

**WINTER MEETING OF WILTON PARK ACADEMIC COUNCIL (WPAC)
TUESDAY 13 DECEMBER 2005 – FCO**

Present:

Wilton Park Academic Council:

Dr Farhan Nizami (Chair)	Director, Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies
Sir Rodric Braithwaite	Chairman, Russian Programme, Centre for European Reform
Ms Rachel Briggs	Head of International Programmes, Demos
Dr David Bryer	Chair of Oxfam International and Trustee of Save the Children
Professor Victor Bulmer-Thomas	Director, Chatham House
Mr Nik Gowing	Journalist and broadcaster
Mr David Heath	Liberal Democrat parliamentary representative
Mr Janusz Heath	Director, Capital Dynamics
Ms Mary Jo Jacobi	Civil Service Commissioner
Mr Reijo Kempinnen	Head of EU Representation in UK
Rt Hon Joyce Quin	Former Minister of State at Home Office, FCO and MAFF
Sir Michael Quinlan	Former Director, The Ditchley Foundation
Mr Rupert H W Robson	Global Head, Financial Institutions, HSBC
Prof Shamit Sagar	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
Mr Andrew Vickerman	Head of Communication & Sustainable Development, Rio Tinto plc
Sir Stephen Wall	Chairman (Public Affairs EMEA), Hill & Knowlton
Mr Myles Wickstead	Former Head of Secretariat, Commission for Africa and British Ambassador, Ethiopia

FCO

Tim Livesey	Assistant Director of Information & Head of Public Diplomacy Group
Martin Longden	Policy Team, Directorate of Strategy and Information
Bryony Whiting	Public Diplomacy Group

Wilton Park:

Colin Jennings	Chief Executive
Nick Hopkinson	Director of Planning & External Relations
Mrs Sheila Mackay	Director of Conferences
Chris Langdon	Associate Director
Roger Williamson	Associate Director
Isobelle Jaques	Associate Director
Adela Gooch	Associate Director
Julia Purcell	Associate Director
Jane Rawbone [Note-taker]	PA/Chief Executive

ACTION POINTS

- a) Wilton Park: Secretariat to publish the minutes of the June 2005 meeting on Wilton Park's website (para 1).
- b) Wilton Park: New Chief Executive to look at holding a promotional event in Parliament during second half of 2006 (para 3).
- c) Wilton Park: To produce an analysis of Wilton Park ratings for the summer meeting (para 3).
- d) Wilton Park: Mr Jennings to write to Council members about forming a Sub-Committee on Branding (para 5).
- e) Wilton Park: Mr Jennings to invite Council members to the 60th anniversary dinner (para 6).

Apologies

Apologies were received from Dr Ray Cunningham, Lord Corbett, Sir Patrick Cormack, Sir David Green, Professor Anand Menon, Michael Leigh and Lord Young.

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 the new members of the Council, Ms Rachel Briggs, Mr Michael Leigh, Rt Hon Joyce Quin, Mr Rupert Robson, Professor Shamit Saggarr, Professor Philippe Sands, Mr Andrew Vickerman, Sir Stephen Wall, and Mr Myles Wickstead. He gave warm thanks to Lord Corbett and Lord Young who would be retiring from the Council after 10 years. The Chair also gave his appreciation of the leadership which Colin Jennings had provided to Wilton Park (WP). He welcomed the reappointment to the Council of David Bryer, Nik Gowing and Michael Quinlan. The Chair would be hosting a farewell lunch for Mr Jennings in Oxford on 30 January to which he would be inviting all members of the Council.

3. The Chair confirmed that action points a), d), f) and g) had been completed. Action point b) (to pursue a promotional event in Parliament): it was suggested that this event should await the appointment of the new Chief Executive, and WP should aim to do it in the second half of 2006. The Chair agreed. Action point c) (to analyse the participant ratings for different length and sizes of conferences): Mr Jennings said this was in hand, and the questionnaire had been adjusted. An analysis would be produced for the summer meeting.

4. In answer to a question, Mr Jennings said that the FCO had authorised WP to begin negotiations with the landlord on the new lease (on the basis of a strategy agreed with the FCO). Valuers for both parties had been appointed to negotiate the terms and it was hoped to reach an agreement by March. Mr Livesey added that if negotiation with the landlord was successful, a business case would be put by the FCO to the Treasury, saying that its preferred option would be to retain Wiston House rather than relocate outside of the South East of England. (The Treasury Gershon Review recommended relocating government offices outside the SE of England where possible.)

