

PARIS ECONOMIC SUMMIT: DRAFT DECLARATION ON EAST/WEST RELATIONS

1. We, the leaders of our seven countries and the representatives of the European Community, reaffirm the universal and supreme importance which we attach to freedom, democracy and the promotion of human rights.
2. We see signs of this same desire for greater freedom and democracy in the East. The people there, including the young people, are reasserting these values and calling for a pluralist democratic society. Some of their leaders are aware of the positive contribution that greater freedom and democracy can make to the modernisation of their countries and are starting to make changes to their laws, practices and institutions. Others are still endeavouring to resist this movement by taking repressive measures which we strongly condemn.
3. We hope that freedom will be broadened and democracy strengthened and that they will form the basis, after decades of military confrontation, ideological antagonism and mistrust, for increased dialogue and cooperation. We welcome the reforms underway and the prospects of lessening the division of Europe.
4. We call upon the Soviet Government to translate its new policies and pronouncements into further concrete action at home and abroad. Military imbalances favouring the Soviet Union, both in Europe and in Asia, remain a threat to each of us. Our Governments must therefore continue to be vigilant and maintain the strength of our countries. In order to hasten the advent of a world in which the weight of arms and military strength is reduced, we recommit ourselves to the urgent pursuit of a global ban on chemical weapons, a balance of conventional forces in Europe at the lowest possible level consistent with our security requirements, and a substantial



reduction in Soviet and American strategic nuclear arms.

5. We offer the countries of the East the opportunity to develop balanced economic cooperation on a sound commercial basis consistent with the security interests of each of our countries and with the general principles of international trade. We have noted the conclusion by the European Community of agreements with Hungary and Czechoslovakia, the progress already achieved during the current discussions with Poland and the opening of negotiations with the Soviet Union and other countries of the East.

6. We welcome the process of political and economic reform underway in Poland and Hungary. Each of us is prepared to support this process and to consider, as appropriate, economic assistance aimed at transforming and opening their economies in a durable manner. We believe that each of us should direct our assistance to these countries so as to sustain the momentum of reform through inward investment, joint ventures, transfer of managerial skills, professional training and other ventures.

7. We are in favour of an early conclusion of the negotiations between the IMF and Poland. The strengthened debt strategy is applicable to Poland, provided it meets the conditions. We are ready to support in the Paris Club the rescheduling of Polish debt expeditiously and in a flexible and forthcoming manner.

8. We see good opportunities for the countries of West and East to work together to find just solutions to conflicts around the world, to fight against under-development, to safeguard the environment and to build a freer and more open world.

PARIS ECONOMIC SUMMIT: DRAFT DECLARATION ON EAST/WEST RELATIONS:
UK COMMENTARY

General

1. The Declaration contains surprisingly firm language. The FRG and Italy rejected a sentence on nuclear deterrence unless it was couched in exactly the language of the NATO Summit Declaration. The US intend that the centerpiece of this Declaration should be President Bush's proposal for Western consortia to assist Poland and Hungary. Overall the Declaration gives a useful message of Western unity in welcoming the changes taking place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe but expressing caution. It focusses in particular on Hungary and Poland and on economic assistance to those countries.

Detail

Paragraph 1

2. A link to the human rights statement.

Paragraph 2

3. Welcoming the move towards greater freedom and democracy in certain Eastern countries but noting that in other countries Communist leaderships are still attempting to resist reform.

Paragraph 3

4. Welcoming the reforms underway and noting that the division of Europe can only be reduced as freedom is broadened and democracy strengthened.



Paragraph 4

5. A very brief reference to arms control issues. Noting that the military imbalance in favour of the Soviet Union remains a threat to us and that our Governments must therefore continue to be vigilant. Commits us to the pursuit of a global CW agreement, a balance of conventional forces and progress in the START talks (no mention of SNF). The original French text included a sentence reading "Nuclear deterrence and the existence of adequate conventional forces remain the most reliable guarantee of our security." (very similar to the language in the Toronto Declaration). The Germans and Italians were not prepared to accept the sentence and insisted that if any reference was made to nuclear deterrence it would have to repeat the lengthy formulation in the NATO Summit Declaration. The UK, US, France and Japan were reluctant to accept this. The FRG Sherpa agreed to consult Chancellor Kohl but we doubt they will volunteer the inclusion of such a sentence. We should support the inclusion of such a sentence if eg the US seek it.

Paragraph 5

6. A general paragraph on East/West economic relations noting EC agreements with certain Eastern countries. The US objected to the inclusion of Czechoslovakia, which they felt distracted from the focus on Poland and Hungary.

Paragraph 6

7. Paragraph narrowing the focus down to Poland and Hungary, and a suitable lead in to President Bush's initiative, if this is agreed. Offers a fairly modest list of measures of assistance that we can take.



Paragraph 7

8. The US would like the Seven to agree to press for rescheduling for Poland even without an IMF agreement and would like the text to reflect this idea. We, and the other five cannot agree. President Bush will no doubt press this during the Summit.

Paragraph 8

8. A suitably up-beat conclusion to the Declaration.

PARIS ECONOMIC SUMMIT: DRAFT DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

? 1. Two hundred years ago, the rights of man and of the citizen were solemnly proclaimed. Just over 40 years ago, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which affirms the inalienable rights and fundamental freedoms of all members of the human family, whoever they may be and from wherever they may come. These rights derive from the inherent dignity of the individual. They have been further developed and codified and are now embodied in the Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

2. We have on previous occasions stressed our commitment to freedom, democratic principles and human rights. We believe in the rule of law which respects and protects without fear or favour the rights and liberties of every citizen, and provides the setting in which the human spirit can develop in freedom and diversity.

