

**SUMMER MEETING OF WILTON PARK ADVISORY COUNCIL (WPAC)  
THURSDAY 29 JUNE AT WILTON PARK**

**Present:**

**Wilton Park Advisory Council:**

Dr Farhan Nizami (Chair)	Director, Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies
Ms Rachel Briggs	Head of International Programmes, Demos
Dr David Bryer	Chair of Oxfam International and Trustee of Save the Children
Dr Ray Cunningham	Director, Anglo-German Foundation For the Study of Industrial Society
Mr David Heath	Liberal Democrat parliamentary representative
Mr Janusz Heath	Director, Capital Dynamics
Ms Mary Jo Jacobi	Civil Service Commissioner
Mr Michael Leigh	Director-General, Enlargement, European Commission
Sir Michael Quinlan	Former Director, The Ditchley Foundation
Mr Rupert H W Robson	Global Head, Financial Institutions, HSBC
Prof Shamit Saggar	Professor of Political Science, University of Sussex
Prof Philippe J Sands	Professor of Law, Director of Centre on International Courts
Lord Skidelsky	Professor of Political Economy, Warwick University
Sir Stephen Wall	Chairman (Public Affairs EMEA), Hill & Knowlton

**FCO**

Dr Martin Longden	Strategic Policy Adviser, Directorate of Strategy and Information
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**Wilton Park:**

Mr Adam Noble	Chief Executive
Mr Nick Hopkinson	Director
Ms Robin Hart	Programme Director
Mr Chris Langdon	Programme Director
Dr Roger Williamson	Programme Director
Ms Isobelle Jaques	Programme Director
Ms Adela Gooch	Programme Director
Ms Julia Purcell	Programme Director
Jane Rawbone [Note-taker]	PA/Chief Executive

## **ACTION POINTS**

- (a) Wilton Park: Secretariat to publish the minutes of the December 2005 meeting on Wilton Park's website (para 1).
- (b) Wilton Park: New Chief Executive to look at holding a promotional event in Parliament (para 2)
- (c) Wilton Park: Statistics in CE Report to be simplified (para 6)
- (d) Wilton Park: Secretariat to arrange date of Winter meeting (para 8)

## **Apologies**

Apologies were received from Sir Rodric Braithwaite, Prof Victor Bulmer-Thomas, Sir Patrick Cormack, Mr Nik Gowing, Sir David Green, Mr Reijo Kemppinen, Prof Anand Menon, Rt Hon Baroness Quin, Mr Andrew Vickerman, Mr Myles Wickstead.

### **Item 1: Minutes of the last meeting**

1. The minutes of the last meeting were approved by the Council.

### **Item 2: Matters Arising**

2. The Chair welcomed Mr Michael Leigh to his first meeting of the Council and Mr Adam Noble, new Chief Executive of Wilton Park (WP). He confirmed that action points (a) and (e) had been completed, (b) [to pursue a promotional event in Parliament] had been deferred until Mr Noble's arrival and WP would now look at this again. An analysis of WP ratings for conferences of different length (action point c) had been produced and distributed. A Sub-Committee on Branding had met twice, and discussed a number of ideas to broaden the appeal of WP and to expand its market. Following Lord Skidelsky's suggestion at the last meeting that the "Academic" Council be renamed "Advisory" Council, FCO Ministerial agreement had now been obtained for this.

### **Item 3: Forward look from the FCO**

3. The Chair invited Dr Martin Longden, Strategic Policy Adviser, Directorate of Strategy & Information, to give an overview of key issues on the FCO's agenda for the coming months, following the appointment of the new Foreign Secretary. These included:

- The new government White Paper (a revision of the 2003 Paper) on "Active Diplomacy for a Changing World: The UK's International Priorities" was published in the Spring and explained the government's international policy. It set out the trends and factors likely to shape the next decade and had been agreed across Government. The fundamentals of the Strategy in the 2003 Paper still held but the paper

brought out those trends and challenges which were now clearer since 2003. The Strategic International Priorities remained broadly similar to 2003, but the Paper now explicitly mentioned poverty reduction and the environment, and in particular climate change. More recognition had also been given to the challenges of migration and illegal immigration and the problems they would pose to the UK and other governments. There was also renewed emphasis on the delivery of high quality services, especially consular, to the British public.

