

SUBJECT CC MASTER  
OPS

Prime Minister. (2)

I have asked PEO for a reply  
for you to read.  
MFA 21/P



MA  
AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSION

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

AUSTRALIA HOUSE  
STRAND  
LONDON WC2B 4LA  
01-438 8000

**PRIME MINISTER'S**

20 August 1986

**PERSONAL MESSAGE**

SERIAL No. T 154/86

Dear Mrs Thatcher,

I have been asked to convey to you the following message from Mr Hawke:

Message Begins:

"Particularly in view of Britain's current presidency of the European Community, I would like to inform you that I have today sent the attached message to other European Community Heads of Government concerning the South African issue and our Commonwealth Meeting in London earlier this month. I am taking this step in accordance with paragraph 11 (D) of the Communique of the Commonwealth Meeting. As you will know from our discussions, I hope very much that the Community will agree to take action when it considers the South African question again in September."

Message Ends.

Yours sincerely,

Parsons

A.R. Parsons

The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP  
Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury  
and Minister for the Civil Service  
No 10 Downing Street  
LONDON SW1



0926 JH  
cc: Fro

10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

4 September 1986

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter of 20 August enclosing Mr. Hawke's message to her European Community colleagues on South Africa.

Mrs. Thatcher has read the message with care. As Mr. Hawke knows, the Twelve will be considering the issue of South Africa again later this month, in the context of The Hague Communique of 27 June. The British approach remains as set out in paragraph 12 of the Communique issued at the end of the Commonwealth Review Meeting.

Charles Powell

His Excellency Mr. A. R. Parsons

VC

ATTACHMENT

Message from Australian Prime Minister to European Community Heads of Government:

Message Begins:

"In June I wrote to Prime Minister Lubbers on the issue of South Africa in his capacity as the President of the European Communities. There have been important developments in European Community policy towards South Africa since then, which I have followed with close interest, as well as in Australian policy and in the policies of Commonwealth countries.

I would therefore like to give you my Government's current view of the situation and to ask that our views, as well as developments within the Commonwealth, be taken into account in the further consideration that the European Community will soon be giving to the matter.

My earlier letter was written in two contexts. First, the report of the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons had just been finalised and it was clear that this initiative to encourage dialogue and negotiation in South Africa had failed. It was also clear that this failure was due to the intransigence of the South African Government and its unwillingness to contemplate fundamental change. Second, I was aware of the forthcoming summit in late June of European Community Heads of Government and felt that decisions taken there could be crucial for the future course of events in South Africa.

You will recall that the main theme of my letter was that an important threshold had been passed and that, negotiation having been tried sincerely, seriously but unsuccessfully we must now look to further measures against South Africa.

Your summit meeting reached decisions which, in a number of respects, seem to me to parallel closely the strategy on which the Commonwealth countries have been embarked since last year. Like us, you established a mission to South Africa (by Sir Geoffrey Howe) to encourage negotiation and dialogue, called upon South Africa to take certain political steps and foreshadowed adoption of measures if these steps were not taken.

It is clear also that the results of the European Communities' efforts have been very similar to those of the Commonwealth. The European Community Mission found the South African Government unbudging, as had our Eminent Persons Group, and South Africa

has not taken the political steps defined at your meeting in June, just as it has taken none of the political steps defined by Commonwealth Leaders last year at Nassau. The implication in my view is very clear, namely that just as the Commonwealth has now moved to adopt further measures against South Africa so too, may I suggest, would it be appropriate for the European Community countries to do so.

I am sure you will be aware of the meeting of seven Commonwealth Heads of Government which was held in London in early August. After very thorough review of the situation in South Africa, taking into account direct personal reports to us by the Co-Chairmen of the Eminent Persons Group and by Sir Geoffrey Howe, we reached the unanimous conclusion that adequate progress had not been made, that the benchmarks laid down by Commonwealth countries for political change in South Africa had in no respect been met, and that indeed the situation had deteriorated further.

Six of us, moreover, felt strongly that there was now a moral and political imperative to adopt further measures and these are listed in the attachment to this letter. The first eight were drawn from the Commonwealth Accord on Southern Africa; the remaining three take into account measures under consideration in the European Community and the United States Congress. Britain was unwilling to adopt all these measures but it did take three steps including, importantly, a decision not to speak against or veto the adoption by the European Community of bans on the import of coal, iron and steel and gold coins from South Africa.

It is of great importance now that other countries, particularly those which have major economic relations with South Africa, associate themselves with these actions. They are measures designed to encourage realisation in South Africa of the need for a change from repressive defence of the status quo to the negotiation of peaceful change. Our Commonwealth Communique makes clear that we would be willing to review the situation and rescind these measures if South Africa adopts a genuine change of course. I fully expect that these measures will now be adopted by the vast majority of the 49 countries in the Commonwealth, but if the measures are to have maximum effect they must be adopted by such major economic and political powers as the European Community, the United States and Japan.

Much therefore hinges on the further consideration of the South African issue which the European Community will undertake in September. It is my earnest hope that you will act, and that your action will be consistent with the measures which are being adopted in the Commonwealth.

The moral arguments for Western liberal democracies to do so if we are serious about our values and about human rights are very strong, but no less strong are the arguments in terms of Western self-interest. If in the long term we are to preserve Western economic, political and strategic interests in stability in Southern Africa steps must be taken to exert pressure for non-violent change.

