

PRIME MINISTER

Labour

Not Sent

FOREIGN POLICY/DEFENCE/NORTHERN IRELAND

This minute covers foreign policy and related matters you will need to focus on in the first week or two. It also looks ahead at foreign policy for the coming months, including during our EC presidency.

Messages/telephone calls

Unless they ring you first, you may want to make early telephone calls to :

. The purpose would be to let them know that you look forward to working with them and to start to establish a working relationship. We would tell the press that the calls had taken place. Agree? If so, I will set up times.

You will get written messages of congratulations, probably from every other head of government in the world. I recommend that you send a short but substantive reply to

. If you agree, I will clear drafts with you. Other countries with which we do not have a close relationship, such as , can probably have a fairly brief reply on the lines of:

Agree that I should send replies on these lines, only consulting you about the important replies? In all cases you would not need to sign letters. The normal thing would be for the messages to be sent by Foreign Office telegram to our Embassies abroad for delivery.

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Meetings

You may want to consider whether to seek early meetings with President Bush, Chancellor Kohl and President Mitterrand. A visit to Washington can be done in two days, i.e. go out on one day, have meetings on the next and fly back overnight. Visits to Paris and Bonn could be done within a day each. You will see all three leaders at the Economic Summit on 6-8 July. You will probably see them separately before that (Bush is likely to be at the Rio Environment Summit in mid-June; Kohl and Mitterrand at Rio and at the European Council at the end of June.)

I do not think you need to fix a very early meeting with President Yeltsin. He has been invited to the G7 Summit in Munich in early July and is due to pay an official visit to the UK in the second half of the year.

You may also want to consider the timing of a first substantive meeting with the Taoiseach. He came here in February so it would be normal under the existing arrangements for six-monthly meetings for you to go to Dublin. But you may not want to do so at least until the Northern Ireland Secretary has got his feet under the table and had a first meeting with his opposite numbers. You will anyway have an opportunity to meet Mr. Reynolds at the Lisbon European Council on 26/27 June.

Immediate foreign policy and defence issues

These are covered in the note attached. The principal early issues you will need to tackle are Iraq, Libya/Lockerbie and Yugoslavia. There are other issues, including manifesto commitments on defence (ending nuclear tests; number of warheads deployed on Trident) and on the European Community (Social Chapter) which will also need an early decision.

European Community

Our Presidency starts on 1 July. I attach a note setting out your commitments during the Presidency and the issues you will have to deal with. You may want to have a meeting with Ministers and officials to go over the ground in a few weeks' time. Agree?

Other foreign policy engagements

Your first scheduled overseas visit is to UNCED in Rio de Janeiro in June. Other visits are set out in the attached note. There is a plethora of summits at the end of June and in the first week of July: European Council in Lisbon; G7 Summit in Munich and CSCE Summit in Helsinki.

J. S. WALL

APRIL 1992

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FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES REQUIRING EARLY DECISION

(i) IRAQ

Under UN Security Council Resolutions, Iraq is required to dismantle, under UN supervision, her weapons of mass destruction. Iraq has consistently concealed information from, and obstructed the work of, the UN special commission supervising the destruction. In the autumn of 1991 US, France and the UK hinted at military action if obstruction continued. The Iraqis backed down. Recently, the Iraqis have again been obstructing the work of the Commission.

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I will let you have further briefing on this as the situation develops.

(ii) LIBYA/LOCKERBIE

Following the failure of the Libyans to comply with the earlier Security Council resolution calling on them to respond to our request for extradition, the Security Council has voted for sanctions against Libya (an arms embargo, an air embargo and restrictions on Libyan diplomats) which will come into force on 15 April unless Libya hands over the suspects in the meantime. They seem unlikely to do so.

Sanctions will need to be given a chance to bite before any further tightening of the screw is undertaken. The Libyans have intermittently held up the issue of exit visas to foreigners living in Libya. For the time being visas are being issued. There are 5000 UK nationals in Libya. There is no sign that any of them want to leave other than on normal temporary visits.

(iii) YUGOSLAVIA

A decision is required on whether the UK should participate in the proposed UN peace-keeping force in Yugoslavia. The UN have asked us for a 250 man medical team.