The Paper identified three main issues:

- The gathering pace of the globalisation, including the flow of people, goods, knowledge and the economic and political implications of the rapid growth of Asia, especially India and China.
  - Pressures on natural resources, the challenge of climate security, and the need to manage competition for secure and sustainable energy supplies.
  - Continued uncertainty in the security environment. Terrorism would remain the greatest security threat to UK interests, but the challenges of WMD proliferation would be especially critical in the next decade.
- The new Foreign Secretary's agenda focused on the challenges of globalisation, and especially on the issue of climate security. She had appointed John Ashton as her Special Representative for Climate Change.
  - Other specific issues likely to arise over the next year were:
    - Debate over the future of Europe, and enlargement. There would be challenges over Turkish accession to resolve in the next few months.
    - The Middle East would remain at the top of the international agenda. Iraq, the MEPP, counter-terrorism and Arab reform would all dominate attention. Iran was self-evidently crucial. Although the outcome cannot be predicted, the package put to Tehran offered the regime a fundamental choice between engagement and isolation.
    - Russia: increasing concerns about its future direction, both domestically and in terms of its foreign and energy policies.
    - The rise of China and its relations with the developing world. Desire to develop partnerships with China across a range of issues, including in the developing world, where China is increasingly active.

4. The Chair asked Council Members for comments and the following observations arose:

- The rise of China, Russia and India raised the question of the validity of the phrase "international community" (which normally only referred to the West). Other countries would now want to challenge some of the West's views.

- The US had not been mentioned nor its foreign policy, and its influence on global developments. What was its policy going to be on energy, security, terror and human rights? There had also been a significant change of direction under the second Bush Administration.  
Dr Longden said after the US Primaries there would be more clarity on the direction of US foreign policy, on which Iraq had had a big impact.
- Turkey would be a major issue for EU enlargement but there would be more pressing concerns for the international community over eg Serbia and Kosovo. If Ahtisaari's UN plan for Kosovo was not accepted by the Serbs there could be a major political and refugee crisis.
- The situation in India was developing – would India retain its affinity to the UK as in the past? Troubled relationships within the Indian Sub-continent might put India in a position which was not comfortable for the UK.
- The US had been the principal ally of the UK for many years – did the FCO assume that would continue over the coming years? Would China or India replace the US in that role? Would the UK perhaps have 2 or 3 major allies? Dr Longden said the US would remain a key ally, especially on security issues. The UK and others would have to work more with emerging countries. The UK's relationships with EU partners will remain essential to many UK domestic and international objectives.
- The UK needed to keep promoting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and democratisation. There was concern over increasing Russia undermining of the workings of international organisations such as the OSCE. The UK should actively counter such attempts.
- Had the general public's attitude been taken into account when the White Paper was formulated? Did people think more, or less, about foreign affairs than previously, had they changed their views, and were people hardening towards the Middle East? Dr Longden agreed that public opinion and other non-government actors would affect government policy across a range of foreign policy issues.
- Democratisation of the Middle East had not been mentioned: Iraq could break up, and Iran pull out of NPT and so forth. Dr Longden said there was much debate at present on the future of democracy in the region, and conceded significant challenges remained.

#### **Item 4: Chief Executive's Report**

5. Mr Noble said that he appreciated the work of the Academic Council. He thanked Mr Hopkinson for his tenure as Acting Chief Executive in the interregnum. Mr Noble had been impressed with the work of all the staff at WP and the key priority was to maintain WP's reputation for excellence, both here and overseas, and hoped that it could be expanded. WP hoped to generate much closer links with Other Government Departments (OGDs) beyond the FCO. WP's relationship with the business community needed improvement and if Council members had any suggestions or could recommend people to help achieve this they would be very welcome. WP would have a deficit for 2005/06 of around £200k, mainly caused by last minute cancellation of conferences and staff changes. Sheila Mackay would be leaving in July and had made a great contribution in her time at WP. WP

would now need some further restructuring. Negotiations on the lease renewal continued with the landlord's agents and it was hoped that a new 20 year lease, with break clauses, could be agreed soon.

