

ATTENDANCE AT EU/AFRICA SUMMIT: DIGEST OF INFORMATION

The whole of an email from FCO London to BE Harare on 20 August 2007:

Following this morning's meeting between S Vadera and M Malloch Brown, we have drafted the attached revised draft letter from the Foreign Secretary and DFID Secretary of State to the PM. Could you take a look and pass comments (as soon as you can) to myself and ... so we can try and finalise this quickly?

Realistically, I don't think we will be able to get this into D Alexander's box tonight (... /... do you know when the box closes – I have not had answer from Shriti's PS on this?).

The relevant part of... a script for use with the press after the Prime Minister's statement had been made dated 19 September 2007:

TOP LINES

- The situation in Zimbabwe is appalling and deteriorating [4 million have left, unemployment is at 80%, life expectancy is down to 37 for men and 34 for women, 4 million will need food aid by December] We want a humanitarian mission (authorised by the UN Security Council) to examine the worsening situation.
- The UK is providing aid to support the people of Zimbabwe [£40 million per annum; £150 million in the last 10 years; we are committing a further £8 million to the World Food Programme this year on top; we are the second largest bilateral donor].
- There are tough EU targeted measures/sanctions in place which do not punish the people but target the elite [travel ban and asset freeze on Mugabe and 130 people; ban on arms sales to Zimbabwe]. We work through the EU, UN and G8 to keep the spotlight on the worsening crisis and involve the international community in supporting regional efforts to resolve it.
- We will work with the EU Presidency to press for an EU envoy to support the transition to democracy. We will contribute disproportionately to support economic recovery in Zimbabwe when there is real policy change on the ground. That would also mean support for a transparent, fair and legal land reform programme that formed part of a wider programme for poverty reduction.

EU – AFRICA SUMMIT

- We want the Summit to be a success and to take the EU Africa relationship to a new level in the fight against poverty and in supporting efforts on climate change, education, health and peacekeeping. We are committed to the Summit taking place in Lisbon this year.
- We know the Summit is important for both Africa and the EU. We believe President Mugabe's attendance would run counter to the principles that both Africa and the EU share and would divert attention away from the important

issues that should be discussed. That's why the Prime Minister won't attend a Summit in Lisbon with President Mugabe.

- We believe Zimbabwe should be represented and are open to solutions that allow for someone other than President Mugabe to be present. We will continue to support the Presidency, EU and African partners in efforts to find that solution.
- The Summit is not until December 2007. There was a similar problem for Burmese attendance at the EU/ASEM Summit in 2006. We found a solution (the Burmese Foreign Minister attended; there was a discussion of human rights).
- African partners have been preparing a serious agenda with the EU for the summit, and do not want this overshadowed by President Mugabe any more than we do.

Will you stop President Mugabe attending?

- We believe President Mugabe should not attend the Summit. We are working with EU and African partners for a solution that delivers that.

Why can't you stop President Mugabe attending? Is it because the EU won't agree to this?

- We believe EU partners agree that it would be preferable if President Mugabe did not attend. The EU Common Position is shared by all. But, like us, EU partners want the Summit to go ahead for the sake of Africa.

Should other EU leaders stay away? Will you force a vote by QMV to stop President Mugabe attending?

- Each Head of State or Government will have to make their own decision on attendance. The UK position is clear: we want a Summit without Mugabe, and we will continue to work with EU and African partners for this. If the Presidency concludes that they have to invite President Mugabe, we will not block, but as the PM has made clear he will not attend.

SANCTIONS

- There are no EU economic sanctions on Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe has a trade surplus with the UK. Our EU targeted measures don't hurt ordinary Zimbabweans. They impose a visa ban and asset freeze on President Mugabe and 130 named individuals who are intimately involved in supporting or profiting from his misgovernance. So far £172000 and 42 bank accounts have been frozen in the UK. Economic meltdown is a result of President Mugabe's policies. There is also an EU embargo on selling arms to Zimbabwe.
- The Prime Minister has said recently we will look seriously at family members of the elite who are present here in the UK. Our approach will be to cut off any money they may be receiving improperly and to target them at national level. We will also seek to add those wives and family members who in their own right are responsible for abuses in Zimbabwe to the EU visa ban list.
- We will also look to identify and add as appropriate the names of other human rights abusers/those who are directing repressive policies to the EU visa ban list.

