



Prime Minister

CDP

22/4.

Ref. A085/1141

MR POWELL

Bonn Economic Summit: Political Aspects

The revised draft political declaration (which I discussed with the Prime Minister on 18 April) was considered and further revised first by Political Directors and then by Personal Representatives in the United States on 19 April.

2. On the fourth paragraph of the draft, I voiced the Prime Minister's reservations about including a sentence about German unification; but mine was a lone voice, and my German colleague made it clear that the Federal Chancellor attached the greatest possible importance to the inclusion of such a reference. I was reminded that the wording was drawn from formal documents to which we and other Governments were parties. In the circumstances, and given the attitude implied in the second paragraph of your minute of 18 April, I did not enter a formal reservation on this sentence.

3. The discussion focussed mainly on the fifth paragraph, relating to arms control and disarmament. The United States Political Director produced a revised draft, which was in the main acceptable to the other countries, save for a last sentence which read:

"We welcome the opening of negotiations in Geneva, and support the United States in its efforts there."

4. This produced an ill-tempered exchange between the United States Political Director, Mr Burt, and the French Personal Representative, Monsieur Attali. Monsieur Attali said that of course his President was delighted that the United States and



the Soviet Union were negotiating in Geneva, but that it would be impossible and wrong for his President to subscribe to a statement which appeared to support one side rather than the other in negotiations to which his country was not a party. Mr Burt said that the United States' allies should find no difficulty in declaring their support for the United States in this matter. Eventually the disagreement was resolved on the basis of a British draft which read:

"We welcome the opening of negotiations in Geneva and urge the Soviet Union to respond positively and constructively to the efforts which the United States is making to achieve significant agreements there".

5. Mr Burt also proposed the inclusion of a sentence which would have declared support for the strategic defence initiative (SDI):

"Looking forward to the problems of maintaining a stable peace in the coming decades, we agree that research into future possibilities for the strategic defence of Western nations, conducted within the terms of the ABM Treaty, is both prudent and necessary".

It was clear, however, that the main purpose of introducing this proposal was tactical: by proposing something even more unacceptable to the French, to get their agreement to suitable words on the Geneva talks. Mr Burt told both Monsieur Attali and me privately that the United States would not press for a sentence on SDI if the French President accepted the revised sentence on the Geneva talks, which Monsieur Attali had no doubt he would. There is therefore no sentence about the SDI in the agreed text.

6. Other changes in the draft were very minor. I drew attention to the use of the word "sacrifices" in connection with



the Second World War twice in the draft: Mr Burt, sensitive because of the row about the President's visit to Bitburg, quickly and gratefully took the point, and the word does not now appear in the draft.

--- 7. The draft as now agreed (copy attached) will be formally sent by the Federal Chancellor to other Heads of State or Government before the Summit. The proposal is that it should be discussed by Heads of State or Government as first order business on the morning of Friday 3 May, with a view to its being issued later that day, possibly after the morning session.

8. The United States Political Director gave notice that the United States would also be proposing declarations from the Summit, but would settle for statements by the Chairman, on Afghanistan and on long-term space goals; he circulated drafts for this purpose (copies attached), which were not discussed. The proposal on Afghanistan led the Japanese representatives to propose a declaration on Kampuchea. This rash of proposals for subject declarations reinforced the general view that the only formal declarations should be the political declaration on the 40th anniversary of the Second World War and the final economic declaration: anything else should be given in the course of an oral briefing to the press by the Federal Chancellor as Chairman of the Summit.

9. It was agreed that terrorism should be discussed, but that there should be no formal declaration: the Federal Chancellor could say that the subject had been discussed, and that Heads of State or Government had committed themselves to increase and strengthen the arrangements for intergovernmental co-operation to deal with the menace of international terrorism.

--- 10. Political Directors agreed a list of suggested political topics to be discussed at the Summit (copy attached). It would be for Ministers to decide, of course; but it was envisaged that



Heads of State or Government might discuss the East-West Relations issues (and, no doubt, the SDI) at their dinners on Thursday 2 May and Friday 3 May, and that Foreign Ministers might discuss regional issues and international terrorism at dinner on Thursday 2 May and at their formal session on Friday 3 May, and then report the outcome of their discussions to Heads of State or Government at their joint lunch on Friday 3 May.

11. I am sending a copy of this minute to the Private Secretary to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary.

RA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

22 April 1985

DRAFT

POLITICAL DECLARATION

ON THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Heads of State or Government of Canada, the French Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Republic of Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States, with the President of the Commission of the European Community, meeting together in Bonn on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War, remember in grief all those who lost their lives in that time, whether by acts of war or as victims of inhumanity, repression and tyranny. We acknowledge the duty we owe to their memories, and to all those who follow after them, to uphold peace, freedom and justice in our countries and in the world.

We have learned the lessons of history. The end of the war marked a new beginning. As the sounds of battle ceased, we tackled the tasks of physical reconstruction and moral and spiritual renewal. Among us the victors extended hands of reconciliation and support to the vanquished. Today, linked in a peaceful, secure and lasting friendship, we share in all our countries a commitment to freedom, democratic principles and human rights. . We are proud that the Governments of our countries owe their legitimacy to the will of our people; expressed in free elections. We are proud that our people are free to say and write what they

will, to practise the religions they profess, and to travel where they will. We are committed to assuring the maintenance of societies in which individual initiative and enterprise may flourish and the ideals of social justice, obligations and rights may be pursued.