6. The Chair asked for any comments on the Report. It was noted that:

- Conference ratings on the whole were satisfactory. Participation from Italy, Spain and Portugal could be improved. Participation from South Asia and the Middle East had fallen during the last year. WP needed to maintain interest in those regions. EU institutions could be encouraged to send participants to WP conferences as part of their in-house training.
- It was suggested that OGD Permanent Secretaries could be invited by WP to hold one of their twice yearly meetings at WH.
- There was a need to improve links with Parliamentarians, many of whom did not know of WP and its work. There was scope to develop relationships with the Select Committees (especially DTI, Defence, International Development) and they could be encouraged to hold their awaydays at WH. There was low participation by journalists who could help raise WP's profile by including a reference to its work in their articles.
- WP should produce more reports which reflected both disagreements and agreements at conferences (without attribution). Reports were published on the website but more could be done to circulate them. As the cost of producing 60 reports a year to make an impact would be prohibitive, WP needed to decide what it hoped to achieve with these reports. Individual Programme Directors could perhaps write an annual summary volume or chapter on all conferences covering one particular sector (eg the EU). Rapporteurs were sometimes employed but were expensive.
- The statistics in the Chief Executive's Report could be produced in a clearer form for the Council. A separate table on participation from the UK only, by sector (eg environment, defence etc), rather than by individual conference, would be more useful.
- It was asked why WP's overseas conferences were mainly held in Europe. Mr Hopkinson said WP had held conferences in Egypt, Senegal, Brazil and Japan. Funding and staffing constraints were the main difficulty in organising conferences outside Europe.
- It was suggested again that WP should hold one day flagship events with key speakers - an event could be built around a speaker. As there appeared to be concern over the sustainability of WP for the medium term perhaps the current structure of conferences needed to be changed. It was possible to fulfill the same mission but add something which generated publicity to make more people aware of WP, perhaps by holding an annual lecture.
- Some topics on the WP calendar were included under two different categories which was confusing eg terrorism featured under both Defence and Global, Economic and Social Policies. It was suggested that some categories could be amalgamated.

**Item 5: Draft Calendar for 2007**

7. The Chair asked Council members for their comments on the draft calendar. These are listed in Annex A.

**Item 6: AOB** – nothing raised

**Item 7: Date of the next meeting**

8. It was agreed that this would be at the beginning of December at the FCO. Ms Rawbone to arrange a date.

**ANNEX A**

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**Item 5: Draft Calendar for 2007**

The following suggestions and additions to planned conferences were made:

**EUROPEAN UNION**

Turkey: In addition to the conference on “Progress of Turkey’s Accession to the EU” there would be interest in Turkey’s role in energy security and as a bridge to avert “the clash of civilisations”. More debate was needed on Turkey.

Western Balkans and the EU: should include the question of the fight against corruption (especially for investors) and organised crime.

However, corruption was not the same as financial crime, and they should be kept separate.

The South Caucasus and the EU: should consider regional conflicts, but perhaps that could be a separate conference.

Shaping The EU for the Next 50 Years: There were more immediate questions. Would there be a new Treaty? How should money be spent annually on specific sectors eg agriculture?

Economic And Social Developments in the Euro-Med Region: Should also consider the promotion of democracy in the Middle East and North Africa.

Issues raised by the EU Constitution would be resurrected in 2007 after the French elections. There might be a trade off for radical economic reform in the EU and Constitution.

**GLOBAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES**

The relationship between the executive and the judiciary in the rule of law and foreign policy contexts should be discussed. If not control orders, what was the alternative? Pre-Emptive jurisdiction challenged international legal norms.

Economic sanctions – WP could explore the move from blockbuster to smart sanctions.

The concept of extraterritoriality and its jurisdiction.

Piracy was a growing issue.

The war on terror and its impact on foreign relations should be included. It had caused huge difficulties and made a great impact. A more critical assessment was needed.

