

A THEME FOR THE LONDON SUMMIT

Introduction

1. The Houston Summit took as its theme "securing democracy"; a theme that arose naturally out of the democratic revolutions of 1989 in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, and provided a thread of continuity with the preceding EC and NATO summits. We need to find a theme for the London Summit that builds on the success of "securing democracy", provides a common thread for all of next year's summits and relates to the political issues likely to be dominant in July 1991.

A Theme

2. It is difficult to predict next summer's "hot" political issues but they will probably include :

(a) The aftermath of the Gulf Crisis: an international conference on Arab/Israel, construction of a regional security system, new role for the UN.

(b) NATO Strategy Review, Arms Control, and European security.

(c) Distintegration of the Soviet Union and possibly conflict in Yugoslavia

3. There are also a series of longer term trends in international relations, to which the theme should be relevant. The bi-polar world of the post-war era has crumbled, but the threats to world peace have not disappeared and we can expect widespread regional upheaval and turbulence in the next year. The United States is not strong enough to exercise the role of global policeman alone in combatting these threats. If the rule of law is to be maintained it must be done through international cooperation in multilateral fora. The unfreezing of East/West relations will make such cooperation

easier, but the countries of the developing world will also need to be drawn in if we are to be effective in combatting the new threats (global warming, drugs trafficking, migration etc). In Europe we are seeing a gradual shift in the roles of the various multilateral organisations (NATO, CSCE, WEU and EC) that maintain security. The theme for the Summit should reflect these changes, and give the G7 a role in steering them.

4. The best theme to capture these trends and our policy towards them would be "Strengthening the International Order". This would :

- emphasise the need to increase respect for the rule of law in international relations so that small nations can be secure from aggression by larger neighbours;
- express our aim of strengthening international cooperation in a more multipolar and more inter-dependent world;
- encompass the aim of completing the world economic and political system, by reintegrating the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe.

But we would need to avoid any attempts to use the theme to create new and unnecessary bodies or to interfere with existing bodies that work well (eg by enlarging the UN Security Council). We would also have to ensure that we were not open to criticism by others claiming that we and the Americans had transgressed international law in the Gulf War.

#### Content

5. The theme could be drawn widely enough to include all the subjects we expect to be on the agenda at the London Summit.



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6. On the political side these would include :

- (a) An Arab/Israel peace conference and the construction of a regional security structure in the Middle East.
- (b) Strengthening the UN system : We would need to be clear that this did not involve changing the composition of the UN Security Council: we are strengthening the international order in changing it.
- (c) Reintegrating the Soviet Union and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe into the world political system.
- (d) Coping with the implications of the likely disintegration of the Soviet Union, and with similar disintegration in Yugoslavia.
- (e) Building security in Europe (Arms Control, CSCE, EC and NATO).
- (f) Helping in the reconstruction of South Africa (although we would have to beware of making unnecessary problems for ourselves with the Canadians and French, or in the context of CHOGM, which will follow the Summit in October 1991).
- (g) Applying the rule of law and the need to settle disputes peacefully to other regional crises, eg a UNSC role on Afghanistan, India/Pakistan etc.
- (h) Good government : domestic order, democracy and the rule of law as the basis of a sound international system (naturally both a political and an economic issue).
- (i) Terrorism: the Gulf Crisis is almost certain to give rise to a resurgence of terrorist activity which will need to be addressed at the summit.
- (j) Proliferation and arms sales (see para 10 below).

7. In the economic field :

- (a) Building on the (hoped for) success of the GATT Uruguay Round to create freer world trade by keeping up the pressure on agriculture and services, strengthening the GATT as an institution and improving liaison between the GATT and the IFIs. If the Uruguay Round fails, picking up the pieces.
- (b) Completing the international economic system by integrating the Soviet Union and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe into the GATT and the IFIs so that they become truly global institutions.
- (c) Strengthening global cooperation on the environment as negotiations begin on the World Climate Convention and the Biological Diversity Convention, and preparatory meetings for the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development take place.
- (d) Tackling the other transnational problems , including drugs and migration.
- (e) Following up the Chancellor's debt initiative.
- (f) Economic assistance for those countries affected by the Gulf Crisis.
- (g) Energy cooperation, not only with the Soviet Union but more generally.

8. We would need to beware of (French or Canadian) attempts to use the theme to reopen the debate on the need for a New International Economic Order (although we may need to refer to Development as a counterbalance to Good Government). We could argue that in a world from which the East/West division has been removed the North/South division makes less and less sense. Countries in Asia and Latin America are turning to democracy and to open trade and investment



regimes. Our aim should be to build one world rather than to perpetuate the artificial division between the First, Second and Third worlds of theoretical Marxism.

#### Sequence of Summits

9. We may be able to use this theme as a unifying thread to the UK's approach to the other Summits in the next 12 months. It would certainly be appropriate to the CSCE Summit in November, where our objective is to underpin the spread of democracy and the rule of law in Eastern Europe, and to strengthen the CSCE as an institution for dialogue and conciliation. Likewise the two EC IGCs would fit into the pattern, where our aim is to strengthen the EC by sensible steps towards economic and political integration. There may also be a NATO Summit prior to the London Summit to discuss the NATO Strategy Review and - possibly - NATO's out of area role. This would provide an excellent forum for our message on the need to strengthen European security by adapting NATO to new roles. Finally we can expect the Luxembourg Presidency to call a European Council at the end of June to pre-cook Community positions prior to the London Summit. The Americans will fear a repetition of the Houston Summit where they felt bounced by the Community. As Chairman we will have to handle this danger sensitively and ensure the Americans are not presented with faits accomplis. We will therefore want the Luxembourg Summit to cover many of the same subjects as the London Summit, but not to steal its thunder.

#### Gorbachev

10. If there is a meeting between Gorbachev and G7 leaders we would also want to extend the theme to cover that meeting. We should avoid it being no more than a begging session and we need substance to fill it. One option would be a joint declaration by Gorbachev and G7 leaders on arms sales and CW, BW and nuclear proliferation post Gulf. If this is not pursued in the context of a meeting with Gorbachev we would want it developed as part of the Summit itself.

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Follow Up

11. If we are to take "strengthening the international order" as the theme for the London Summit and the common thread for our approach to the Summits that precede it we will need to :
- (a) Build the theme into speeches by the Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary and Chancellor between now and the London Summit. The first obvious opportunity for the Prime Minister will be her speech to the CSCE Summit, and for the Foreign Secretary in Berlin in December (although he is in trailing the idea in his Chatham House Speech).
  - (b) Use the theme in our preparations for the other Summits and international gatherings, eg the two EC IGCs.
  - (c) Introduce the theme at the first meetings of Sherpas and Political Directors in January and make it the skeleton for the Summit's Political Declaration and Economic Communique.
  - (d) Work up a series of initiatives for the Summit within the theme (possible areas include arms sales and proliferation, proposals for follow up to the Uruguay Round, proposals for strengthening the UN, post-Gulf proposals, proposals on South Africa etc).

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