3. Human rights are a matter of legitimate international concern. We seek their universal observance and renew our commitment to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms in the world today.

4. Looking towards the future, we see opportunities as well as threats; this impels us to pledge our firm commitment to uphold international standards of human rights and to confirm our willingness to reaffirm them and to develop them further.

5. We attach particular importance to the protection of freedom of thought, conscience and religion, and of freedom of opinion and expression; for without these freedoms, other rights cannot be fully realised. Without respect for the rule of law and the plurality of opinion, there can be neither representative government, nor



democracy.

6. We believe equally in freedom of association in a pluralist society.

7. The right of each individual to physical integrity and dignity must be guaranteed; torture is condemned.

8. Every one has a right to own property, alone as well as in association with others, and to equality of opportunity. Extreme poverty and exclusion from society violate the dignity of everyone enduring them.

9. The rights of the child, the handicapped and the elderly require a special protection.

10. Developments in the human sciences, for instance the progress achieved in genetics and organ transplantation, must be applied in accordance with fundamental human rights if the welfare of humanity is to be preserved and enlarged.

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11. Future generations have the right to inherit a healthy environment. The present generation has an obligation to ensure that they do.

12. We reaffirm our belief that these rights and freedoms cannot be properly safeguarded without the rule of law and genuine democratic institutions.

PARIS ECONOMIC SUMMIT: DRAFT DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS:
UK COMMENTARY

General

1. We, and most of our partners, could live happily without a text on human rights. The French however regard this as the centrepiece to the Paris Economic Summit, celebrating the proclamation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man two hundred years ago. In particular they want the text to show new thinking on human rights and to make a gesture to Third World pressure for new "collective" human rights. We have removed most of the substance from the original very difficult French text and heavily qualified what remains. Our fear was that paragraphs 8-11 of this text might be used against us in for example the United Nations by those pressing for "third generation" human rights. Our position on this is shared by all our partners except France, but none of them were prepared at Rambouillet to cut out the offending sections of the French text. The US in particular appeared to regard this as a bargaining counter which they would be prepared to use with the French if there was resistance to their initiative on Poland and Hungary. Both we and the US however entered a general reservation on the draft at Rambouillet. The text is now however sufficiently innocuous and we do not believe it worth investing political capital in removing the remaining problems, although some tidying up of the section on the right to a healthy environment (paragraph 11) can be done by Sherpas on the evening of 14 July.

Detail

Paragraph 1

2. A reference to the Bicentenary to the Declaration of the Rights of Man (the US wanted a reference to their Bill of Rights but we objected on the grounds that we would then also need a reference to the 1689 Bill of Rights). Reference back to the Universal



Declaration and the UN Covenants on human rights.

Paragraph 2

3. A reference to democracy and the rule of law.

Paragraph 3

4. Human rights as a legitimate matter of international concern.

Paragraph 4

5. Chapeau to the sections dealing with new areas where human rights should also apply. Commits us to developing the "international standards" of human rights. We understand this to mean the implementation and development of existing human rights as much as creating new rights.

Paragraph 5

6. Useful reference to freedom of thought and expression.

Paragraph 6

7. Reference to freedom of association.

Paragraph 7

8. Rather odd wording, but a reference to the right to the inviolability of the person and freedom from torture.

Paragraph 8

9. The French originally sought a paragraph on the right to social security but this was rejected by us and the Americans. The



paragraph now refers to the right to own property and to equality of opportunity. Also includes an innocuous reference to extreme poverty.

Paragraph 9

10. Simply notes that the rights of children, the handicapped and the elderly require special protection. The French had originally been seeking a paragraph on the right to childhood.

Paragraph 10

11. The French had been seeking a paragraph on the right of the human person to be guaranteed and genetic inheritance to be preserved. We have now altered it so that the paragraph simply says that developments in the human sciences must take place in accordance with fundamental human rights. It does not therefore develop a new right but simply emphasises the need for existing rights to be preserved.

Paragraph 11

12. Creates the right to a healthy environment. We should seek to amend this paragraph to remove the word "right", so that it reads:

"The present generation has an obligation to ensure that future generations inherit a healthy environment."

There are moves at the United Nations to draft a new instrument on "solidarity" (ie collective) human rights. This would include the rights to development, peace, the environment, etc. We have opposed this idea on the grounds that human rights are the rights of individuals and that advocating collective rights undermines the UN's ability to help the victims of abuse. To concede a right to



inherit a healthy environment is to concede the existence of collective rights and thus undermine our entire position. This is also a matter of substance. If we establish a collective obligation to preserve the environment we could find ourselves having to fend off claims from Third World countries arising from environmental damage caused by materials imported from the developed world.

If the French are determined to retain the word "right", we might suggest a rewording of the first sentence of the paragraph as follows:

"Future generations have the right to expect that they will inherit a healthy environment".

If unavoidable, we can live with the present wording since it is nonsensical. Only existing legal entities can have rights. Future generations cannot have a right since they do not exist. It is clearly not desirable, however, for us to accept wording on the grounds that it makes no sense.

Paragraph 12

13. A useful reference back to the rule of law and democracy to round off the Declaration.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

10 July 1989

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