Corporate Social Responsibility And Foreign Policy: Conflicting Agendas? Should cover the issues of corporate responsibility, obligations of states (foreign investment), corporate investors and the nature of their investments.

The return of political extremism: for example in Poland and Nepal.

Global competitiveness, how long had the West got? There was concern whether Western corporations fully appreciated limits on their capacity to survive.

The role of women – women had the vote for the first time in parts of the Middle East. There were a number of other global issues concerning women that could be tackled.

The Olympics: With a view to 2012, what would be the UK's public diplomacy strategy towards the Olympics and how would it be used? How had recent host countries (Australia and China, for example) approached the organisation of the Games? The success of the World Cup 2006 had surprised the German public. What could London 2012 learn? Global sporting events in general had a huge impact on international relations and the way national identity was perceived both by participating countries and the host country. WP should perhaps do something within Foreign Cultural Relations or Foreign Reporting contexts to examine these issues.

"Home grown violence" everywhere was on the rise (eg recent events in Canada). Countries with liberal immigration policies may have to review policies and procedures. Perhaps there could be an Anglo-Canadian comparison.

The economic benefit and costs of migration. Serious financial as well as social costs were involved.

Policing the international community – were there core values which all countries subscribed to which might be enforced? What were their attitudes to human rights?

## **GLOBAL GOVERNANCE**

There was need for a conference on “inequality” of opportunity (eg now a central issue in the US) and inequality of security. The UN and World Bank had produced reports on inequality and their authors could be good speakers.

What Future Priorities for the UN? The UN was created within a 1945 paradigm - was it still relevant, especially with the rise of Asia? Should some UN Institutions be restructured under the new Secretary-General?

The role of faith in foreign policy relationships and in secular societies. Faith-based groups in disaster relief played a pivotal role.

## **KEY REGIONS AND COUNTRIES**

What was the future of the US post-Bush? There was a growing wealth gap space between the US and Europe. Does the Westphalian model still work? Iraq: What lessons have been learnt from Iraq?

Policing wars was now a global issue. India, for example, was now surrounded by countries at war. How would these regional conflicts be policed?

East Asia – WP should look at the relationship between China and Japan.

Central Asia – the rise of Russian influence.

South East/Asian Pacific – a conference in partnership with Australian organisations on what was happening in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, eg East Timor etc, might be worthwhile.

A conference on larger Arab countries, especially Egypt and Saudi Arabia, might be worthwhile.

## **SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND THE ENVIRONMENT**

The Global Energy Forum: should include questions on natural resources. Is access to raw materials a new source of rivalry and security tensions? Energy and natural resources could be separate conferences. Alternative forms of energy should be considered.

The conference on Climate Change: Priorities and Opportunities was extremely broad. Perhaps it should concentrate on one particular area, for example, emissions. The same was true of the Global Energy Forum. Natural resources and geo-political aspects and the relations between the two could be discussed at the Forum.

On Climate Change there was the issue of US public attitudes to the environment (not the US administration). There was a growing trend among some US States to develop their own environmental policies. Aviation emissions was another key environmental concern.

Reversing climate change – how did countries manage the effects of climate change when it happened? With population dynamics constantly changing, it would soon be too late to reverse the effects.

## **DEFENCE, SECURITY AND CONFLICT PREVENTION**

Intelligence – the law and ethics of its collection and its use.

European Defence forces - What experience had been gained from Afghanistan? What had been learnt from the experience of European countries who had sent troops to other war zones?

## **ONE DAY WP FLAGSHIP EVENTS:**

Suggestions included:

International Rule of Law with a speech by Lord Bingham. WP could invite 2 or 3 US Supreme Court justices, senior members of the House of Lords and journalists.

Reporting of foreign policy issues – how were foreign events and policy issues dealt with in the media? What was and was not being covered by journalists?

Nuclear technology: was spreading rapidly around the world and would have considerable implications for security, energy supply etc, over the next 20-30 years.

US 2008 Presidential Elections: a “conversation” between potential Presidential candidates or their senior representatives in 2007 would attract a high degree of media attention.

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