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FM FCOLN TO NEDEL
031630Z OCT
GRS 1333

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FM FCO
TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI
TELNO 930
OF 031630Z OCTOBER 85

AND TO IMMEDIATE ACCRA, BANDAR SERI BEGAWAN, BANJUL, BELMOPAN,
BRIDGETOWN, CANBERRA, COLOMBO, DHAKA, DAR ES SALAAM, FREETOWN,
GABORONE, GEORGETOWN, HARARE, HONIARA, KAMPALA, KINGSTON,
KUALA LUMPUR, LAGOS, LILONGWE, LUSAKA, MASERU, MBABANE, NAIROBI,
NASSAU, NICOSIA, OTTAWA, PORT LOUIS, PORT MORESBY,
PORT OF SPAIN, SINGAPORE, SUVA, VALLETTA, VICTORIA, VILA,
WELLINGTON.

INFO ROUTINE PRETORIA, WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, ROME, UKREP
BRUSSELS, THE HAGUE, LUXEMBOURG.

LOBBYING OF COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS ON SOUTH AFRICA BEFORE
CHOGM

1. IT IS CLEAR THAT SOUTH AFRICA WILL BE THE MAJOR TOPIC FOR
DISCUSSION AT CHOGM. THERE IS A NEED FOR FURTHER LOBBYING OF
COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS IN THE RUN UP TO NASSAU.
2. OUR MAJOR OBJECTIVE AT CHOGM MUST BE TO AVOID A DAMAGING
SPLIT AMONG THE COMMONWEALTH. THE DANGERS OF SUCH A RIFT WILL
BE MUCH GREATER IF OTHER COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES COME DETERMINED
TO DISCUSS SOUTH AFRICA SOLELY IN TERMS OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS.
HMG HAS SET ITS FACE FIRMLY AGAINST ANY AGREEMENT TO ADOPT
ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AND COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS SHOULD BE UNDER
NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE PRIME MINISTER'S DETERMINATION NOT TO
ALTER OUR POLICY IN THE FACE OF PRESSURE AT CHOGM.
3. OUR APPROACH AT CHOGM WILL BE TO STRESS THE COMMON GROUND
WHICH IS SHARED BY ALL COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES IN REJECTING
APARTHEID AND IN RECOGNISING THE NEED FOR URGENT AND FUNDAMENTAL

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POLITICAL REFORM. WE INTEND TO EMPHASIZE THE POSITION OF THE COMMONWEALTH AS A GROUPING WHOSE MEMBERS INCLUDE A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES WHICH FOR GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL REASONS HAVE CLOSE AND COMPLEMENTARY LINKS TO THE DIFFERENT ETHNIC COMMUNITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA, AS WELL AS TO THE CHURCHES, BUSINESS ETC. WE WOULD POINT TO THE OPPORTUNITY WHICH THIS GIVES FOR HAVING A WELL-INFORMED AND REALISTIC DISCUSSION OF HOW COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES CAN CO-OPERATE TO PROMOTE THE DIALOGUE WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA WHICH IS VITAL TO ANY PROCESS OF POLITICAL REFORM.

4. PLEASE THEREFORE SPEAK URGENTLY TO YOUR HOST GOVERNMENT, AT THE LEVEL YOU DEEM MOST APPROPRIATE, WITH THE AIM OF INFLUENCING THE LEADERS OF THEIR DELEGATION, AND THE BRIEFING WHICH IS BEING PREPARED FOR THEM. WE MUST AIM TO PERSUADE THEM TO COME TO CHOGM PREPARED FOR AN OPEN-MINDED AND CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION OF THE POSSIBLE POLICIES WHICH COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES CAN FOLLOW TOWARDS THEIR COMMON OBJECTIVES ON SOUTH AFRICA, AND RECOGNISING THAT THE UK CANNOT BE PRESSURISED INTO AGREEING TO ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. YOU MAY LIKE TO DRAW AS APPROPRIATE ON THE ARGUMENTS IN PARA 8 BELOW.

