

CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

25 March 1985

Dear Charles,

*Prime Minister
I shall be surprised if
there is not pressure
for a fairly tough
statement on South Africa.*

Political Topics at the European Council

CDP 2573

You may like to have some advance notice of the political topics which are likely to be discussed at the European Council, together with an idea of the approach we envisage taking in the discussions at lower levels which will precede discussion of those topics in the Council itself.

At their meeting on 6 March, the Political Directors of the Ten agreed that the political topics which the Council was most likely to wish to discuss were the Middle East (including the Arab/Israel dispute and Iran/Iraq), East/West relations and Central America. I take these in turn.

(a) Arab/Israel and Lebanon

This is likely to be high on the agenda. The Italian Presidency have informed the Ten's Middle East Working Group that they will be preparing draft language for public conclusions to be issued on Arab/Israel and Lebanon. On Arab/Israel we shall of course pursue the points in your letter of 21 March. In view of the recent upsurge in violence, we believe that a passage on Lebanon should also be included: there should be little difficulty in agreeing language with our partners stressing the need for the early and orderly completion of Israeli withdrawal.

(b) Iran/Iraq

We understand that the Presidency will be circulating draft Council conclusions reaffirming earlier calls for an end to attacks on civilian targets, and for a peaceful settlement. In discussing this our objective would be a text which was carefully balanced between the two sides and which was most likely to encourage an early end to the conflict.

(c) East/West Relations

It will be important to ensure that the passage on East/West relations in the conclusions of the Council strikes the right

/balance

CONFIDENTIAL

*L.i.e. the
points you
made to
be
Foreign
Secretary*



balance between Western solidarity and firmness on one hand and sincerity and willingness to do business on the other. The Prime Minister may also wish to give an account of her meeting with Mr Gorbachev in Moscow, and to put forward some preliminary views on the implications of the change of leadership.

(d) Central America

The FRG and perhaps others may press for a reference in the Council Conclusions to the Ten's agreement to hold a follow-up meeting to the 21-country Foreign Ministers' conference in San Jose of September last year. We have agreed in principle to the follow-up meeting, but believe the Ten would do well to delay announcement of this until we have seen how seriously the Central Americans try to settle their differences at the Contadora meeting in April. We will therefore work to limit the Council conclusions to a reaffirmation of support for efforts by the countries of the region to solve their problems through the Contadora process.

Although Mozambique is not on the Agenda it would also be useful for the European Council to reaffirm the Ten's support for President Machel and the Nkomati process. This would be in line with what the Prime Minister told President Nyerere about our position, in the light of what President Machel told the Prime Minister on 5 March about his concern at the failure of Nkomati to improve the security situation in Mozambique and of his suspicions of South Africa. An appropriate passage in the Council conclusions could help to bolster Machel's resolve and encourage the South Africans and others to do more to stop support for Renamo. Some of our partners may not be enthusiastic but we think the idea well worth proposing, which we would do by circulating a text to partners beforehand.

Yours ever,

Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

Prime Minister



I don't know if you are discussing texts. But in case you are, I have just received this.

Private Secretary
Private Secretary, 10 Downing Street

FROM: D M D Thomas

DATE: 29 March 1985

CDD
28/3

POLITICAL CO-OPERATION

1. Political Directors discussed the Presidency texts this afternoon and this evening. We have treated them as elements for inclusion in the Presidency's final press briefing, rather than as the texts for a final declaration. The difference is important to the French.

2. We have been able greatly to shorten the original Presidency drafts and I hope have eliminated the worst elements.

East/West Relations

3. The drafting of this is not very felicitous but it covers the essentials. The first paragraph, addressed to the development of high level contacts, is very general and need not provoke any discussion.

4. The second paragraph deals with the Geneva Talks in general terms. My objective was to avoid contentious issues as far as possible. The Presidency may seek to keep in a passage dealing with space research programmes. The important thing is to avoid picking passages out of the Geneva agreements in an unbalanced way. This passage would be much better omitted.

Now
deleted
DS

5. Paragraph 3 on Stockholm is acceptable. Paragraph 4 on the CSCE process is also acceptable except for the last passage in square brackets. Herr Genscher has proposed republication of the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Conclusion document. This has not been properly discussed and there is no need to say anything about it at this stage.

Middle East

6. (i) Arab/Israeli conflict

I was able to condense the Presidency draft considerably and have eliminated the references to the PLO. The new text gives the sort of encouragement to the Jordan/Palestinian agreement which the Jordanians hope to see and conveys the idea that there is still more movement required. The rest of the text is low key and acceptable and does not give the impression of a Europe initiative in the pipeline.