5. Action point e) (to convene a meeting of a group of Council members on branding): Ms Jacobi, Mr J Heath, Mr Gowing and Mr Jennings had met and Mr Jennings had circulated Council Members a note of suggested action points. The aim was to strengthen WP's brand in the medium term and attract more participation and support from the business community. It had been suggested that the essence of what WP did should be captured in a sound-bite and suggestions had been circulated on which comments would be welcome. It had also been advocated that four flagship conferences should take place annually. It was hoped that the new Council members from the business and banking sectors would join this group, along with any other member who wished to do so, to form a sub-committee of the Council to advise the Chief Executive on branding issues, especially with the business community. The following comments were made:

- Council members should do more to promote WP. Important for WP's image and reputation in the medium to long-term that it was viewed in a good light and competed well – especially with the time pressures on people.
- Several members thought that four flagship conferences a year would be too ambitious - one would be better. Mr Jennings said the hope for each such event was to invite a high profile speaker of interest to the media on a subject of great interest to the business community. Such a speaker needed to be top level to attract good sponsorship and attention.
- WP needed to define the level of business involvement sought for such events: at CEO level of major corporations, their deputies, CEOs of subsidiary companies or middle management. If it was the first of these then a speaker would need to be of an equal status in the political world – however, if it were the last then it would not be a

“flagship” event. Mr Jennings said WP would need advice on these points from the business members of the Council.

- In answer to a question, Mr Jennings said that the business community was not of overriding importance to WP but was the weakest area in terms of participation and financial support. Hence the interest in strengthening business involvement. However, WP’s main focus as an Agency was to attract non-British participation and promote policy exchanges between people from different countries. To aim for high level business participation in non-flagship conferences was over ambitious – better to attract CEOs as speakers, with their key advisers as participants.
- It was suggested that the Academic Council should be renamed “Advisory Council” to reflect its broad range of membership.
- If the aim for WP was to attract more high-profile media interest perhaps it should offer to host an existing high-profile event (eg the Dimpleby Lecture).

The Chair concluded that there were two recommendations, one that a sub-committee be formed and two that it was comprised of the original group’s members, new Council members from the business world and any other member who so wished. Mr Jennings would write to all Council members to follow this up.

Item 3: Chief Executive’s Report

6. Mr Jennings said the new members were joining the Council at an important time, given that a new Chief Executive would soon be appointed and lease negotiations were about to begin. If need be, the Council could play an important role in influencing decision makers. He introduced Sheila Mackay (newly appointed WP Director of Conferences) and confirmed Nick Hopkinson’s new role as Director of Planning & External Relations – Mr Hopkinson would be Acting Chief Executive in any interregnum. WP’s 60th anniversary would be on 12 January 2006 and Lord Triesman (FCO Minister) had agreed to speak at a dinner that evening to which all members of the Council would be invited.

7. The Report (circulated to members) covered the recent work of WP. Conference ratings were high, which was encouraging given that there were three new members of the academic team. Demand also remained high, with an average number of 62 participants at each conference. The Chair agreed that it had been a good period for WP and congratulated the team.

Item 4: Forward look from the FCO

8. The Chair invited Dr Martin Longden, Directorate of Strategy & Information, to give an overview of key issues on the FCO’s agenda over the coming year. These included:

- The review of FCO Strategy which, two years on, was now underway. The fundamentals of the original strategy remained sound, but there

would be a slightly greater emphasis on some of the 'softer' security and policy issues. These include:

- The continued rapid growth of India and China, the economic and social impact of globalisation, and the political consequences of the rise of Asia;
- The continuing threat of international terrorism - and especially the ever closer synergy between domestic and international security;
- The challenges of managing economic and social development and security implications of migration;
- The difficulties posed by climate change - the impact on environmental degradation and resource pressures, and their consequences for sustainable development and human and international security;
- Energy security: now more important than ever to the UK, given we are a net importer of natural gas and are likely to be so for oil by 2010;
- The increased importance to the FCO of our service delivery to the general public (especially consular services).
- Two regions were worth special mention: Europe and the Middle East.
- Future EU financing was topical, but more profound debates will be needed on the organisation of the new 25 member EU, on the question of subsequent enlargement (including the issue of the Western Balkans), and on how Europe responds to the challenges of globalisation.
- Relations with Russia would also be important - especially during their Chairmanship of the G8 next year. The EU's engagement with Russia's near neighbourhood had the potential to cause tension in the EU-Russian relationship.
- The Middle East remained hugely significant for global security. The US was now pushing the Middle East reform agenda: status quo unsustainable over the longer term hence need for change. The Middle East Peace Process remained fundamentally important both to regional stability and in improving the wider relationship between the West and the Muslim world.
- Iraq: the elections had been a big step forward and Sunni participation was very important. But there remained the need to build the infrastructure of Iraq itself (army, police, civil service etc) to ensure indigenous stability within Iraq's borders.
- Syria and Lebanon: real international support for the Lebanese aspirations and concern amongst international community, including other Middle East states, over Syrian policy.
- Iran: election of President Ahmadinejad potentially made accommodation with Iran more difficult. Very serious concern about Iran's nuclear programme, but negotiations about negotiations not possible.

