

Ref. A084/1525

MR COLES

London Economic Summit

This minute reports the state of play on preparations for the London Economic Summit, in the light of developments at the weekend meeting of Personal Representatives at Chevening.

Thematic Paper

2. Much of the time at the meeting was spent considering and amending the draft Thematic Paper. By the end of the meeting we had an agreed final version, which all Personal Representatives will now submit to their Heads of State or Government as a basis for discussion at the Summit. I have submitted the Prime Minister's copy of the Thematic Paper separately.

Draft Economic Declaration

3. I circulated the latest draft Economic Declaration to Personal Representatives halfway through the meeting, making it clear that I was not intending to discuss it in detail - that process would have to take place in London on 8 June, after the plenary session - but that I should welcome their comments on the general form and content. Personal Representatives seemed to be in general content with it, though a number of them pointed out that it would need to be slightly revised to take account of agreed changes in the Thematic Paper. It was agreed that I would circulate a revised version to Personal Representatives by the end of this week. That revised draft would be for their personal use only, and would not be shown to Heads of State or Government: if it was shown to Heads of State or Government before the Summit itself, Heads of State or Government would tend to focus their discussion on the words in the draft rather than on the issues. It was accepted, however, that it would be useful to have a draft available as a basis for the final drafting on the night of 8 June.

List of Political Subjects

4. Sir Julian Bullard circulated a list of political subjects (copy attached) which political representatives had identified for possible discussion at the London Economic Summit. Personal Representatives were content with the list, but thought that it would be useful if we could give advance indication of which issues we expected to see discussed by Heads of State or Government and on which occasions at the Summit. Speaking personally, I said that I thought that the Prime Minister would certainly expect to discuss with her colleagues items 1, 2, 3 and 4 on the list, and no doubt Iran/Iraq. I thought that she might well wish to discuss items 3 and 4 (East/West Relations, and Arms Control and Disarmament) on the evening of Thursday 7 June, and she might wish to leave items 1 and 2 (Common Democratic Values, and Terrorism) over until the morning session on Friday 8 June. I hope that the Prime Minister will be able to give instructions on this at her meeting tomorrow.

Draft Declaration on Democratic Values

5. There was general agreement that it would be useful to issue a Declaration on the lines of this draft from the London Economic Summit, coming as it did the day after the commemoration of the Anglo-American landing in Normandy. Some Personal Representatives wondered whether the connection should be explicitly made, but the general feeling was that it should not be made in the document itself: the press would be well aware of the occasion, and, if the Prime Minister wanted, she could perhaps do so in a few impromptu words before reading the Declaration out.

6. There was general agreement that the right time for issuing the Declaration would be at the final ceremony in Guildhall on the afternoon of Saturday 9 June, before the Economic Declaration. Such a Declaration needed a formal occasion, and Guildhall would provide an eminently appropriate setting. One Personal Representative suggested that the Declaration should be shortened and issued as a preamble to the Economic Declaration; others, however, thought that, while it should be read before the Economic Declaration, it should be kept separate from it in view of the reasons for having it.

7. We agreed that, if the Declaration was not to be issued until the afternoon of Saturday 9 June, it should not be discussed by Heads of State or Government until the morning of that day: if it was discussed the previous day, it would be difficult to hold it until the afternoon of 9 June.

8. A number of suggestions were made in the course of discussing the draft Declaration. We promised to revise the draft in the light of the comments, and circulate a revised version by the end of this week. That draft will be shown to Heads of State or Government before the Summit itself. The French Personal Representative insisted that final discussion of the draft should be undertaken at the Summit by Personal Representatives, before the document went for discussion by Heads of State or Government.

Draft Declaration on Terrorism

9. I also circulated this draft halfway through the meeting. When we came to consider it, the French and Italian Personal Representatives made it clear that their Heads of State or Government could not be parties to such a Declaration and did not wish to see any joint Declaration on the subject of state terrorism. The fact is that both Governments have their own reasons for not wanting to be too beastly to the Libyans. The United States Personal Representative indicated that his Government could go along with a Declaration of the kind proposed; others did not take a position.

10. On the other hand, everybody recognised that Heads of State or Government, and probably also Foreign Ministers, would wish to discuss the threat of international terrorism; and, following the St James's Square episode, the Prime Minister would want to be able to tell the media that it had been discussed. All Personal Representatives were prepared to agree that the Prime Minister should tell the media at the end of the first day that terrorism had been discussed.

11. The French Personal Representative suggested that the Prime Minister could say that of course the subject of international terrorism had been discussed, and Heads of State or Government had considered a number of aspects relating to exchange of information and operational response of a kind for which obviously she would not be able to give details to the press. I said that the Prime Minister would certainly wish to be able to say something which indicated that Heads of State or Government had addressed the particular problems of states-sponsored terrorism, perhaps in the form of an indication that there had been agreement to look carefully at the application of the Vienna Convention. A number of Personal Representatives made it clear that their Heads of State or Government would not wish anything to be said which suggested that the Vienna Convention itself was to be modified.

12. My judgment at the end of the discussion was that there was no possibility of getting agreement to a draft joint Declaration on terrorism, of the kind we had circulated. It seemed to me that, if it became more widely known that an attempt had been made to agree upon such a draft but had failed, that would be the worst of all worlds. I therefore recalled all the copies of the draft Declaration which we had circulated, and said that I should wish to report the discussion to the Prime Minister and consider where we went from here.

13. My recommendation is that we should seek to draft, as a matter of urgency, the text of a statement which the Prime Minister might read to the press at the end of the first day's meetings. The statement should indicate that the subject of international terrorism had been discussed by Heads of State or Government, who had noted with great concern the rising trend in international terrorism. They had discussed the ways in which existing international co-ordination of the response to threats of international terrorism, both among Summit countries and between them and other countries, could be increased and improved; and they had also

discussed how the application of the Vienna Convention should be affected. They were determined to respond with firmness and vigour to the threat of international terrorism, wherever and in whatever form it appeared.

14. It would be useful if we could be given instructions as to how to proceed with this at the Prime Minister's meeting tomorrow.

15. Revised versions of the draft Economic Declaration and of the draft Declaration on Democratic Values are being circulated separately to those attending the Prime Minister's meeting tomorrow.

16. I am sending copies of this minute to the Private Secretaries to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

REA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

22 May 1984