/(ii)

(ii) Iran/Iraq

The revised passage is acceptable.

(iii) Lebanon

The passages on UNIFIL have been inserted at Irish request and are acceptable. There is a brief reference at the end to the recent kidnappings.

Latin America

7. The difficult paragraph for us was on Chile. I was able to edit out an unacceptable call for early free elections. What remains is acceptably moderate and balanced.

8. On Central America, I was under pressure to accept a commitment to a Ministerial meeting to follow up the San Jose conference. The phrase in paragraph 4 third sentence referring to "a new meeting in Europe with the same participants" is clearly understood to be without commitment as to the level of the meeting and is therefore acceptable.

9. The rest of the text on Latin America is acceptable to us.

South Africa

10. The Dutch, French and Irish have pressed strongly for a statement on recent events in South Africa. I have resisted vigorously, with some support from the Germans and Italians.

11. The Presidency is circulating two alternative texts. Alternative 1 is a slight strengthening of the Presidency's original draft and was the furthest I felt I could go. I have not accepted the inclusion of a reference to the Security Council's unanimous vote on 12 March condemning the crossroads incidents. This has been pressed for by the French.

12. Alternative 2 is based on a Dutch draft and is supported by the Dutch, the Irish and the French.

13. There was strong French resistance to any mention of Mozambique at this stage. Given the recent statement on Mozambique by the ten foreign ministers, I have not pressed the point.

D M D Thomas

Middle East.

Iran/Iraq.

Nicaragua.

Chile.



General

- No
SDB

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The revised passage is acceptable.

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Prime Minister

Madame Thatcher

South Africa

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No requirement making of law

With the others

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Have ec. benefits

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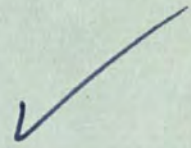
Give our light to U.S.

Have their

? Not in E.E.C.

European work together

Behind you will probably start



Private Secretary

Political Cooperation: Review of Texts by Political Directors

Political Directors met this morning to review the texts agreed ad referendum last night. The results were:

(i) East/West: agreed without amendment.

(ii) Arab/Israel:

Dutch Ministers had suggested overnight a weakening of the reference to the "clear commitment to negotiations for peace" in paragraph 1. This opened up a raft of damaging suggestions, eg including a balancing reference to Arafat, etc. To prevent the text from unravelling, I accepted the deletion of the word "clear" before commitment. Rest of text unchanged.

(iii) Iran/Iraq: no change.

(iv) Lebanon:

Minor editorial change in paragraph 3 (add "those involving" before UNIFIL.) Otherwise no change.

(v) Latin America:

Dutch Ministers strongly wanted the word "deplore" in the Chile paragraph. I rejected this, with German support. A fierce discussion followed. To avoid square brackets, the Germans and I agreed to commend "note with deep concern" instead of "note with regret".

Presidency asked for addition of "out of humanitarian concern", after the introductory phrase of the second sentence (ie qualifying Community earthquake aid). This was agreed.

(vi) General

Dutch Ministers wanted a reference somewhere in these texts to "The Ten Heads of State and Government" rather than just "The Ten". They suggested putting it at the beginning of the South Africa text. This would clearly not do and I moved it firmly to East/West. After some discussion it was agreed to recommend

/avoiding



avoiding discrimination by stating each text with
this phrase, to show the level at which these
conclusions had been drawn.

D M D Thomas

D M D Thomas

Private Secretary

POLITICAL COOPERATION

1. Political Directors broke up at 12.30 last night with a set of brief texts which they agreed to submit ad referendum to Heads of Government.

East West

2. No reference to SDI. Text is low key and avoids excessive optimism about prospects for dialogue or for Geneva talks. We can accept it.

3. Final sentence, (para 4) on republishing Helsinki Final Act is still in square brackets. Germans insisted on retention of phrase. This was a proposal Genscher made at the Council of Europe. The Ten have never discussed it to determine what it would involve for each of us (White Paper, or send copies to newspapers?). It would be more logical to leave until Milan Council (just before Helsinki 10th Anniversary), by which time we can discuss it and agree what we mean by it, including cost implications. But we can agree now if Genscher insists.

Arab Israeli Conflict

4. We can agree. Quite a good text now. PLO out. Reference to Syria out. Encouragement given to Jordanian initiative and, in slightly lower key, to Mubarak. The result should encourage the moderates and offend no-one.