Before the election, the Government indicated willingness in principle to contribute but subject to a final decision after the election. The bulk of the UN force is already in place. I recommend that you have an early discussion of this issue with other Ministers on the basis of a paper from the Defence Secretary setting out the options. Once you have reached a view you may want to seek the endorsement of the whole Cabinet. The situation on the ground is so volatile that casualties among the peacekeeping force must be likely.

(iv) GATT

After nearly six years of negotiation the GATT Round is reaching a critical point.

The key to an agreement is agriculture. That will require a deal between the EC and the US. The EC Commission, which negotiates on behalf of EC Member States, will have further talks in the United States next week. A Bush/Delors Summit is due on 22 April. The main difficulty is over arrangements for subsidised cereal exports. The Americans want the Community to agree to strict limits on the volume of subsidised exports, particularly of cereals.

We should know by the end of April whether an agreement is possible before the US Presidential Elections.

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(vi) GOVERNOR OF HONG KONG

You may want to take an early decision on a successor to Sir David Wilson.

(vii) NORTHERN IRELAND

Present troop strength in Northern Ireland is about 18,500, including three extra battalions (1,500 in total) sent this year. One of the battalions is protecting military building sites and is due to leave in July. The Ministry of Defence are likely to want to reduce troop numbers, on the grounds that keeping so many there reduces unacceptably the normal gap between tours of duty in Northern Ireland. You will need to take an early decision on the basis of advice from the Defence Secretary and the Northern Ireland Secretary.

You are likely to come under early pressure from Mr. Reynolds and from Mr. Hume for a joint statement by the UK and Irish Governments indicating the UK Government have no long-term 'selfish' interests in staying in Northern Ireland and that both governments want to see the people of Ireland settle their differences through dialogue and by consent. The purpose would be to enable some within PIRA who wish to give up the armed struggle to persuade the rest of the movement to do so. It is likely to be difficult to go far enough to bring an end to the terrorist violence without alarming the Unionists and jeopardising inter party political talks in Northern Ireland.

PRIME MINISTER'S FOREIGN POLICY ENGAGEMENTS 1992Outward Visits

Your diary contains the following overseas visits:

1. 13-14 June, UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), Rio de Janeiro

The aim of the Conference is to agree a framework convention on climate change (including commitments on CO<sub>2</sub> emission levels by the year 2000, a framework convention on biodiversity, a set of principles on forests and "the Rio Declaration" (principles governing future action on the environment)). There will also be a move to agree a document under the heading "Agenda 21" which will identify global problems and possible follow-up action. The dates set aside for Heads of Government at the Conference are 12-14 June. 13 June coincides with Trooping the Colour. You could, however, still leave London at lunchtime on that day, to arrive in Rio that evening (local time). This would enable you to speak in UNCED on the Sunday.

UNCED itself will be a bun-fight and you will have little opportunity to do more than make a set-piece speech. Since you will be going all the way to Latin America and may not have an early opportunity to go back there, do you want:

- i. to do something else while in Brazil?
- ii. to visit any other Latin American countries?

The possibilities include visits to Venezuela and/or Colombia. With travelling time this could mean being away from the United Kingdom for 4-5 days. Are you prepared to contemplate this? If so, I will submit a detailed draft programme.

2. Friday 26 - Saturday 27 June, European Council, Lisbon.

This lasts from 10 a.m. on the Friday to lunch-time on Saturday. The main issues for discussion will be the



financing of the Community, CAP reform, and a Commission report on Enlargement of the EC.

3. Monday 6 - Wednesday 8 July, Economic Summit Munich.

You, the Foreign Secretary and the Chancellor attend. The main issues for discussion will be:

- i. the world economy
- ii. relations with Russia and the other republics of the former Soviet Union
- iii. relations with Central and Eastern Europe
- iv. the safety of nuclear power stations in the countries of Eastern Europe
- v. current political issues e.g. Middle East, Iraq, Libya and Yugoslavia.

Texts are issued but most of the work on these is pre-cooked by Sherpas i.e. special representatives of Heads of Government (Andrew Turnbull for you) and there is rarely a real negotiation as there is at EC meetings. For quite a lot of the time Heads of Government meet on their own with just one Sherpa each in the room as notetaker/adviser. The Foreign and Finance Ministers also have separate meetings and there are plenary sessions as well.

4. Thursday 9 - Friday 10 July, CSCE Summit, Helsinki

The purpose of the meeting is to strengthen the role of the CSCE in resolving disputes within member countries, as well as between them and to establish a CSCE Security Forum to bring together future conventional arms control negotiations in Europe. You would need to fly to Helsinki straight from Munich.