5. (FOR OTTAWA, CANBERRA, WELLINGTON). THE ATTITUDE TAKEN BY THE OLD COMMONWEALTH WILL BE PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT. THE CANADIANS SEEM REASONABLY DISPOSED TO BE HELPFUL (OTTAWA TELNOS 575 AND 578) BUT THE AUSTRALIAN APPROACH OF PUSHING FOR MANDATORY SANCTIONS AND ESTABLISHING AN EXPERTS GROUP ON IMPLEMENTING FINANCIAL RESTRICTIONS IS PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT. THERE ARE SIGNS THAT INDIA IN PARTICULAR IS AIMING TO DIRECT PRESSURE PRIMARILY AGAINST BRITAIN. YOU SHOULD STRESS THE DANGERS OF A DESTRUCTIVE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN BRITAIN AND THE REST OF THE COMMONWEALTH. THIS WOULD HURT BOTH SIDES AND HELP ONLY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. IT MUST BE ACCEPTED THAT INDIVIDUAL COMMONWEALTH MEMBERS HAVE THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE FOR THEMSELVES WHAT MEANS TO ADOPT IN THE LIGHT OF THEIR OWN PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES AND POLICIES, IN PURSUING THE COMMON OBJECTIVE OF FUNDAMENTAL REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA.

6. (FOR LUSAKA, HARARE, DAR ES SALAAM, LILONGWE, GABORONE,

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MASERU, MBABANE). THE ATTITUDE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S COMMONWEALTH NEIGHBOURS WILL ALSO PLAY AN IMPORTANT PART AT THE CONFERENCE. YOU WILL WISH TO TAILOR YOUR APPROACH TO THE LOBBYING WHICH YOU HAVE ALREADY UNDERTAKEN. WE HOPE THAT THE MORE MODERATE OF YOUR CLIENTS WILL INJECT A MUCH NEEDED NOTE OF REALISM INTO THE DISCUSSION AND BE PREPARED AT LEAST IN PRIVATE, TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE POTENTIALLY SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES WHICH ECONOMIC SANCTIONS COULD HAVE FOR THEM.

7. (FOR ALL). PREVIOUS INSTRUCTIONS HAVE BEEN DISCRETIONARY. THIS TIME WE EXPECT ALL COMMONWEALTH POSTS TO LOBBY THEIR HOST GOVERNMENTS AND REPORT REACTIONS. (YOU SHOULD INFORM US IMMEDIATELY BY TELEGRAM IF THERE IS SOME OVER-RIDING REASON WHY YOU WOULD CONSIDER THIS IMPRACTICAL OR UNADVISEABLE).

8. I) BRITAIN GENUINELY SEEKS FUNDAMENTAL REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE PRIME MINISTER PERSONALLY ABHORS APARTHEID. SHE HAS MADE HER VIEWS KNOWN FORCEFULLY TO PRESIDENT BOTHA ON THIS AND IN A WAY WHICH WE BELIEVE PLAYED A PART IN MOVES SUCH AS THE RECENT CANCELLING OF THE FORCED REMOVALS OF BLACK COMMUNITIES FROM KWANGEMA AND DRIEFONTEIN. THERE SHOULD BE NO DOUBT OF OUR COMMITMENT TO WHAT WE REGARD AS FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS.

II) THE COMMONWEALTH SHARES OBJECTIVES OVER SOUTH AFRICA IE ABOLITION OF APARTHEID: END TO REPRESSION: NEED FOR A POLITICAL DIALOGUE LEADING TO FUNDAMENTAL REFORM: ESTABLISHMENT OF A SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT WHICH COMMANDS THE SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA AS A WHOLE.