Iran/Iraq

5. We can agree. This is a good text, fair and firm.

Lebanon

6. This is just all right. The Irish insisted, on instructions, on including specific references to the "IDF and to Israeli-supported militia" in the paragraph on UNIFIL. But given the direct attacks on Irish forces, this was difficult to avoid. The wording agreed makes clear that these are not the only problems for UNIFIL.

/Latin America



Latin America

7. Despite sustained efforts by Germans and ourselves, this still contains a paragraph regretting the deterioration of the situation in Chile. This was the absolute minimum others would accept. It is balanced by the undertaking to continue earthquake aid.

8. The passage on Central America is a simple endorsement of contadora. We can accept. But we should resist attempts to make a commitment now to a further EC/Central American Ministerial meeting.

South Africa

9. This is the worst. Strong pressure from the French, Dutch and Irish for condemnatory language. I argued at length against repeating condemnation as unhelpful and pointless. In the end, in order to eliminate a much worse text which we would have been under strong pressure to accept, I agreed to commend this one which avoids direct criticism and emphasises the positive. I recommend acceptance.

David Brown
30/3

EUROPEAN COUNCIL
(Brussels, 29-30 March 1985)

EAST-WEST

1. The Ten view with satisfaction the recent positive developments in East-West relations whose improvement remains for them a priority objective. They believe that the intensification of high-level political contacts can help to promote mutual understanding and to increase international security and stability. For their part they stand ready to seek new areas of co-operation with the East and to identify and build on areas of common interest. They express the hope that the new Soviet leadership will adopt a similarly constructive approach.
2. The Ten welcome the opening of the US-Soviet negotiations in Geneva on space and nuclear arms, both strategic and intermediate-range. They are convinced that the conclusion of equitable and verifiable agreements on each of the areas under negotiation would contribute to the strengthening of strategic stability. They express the hope that the negotiations will make possible radical reductions in strategic and medium-range nuclear armaments and prevent a new arms race including in outer space. They recall in this regard the importance which they attach to respect for existing treaty obligations. They also reiterate the importance they attach to the conclusion of effective agreements on arms control and disarmament in the conventional field as well as a convention on the elimination of chemical weapons worldwide.

3. The Ten believe that a successful outcome of the Stockholm Conference on Disarmament in Europe would further contribute to reducing the risks of military confrontation in Europe. An agreement on a set of concrete confidence- and security- building measures would help to give effect and expression to the duty of the Participating States to refrain from the threat or use of force. They will continue to work actively for such an agreement.
4. The CDE is an integral part of the CSCE process which continues to offer the most favourable prospects for a peaceful and co-operative future in Europe and which is a comprehensive endeavour which encompasses all the fields in which improvements would result in a better and more trusting East-West relationship. Security and disarmament, respect for human rights, increased economic co-operation, human and cultural contacts and information are all essential elements in the promotion of a climate of greater trust between European peoples and countries. The Ten believe that the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the signature of the Final Act would provide an opportunity for reaffirming the commitment of all the parties concerned to base their behaviour both at home and abroad on the principles and aims enshrined in that document. /- They call upon all CSCE Participating States to republish in their countries on this occasion the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document and to distribute and publicise these as widely as possible_7.

EUROPEAN COUNCIL
(Brussels, 29-30 March 1985)

ARAB ISRAELI CONFLICT

The Ten continue to maintain a close interest in developments in the Middle East. They welcome recent moves towards a reactivation of the negotiating process in the search for a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, notably the Jordan/Palestinian agreement reached on 11 February at the initiative of King Hussein which contained a (clear) commitment to negotiations for peace in accordance with UN and Security Council Resolutions. In the view of the Ten this represents a constructive step forward. They also welcome the ideas put forward by the President of Egypt.

The Ten consider that these important initiatives reflect a desire for movement towards a peaceful solution. This deserves encouragement and a positive response.

They confirm their conviction that the achievement of a just and lasting solution calls for the participation and the active support of all the parties concerned. The Ten consider that no effort should be spared to maintain and strengthen the present movement in the peace process and to facilitate a dialogue between all the parties to the conflict.

The Ten reconfirm their willingness to contribute to a comprehensive, just and peaceful settlement of the Middle East question on the basis of the principles which they have stated many times in the past and to which they continue to adhere. In their contacts with all the parties concerned, the Ten, both collectively and individually, will work to promote the reconciliation of the various positions.