We recognise that we can secure those aims, and meet both the opportunities and the challenges presented by technological and industrial change, more effectively in partnership than on our own. In Europe, the Community, the embodiment of reconciliation and common purpose, is growing in membership strength and prosperity. The nations of the dynamic Pacific region are drawing ever closer together. The partnership of North America, Europe and Japan is a guarantee of peace and stability in the world.

Other nations that shared with ours in the agonies of the Second World War are divided from us by fundamental differences of political systems. We deplore the division of Europe. In our commitment to the ideals of peace, freedom and democracy, we seek by peaceful means to lower the barriers that have arisen among the peoples of Europe. We believe that the CSCE process with its promise of enhancing human rights provides an opportunity to increase confidence, cooperation and security in Europe. We look forward to a state of peace in Europe in which the German people will regain its unity through free self-determination.

As recognized in the Charter of the United Nations all countries have a joint responsibility to maintain international peace and security and to this end refrain from the threat and the use of force. We for our part share a determination to preserve the peace while protecting our democratic freedoms. To that end, each of us will work to maintain and strengthen a stable military balance at the lowest possible levels of forces, neither seeking superiority for ourselves nor neglecting our defenses. We are prepared to pursue a highlevel dialogue to deal with the profound differences dividing East and West. We strongly support endeavours to strengthen the peace and enhance deterrence through the negotiation of meaningful reductions in existing levels of nuclear arms, limitations on conventional arms, the banning of chemical weapons and lessening the risks of conflict. We welcome the opening of negotiations in Geneva and urge the Soviet Union to respond positively and constructively to the efforts which the US is making to achieve significant agreements there.

We shall continue to seek to work with the developing countries, so as to help them to fight hunger and disease, to build free and prosperous societies, and to take their part in the community of nations committed to peace and freedom. We respect genuine non-alignmnet as an important contribution to international security and peace.

So, as we look back to the terrible suffering of the second World War and the common experience of 40 years of peace and freedom, we dedicate ourselves and our countries anew to the creation of a world in which all peoples enjoy the blessings of peace, of justice, and of freedom from oppression, want and fear; a world in which individuals are able to fulfil their responsibilities for themselves, to their families and to their communities; a world in which all nations, large and small, combine to work together for a better future for all mankind.

Afghanistan

The Soviet Union's brutal war on Afghanistan is now halfway through its sixth year. Soviet forces, supported by their Afghan surrogates, have used all means, including bombardment and massacre of civilians, torture and chemical agents, in the effort to subjugate the Afghan nation. The Afghan people, however, have made a remarkable stand. Their refusal to submit to foreign domination is unshakeable. We renew our solidarity with those brave people fighting for the liberation of their country.

We call on the Soviet Union to bring an end to this brutal conflict and the suffering of the people of Afghanistan. A negotiated solution, providing for the withdrawal of Soviet forces and the restoration of the rights of the Afghan people, must be sought. We fully support the initiative of the United Nations Secretary General. We appeal to the Soviet Union to pursue this road to a just and lasting peace.

We support the unstinting efforts of the Government of Pakistan both to bring about a political solution as mandated by the United Nations and to provide for the world's largest refugee population. For all Afghans afflicted by Soviet deprivations, we call on the international community to join in supporting this vital humanitarian assistance effort.

US

Draft Summit Declaration on Long-Range Space Goals

The Summit parties joined in emphasizing that international cooperation in the peaceful uses of space offers important benefits which contribute directly to the achievement of shared national goals. Particularly, the parties agreed that working together on space programs can:

Foster and promote the mastery of advanced technologies essential to progress and prosperity;

Expand human knowledge and imagination so as to bolster innovation, and continually renew the inquisitive spirit;

Strengthen Free World capabilities by providing experience in jointly managing large and complex programs;

Demonstrate the ability to work cooperatively together in productive and peaceful pursuits as a symbol of Free World unity;

Expand the application of space-devised techniques and products to the objective of economic and social development;

Contribute to increasing the role of private industry in the development and utilization of space systems.

The parties agreed that these are goals to which they all subscribe and endorsed the principle of continued and expanded peaceful space cooperation.

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Suggested Topics to be discussed

1. East-West Relations including Arms Control

- 1.1. New leadership in the Soviet Union
- 1.2. US-Soviet Arms control negotiations in Geneva
- 1.3. Other arms control issues, i.a. chemical weapons, non-proliferation
- 1.4. Political dialogue with the USSR and the Eastern European countries

2. Regional Issues, including East-West Aspects

- 2.1. Middle East, including Iran Iraq War
- 2.2. Afghanistan and the Subcontinent
- 2.3. Asia (Korea, Kampuchea, Sino-Soviet Relations)
- 2.4. Situation in Africa, security and economic aspects
- 2.5. Central and South America

3. International Terrorism