The following points arose in discussion:

- The debate on China had changed over the past few years - the question had previously been on the effect of outside influence on the reform of China. Now it was the opposite and this should be taken into account.

- Pakistan and the problems it posed was almost as important as India.
- The relationship between China and Japan - in particular the implications of US policy which encouraged Japan to be more confrontational in its relationship with China.

Item 5: Possible conference themes for 2007

9. The Chair asked Council members for their suggestions on possible conference themes for 2007. These are listed in Annex A.

Item 6: AOB – Nothing raised.

Item 7: Date of the next meeting – Thursday 29 June 2006 at Wiston House.

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Item 5: Possible conference themes for 2007

The following suggestions were made:

THE EUROPEAN UNION

EU enlargement: policy for the future.

Future development of the EU: should look more at EU's evolving nature: Also, where are the 27 countries (in 2007) of the EU heading? Constitutional debate will be back on the agenda. Germany was once economic leader in EU but no longer. How is the Euro-zone faring? Is there still a European project or is the EU about managing decline? Will the EU survive as a viable and vibrant organisation?

EU jobs and growth: impact of globalisation on Lisbon strategy, and follow up to Hampton Court meeting on eg education, investment in research and innovation, common energy grid, ageing populations. Flagship conference? Interest in business community in regulation: what degree of regulation is needed to achieve e.g. a common market on energy?

Connecting with the public: gap of understanding on what is going on in Europe. Parliamentarians, media and business people should be brought together.

GLOBAL ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND GOVERNANCE POLICIES

Doha World Trade process: follow up.

Trade and Development: the importance of opening up trade to achieve development.

Jobs: security of jobs in EU and beyond. Prediction is that 20 million new jobs will be needed in the next 20 years (include demography, security and economic issues, particularly in the Arab world where most of the population will then be under 25). Could be a flagship event? Related to that: job creation and the role of small businesses for economic development. They create the most jobs.

Protectionism: What is wrong with it, is it not a natural response of the rich part of the world to competition from poorer areas? Free trade is not so secure as one assumes.

Population growth: and rising economic growth, what tensions will arise? Importance of commodities more generally, not just energy but manufacturers. What are we going to do about population growth, how will the world adapt within the context of global warming? The way Europe's southern neighbours will develop over the next 20 years – could be potential disaster for Europe.

Demographics and migration: from European angle: Germans will not allow Eastern Europeans to move to Germany until 2011. The different models of migration (contract labour and residency leading to citizenship) should be considered. Migration should be a contract with benefits to both sides.

Emigration: In northern European countries one-third of young people under 30 intended to spend their adult life outside their continent – what effect will that have?

Globalisation: impact on intellectual property and copyright, public/private funding, free trade. The West becoming the protectionists. Also Globalisation and consequences on both the West and developing economies and perhaps big business (major multinationals including now from Russia, Latin America and China).

Urbanisation: more than half the world will be living in cities, including in Africa, in 10 years time.

Business and government: dialogue needed on how to approach international issues.

The Pensions Gap: raising retirement age to 67 – real issue across Europe.

Trade Unions: have reached a point where there is a real challenge in facing changes occurring with BRIC.

Role of Tourism: in economic development.

UN: new Secretary-General to be appointed in 2007 – what challenges will they face in reconstructing the UN and dealing with threats. Legal and ethical issues around security will remain with us.

Rule of law: issue of transnational justice and the role of criminal law. Lessons to be learnt from trials of Milosevic and Saddam Hussein. Addressing the right balance between fundamental rights and security.

Humanitarian issues: degree to which erosion of humanitarian law affects function of others. Discussion of humanitarian issues has been Western-based, other countries now entering into this. Also role of UN and status of

policy on responsibility to protect. Financing and security still problematic issues.