LOOPHOLES IN THE SANCTIONS?

- The EU Zimbabwe visa ban contains standard exemptions which enable travel to the EU by banned Zimbabweans in a few very narrowly defined cases (for specific UN multilateral meetings for example). It prevents the vast majority of travel and this sends a powerful message to President Mugabe and his regime.

The relevant part of ... a minute (FCO internal minute) dated 10 September 2007 from Harare to FCO London

Headlines in the state run Sunday Mail proclaim that the EU and African leaders are set on a collision course over Zimbabwe's attendance at the Lisbon Summit. Portugal are portrayed as the good guys in a battle between the UK and AU over Zimbabwe's attendance. The article also implies that the PM will not attend if Mugabe does and that Britain has shifted its position, having previously said that we would not block Zimbabwe's participation. The nuance that Zimbabwe and Mugabe are not synonymous is lost on GoZ. For them, they are the same thing.

The relevant part of... an email from BE Harare to FCO London on 10 September 2007:

An article in yesterday's Sunday Mail entitled "European, African leaders set to clash" reported that "Mr Brown last week shifted from Britain's previously stated position that it would not block Zimbabwe's participation at the Summit when he was quoted as having said that he would not attend the meeting if Comrade Mugabe was allowed into Portugal." The article went on to say that "British Foreign Secretary Mr David Miliband is said to have told an informal meeting of EU Foreign Ministers held in the Northern Portuguese town of Viana do Castelo on Friday that Mr Brown would Boycott the Summit in the event of Mr Mugabe's attendance." According to the article the Foreign Secretary confirmed Gordon Brown's position to the media yesterday (Saturday) and was quoted as saying "I don't think anyone wants to be part of a media circus in December. I think that we all want a successful summit, but we are also very, very concerned about the situation in Zimbabwe."

It would be helpful to know what the Foreign Secretary said both to his EU Ministerial colleagues and to the press about Mugabe's attendance at the EU/Africa Summit.

FCO Telegram from FCO London to various posts including BE Harare on 20 September 2007:

The Prime Minister has authored an oped article in the Independent that makes clear he will not go to the EU Africa Summit if President Mugabe attends. Action for all EU and African posts to follow-up the announcement.

1. Could all EU and African posts make contact with their hosts at a senior level and brief the local media drawing on the attached core script (not to be handed over), the attached text of the article (to be handed over) and making the following points:

- The Prime Minister wants the Summit to be a success and to take the EU Africa relationship to a new level in the fight against poverty and in supporting efforts on climate change, education, health and peacekeeping. He is committed to the Summit taking place in Lisbon this year.
- We know the Summit is important for both Africa and the EU. We believe President Mugabe's attendance would run counter to the principles that both Africa and the EU share and would divert attention away from the important issues that should be discussed. That's why the Prime Minister won't attend a Summit in Lisbon with President Mugabe.
- We believe Zimbabwe should be represented and are open to solutions that allow for someone other than President Mugabe to be present. We will continue to support the Presidency, EU and African partners in efforts to find that solution.
- We are committed to helping in Zimbabwe. We support the people of Zimbabwe with food and humanitarian aid now and will support recovery in Zimbabwe when there is real policy change on the ground and circumstances there allow it. That includes support for land reform if it is done in a way that supports poverty alleviation and economic growth.
- We will work with the EU Presidency on the idea of an EU envoy being appointed to help support the transition to democracy. This would complement not cut across efforts being made in the region by South Africa and SADC.

2. Could UKRep Brussels follow up after the Foreign Secretary's meeting with Commissioners Michel and Ferrero-Waldner later today. Lord Malloch Brown has already spoken to President Kufuor but follow-up locally in Accra would still be useful. Could Addis please follow-up with African Commission chairman Konare.