MT.

CONFIDENTIAL FILING

Prime Minister's visit to France and Germany, 23 March.

PM TOURS ABROAD

March 1987

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
~~9.3.87~~							
~~10.3.87~~							
~~12.3.87~~							
~~13.3.87~~							
~~17.3.87~~							
~~18.3.87~~							
~~20.3.87~~							
25.3.87							

PREM 19/2446

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10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

25 March 1987

I am writing on the Prime Minister's behalf to thank you very much for flying her and the rest of the party to and from Caen and Bonn on Monday. On such a busy day we all appreciated such excellent treatment and as usual the flights were extremely smooth.

The Prime Minister is most grateful to you and the other members of the crew for helping to make her trip such a success.

(Charles Powell)

Squadron Leader M. James.

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENT MITTERRAND AND CHANCELLOR KOHL, MONDAY 23 MARCH 1987

You are to meet President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl in the course of Monday. Your programme is attached.

There is considerable interest in your meetings. Kohl has welcomed them as introducing a new dimension to consultation of Europe. We envisage that you will see the press briefly at the end of each meeting in company with Mitterrand and Kohl respectively. I think that you should make clear that you are also consulting President Reagan, so that there is no impression that the Americans are somehow being left out.

The visits are to a large degree demonstrative. The fact of making them before you go to Moscow is as important as what you say. But they will undoubtedly allow you to speak with an even greater authority in Moscow and will increase Gorbachev's interest in what you have to say.

Some detailed briefs are in the attached folder. I have included the Steering Brief and the Arms Control Brief for your Moscow visit.

Allowing for interpretation you will have only just over an hour with Mitterrand and Kohl. Inevitably most of the discussion will be taken up with your Moscow visit. You will want to make clear that you are not going to Moscow with great expectations. Your main purpose is to convince Gorbachev of the continued firmness of purpose and unity of the NATO Alliance. We do not take Soviet declarations at face value. And shall not weaken our defences simply because of a few interesting speeches. You will want to drive home that

(1)

(2)

Gorbachev is not going to be able to divide Europe from the United States. At the same time you will want to make your own first-hand assessment of Gorbachev's intentions and prospects of succeeding in his plans for reform. You will want to show that arms control is not the only issue in East/West relations, important though it is. You intend to cover the whole gamut of issues: regional problems, human rights, bilateral issues as well as having a broader and more philosophical discussion of the future relations between our competing systems.

On arms control, you will be making clear to Gorbachev your view that the defence of the West will continue to rely for as far ahead as you can see on the deterrent effect of nuclear weapons. You will base yourself on the three priorities established at Camp David and explore with Gorbachev how progress can be made on each of them. On INF you will place particular stress on strict verification and on the need to constrain the Soviet advantage in shorter-range systems (this point is shared by Mitterrand and Kohl). At the same time you will want to point out to both Mitterrand and Kohl the dangers of being drawn down a path towards a de-nuclearised Europe. The West must act quickly to formulate a position for follow-on negotiations on shorter-range systems and decide what substitute the Alliance needs for the deterrent and striking power of the Cruise and Pershing. We shall need to have a common position on this by the time of the NATO Defence Ministers' meeting in May.

On the complex of space issues, you will want to explain to Mitterrand and Kohl your ideas for a commitment by both sides not to deploy a strategic defence system for a fixed number of years, and then only after negotiations; and to set out publicly their timetable for research and testing to give the re-assurance of predictability. This should give both sides sufficient confidence in the intentions of the other about strategic defence to allow them to negotiate reductions in strategic weapons. You will want to explain your

scepticism about the likelihood of progress in negotiations to reduce conventional weapons. But you will also want to make the point that there must be a clear linkage established between follow-on negotiations on shorter-range nuclear missiles and conventional force reductions.

Both Mitterrand and Kohl may raise the proposal by M. Delors to convene a special European Council to discuss these issues of East/West relations. We think this is unnecessary. There is a European Council any way in June. What is needed is for Foreign Ministers to prepare thoroughly for discussion there.

The other subject which you ought to try to raise with both Mitterrand and Kohl is the review of Community finances. You will want to stress to them the importance of Britain, France and Germany working closely together to deal with Delors' impractical ideas. You will want to make clear in particular that we shall not be ready to reach agreements at the June European Council. We see discussion there as an opportunity to inject greater realism into the discussions.

There are one or two issues which may come up bilaterally. With Mitterrand you might refer to his speech at Chatham House in which he talked particularly of the prospects for defence co-operation between Britain and France. You could refer to the recent meeting between Mr. Younger and the French Defence Minister at which practical co-operation in a number of areas, including nuclear matters, was agreed. You may also wish to mention briefly the subject of hostages in Lebanon. As you know, there is a threat to execute one of the French hostages.