Muslims in Europe: multiculturalism versus integration, education, etc. Europe and Islam.

Security and Liberty: liberty is being curtailed in the Western world in the name of security. Also, the ethics of torture.

International and Domestic Terrorism: growing importance of the link between the two. More should be done to prevent this by tackling root causes. Also countering terrorism in Europe – need to look at what other EU members are doing in terms of domestic legislation and practice.

Religion: the impact of religion on stability and prosperity. Also “religiosity” – tensions between secularism and religiosity: especially comparison between US and Middle East (and perhaps India).

Diasporas: impact on international politics and economic development.

Legal responses to terrorism and to organised crime: comparison with what other countries are doing on this.

Financial crime: impact on governments and regulators, and on failed or failing states (Albania, Pakistan). Of special interest to OGDs (in particular the Treasury)

Pandemic and Avian flu issues: also, veterinary and plant health and strategies for dealing internationally with these problems.

KEY REGIONS AND COUNTRIES

China: serious analysis needed of obstacles to its continued fast rate of growth. China assumed to be a “done deal” when in reality no-one knows what it will become. Chinese GDP per head \$150. In the Western world it is \$30-40k – will China ever be able to reach that with such a large population? (RR) Other good conference themes: the efforts of China to become a hegemonic power in Asia; its impact on the rest of the world (especially the business market), as opposed to the opposite; the effect of China’s economy on others in the region (e.g. Vietnam)) and the impact of their growth; the impact of China’s political system on stability and growth, as it is not a democracy.

Middle East: Israel/Palestinians; economic & political development.

Iran: not just nuclear question – perhaps new President may make a political change.

The Gulf: (especially the large countries Saudi Arabia and Iran) – continuity and change.

Mediterranean: Western relationships with north Africa and how link with Islam and Europe.

France: politically may have to make some tough choices on the impact of globalisation [*timing of this conference perhaps before their Presidential elections*]

US: Issues Post-Bush Administration will face, especially climate change, erosion of human rights, claim to exceptionalism. Strong Treasury interest (Chancellor has commissioned a study by Nick Stern). Political development – many differences between states on the East and West Coasts of the US. The way US State administrations have reacted to climate change (doing more) is in marked contrast to Federal Administration views.

Russia: [*event after their G8 Presidency*] How does Russia fit into BRIC (Brazil/Russia/India/China)

Pakistan: should be tied in with non-proliferation. Also political and economic prospects.

India: Will it be benevolent towards Europe? What kind of international player will it become?

South Asia: as a region – negative side of things that may happen.

East Asian Security

Balkan countries: and their relationship with other parts of the world.

Africa: important to keep this at the top of the agenda, especially 2015 MDGs to be kept under review. Link between disasters and long term development. Nature of relationship between private sector and NGOs, and role of diaspora.

Latin America: Evaluation of the new Latin American governments (eg Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Argentina) over the next 12 months. Latin America: comparison of different models of economic development over the last 10 years.

Future of Eastern Siberia: demography, natural resources, an area of tension and conflict. How China and Russia are split on that relationship.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Climate change: Can one roll back greenhouse emissions? Or just manage the consequences?

Energy: to looking at national and regional strategies around the world and how they conflict with each other.

Nuclear energy and energy security: should this be decided on a domestic basis or Europe-wide?

Water: supplies a continuing problem in many parts of the world. Rising sea levels and temperatures (melting icebergs etc). How do we react to this? Also, access to water in terms of disease (80% of diseases in developing world are water borne). There are issues around private or government provision which could cause potential conflict: mostly discussed at WP conferences by people from America and Europe. Should get more grassroots NGOs from developing countries.

Aviation and Environment: every nation has a problem: changes are needed. Is "green aviation" possible?

The Response to International Disasters: *(both former Presidents Bush and Clinton could speak on this)*. Now more disasters than ever before – have long lasting effect of those involved.

FCO consular service delivery: NAO recently produced a Review of Consular Services: timely for WP to do an event comparing this work with other Foreign Ministries' consular services.

DEFENCE, SECURITY AND CONFLICT PREVENTION

Utility of military power: how armed forces are structured and what they are for.

Military Lessons of Iraq and Kosovo: post-conflict reconstruction – what has been learnt?

The role of nuclear weapons: on the international stage.

Security sector reform: (state-building and governance etc).

Small Arms: Review of Small Arms will be in July 2006, follow up will be needed.

European Defence: and European defence industry: do we need one?

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