKE MEASURES AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. WHAT COULD THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL ACHIEVE, EXCEPT FURTHER DISAGREEMENT? THERE WAS NO NEED FOR OTHER COUNTRIES TO TAKE THE LEAD. THE WHITES IN SOUTH AFRICA CAME FROM EUROPE. THEY WERE 'OUR PEOPLE'. THE PROBLEM WAS A EUROPEAN ONE. THE DECISION COULD BE TAKEN NOW TO TAKE A NUMBER OF ECONOMIC MEASURES.

114.
Confidential

Confidential

14. RAIMOND SAID THAT WHAT COULD BE DONE NOW WAS TO AGREE A STUDY OF POSSIBLE MEASURES, IN ORDER TO PREVENT THAT QUESTION ARISING UNPREPARED AT THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL. THIS STUDY SHOULD INCLUDE POSSIBLE POSITIVE MEASURES. ESPER-LARSEN SAID THAT DENMARK WOULD PREFER NOT TO WAIT UNTIL THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL AND WOULD PREFER MORE ACTION NOW. YOU SAID THAT NO DECISION COULD BE TAKEN TODAY, SAVE TO ALLOW THE MATTER TO BE STUDIED BY POLITICAL DIRECTORS. GENSCHER AND MIRANDA SUPPORTED. FIORET (ITALY) SAID THAT A DECISION NEEDED TO BE TAKEN ON THE BASIS OF THE STATEMENT OF 10 SEPTEMBER. THE MAIN QUESTION WAS: SHOULD FURTHER ACTION BE TAKEN COLLECTIVELY OR NOT? THE DETAILS COULD BE FILLED IN LATER. VAN DEN BROEK SAID IT WAS NOT YET OPPORTUNE TO DECIDE THAT POINT. HE CALLED FOR THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE TO CONVENE AND CONSIDER THE SITUATION, IN ORDER TO PRESENT MINISTERS WITH RECOMMENDATIONS - ON THE BASIS THAT NO RESPONSE HAD BEEN RULED OUT OR DECIDED ON IN ADVANCE. THE AIM SHOULD BE TO REACH A COMMON APPROACH.

15. VAN DEN BROEK THEN BRIEFED THE PRESS, STICKING SCRUPULOUSLY TO THIS LINE. SUMMARY IN MIFT.

MILES

YYYY
ADVANCES:
P.S FCO
P.S/PUS FCO
P.S/MRS CHALKER
FERGUSSON FCO
RENWICK FCO
SHEPHERD FCO
PRENDERGAST FCO
REEVE FCO
JAY CAB
WILLIAMSON CAB
R.WILLIAMS DTI
TITCHENER (OT4) DTI
LANE (ITP) DTI
MAIN:
FRAME EXTERNAL
UKREP DIST:- 3/12/16/EXT/INST

LMLNAN 0512

NNNN

FRAME EXTERNAL
ECD (E)
SAFD.

[ADVANCED AS REQUESTED]

^{-?-}
Confidential