



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

14 June 1985

*Dear Charles,*South Africa: Possible Statement by Heads of Government  
at Milan

As you know, the Foreign Secretary discussed Southern Africa with the Prime Minister on 4 June. The Prime Minister expressed concern about the way in which the US Government appeared to be drifting along with the disinvestment tide and showed interest in the idea of a statement by the Ten, possibly at Milan, which could form the basis of a common position.

During the Accession Treaty ceremonies in Lisbon on 12 June, the Foreign Secretary had an opportunity to take soundings of some of his EC colleagues, including Genscher, Van den Broek, Tindemans and Ellemann-Jensen. All showed enthusiasm, in varying degrees, for the idea of a statement. It was accepted that the aim should be to work for a text which would provide the highest common denominator of the policies of the member states.

I now attach the text of a possible statement. It is too long, but will provide a starting-point for discussion here. We will also need to take account of today's reports of South African intervention in Botswana. As you will see, the draft attempts to balance the inevitable criticism of the unacceptable features of South African policy with recognition of current reforms, and to list the principles which the Ten consider should be followed in working towards a solution to South Africa's problems. The language at paragraph 5 of the draft would have the effect of associating those of the Ten who incline towards sanctions with a clearly stated commitment to peaceful evolution through economic activity, as exemplified by the Code of Conduct. Of course, some of our partners have separately expressed support for sanctions, at least in some degree, but that would not necessarily preclude their endorsement of a statement on these lines, particularly if they are prepared to work on a highest common denominator basis, as the Lisbon discussions suggest. From our point of view, a collective statement of this kind, at a time when we are running the risk of isolation in the international community over our South African policy, would be an invaluable gain, particularly in the context of CHOGM. It might also contribute more widely to a steadying of Western nerve on Southern Africa.

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The Foreign Affairs Council will be meeting on 18/19 June. This would be the best opportunity for a thorough discussion of the idea prior to the Milan Summit. If the Prime Minister is content, therefore, the Foreign Secretary would like to alert his colleagues to our intentions by circulating the text by COREU in advance of the Foreign Affairs Council. This would have to be done by 17 June at the latest.

*Yours ever,*

*Len Appleyard*  
(L V Appleyard)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
10 Downing Street

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PROPOSED STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES ON SOUTH AFRICA

1. Heads of State and Government discussed the situation in Southern Africa and ways in which the Ten could contribute to a resolution of the region's problems. They reaffirm their total condemnation of apartheid, their belief that <sup>basic human</sup> rights should be fully respected in South Africa. <sup>it can and must give</sup> way to a system of government acceptable to all the people of South Africa, and their view that the fundamental problem is one of human rights. <sup>welcoming to</sup> While acknowledging that certain reforms have been proposed and implemented, they believe that the need for further reform is urgent, and that only if such reform is undertaken will further violence and ultimate tragedy be averted. <sup>and</sup>

<sup>The Ten believe that there is a need for</sup>  
2. The first requirement is for a dialogue between the present South African Government and those genuinely representing the non-white community. <sup>The purpose of such a dialogue would be to achieve</sup> Its declared goal must include political representation at the national level for the black community in a manner that will give them a proper role and voice in decisions affecting all South Africans. The Ten call upon all concerned to create conditions in which such a dialogue can take place.

The Need For A Climate Of Confidence

3. There is an urgent need for a climate of greater confidence. To this end the Ten believe that the South African Government should:

- release immediately and unconditionally Mr Nelson Mandela and other acknowledged political leaders currently in prison;
- lift the ban on the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, <sup>for their renouncing violence</sup> and the restrictions on other opposition groups;
- end detention without trial;
- finally abandon the practice of forced removal; and
- progressively remove legislation based on the principle of separate racial classification, including the Pass Laws and the Group Areas Act.

Not much good letting us in what must be; its not in our power & will only imitate

in return

[piece in the sky]

- give a commitment to a "common citizenship for all South Africans;

4. While the major responsibility for progress must lie with the South African Government, the Ten stress that they cannot condone the use of violence by the ANC or PAC or others opposed to apartheid. They believe that:

- these organisations should renounce the use of violence in pursuit of their political goals;
- the non-white communities should acknowledge the entitlement of white South Africans to their rightful role and place in a future non-racial South Africa.