EUROPEAN COUNCIL
(Brussels, 29-30 March 1985)

IRAN-IRAQ

The Ten view with utmost concern the aggravation of the conflict between Iraq and Iran. The present escalation in military activities against civilian targets is a serious development. The continued losses of life among the civilian population, the serious damage to the economy of both countries and the permanent risk of an extension of the hostilities make a negotiated solution to the conflict more necessary and pressing than ever. Recalling the relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council and the recent statements of the UN Secretary General, the Ten urge Iran and Iraq to agree upon an immediate ceasefire and to start a negotiating process with a view to achieving a peaceful solution which is honourable and acceptable to both sides.

In the meantime, the Ten call again upon Iraq and Iran to comply with the commitment made under the agreement concluded in June 1984, under the aegis of the UN Secretary-General, to refrain from bombing civilian targets. The Ten draw the attention of both countries to the profound humanitarian concerns raised by this and other aspects of the conflict, such as the treatment of prisoners of war. They condemn the use of chemical weapons, wherever and whenever it occurs.

EUROPEAN COUNCIL
(Brussels, 29-30 March 1985)

LEBANON

The Ten continue to view with concern the deterioration of the situation in Lebanon and in particular its consequences for the civilian population in the South, which continues to be subjected to unjustifiable acts of violence. Following the Israeli government's decision to withdraw its forces, they look for the early, orderly and complete withdrawal of ^{all} ~~those~~ forces from that region in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council. The Ten consider it important that adequate security arrangements be reached between the Israeli and Lebanese Governments.

The Ten appeal to all the parties concerned, both within Lebanon and outside, to act in such a way as to facilitate the process of restoring the sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity and independence of Lebanon.

Retaining
The Ten reaffirm their support for UNIFIL. *[*They are concerned at recent incidents involving in particular UNIFIL on the one hand and the Israeli defence forces and Israeli-supported militia on the other.*]*

The Ten call on all parties to respect UNIFIL's role, to co-operate fully with the Force and to ensure the safety of its personnel.

They are deeply concerned at the suffering of the Lebanese people and at the recent kidnappings involving foreign nationals.

EUROPEAN COUNCIL
(Brussels, 29-30 March 1985)

LATIN AMERICA

The Ten welcome the return to democracy in a number of Latin American countries including, most recently, Uruguay and Brazil. They hope that this trend will encourage a similar development in those Latin American countries which have yet to find their way to a pluralist democracy and in which human rights continue to be violated.

In particular, the Ten note with regret the deterioration of the situation in Chile as regards the re-establishment of a pluralistic democracy and the respect of civil and human rights. At the same time, the Community and Member States intend to continue to help to alleviate the suffering experienced by this country as a result of the recent earthquake.

The Ten are pleased that it has proved possible to find a peaceful solution to the territorial dispute between Argentina and Chile, [thanks to the mediation of the Holy See.]

The Ten note with satisfaction that the will to negotiate and to bring about [peace has prevailed] in Central America, enabling the work of the Contadora Group to proceed in spite of the difficulties with which the latter has recently been faced. They again confirm their support for the continued efforts of the Contadora Group, whose action is vital to the achievement of a peaceful settlement of the region's problems. Following the success last September of the San José Conference which should be followed shortly by a further meeting in Europe with the same participants, there will soon be a mission to the region, organized according to the Troika formula, to confirm Europe's interest in developing economic and political co-operation with the countries of Central America.

The Ten share the Latin American countries' concern at the gravity of the economic and financial problems of this continent and note that the burden of their external indebtedness is having a serious effect on political, economic and social conditions in many countries. They fully support the continuing dialogue, on these issues in particular on the problem of indebtedness taking place in the relevant international institutions.

SOUTH AFRICA

The Ten express their grave concern about the increased tension which is presently developing in South Africa as a result of the continued enforcement of the policy of apartheid of the South African government.

They recently launched a fresh appeal for the ending of the apartheid system. The latest tragedies - which led them to condemn the recent violent actions of the South African police at Uitenhage - reinforce the importance of that message.

The Ten reaffirm their urgent appeal, included in their earlier statements on South Africa of 11 September 1984 and 25 March 1985, for the initiation of a comprehensive dialogue in South Africa leading to substantial reforms guaranteeing full and equal participation of all South Africans in the political process.

*Urge For this to look for
ways - means of channelling
the development in right direction*

Brussels Europa Hotel

Brussels

Private Secretary.

Political Cooperation.

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4. Iran/Iraq.

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Brussels Europa Hotel Brussels

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This is just all right.

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EUROPEAN COUNCIL, BRUSSELS, 29/30 MARCH 1985:
POLITICAL COOPERATION TEXTS

The following texts were agreed by the European Council as guidelines for Presidency use with the Press. They do not form part of the official conclusions of the Council.