The countries of Western Europe represent one of the most important sources of Western influence in the world. You have the democratic traditions, the international political influence and the economic strength on which to base a major leadership role. It is my very strong hope that the European Community will do so.

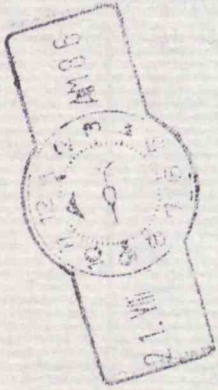
If there is any clarification of the particular measures arising from the Commonwealth Meeting in London which it would be useful to your Government to have I would certainly be very happy to provide this. In addition, of course, if there are any views on the issue of South Africa generally which you would like to provide I would value hearing them and take them into account in the further development of Australian attitudes and policies."

#### ATTACHMENT

- (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.
- (I) A ban on all new bank loans to South Africa, whether to the public or private sectors.
- (J) A ban on the import of uranium, coal, iron and steel from South Africa, and
- (K) The withdrawal of all consular facilities in South Africa except for our own nationals and nationals of those countries to whom we render consular services.

Message Ends.



CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

4 September 1986

Dear Charles,

Measures against South Africa:  
Messages to the Prime Minister from the Commonwealth  
Secretary General and the Australian High Commissioner

The Prime Minister has received letters from Sonny Ramphal<sup>27-8-86</sup> and the Australian High Commissioner about international measures against South Africa. <sup>20-8-86</sup>

The first covers the text of a message from the other six Commonwealth Heads of Government who attended the Marlborough House Commonwealth Review Meeting (CRM) addressed to President Reagan, other EC Heads of Government and the Prime Minister of Japan. The second covers the text of a message from Mr Hawke to other EC Heads of Government.

The two messages urge (in very similar terms) the adoption of economic measures against South Africa consistent with those agreed upon by the other six participating countries at the CRM, but not by the UK. In both cases these texts are sent to the Prime Minister for information in her capacity as President of the European Council.

It is irksome but not unexpected that Commonwealth leaders should have chosen to lobby for measures unacceptable to HMG in advance of the round of discussions on South Africa which will taken place in the EC during September: they base their action on the call for wider consultations within the international community in paragraph 11 (ii) (d) of the CRM communique. Both messages, while expressing views with which we do not agree, are moderate in tone and take accurate account of the UK position.

In the Foreign Secretary's view, there is little to be gained from entering into a further substantive exchange in the context of this correspondence. The Prime Minister made her views very clear at the CRM: and other Commonwealth Heads of Government can be in no doubt about them. Sir Geoffrey Howe therefore recommends that Messrs Ramphal and Parsons should be sent little more than a bland acknowledgement, drafts of which I enclose herewith.

Yours ever,

Colin Budd

(C R Budd)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
PS/10 Downing Street



DSR 11 (Revised Sept 85)

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1 +

FROM: Prime Minister *CDP*

Reference

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

Your Reference

BUILDING:

ROOM NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Copies to:

Top Secret

Mr Shridath Ramphal

Secret

Confidential

Restricted

Unclassified

SUBJECT:

*In re Die Another: document is sorted, I am writing no*

PRIVACY MARKING

Thank you for your letter of 24 August enclosing a copy of the joint message of our six colleagues at the Commonwealth Review Meeting to President Reagan, my European Community Colleagues and Prime Minister Nakasone.

..... In Confidence

CAVEAT .....

As you will be aware, the member states of the European Community will be considering *South Africa case* later this month their response to the crisis in South Africa and the best means of demonstrating our disapproval of apartheid. These discussions will be taking place within the context of the Hague Communique of 27 June. *The is well known to you and remains as set out* The British approach is set out clearly in the Communique issued at the conclusion of the Commonwealth Review Meeting.

D

*CDP*  
*[Handwritten signature]*

Enclosures flag(s) .....

DSR 11 (Revised Sept 85)

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1 +

FROM:  
PS/NO 10

Reference

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

Your Reference

BUILDING:

ROOM NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Copies to:

- Top Secret
- Secret
- Confidential
- Restricted
- Unclassified

A R Parsons  
Australian High Commissioner

*052  
BJH*

SUBJECT:

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter of 20 August enclosing Mr Hawke's message to her European Community colleagues on South Africa.

PRIVACY MARKING

..... In Confidence

CAVEAT .....

Mrs Thatcher has read the message with care. As *Mr Hawke says*  
 Mr Hawke knows, the Twelve will be considering later  
~~this month, how best to give expression to our abhorrence~~  
~~of apartheid and advance the cause of internal reform~~  
~~in South Africa. Our discussions will take place in~~  
 the context of the Hague Communiqué of 27 June. The  
 British approach <sup>*remains as*</sup> ~~is~~ set out ~~clearly~~ in paragraph 12  
 of the Communiqué issued at the end of the Commonwealth  
 Review Meeting.

*GM*

Enclosures flag(s) .....

S. AFRICA: Relations: A13





10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

Ack/ 21 August 1986

with PM  
✓ 21.8.86

I attach a copy of a letter the Prime Minister has received from the High Commissioner of Australia.

I should be grateful if you could provide a draft reply for the Prime Minister's signature, to reach me by Thursday 4 September.

(Mark Addison)

C. R. Budd, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

GA.