III) BRITAIN HAS TAKEN STEPS TO MAKE IT VERY CLEAR TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT THAT REFORMS MUST BE MADE. FOR MANY YEARS WE HAVE TAKEN A MORE RESTRICTED APPROACH TO SOUTH AFRICA THAN SOME OF OUR WESTERN PARTNERS. WE HAVE NO MILITARY COOPERATION, NO ARMS TRADE, NO COLLABORATION FOR NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT, MILITARY OR CIVIL, (THE FRENCH HAVE BUILT TWO NUCLEAR REACTORS), NO EXPORTS OF CRUDE OIL AND STRICT CONTROLS ON THE EXPORT OF SENSITIVE EQUIPMENT. WE HAVE NOW JOINED OUR EC PARTNERS IN AGREEING A PACKAGE OF MEASURES CONSOLIDATING AND ADDING TO THESE RESTRICTIONS NOTABLY BY RECALLING MILITARY ATTACHES.

IV) BRITAIN MAKES A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO BLACK

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/ADVANCEMENT

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ADVANCEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA THROUGH THE BRITISH COUNCIL'S EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES (OVER POUNDS 1.5 MILLION IN 1985/86) AND OTHER ASSISTANCE. BRITISH BUSINESSES IN SOUTH AFRICA CREATE JOBS FOR OVER 100,000 BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS ON WHICH PERHAPS HALF A MILLION PEOPLE IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY DEPEND. THEY ALSO HAVE A GOOD RECORD OF IMPLEMENTING THE EUROPEAN CODE OF CONDUCT FOR BUSINESSES. THE CBI HAS GIVEN ITS SUPPORT TO THE RECENT EFFORTS OF SOUTH AFRICAN BUSINESS TO ENCOURAGE DIALOGUE AND REFORM.

V) WE REMAIN DETERMINED TO USE THE UNIQUE OPPORTUNITIES PROVIDED BY OUR MANY DIPLOMATIC, ECONOMIC AND PERSONAL LINKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA TO PRESS FOR REFORM. THESE OPPORTUNITIES WOULD BE LOST IF BRITAIN DISENGAGED FROM SOUTH AFRICA AS SOME ARE MISGUIDEDLY PRESSING US TO DO.

VI) HMG IS FIRMLY OPPOSED TO ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. OUR REASONS HAVE BEEN SPELT OUT ON MANY OCCASIONS (EG THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S SPEECH OF 23 JULY TO THE ROYAL COMMONWEALTH SOCIETY). IN BRIEF WE BELIEVE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS WOULD A) NOT (NOT) LEAD THE SAG TO MAKE REFORMS: INDEED THEY COULD WELL BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE WITH THE WHITE COMMUNITY. B) WOULD INCREASE BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT AND WORSEN CYCLE OF FRUSTRATION, VIOLENCE AND REPRESSION. C) WOULD REDUCE ECONOMIC GROWTH WHICH HAS BEEN MAJOR SOURCE OF BLACK ADVANCEMENT. D) WOULD HAVE POTENTIALLY SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR SOUTH AFRICA'S NEIGHBOURS. SELECTIVE ECONOMIC MEASURES WOULD BE JUST ECONOMIC SANCTIONS WRIT SMALL - WILL EITHER HAVE NO IMPACT (IN WHICH CASE POINTLESS) OR ARE OPEN TO THE SAME OBJECTIONS. IN ANY CASE MARKET FORCES ARE AT PRESENT EXERTING THEIR OWN TELLING PRESSURES ON SOUTH AFRICA AND UNLIKE GOVERNMENT SANCTIONS THESE CANNOT BE DISMISSED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AS 'FOREIGN BULLYING'. OUR COMMONWEALTH PARTNERS SHOULD BE UNDER ABSOLUTELY NO (NO) ILLUSIONS THAT THE PRIME MINISTER IS PREPARED TO CHANGE HER POSITION ON THIS ISSUE. VII) WE BELIEVE THAT THE COMMONWEALTH CAN ACHIEVE CONSTRUCTIVE OUTCOME ON SOUTH AFRICA AT CHOGM. THIS WOULD SEEK TO BUILD ON THE HISTORICAL, PERSONAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL LINKS WHICH SEVERAL COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES HAVE WITH THE DIFFERENT ETHNIC

COMMUNITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA. WE LOOK FORWARD TO A THOROUGH AND CONSIDERED EXCHANGE ON THE POSSIBILITIES FOR CONCERTED AND POSITIVE COMMONWEALTH ACTION ON THESE LINES.

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