5. Thursday 17 September: Visit to EXPO, Seville

The international exposition of Seville coincides with our presidency. Thursday 17 September has been set aside as a day for a high level British visit. The main event would be a visit to the British pavilion. Do you agree to take this on? If so, it would also be worth arranging to have talks

with Prime Minister Gonzalez on the same day. You could fly to Seville on the morning of Thursday 17 September, visit the EXPO, fly up to Madrid in mid-afternoon for dinner with Prime Minister Gonzalez, then fly back to London.

6. The 50th Battle of El Alamein

The 50th anniversary of the Battle of El Alamein occurs in October.

. There are plans for a special commemoration to be organised by the MOD in Egypt, to be attended by you and the Defence Secretary on 24/25 October. Agree that we should plan on this basis?

Bilateral EC summits

There is an established pattern of formal bilateral summits, roughly once a year with President Mitterrand, Chancellor Kohl and the Prime Minister of Italy. All are now due. If you pay brief "getting to know you" visits to Bonn and Paris in the near future, summits can wait until our Presidency. So can a summit with the Italians.

Other possibilities

There is an outstanding , but no firm commitment as to when. You already have a number of unavoidable overseas commitments and the EC Presidency may require other visits to EC capitals so you may wish to avoid other travel for the time being.

Inward Visits by Foreigners

There is a fairly constant stream of requests by overseas visitors to call on you. The Foreign Secretary will advise on those he thinks you should see. It is difficult to set hard and fast criteria but there will be great demands on your time and you may need to fend off quite a few requests. I will obviously consult you in each case.

Inward visits that are already in the diary are:

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You may want to discuss which of the overseas visits Mrs. Kinnock might wish to go on. I think possibilities are UNCED and the G7 Summit.

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UK PRESIDENCY OF THE ECEvents involving the Prime Minister

Wed 1 July	Commission/Presidency meeting (London)
Sun 5 July	EC/Japan Summit (Chequers)
Sun 6 Sept	Euro Prom (London)
Mon 7 Sept	UK Presidency Conference (London)
Tues 10 or	
Thurs 12 Nov	EC Summit (Washington)
Fri 11-Sat 12 Dec	European Council (Edinburgh)
Mon 14 or	
Tues 15 Dec	Statement to the House
Wed 16 Dec	Address European Parliament (Strasbourg)
Thurs 31 Dec	Light a Beacon for Europe (London)

Wednesday 1 July - Commission/Presidency Meeting (London)

This is a regular event at the start of each Presidency involving a meeting of all the Commissioners and all British Cabinet Ministers who deal with EC business. It is scheduled to take place at No.10 from 0930-1100 and to be followed by a separate meeting between yourself, the Foreign Secretary and M. Delors. You and M. Delors then give a press conference. After that you host a lunch for the Commission at Lancaster House. The aim of the meeting is to agree on priorities for our Presidency and to give the Presidency its public launch.

Sunday 5 July - EC/Japan Summit

The EC/Japan Declaration agreed last year committed the Community to a meeting at Head of Government level at around the time of the G7 Summit. Mr. Miyazawa has been invited to Chequers on 5 July. The plan has been for him to have a talk with you on bilateral issues to be followed by a larger working lunch (including the President of the Commission) at which you would discuss EC/Japan issues, notably trade matters. The date is not immovable but we are committed to having an EC/Japan meeting at some point during our Presidency and it makes sense to do so when Miyazawa is in Europe anyway for the G7 Summit. If you had a meeting on Sunday 5 July, you could fly to Munich for the G7 Summit immediately afterwards.

Sunday 6 September - Presidency Night at the Proms

Radio 3 are arranging for the promenade concert on 6 September at the Royal Albert Hall to be a gala performance to mark our Presidency. The Berlin Radio Symphony Orchestra will perform Beethoven's 9th Symphony which contains the "Ode to Joy", the European anthem, and some Elgar. The Prince and Princess of Wales are expected to attend. It is hoped that you and Mrs Kinnock will attend. Agree?

Monday 7 September - UK Presidency Conference: "Partners or Rivals? Europe and the World After 1992"

We are organising a major one-day conference on Europe after 1992 in conjunction with Chatham House. We expect high level attendance from all EC Member States as well as the US, Japan and other member countries. You are due to give the keynote speech at the opening. Although our Presidency starts in July, August is a dead period in the Community and real business will only start in September. A speech on 7 September would therefore give you a good public platform for setting out the Government's European policies, especially on relations with the countries of EFTA and Eastern Europe. Agree?

