



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

1 June 1987

*Joan Charles*

Venice Economic Summit:  
Possible East/West Declaration

The Americans have produced a fresh draft for a possible East/West declaration at Venice, and asked whether we would be prepared to circulate it (Washington telnos 1151 and 1152 - enclosed).

The Foreign Secretary is clear that we should not agree to circulate the draft. Others would find it a surprising reversal of our initially firm opposition to having such a declaration. They might well suspect that the Americans, who are very keen to have one, were behind it and if so it would make us look like a US stooge.

But he finds the new draft a great improvement over the version discussed by Personal Representatives. In his view, we should be able to support such a draft at Venice if the pressure to issue such a declaration becomes irresistible. (Indeed, it could serve a useful pre-emptive purpose: the field will otherwise be relatively clear for the Canadians to press for a statement on South Africa.) He believes, however, that we would need to add a reference, in the fourth paragraph, to the important role of nuclear weapons in preserving peace, and a reference to coupling vigilance with an open mind about Soviet policies. It would also be wise to replace the reference in the final paragraph to "stabilising military competition" by a phrase such as "to enhance security and stability". Subject to these points, the text seems acceptable.

I should be grateful for your reaction, by 2 June if possible. Subject to your views, we would propose to tell the State Department that we cannot agree to circulate their draft. We would recall our doubts about the need for such a declaration, but say that the Prime Minister wished to leave a decision to the Summit itself. We would not propose any amendments at this stage.

/I

CONFIDENTIAL



I am copying this letter to Trevor Woolley, Cabinet Office, and John Howe, MOD.

*Yours ever*

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'R N Culshaw', with a stylized flourish at the end.

(R N Culshaw)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
PS/No 10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL  
 FM WASHINGTON  
 TO DESKBY 231630Z FCO  
 TELNO 1151  
 OF 231544Z MAY 87

TOP COPY  
 Q D 11 17

FOLLOWING PERSONAL FOR RATFORD FROM JENKINS

ECONOMIC SUMMIT : POSSIBLE EAST/WEST DECLARATION

1. MRS RIDGWAY ASKED ME TO CALL ON 28 MAY. SHE SAID THAT, FOLLOWING THE DISCUSSIONS AT STRA, SHE WAS VERY CONSCIOUS OF THE CONCERN IN SOME SUMMIT SEVEN CAPITALS THAT THE US MIGHT PRODUCE A CONTENTIOUS EAST/WEST TEXT AT THE LAST MOMENT IN VENICE AND TRY TO BOUNCE IT THROUGH. THE ITALIANS HAD REPEATED THIS CONCERN TO HER SINCE STRA, AND HAD SAID THAT IF THE US WERE PRODUCING A TEXT IT SHOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE IN GOOD TIME.
2. MRS RIDGWAY ADDED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAD MADE CLEAR TO FANFANI AND RUGCIERO DURING DISCUSSIONS HERE YESTERDAY THAT THEY WELL UNDERSTOOD THESE CONCERNS, BUT THEY WERE NOT HAPPY WITH THE PRESENT DRAFT ON EAST/WEST.
3. MRS RIDGWAY SAID THAT IN HER OWN VIEW IT WAS INCONCEIVABLE THAT FOLLOWING DISCUSSION BETWEEN HEADS OF GOVERNMENT ON EAST/WEST, THERE WOULD BE NO REQUIREMENT FOR SOME PUBLIC STATEMENT. IF A TEXT HAD NOT BEEN PREPARED IN ADVANCE, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY IN THE END FOR POLITICAL DIRECTORS TO CONSTRUCT ONE OVERNIGHT IN VENICE. ACCORDINGLY, STATE HAD PREPARED A POSSIBLE TEXT (IN MIFT). THEY REALISED THAT FOR THE US TO FLOAT A DRAFT MIGHT BE UNWELCOME TO A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES. MRS RIDGWAY THEREFORE WONDERED WHETHER WE WOULD BE WILLING TO CIRCULATE THIS TEXT OR SOMETHING LIKE IT AS OUR OWN IN ADVANCE OF THE MEETING. SHE ASKED FOR A REACTION TO THIS IDEA BY CLOSE OF PLAY HERE ON 1 JUNE. IF WE FELT UNABLE TO UNDERTAKE THIS, THE US WOULD THEN MAKE THE TEXT AVAILABLE THEMSELVES TO THE ITALIANS.
4. I SAID THAT WE WERE UNSIGHTED HERE ON THE DISCUSSIONS AT STRA. BUT I UNDERTOOK TO PUT THE TEXT TO YOU AND LET HER HAVE YOUR RESPONSE. I ASKED WHETHER THE US WOULD BE WILLING TO SETTLE FOR SOMETHING SHORT OF A DECLARATION, E.G. AGREED PRESS GUIDANCE FOR THE ITALIANS TO USE. MRS RIDGWAY SAID THAT THIS WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR SUBJECTS SUCH AS IRAN/IRAQ AND NARCOTICS. BUT EAST/WEST WAS TOO IMPORTANT AN ISSUE TO DEAL WITH IN THIS WAY.

