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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Prime Minister.

A.S.C. 3/12

2 December 1983

John Stan.

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European Council: Political Items

Since the Prime Minister's briefing meetings this time have covered only the Community side, you may like to have the following note on the political items on which the Presidency has suggested that the European Council should adopt conclusions at the end of its meeting in Athens:

Middle East

There was a strong feeling amongst Foreign Ministers last week that the European Council should once again define the position of the Ten, but concentrating this time on what needs to be done in Lebanon, where several of the Ten are deeply engaged either in the MNF or in UNIFIL. The UK has circulated some suggestions which may form the basis of draft conclusions on this point. The French have also suggested endorsing the resolution adopted by the UN Security Council on Iraq/Iran.

Cyprus

Greece will press for a message of support for the UN Security Council resolution, and probably for some criticism of Turkey as well as the Turkish Cypriots. The Greeks are not asking for decisions on economic sanctions to be taken by the European Council, though they are continuing to press for these in COREPER.

East/West relations

The Germans want the European Council to give a suitable signal to the East in the light of INF deployment, the Soviet walk-out from Geneva and the doubts about Andropov's health. A special mention of Poland may be appropriate, and it may be suggested that the conclusions should refer back to the CSCE (Madrid) and forward to the CDE (Stockholm).

/Afghanistan

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Afghanistan

At UK insistence, it will be suggested that the European Council should approve a statement to be issued in its name on the fourth anniversary of the Soviet invasion (27 December).

Latin and Central America

There are various elements including the tension in Central America, the election of a civilian President in Argentina and human rights in Chile and elsewhere. It does not look as if Grenada would need to be mentioned.

All these points are covered in the Prime Minister's briefing (Briefs Nos 12 and 12A) and the Foreign Secretary does not foresee great difficulty over any of them. Draft conclusions on all of them should be available late on 4 December or early the next morning, for discussion by Heads of Government when the opportunity arises.

I am copying this letter to Sir R Armstrong.

R B Bone
(R B Bone)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

TEXT OF A PRIVATE NOTICE QUESTION FROM RT HON DENIS HEALEY MP

Question: To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he will make a statement on the situation in the Lebanon.

Answer:

On 3 December anti-aircraft guns fired on US reconnaissance aircraft over Lebanon. Early on 4 December US aircraft bombed Syrian military targets in Lebanon. Two US aircraft were shot down. Last night 8 US marines were killed by shell-fire.

We are in close contact with other contributors to the MNF. We share the objective of helping the Lebanese Government restore stability and create conditions in which the Lebanese people can themselves sort out their difficulties free from outside interference.

All the parties welcome the role of the British contingent, which has the vital task of guarding the meetings of the Ceasefire Commission. The safety of our men is kept under constant review.

It is vital that all parties in Lebanon show restraint and work together to make further progress towards national reconciliation. We shall continue to urge this on President Gemayel.

5 December, 1983

REPORT OF THE MINISTERS FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
TO THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON EUROPEAN UNION
(POLITICAL SECTION)

In the field of European Political Cooperation, the Ten have continued their efforts to coordinate their policies in as wide a spectrum of international problems as possible, taking into account the objectives set out in the Solemn Declaration on European Union. In particular:

In a series of statements, including the one issued at the conclusion of the Stuttgart European Council, they have stressed their full support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Lebanon and reiterated their support of its legitimate government. They have also asked for the withdrawal of all foreign troops, with the exception of those which are in Lebanon upon the request of the Lebanese Government. On the other hand, by the participation of three of them in the Multinational Force and the decision in principle of two member states to send observers to Lebanon, as well as by the continuing presence of four others in UNIFIL, they have concretely manifested their willingness to help put an end to the Lebanese tragedy.

The Arab-Israeli conflict remains an issue of great concern to the Ten. With regard to the Palestinian question the Ten, by their statement of November 9 last, called on all parties concerned to put an end to the fighting and reaffirmed that the

problems of the region should be settled as soon as possible in accordance with the principles contained in their declaration of June 19, 1982 and subsequent declarations. Regarding this problem they have taken a positive view of Security Council Resolution 542 of 1983. They further stated that self-determination for the Palestinian people, with all that this implies, remains a key issue which must be addressed in the context of a global, just and durable solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. It has for some time been the position of the Ten that the PLO must be associated with peace negotiations.

The war between Iran and Iraq is another cause of grave concern to the Ten, who have repeatedly voiced their belief that it should end through negotiations, after the belligerents have agreed to a ceasefire and have withdrawn within internationally recognised frontiers. They consider Resolution 540/1983 of the Security Council as a valuable contribution to efforts undertaken so far to achieve the above end. They have further made known their readiness to help the belligerents, should they so wish, reach a peaceful settlement of their differences. A condition for a useful role of the Ten in this context is the maintenance of their impartiality in the conflict.

The latest crisis in Cyprus, where the Turkish Cypriot community issued a declaration purporting to establish a "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" as an independent state, provided the Ten with another opportunity of "speaking with one voice". By their statement of November 16 they reiterated their support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of the Republic of Cyprus, reaffirmed that

they regard the government of President Kyprianou as the sole legitimate government of Cyprus and called upon all interested parties not to recognize the so-called independent state. Those of the Ten who are members of the Security Council voted in favour of Resolution No.541, which reaffirms the above principles.

In Africa, the problem of Namibia remains unfortunately unsolved although all the parties, including South Africa, have accepted Security Council Resoltuion 435. This resolution is based on a plan prepared by the contact group, three of whose members come from among the Ten. We give our full support to the efforts of the group as well as to those of the Security Council and the Secretary General for a speedy implementation of the above resolution, so that the Namibian people can accede to its independence without further delay.