Replies to invitations are not yet all in. If we get sufficiently high-level people would you be willing to consider giving a lunch for them?

10/12 November - EC/US Summit (Washington)

There is a meeting between the EC Presidency and the US President twice a year including one due during our Presidency. The Americans have not yet agreed to dates but it makes most sense to hold the meeting in Washington after the US Presidential elections. If President Bush had lost the Election, the substantive content of the meeting might be rather thin but a visit to Washington would give you the opportunity to be the first western leader to meet the newly elected President, so it would still be worthwhile.

The Canadians are also keen to hold a meeting with the EC during our Presidency. No dates have yet been mooted but one presumably would be for you to go on from Washington to Ottawa. The Canadians are due to hold a referendum on their constitution [the future of Quebec, in practice] in late October.

Friday 11 - Saturday 12 December - European Council (Edinburgh)

This is the main event of our Presidency, i.e. the EC summit with you in the chair. The meeting will start at 10 am on the Friday at Holyrood House. You would give a working lunch that day for Heads of Government at Edinburgh Castle. The meeting would resume in the afternoon. The Queen has agreed to give a black-tie dinner on the Royal Yacht at Leith that evening. The meeting would continue on the following day, ending at lunchtime. The main issues of substance are likely to be negotiations on the future financing of the Community and enlargement. I will consult you on the detailed arrangements later.

Wednesday 16 December - EP Plenary (Strasbourg)

This is an unavoidable engagement: you have to report to the European Parliament on the European Council under your chairmanship and take questions. It takes the inside of a day.

Thursday 31 December - Beacon Europe

On New Year's Eve the Barbican Centre are organising a concert involving the European Community Youth Orchestra. A separate organisation called "Beacon Europe", backed by the European Parliament, the National Association of Local Councils and the Scout Association, are coordinating the lighting of beacons of friendship throughout the EC at midnight on that night. You are due to light one on the roof of the Barbican Centre. This would be a good media event to end our Presidency. Agree?

Other engagements during the Presidency

It is normal, if the EC is involved in difficult negotiations, for the President to travel to Community capitals to broker a deal. Prime Minister Lubbers did this in the run up to Maastricht. You do not need take a decision now but, if the negotiations on the future financing of the Community look like

coming to a head at Edinburgh, you might need to make a tour of capitals in the autumn. You might anyway want to do so to introduce yourself to those EC Heads of Government you do not already know.

During the first week of the UN General Assembly in New York (21-25 September) the EC Presidency makes a statement on behalf of all the Twelve. This is normally done at Foreign Minister level but you might want to consider going to the General Assembly yourself. The EC speech has to be an agreed text and is usually long and boring but national statements are made as well and you could make a separate national statement of UK policy. Worth thinking about, particularly if it could be combined with a meeting with President Bush, but no decision needed yet.



### EC ISSUES REQUIRING EARLY DECISION

You will need to decide on the timing and content of legislation to implement the Maastricht Treaty. We are committed to getting the legislation through and ratifying by the end of the year. This means introducing legislation in May or June.

A formal Intergovernmental Conference will be needed in April or early May to work out the details of your acceptance of the Social Chapter which the other Member States adopted between themselves. We will need to move fast since the arrangements will need to be finalised before the Danes hold their referendum on Maastricht (June).

### On-going EC Business

Early decisions will be needed about the Government's line on issues currently under negotiation, in particular the EC's future finances and the reform of the CAP.

The Commission are likely to declare shortly that EC law requires the removal, from the beginning of 1993, of all frontier controls on people moving between member states. This would have important implications for control of illegal immigration, terrorism and drugs. The Home Secretary should make an early recommendation on the Government's reaction.

### Other EC Issues

A line will be needed for resumed discussions with the Commission on their claim that the UK has not fully observed the EC legal requirement for environmental impact assessments of major schemes (particularly road schemes - Twyford Down, Oxleas Wood, etc.)

The Maastricht Treaty sets up a Committee of the Regions: as a first step to nominating the UK's 24 members, it will be necessary to decide how to allocate them between the different parts of the UK.

A:\FOREIGN\NEWPM (MRM)