ACLAND

YYYY

GRWBAN 1900

LIMITED  
 HD/SOVIET.D.  
 HD/PLANNING STAFF.  
 HD/LEAD  
 PS

PS/PUS.  
 MRS BRATHWAITE.  
 MRS RATFORD.

CONFIDENTIAL



QRS 600  
CONFIDENTIAL  
FM WASHINGTON  
TO DESKBY 281630Z FCO  
TELNO 1152  
OF 281545Z MAY 87

Confidential

TOP COPY  
Q DL-?

FOLLOWING PERSONAL FOR RATFORD FROM JENKINS

MIPT: ECONOMIC SUMMIT: POSSIBLE EAST/WEST DECLARATION

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF US PROPOSAL:

BEGINS: SINCE WE LAST MET, NEW OPPORTUNITIES HAVE OPENED FOR PROGRESS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS. IN SOME IMPORTANT AREAS, THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES ARE MOVING TO TAKE UP WESTERN IDEAS. WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THESE DEVELOPMENTS. THEY CONFIRM THE SOUNDNESS OF THE PROPOSALS WE HAVE ADVANCED TO ACHIEVE A FREER, SAFER WORLD.

WE DISCUSSED RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOVIET DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES. STEPS HAVE BEEN TAKEN WHICH WE CAN WELCOME, YET THEIR SIGNIFICANCE MUST BE JUDGED AGAINST THE PROFOUND DIFFERENCES THAT REMAIN BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, AND BETWEEN SOVIET COMMITMENTS AND SOVIET PERFORMANCE. THE CENTRAL QUESTION ENDURES: IS THE SOVIET UNION PREPARED TO LIVE IN PEACE WITH THE WEST?

ONLY A SUSTAINED PATTERN OF SOVIET DEEDS WILL ANSWER THAT QUESTION. THUS, WE AGREED ON THE CONTINUED NEED FOR STRENGTH, REALISM AND VIGILANCE AS WE SEEK TO OVERCOME EAST-WEST DIFFERENCES THROUGH NEGOTIATION.

WE SUPPORT U.S. EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE BALANCE, SUBSTANTIAL AND VERIFIABLE REDUCTIONS IN THE LEVEL OF OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS SO AS TO STRENGTHEN STABILITY AND REDUCE THE RISK OF WAR. WE URGE THE SOVIET UNION TO NEGOTIATE CONSTRUCTIVELY. WE ALSO EMPHASISE OUR DETERMINATION TO ACHIEVE ENHANCED CONVENTIONAL STABILITY AT A LOWER LEVEL OF FORCES AND THE TOTAL ELIMINATION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS.

WE CALL FOR SIGNIFICANT, LASTING PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE, WHICH IS ESSENTIAL TO BUILDING TRUST BETWEEN OUR SOCIETIES. MUCH STILL REMAINS TO BE DONE TO MEET THE INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS AGREED AT HELSINKI AND CONFIRMED SINCE.

WE LOOK FOR A RAPID, COMPLETE AND IRREVOCABLE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET FORCES FROM AFGHANISTAN SO THAT THE PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN MAY FREELY DETERMINE THEIR OWN FUTURE. CROSS BORDER ATTACKS AGAINST PAKISTAN MUST CEASE.

WE ENCOURAGE GREATER CONTACTS, FREER INTERCHANGE OF IDEAS AND MORE EXTENSIVE DIALOGUE BETWEEN OUR PEOPLE AND THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE.

THAT IS OUR PROGRAM: TO STABILIZE MILITARY COMPETITION

/ BETWEEN

Confidential

# Confidential

BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AT LOWER LEVELS OF ARMS. SEMI COLON TO ASSIST THE PARTIES TO REGIONAL CONFLICTS TO FIND STABLE POLITICAL SOLUTIONS IN THEIR INTERESTS SEMI COLON AND TO BUILD CONTACTS, CONFIDENCE AND TRUST BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES IN A MORE HUMANE WORLD. PROGRESS ACROSS THE BOARD IS NECESSARY TO ESTABLISH A DURABLE FOUNDATION FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS. WE WILL BE PLEASED IF THE SOVIET UNION JOINS US IN NEGOTIATING MEANINGFUL STEPS FORWARD SEMI COLON WE ARE PLEASED AT STEPS IT HAS TAKEN IN THAT DIRECTION. WE ARE DETERMINED TO PROCEED.

ACLAND

YYYY

ORWBAN 1910

LIMITED  
HD/SOVIET D  
HD/PLANNING STAFF  
HD/ERD  
PS  
PS/PUS  
MR BRANTHWAITE  
MR RATFORD

# Confidential