EAST/WEST

1. The Ten Heads of State or Government view with satisfaction the recent positive developments in East-West relations whose improvement remains for them a priority objective. They believe that the intensification of high-level political contacts can help to promote mutual understanding and to increase international security and stability. For their part they stand ready to seek new areas of cooperation with the East and to identify and build on areas of common interest. They express the hope that the new Soviet leadership will adopt a similarly constructive approach.

2. The Ten welcome the opening of the US-Soviet negotiations in Geneva on space and nuclear arms, both strategic and intermediate-range. They are convinced that the conclusion of equitable and verifiable agreements on each of the areas under negotiation would contribute to the strengthening of strategic stability. They expressed the hope that the negotiations will make possible radical reductions in strategic and medium-range nuclear armaments and prevent a new arms race including in outer space. They recall in this regard the importance which they attach to respect for existing Treaty obligations. They also reiterate the importance they attach to the conclusion of effective agreements on arms control and disarmament in the conventional field as well as a convention on the elimination of chemical weapons world-wide.

3. The Ten believe that a successful outcome of the Stockholm Conference on Disarmament in Europe would further contribute to reducing the risks of military confrontation in Europe. An agreement on a set of concrete confidence- and security-building measures would help to give effect and expression to the duty of the participating states to refrain from the threat or use of force. They will continue to work actively for such an agreement.

4. The CDE is an integral part of the CSCE process which continues to offer the most favourable prospects for a peaceful and cooperative future in Europe and which is a comprehensive endeavour which encompasses all the fields in which improvements would result in a better and more trusting East-West relationship. Security and disarmament, respect for human rights, increased economic cooperation, human and cultural contacts and information are all essential elements in the promotion of a climate of greater trust between European peoples and countries. The Ten believe that the commemoration of the Tenth Anniversary of the signature of the Final Act would provide an opportunity for reaffirming the commitment of all the parties concerned to base their behaviour both at home and abroad on the principles and aims enshrined in that document.

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ARAB ISRAELI CONFLICT

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2. The Ten consider that these important initiatives reflect a desire for movement towards a peaceful solution. This deserves encouragement and a positive response.
3. They confirm their conviction that the achievement of a just and lasting solution calls for the participation and the active support of all the parties concerned. The Ten consider that no effort should be spared to maintain and strengthen the present movement in the peace process and to facilitate a dialogue between all the parties to the conflict.
4. The Ten welcome their willingness to contribute to a comprehensive, just and peaceful settlement of the Middle East question on the basis of the principles which they have stated many times in the past and to which they continue to adhere. In their contacts with all the parties concerned, the Ten, both collectively and individually, will work to promote the reconciliation of the various positions.

IRAN-IRAQ

1. The Ten Heads of State or Government view with utmost concern the aggravation of the conflict between Iraq and Iran. The present escalation in military activities against civilian targets is a serious development. The continued losses of life among the civilian population, the serious damage to the economy of both countries and the permanent risk of an extension of the hostilities make a negotiated solution to the conflict more necessary and pressing than ever. Recalling the relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council and the recent statements of the UN Secretary General, the Ten urge Iran and Iraq to agree upon an immediate ceasefire and to start a negotiating process with a view to achieving a peaceful solution which is honourable and acceptable to both sides.

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LEBANON

1. The Ten Heads of State or Government continue to view with concern the deterioration of the situation in Lebanon and in particular its consequences for the civilian population in the South, which continues to be subjected to unjustifiable acts of violence. Following the Israeli Government's decision to withdraw its forces, they look for the early, orderly and complete withdrawal of those forces from that region in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council. The Ten consider it important that adequate security arrangements be reached between the Israeli and Lebanese Governments.

2. The Ten appeal to all the parties concerned, both within Lebanon and outside, to act in such a way as to facilitate the process of restoring the sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity and independence of Lebanon. The Ten reaffirm their support for Unifil. The Ten call on all parties to respect Unifil's rôle, to cooperate fully with the force and to ensure the safety of its personnel.

3. They are deeply concerned at the sufferings of the Lebanese people and at the recent kidnappings involving foreign nationals.

LATIN AMERICA

1. The Ten Heads of State or Government welcome the return to democracy in a number of Latin American countries including, most recently, Uruguay and Brazil. They hope that this trend will encourage a similar development in those Latin American countries which have yet to find their way to a pluralist democracy and in which human rights continue to be violated.
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With the compliments of

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

Margo

As requested

[Signature] 16/6

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
SW1A 2AH