#### Support From The Ten

5. The Ten will continue to work for the eradication of apartheid and to encourage peaceful evolution towards <sup>wide representation for</sup> a system of government which has the support of a majority of South Africans. The Ten consider that the prospects for peaceful evolutionary change will be facilitated by economic growth and prosperity, in the interests of all the people of South Africa. They believe that the European companies operating in South Africa have a positive role to play. They attach particular importance to the Code of Conduct concerning the activities of European companies operating in South Africa. The Code of Conduct has contributed significantly to the improvement of conditions of work and to the prospects of non-white South Africans. They are urgently reviewing the Code to ensure that its provisions remain relevant and helpful. The Ten also attach great importance to the effective implementation of the UN Arms Embargo and will scrupulously honour their obligations under <sup>it</sup> ~~this~~. They will also <sup>continue to</sup> abide by the provisions of SCR 558 banning the imports of arms from South Africa.

#### Stability in Southern Africa

6. Early progress towards the resolution of South Africa's internal problems would bring lasting benefits to the region as a whole. The Ten have worked to bring an end to cross-border violence, political and economic pressures, and other activities which have

affected South Africa's neighbours. They will continue to condemn interference by South Africa in its neighbours' internal affairs and will maintain their support for those countries in their search for security and economic development. The Ten reiterate the need for the understandings reached between Mozambique and South Africa to be respected and for all governments to promote peace and reconciliation in Mozambique.

7. As the South African Government indicates its readiness to tackle its internal problems in a manner which promises to all communities their rightful role in South African affairs, neighbouring countries should feel able to welcome South Africa as a partner in the development of the region's potential.

#### Namibian Independence

8. Namibian independence is an urgent requirement, long overdue. The Ten urge the South African Government to proceed without further delay and implement SCR 435 which is the only basis acceptable to the Namibian people and to the international community as a whole. Action by South Africa in this direction would be widely acknowledged and would yield benefits within South Africa and contribute to regional stability and prosperity. The Ten call upon the South African Government to respond positively.

#### The Future

9. The Ten will follow future developments with the closest attention. They will keep their policy under review and consider the need for additional measures in the light of further experience.

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10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

17 June 1985

SOUTH AFRICA: POSSIBLE STATEMENT BY  
HEADS OF GOVERNMENT AT MILAN

Thank you for your letter of 14 June enclosing the draft of a possible statement by the Ten at the Milan European Council on South Africa.

In the Prime Minister's view this is overtaken by recent developments, notably the South African raid into Botswana last week, and she sees no advantage in our trying to launch a draft statement of the sort enclosed with your letter at this stage.

The Prime Minister does wish to pursue the idea of a seminar on South Africa. I shall write to you about this separately.

(Charles Powell)

Len Appleyard, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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*No point in trying since Botswana.*

PRIME MINISTER

SOUTH AFRICA: POSSIBLE STATEMENT BY HEADS OF GOVERNMENT AT EUROPEAN COUNCIL

The Foreign Secretary says that you showed interest in the idea of a statement on South Africa at the European Council, to establish a common position of the Ten. (I must say that I don't recall the conversation.) He has mentioned the idea to some of his Community colleagues who like it. He wants to circulate a draft (copy attached) on Monday.

*Non do!*

I see some risk of a bounce. I'm not sure that we've really thought through what our aims should be in relation to South Africa. (I have suggested in a separate note that there should be a seminar on it.) We don't want to get lumbered with a statement which closes off a lot of options. Moreover, there is a risk that when we get locked into negotiations on the drafting of a statement, we shall inevitably come under pressure from some of the Europeans to strengthen it in ways which create difficulties for us, and if we can't agree on a text we are arguably worse off than before. Even the present draft seems to me to be full of pitfalls.

On the other hand it can be argued that there is a better chance of nailing down a satisfactory position of the European Ten now rather than later in the year, when the American position may have shifted in the direction of specific economic measures against South Africa.

You will want to consider the draft against that background and decide:

- (i) do you want us to take the initiative now in launching a draft for the European Council?
- (ii) or prefer to wait at least until after there has been a seminar/Ministerial discussion of the policy, and if appropriate launch a draft at the September Foreign



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Affairs Council (still in time for CHOGM)?

- (iii) or agree to launch a text now, but with amendments? I have pencilled in some suggestions which seem to me the minimum we would need.

There is now a new factor in the South African raid into Botswana, which has killed a Dutch citizen among others. This has raised the temperature considerably and the Americans have withdrawn their Ambassador. The chances of a 'reasonable' statement by the Ten are much diminished, and there seems little point in circulating our draft.

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C.D.P.

There is no point  
in trying to force

reasonable statements

CHARLES POWELL

14 June 1985

no  
ok