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From the Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service

Sir Robert Armstrong GCB CVO

Ref.A084/1602

4 June 1984

Dear Sir Julian,

London Economic Summit: Declaration on Democratic Values

The Japanese Ambassador called on me this morning to present his Prime Minister's proposals for amendments to the draft Declaration on democratic values.

Mr Nakasone strongly believes that the Statement should be on peace and democratic values, not just on democratic values: if the Statement is intended to emphasise unity and co-operation among the Summit countries just after the D-day ceremonies, it should also, in Mr Nakasone's view, "stress the call for peace on the basis of our experience and denial of war".

Mr Nakasone has therefore proposed a new second paragraph, calling for peace and progress in disarmament.

He would also like to see a specific reference to the non-aligned countries in paragraph 5 of the Declaration; and amendments to paragraph 6 in effect to take the reference "national and international obligations" and to substitute a reference to "responsibilities". This suggestion is to reflect Japanese constitutional constraints.

I enclose a copy of the draft as amended by the Japanese Prime Minister.

The French President has also suggested a number of amendments. Like Monsieur Gaston Thorn, he wishes to delete "the right to private property" in paragraph 2, which could be quoted against him in the context of the opposition to the French Government's nationalisation measures. He would also

/prefer

Sir Julian Bullard KCMG

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to omit from paragraph 6 the reference to the Williamsburg Statement: if the sentence is retained he would wish the Statement to be described as "the Statement on Intermediate Nuclear Forces". He has also suggested a number of other drafting amendments.

I attach a copy of the text of the Declaration with the French amendments noted in manuscript.

I am sending copies of this letter to John Coles and the Private Secretaries to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. We shall clearly need to take instructions from Ministers about the Japanese Prime Minister's proposed extension of the ambit of the Declaration on democratic values.

Y
R. H. Hafford

Approved by Sir Robert Amery
and signed in his absence.

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DRAFT OF 24 MAY 1984

THE LONDON CHARTER

1. WE, THE HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF SEVEN MAJOR INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES, ASSEMBLED IN LONDON FOR THE TENTH ECONOMIC SUMMIT MEETING, AFFIRM OUR COMMITMENT TO PEACE AND TO THE VALUES WHICH SUSTAIN AND BRING TOGETHER OUR SOCIETIES.

2. WE CALL UPON ALL COUNTRIES TO MAKE SERIOUS ENDEAVOURS TO ENSURE PEACE THROUGH DIALOGUE AND CO-OPERATION. WE STRONGLY HOPE FOR PROGRESS IN DISARMAMENT, PARTICULARLY NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, A TASK OF VITAL IMPORTANCE IN TODAY'S WORLD. NUMEROUS REGIONAL CONFLICTS HAVE BEEN ARISING IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD, WHICH TREND, SHOULD IT PERSIST OR GROW WORSE, COULD EASILY BECOME A GRAVE THREAT TO WORLD PEACE. WE BELIEVE THAT, IN COPING WITH INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AND CONFLICTS, CONTINUOUS EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE TO LISTEN IN EARNEST TO THE OTHER PARTY'S POSITION AT THE MEETING TABLE AND TO ALLEVIATE AND OVERCOME CONFLICTS OF OPINION BY CONDUCTING REASONED DIALOGUE AND NEGOTIATIONS.

3. WE BELIEVE IN A RULE OF LAW WHICH RESPECTS AND PROTECTS WITHOUT FEAR OR FAVOUR THE HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF EVERY CITIZEN, INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO PRIVATE PROPERTY, AND PROVIDES THE SETTING IN WHICH THE HUMAN SPIRIT CAN DEVELOP IN FREEDOM AND DIVERSITY.

4. WE BELIEVE IN A SYSTEM OF DEMOCRACY WHICH ENSURES GENUINE CHOICE IN ELECTIONS FREELY HELD, FREE EXPRESSION OF OPINION WITH FULL RESPECT FOR DISSENT, AND CAPACITY TO RESPOND AND ADAPT TO CHANGE IN ALL ITS ASPECTS.

5. WE BELIEVE THAT THERE CAN BE NO POLITICAL FREEDOM WITHOUT ECONOMIC FREEDOM. IT IS FOR GOVERNMENTS TO SET THE CONDITIONS IN WHICH THERE CAN BE CONFIDENCE IN THE SOUNDNESS OF THE CURRENCY, IN WHICH ENTERPRISE AND EMPLOYMENT CAN FLOURISH, IN WHICH THERE CAN BE THE GREATEST POSSIBLE RANGE AND FREEDOM OF CHOICE, IN WHICH STANDARDS OF LIVING CAN RISE AND SOCIETY CAN PROVIDE CARE AND SUPPORT FOR THOSE IN NEED, AND IN WHICH THE LIVES OF ALL CAN BE

5. (cont.)