Another aspect of the situation in Africa which causes concern to the Ten is the continuing incursions of South African forces into neighbouring countries. We have condemned these incursions because they are contrary to international law and heighten the tension in Southern Africa.

The situation in Afghanistan and Cambodia has also remained unchanged. Both countries continue to be under foreign occupation and are denied their independence, as well as the right to choose freely their form of government. In both cases human rights are being violated by the occupying forces.

The Ten have repeatedly called for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and Vietnamese troops from Cambodia as a

prerequisite for any peaceful settlement of the respective problems. They have voted in the United Nations accordingly over the past years. They have also given their support to all efforts to solve the problems through negotiations.

Relations with the Soviet Union, which after the invasion of Afghanistan and the imposition of martial law in Poland entered a difficult period, were further strained by the shooting down of a Korean airliner last September. The Ten remain of the opinion that dialogue with the Soviet Union is necessary. They are ready to work for a more constructive relationship, and call upon the Soviet leadership to make the necessary contribution to restore international confidence and to abide by internationally accepted standards of behaviour.

As regards Poland, the Ten are willing to respond positively to any effective measures of liberalisation. The measures of July 22, while going in the right direction, fell short of the expectations of the Polish people. The Ten have taken the initiative to open negotiations for the rescheduling of the Polish debts.

By their cohesion and close collaboration, the Ten were able to contribute substantially to the successful outcome of the Madrid phase of the CSCE. It was in part thanks to their joint efforts that the meeting ended with the adoption of a balanced concluding document, in which the human dimension held as important a place as the mandate for launching the European Conference on Disarmament in Europe. They will press for the respect by all signatories of all the dispositions of the Madrid Final Document. Satisfactory results were obtained at the

Helsinki preparatory meeting of the CDE. It opens a new perspective for taking concrete steps to improve confidence and stability in Europe as well as for paving the way towards effective disarmament measures. The Ten will join efforts for a successful outcome of the conference which would make a major contribution to better cooperation and improve security in Europe. To show the importance they attach to the Stockholm Conference, the Foreign Ministers of the Ten plan to attend its inaugural session.

The situation in Central America is an issue of growing concern to the Ten, especially since recent events in the region and the Caribbean. Their statement at Stuttgart set out the principles which in their view should govern the solution of this particularly delicate and difficult problem. Convinced that the problems of Central America cannot be solved by military means, but only by a political solution springing from the region itself and by respecting the principles of non-interference and inviolability of frontiers, the Ten reiterated their strong support for the efforts of the Contadora group of countries. This was highly appreciated by them, as became apparent at the meeting of the "Troika" with the Foreign Ministers of these four countries. The possibilities of developing relations with the countries of that region are being examined.

The identity of views of the Ten was further confirmed by the statement which the Greek Foreign Minister delivered on their behalf at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly. It conveyed to that universal gathering the image of a

group of countries which see eye to eye on most international problems which confront the world today.

To live up to this image, the Ten will continue this year their efforts to strengthen further the close cooperation they enjoy on specific matters examined by the General Assembly including disarmament questions. A uniform voting pattern has not always been possible to achieve in spite of their determination to do so. The common positions they adopt in the United Nations are often a point of reference for other countries, many of which consult them on a regular basis.

The same spirit of cooperation among the Ten prevailed in other international fora, such as the United Nations Conference on Racial Discrimination, where the Ten, by a common statement, gave expression to their firm determination to oppose all forms of racial discrimination, including the abhorrent system of apartheid.

A field where the identity of views of the Ten is particularly pronounced is that of human rights. This was apparent at the meeting of the Commission of Human Rights, as well as at the Third Committee of the General Assembly. Most of the Western human rights initiatives have been launched by the Ten. They also play an outstanding role in the dialogue between Western countries and other regional groups in those bodies. The consistent championing of the cause of freedom and human dignity has earned the Ten the respect of other member states.

Consultations and exchanges of views with third countries, among them the United States, Japan and ASEAN, were conducted in a constructive manner. It is noteworthy that an increasing

number of third countries show interest in inaugurating such exchanges. Thus the Ten tend to become a valid interlocutor capable of often influencing developments and playing an increasingly important role in international affairs.

In the course of the last twelve months, the Ten have established contacts with the other members of the Council of Europe at political director level. The two meetings held so far proved fruitful and were duly appreciated by the Eleven. The informal meetings of ministers, although not conducted on the same Ten-Eleven basis, are also a very useful vehicle for an open exchange of views on matters of common interest.

The above results of Political Cooperation were obtained, inter alia, by making full use of the mechanisms provided for by the London Report and by intensifying cooperation among missions of the Ten in third countries. Furthermore, the Solemn Declaration on European Union adopted in Stuttgart in June 1983 will enhance and broaden Political Cooperation in the process of European construction. It was also agreed to create a planning group whose task it is to prepare medium and long-term studies with a view to providing a longer perspective on questions of a more general nature, both political and economic.

On the way to closer European cooperation, the Ten through the Presidency have continued the meetings and frank discussions with the European Parliament, whose views they duly take into consideration while elaborating their policies. The ongoing dialogue with the Parliament, which will be reinforced by the implementation of the Solemn Declaration on European Union, will

allow for a better mutual understanding.

In conclusion, the attachment of the ten governments to European Political Cooperation has once more become manifest over the last twelve months and has proved their determination to persevere on the road to European union.

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