

CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET

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CCP

From the Private Secretary

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG

TOKYO ECONOMIC SUMMIT: INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

The Prime Minister has considered your minute of 21 April about the draft general political statement and the draft statement on international terrorism for the Tokyo Economic Summit. She found the letter in particular rather weak.

It is now clear that the United States intend to make international terrorism one of the major - if not the major - themes of the Summit. The Prime Minister takes the view that a fuller, firmer and more specific statement is likely to be necessary and indeed desirable. She would like us to prepare an alternative version of our own, with language which she could draw upon as necessary during discussion at the Summit (and perhaps table at some point as a British draft). I should be grateful if work could be put in hand urgently on this.

It would also be helpful to establish in more detail before the Summit how the United States intend to handle the discussion of terrorism and whether they will be tabling a draft of their own.

I am copying this minute to the Private Secretaries to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and the Home Secretary.

C.D.P.
C.D. POWELL
27 April 1986

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Prime Minister

You will wish to see the draft political declaration that on terrorism. The letter has no teeth at all. Do you wish to try to launch an alternative British draft?

Ref. A086/1210

MR POWELL

Tokyo Economic Summit: Political Issues

CDD
24/3.

At the last meeting of Personal Representatives in preparation for the Economic Summit from 18 to 20 April, the Personal Representatives agreed final drafts of a general political statement, for which the suggested title is "Looking Forward to a Better Future", and of a statement on international terrorism. I attach copies of the drafts herewith.

General Declaration

2. The only argument of substance turned on what should be said about the arms control negotiations at Geneva (paragraph 3 of the General Declaration). As always, the problem was to find forms of words which went far enough for the United States and not too far for the French, who are not prepared to subscribe to a declaration which "supports" the United States position in the negotiations, on the ground that they wish to be even-handed on the substance of negotiations to which they are not parties. The form of words which now appears in the last sentence but one of the third paragraph was acceptable to both the United States and the French Representatives.

International Terrorism

3. The French Government were prepared to come further towards a willingness to take part in discussions of international terrorism than on previous occasions. They are still reluctant formally to acknowledge that terrorism is a subject which can or should be dealt with in a Summit group; but they have agreed that the ambit of the 1978 Bonn declaration should be extended,

so that it covers all forms of terrorism affecting civil aviation and not just hi-jacking; and I think that they are now ready to co-operate with Summit colleagues individually or in a group in discussing terrorism in other international organisations which have a competence to deal with the problem. The last sentence of the declaration thus represents a significant step forward in the willingness of the Economic Summit to address the problems of international terrorism.

Agenda for Political Discussion

4. It is proposed that Heads of State or Government should consider the two declarations as first business at their meeting on Monday 5 May. As they have been discussed extensively and in turn beforehand, it is hoped that the discussion at the Summit will not need to go on for too long. It is proposed that they should be issued to the press at lunch time that day.

5. Political directors agreed a list of topics for discussion by Heads of State or Government and Foreign Ministers; I attach a copy of the list herewith. It is envisaged that, at dinner on Sunday 4 May, Heads of State or Government should discuss the order of business for the Summit, East/West relations and arms control issues, and (if there is time) international terrorism (which covers Libya). Regional issues would probably be discussed at the meal which Heads of State or Government and Foreign Ministers take together.

6. A determined effort was made to keep South Africa included as a separate topic. The main source of this proposal was the United States representative who said that both the President and the Secretary of State would wish to have a clearly focused discussion on the question with other leaders, as well as in their bilateral meetings with the Prime Minister and Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary. The Americans were, however, persuaded to drop their idea of a Summit statement on South Africa; and we

succeeded in broadening out "South Africa" as an item for discussion into a heading entitled "Southern Africa". When this item is discussed among Foreign Ministers, it will be introduced by the Canadian Foreign Minister; we are trying to make sure that his introduction does not rock the CEGP boat.

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

RA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

21 April 1986

Noon, 19 April 1986

TOKYO DECLARATION

LOOKING FORWARD TO A BETTER FUTURE

1. We, the Heads of State or Government of seven major industrial nations and the representatives of the European Community, with roots deep in the civilizations of Europe and Asia, have seized the opportunity of our meeting at Tokyo to raise our sights not just to the rest of this century but into the next as well. We face the future with confidence and determination, sharing common principles and objectives and mindful of our strengths.