ENRICHED BY THE FRUITS OF INNOVATION, IMAGINATION AND SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY.

6. WE BELIEVE IN CLOSE PARTNERSHIP WITH EACH OTHER IN THE CONVICTION THAT THIS WILL REINFORCE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STABILITY IN THE WORLD AS A WHOLE. WE LOOK FOR CO-OPERATION WITH ALL COUNTRIES, BOTH DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING, INCLUDING NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES, ON THE BASIS OF RESPECT FOR THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, REGARDLESS OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS. WE ACKNOWLEDGE THE MORAL RESPONSIBILITIES THAT GO WITH ECONOMIC SUCCESS, AND REAFFIRM OUR KEEN CONCERN ABOUT THE PROBLEMS OF HUNGER AND POVERTY IN THE WORLD AND OUR DETERMINATION TO HELP THOSE WHO MOST NEED IT.

7. WE BELIEVE IN THE NEED FOR PEACE WITH FREEDOM AND JUSTICE. EACH OF US REJECTS THE USE OF FORCE AS A MEANS OF SETTLING DISPUTES: WE WILL MAINTAIN ONLY THE MILITARY STRENGTH NECESSARY TO DETER AGGRESSION AND TO MEET OUR RESPONSIBILITIES FOR EFFECTIVE DEFENCE. WE REAFFIRM THE STATEMENT MADE AT WILLIAMSBURG IN MAY 1983. OUR DEDICATION TO THE RULE OF LAW, DEMOCRACY AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM IS A GUARANTEE OF OUR COMMITMENT TO CLOSER AND MORE OPEN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS.

8. STRONG IN THESE BELIEFS, OUR COUNTRIES ARE ENDOWED WITH UNRIVALLED DIVERSITY AND CREATIVE VIGOUR. WITH SUCH A HERITAGE WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE FUTURE WITH CONFIDENCE. ++



Trench draft

TEXT OF THE DRAFT STATEMENT ON DEMOCRATIC VALUES

DRAFT OF 24 MAY 1984

THE LONDON CHARTER

We, the Heads of State and Government of seven major industrial countries with the President of the Commission of the European Communities, assembled in London for the Tenth Economic Summit meeting, affirm our commitment to the values which ~~sustain~~ ^{define} and bring together our societies.

We believe in a rule of law which respects and protects without fear or favour the human and civil rights and liberties of every citizen, ^{goes together with the search for well being in conditions of justice,} ~~including the right to private property,~~ and provides the setting in which the human spirit can develop in freedom and diversity.

We believe in a system of democracy which ensures genuine choice in elections freely held, free expression of opinion with full respect for dissent, and capacity to respond and adapt to change in all its aspects.

We believe that ~~there can be no~~ ^{economic and social} political ~~freedom without economic~~ ^{freedom} ~~are interdependent~~. It is for Governments to set the conditions in which there ^{a fair share of the benefits of growth for all,} can be confidence in the soundness of the currency, in which enterprise and employment can flourish, in which there can be the greatest possible range and freedom of choice, ^{and personal initiative} in which standards



of living can rise and society can provide care and support for those in need, and in which the lives of all can be enriched by the fruits of ^(creative) innovation, ^(personal belief) imagination and scientific discovery.

We believe in close partnership with each other in the conviction that this will reinforce political and economic stability in the world as a whole. We look for co-operation with all countries on the basis of respect for their independence and territorial integrity, regardless of differences between political, economic and social systems. We acknowledge the moral responsibilities that go with economic ~~success~~ ^{progress}; ~~and reaffirm~~ ^{therefore, we reaffirm} our keen concern about the problems of hunger and poverty in the world and our determination to help those who most need it.

our will to act with all countries in order to foster prosperity on all continents and

We believe in the need for peace with freedom and justice. Each of us rejects the use of force as a means of settling disputes: each of us will maintain only the military strength necessary to deter aggression and to meet our national and international obligations for effective defence. [We reaffirm the statement made at ^{on Intermediate Nuclear Forces} Williamsburg in May 1986. Our dedication to the rule of law, democracy and individual freedom is a guarantee of our commitment to closer and more open international relationships.

Strong in these beliefs, our countries are endowed with unrivalled diversity and creative vigour. With such a heritage we look forward to the future with confidence.