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Prime Minister informal

AB 6/6

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MR COLES

London Economic Summit: Draft Declaration on
Democratic Values

I sent you a copy of my letter of 4 June to Sir Julian Bullard about the American proposal that the draft Declaration on Democratic Values should include paragraphs on East-West relations and the Gulf.

2. We now have a suggested American text, a copy of which I attach. You will see that the first six paragraphs are virtually identical with the text which we circulated. The Americans then add four new paragraphs: the first about relationships with the Soviet Union, the second about arms control, the third about the Gulf and the fourth a general signing-off paragraph promising co-operation and solidarity with those who agree with us and readiness to try to reduce tensions and armaments with those who do not.

3. In proposing these amendments, the Americans argue that these specific subjects, of East-West relations, arms control and the Gulf, are all matters which Heads of State or Government will be expected to have discussed and on which they should therefore have something to say. They also argue that we should not lose the opportunity offered by the Japanese desire to build on the Williamsburg Declaration and the positive attitude of the present Japanese Government to continue to involve Japan in the main-stream of Western thinking on international political and security issues.

4. The inclusion of the material now proposed by the Americans would change the nature of the Declaration. It would cease to be a timeless statement of values and aspirations and would become a combined general statement of values and a position statement on certain current political and security issues.

5. I would judge that the American proposals will be unwelcome to President Mitterrand, who may want to say that this is a repetition of the kind of thing that happened at Williamsburg

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last year and that, if the Declaration is to be altered in the sense proposed by the Americans, he will wish to have nothing to do with it. So I think that we are at some risk of starting the Summit with a measure of acrimonious political disagreement, as indeed we did at Williamsburg.

6. It seems to Sir Julian Bullard and to me that the best course might be to persuade the Americans that, if there is to be any public language out of the Summit on East-West relations, arms control and the Gulf, that should come in the form of a report to the press by the Prime Minister on the evening of the first day of the conference. The text from which she is to speak would still have to be cleared with the other countries; but they would not be so committed by what she said as by a formal Declaration. It is less likely that the French would make trouble about that; and the Declaration on Democratic Values could be left to stand as the timeless statement it was originally intended to be.

7. Sir Julian Bullard and I think that it would be useful if the Prime Minister could discuss this question with President Reagan when she meets him this evening, in the hope of persuading him to agree that it should be dealt with in the way which I have suggested in the immediately foregoing paragraph.

8. In the meantime it is clear that, whether or not the Declaration is enlarged as proposed by the Americans, there will need to be a drafting session on the evening of Thursday 7 June to deal with the amendments proposed by other countries. The French are likely to insist that this drafting session should be undertaken by Personal Representatives. The Americans are known to feel that the President's Personal Representative is not qualified to deal with political subjects like East-West relations. We propose to get round this by means of a joint session of Personal Representatives and Political Directors on the evening of Thursday 7 June. We shall prepare a Presidential text incorporating amendments proposed to an extent and in a manner compatible with the intention and style of the original draft, as a basis for drafting discussion.

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

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Approved by
ROBERT ARMSTRONG
and signed in his absence

5 June 1984

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REVISED TEXT OF LONDON CHARTER

We, the heads of state and government of seven major industrial democracies 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 and bring together our societies.

We believe in a rule of law which respects and protects without fear or favor the human and civil rights and liberties of every citizen, including the right to private property, and provides a setting in which the human spirit can develop in freedom and diversity.

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

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 enriched by the fruits of innovation, 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 cooperation 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, 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.

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 defense.

Our partnership is central to the maintenance of an open and secure international system. As we stated in

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Williamsburg, our security is indivisible and must be approached on a global basis. We seek a more stable and constructive relationship with the Soviet Union based on the principles of restraint and reciprocity. We will thus maintain the military balance while seeking the expansion of political dialogue.

We are dedicated to the achievement of a more stable and secure peace and are committed to effective arms control as an essential means to that end. We seek early and positive results in ongoing arms control negotiations. We also call upon the Soviet Union to return to the nuclear arms negotiations in order that the search for significant and stabilizing reductions in these most destructive armaments can be advanced.

We are also concerned about threats to international peace and welfare in other regions of the globe. In this regard, we are especially concerned at the terrible toll being exacted by the war between Iran and Iraq. We call upon both nations to cease attacks upon one another and upon the shipping of other states, and renew our commitment to maintain freedom of navigation. We recognize the need to take mutually reinforcing actions to reduce our vulnerability to a major disruption in oil supplies from this volatile part of the world.

We seek constructive relations with all states, whatever our differences, on the basis of mutual respect. To those who share our values and principles, we pledge our cooperation and our solidarity. To those with whom we may differ on values and institutions, we pledge our willingness to work diligently in support of our common interest in the reduction of global tensions and armaments.

END REVISED TEXT.