2. Our shared principles and objectives, reaffirmed at past Summits, are bearing fruit. Nations surrounding the Pacific are thriving dynamically through free exchange, building on their rich and varied heritages. The countries of Western Europe, the Community members in particular, are flourishing by raising their co-operation to new levels. The countries of North America, enriched by European and Asian cultures alike, are firm in their commitment to the realization in freedom of human potential. Throughout the world we see the powerful appeal of democracy and growing recognition that personal initiative, individual creativity and social justice are main sources of progress. More than ever we have all to join our energies in the search for a safer and healthier, more civilized and prosperous, free and peaceful world. We believe that close partnership of Japan, North America and Europe will make a significant contribution toward this end.

3. We reaffirm our common dedication to preserving and strengthening peace, and as part of that effort, to building a more stable and constructive relationship between East and West. Within existing alliances, each of us is resolved to maintain a strong and credible defence that can protect freedom and deter aggression, while not threatening the security of others. We know that peace cannot be safeguarded by military strength alone. Each of us is committed to addressing East-West differences through high-level dialogue and negotiation. To that end, each of us supports balanced, substantial and verifiable reductions in the level of arms; measures to increase confidence and reduce the risks of conflicts; and the peaceful resolution of disputes. Recalling the agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union to accelerate work at Geneva, we appreciate the United States' negotiating efforts and call on the Soviet Union also to negotiate positively. In addition to these efforts, we shall work for improved respect for the rights of individuals throughout the world.

4. We proclaim our conviction that in today's world, characterized by ever increasing interdependence, our countries cannot enjoy lasting stability and prosperity without stability and prosperity in the developing world and without the co-operation among us which can achieve these aims. We pledge ourselves afresh to fight against hunger, disease and poverty, so that developing nations can also play a full part in building a common, bright future.

5. We owe it to future generations to pass on a healthy environment and a culture rich in both spiritual and material values. We are resolved to pursue effective international action to eliminate the abuse of drugs. We proclaim our commitment to work together for a world which respects human beings in the diversity of their talents, beliefs, cultures and traditions. In such a world based upon peace, freedom and democracy, the ideals of social justice can be realized and employment opportunities can be available for all. We must harness wisely the potential of science and technology, and enhance the benefits through co-operation and exchange. We have a solemn responsibility so to educate the next generation as to endow them with the creativity befitting the twenty-first century and to convey to them the value of living in freedom and dignity.

SECRET

Noon, 19 April 1986

(Final Draft)

Statement on International Terrorism

1. We, the Heads of State or Government of seven major democracies and the representatives of the European Community, assembled here in Tokyo, strongly reaffirm our condemnation of international terrorism in all its forms, of its accomplices and of those, including governments, who sponsor or support it. Terrorism has no justification and serves no purpose. It exists and spreads only by the use of contemptible means, ignoring the values of human life, freedom and dignity. It must be fought relentlessly and without compromise.

2. Recognizing that the continuing fight against terrorism is a task which the international community as a whole has to undertake, we pledge ourselves to make maximum efforts to fight against that scourge. Terrorism can be fought effectively only through determined, tenacious and patient action combining national measures with international cooperation. Therefore, we urge all like-minded nations to collaborate with us, particularly in such international fora as the United Nations, the International Civil Aviation Organization and the International Maritime Organization, drawing on their expertise to improve and extend countermeasures against terrorism and those who sponsor or support it.

3. The Heads of State or Government agree to intensify the exchange of information in relevant fora on threats and potential threats emanating from terrorist activities and those who sponsor or support them, and on ways to prevent them.

To pursue these ends they agree to make the 1978 Bonn Declaration more effective in dealing with all forms of terrorism affecting civil aviation ; and they are ready to promote bilaterally and multilaterally further actions to be taken in international organizations or fora competent to fight against terrorism in any of its forms.

April 18th, 1986

(DRAFT)

(TOKYO SUMMIT)

Suggested Topics for Discussions

(Topics)	(Level of Discussions)	(Possible Lead-offs) ("B" only)
1. General Statement	A	
2. East-West Issues	A → B	F.R.G.
(1) Assessment of new Soviet Leadership and its Foreign Policy		
(2) East-West Relations including Arms Control		
3. Regional Issues	B → AB	
(1) Asia (including the Philippines, Korean Peninsula, Cambodia)		Japan (US)
(2) Afghanistan		U.K.
(3) Middle East Peace Process Lebanon Iran-Iraq Conflict		E.C. France Italy
(4) Africa South and Southern Africa Horn of Africa UN Special Session on Africa		Canada Italy France
(5) Central and South America		U.S.
4. International Terrorism	A → B	
5. United Nations	(B)	Japan
6. Narcotics Issue	A	

NOTE:

- A: Discussions by Heads of State and Government
 B: Discussions by Ministers for Foreign Affairs
 AB: Discussions by Heads of State and Government and Ministers for Foreign Affairs