With Kohl it would be very helpful if you could raise the issue of David Williamson's candidature for the post of Secretary General of the Commission. We are now very close to the point of decision and the Germans are still running their own candidate (Mr. Krenzler). Your line might be that we

would certainly support a good German candidate to succeed Delors as President of the Commission. You would also support Mr. Krenzler for the post of Director General of External Relations (which we at present hold) in return for their agreement to support David Williamson for the Secretary General post. If Kohl asks you to raise in Moscow the case of Rudolph Hess, I suggest that you say that you already have a considerable number of important and sensitive questions on the Agenda and would only want to mention this if there was any evidence beforehand of a change in the Soviet position.

CDP

CHARLES POWELL

20 March 1987

LobDW

APPENDIX II

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO CAEN AND BONN

OUTLINE PROGRAMME AND TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS

(UK = GMT, France and Germany = GMT + 1)

0935	Depart London (RAF Northolt) by RAF HS 125, Ascot 1403 Flying time: 55 minutes Breakfast will be served
1130	Arrive Caen Airport Met by ~~President Mitterrand~~ M Amet, Prefect of the Department of Calvados
1145	Talks and lunch with President Mitterrand at Chateau de Benouville, Calvados
1400	Depart Chateau de Benouville
1415	Depart Caen Airport by RAF HS 125
1530	Arrive Cologne/Bonn Airport Flying time: 1 hour 15 minutes Refreshments will be served Met by Herr Jochum, Acting Head of Protocol Department Herr Lüders Protocol Department (Desk Officer) Sir Julian Bullard KCMG, HM Ambassador By helicopters to Bonn
1600-1730	Talks with Chancellor Kohl in Bonn
1735	Depart Bonn by helicopter
1800	Depart Cologne/Bonn Airport by RAF HS 125 Flying time: 1 hour 15 minutes Drinks and snacks will be served
1815	Arrive London (RAF Northolt)

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PRIME MINISTER

VISIT TO FRANCE AND GERMANY

You need to take off next Monday at 0935. That would mean leaving here by car at 0845. But I have an option on a helicopter from Wellington Barracks at 0910 if you would prefer that.

Agree car?

Or helicopter?

CDP
18 March 1987

CONFIDENTIAL

file

bc: PC

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

17 March 1987

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENT MITTERRAND AND CHANCELLOR KOHL

Thank you for your letter of 17 March proposing revised timings for the Prime Minister's visits to France and Germany on 23 March. These are acceptable although it will be very important to arrive on time in Bonn.

Charles Powell

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

cc PC

CONFIDENTIAL

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

17 March 1987

Dear Charles,

Prime Minister's Meetings with President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl on 23 March

Both host governments have agreed the timings for the Prime Minister's visits on 23 March with the following slight alterations:

(a) The French confirm that 1130 to 1415 is acceptable although they would have preferred an extra 10 minutes (eg departure at 1425). Talks and lunch will be at Chateau de Benouville, 10 kms from Caen and nearly 20 minutes drive from the airport.

(b) The Germans would like the Prime Minister's aircraft to arrive at 1535 local time since the transfer by helicopter to Bonn takes 25 minutes only.

I should be grateful therefore for your agreement to the following revised timetable for the departure from France and arrival in Germany (all times local):

Depart Caen	1420
Arrive Cologne/Bonn airport	1535
Talks with Chancellor Kohl in Bonn	1600-1730
Depart Bonn by helicopter	1735
Depart Cologne/Bonn airport	1800

Yours ever,

Lyn Parker

(L Parker)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq.
PS/10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

CDP
14/3

BUCKINGHAM PALACE

13th March, 1987

Dear Charles.

Thank you for your letter of 12th March, which has been laid before The Queen. Her Majesty is pleased to give her permission for the Prime Minister to be absent from the country on 23rd March to visit France and Germany.

Yours ever
Robert.

(ROBERT FELLOWES)

Charles Powell, Esq.

File

OA

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

12 March 1987

The Prime Minister intends to visit France and Germany on Monday 23 March for talks with President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl.

I should be grateful if you would seek The Queen's permission for the Prime Minister to be absent from the country on that date.

(Charles Powell)

Robert Fellowes, Esq., L.V.O., C.B.

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GA2A 1W
ccPC

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

10 March 1987

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MITTERRAND AND CHANCELLOR KOHL ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS

Thank you for your letter with flight times for the Prime Minister's visit to France and Germany on 23 March. I think that we should plan on the following itinerary:

0900	Depart Wellington barracks
0935	Depart London
1130	Arrive Caen
1145	Talks and lunch with President Mitterrand at Calvados
1400	Depart Calvados
1415	Depart Caen
1530	Arrive Cologne. Depart by helicopter for Bonn.
1600-1730	Talks with Chancellor Kohl in Bonn
1730	Depart Bonn by helicopter
1800	Depart Cologne
1815	Arrive London

I should be grateful if our Embassies in Paris and Bonn could discuss these timings with host governments and agree the necessary arrangements.

(CHARLES POWELL)

R. N. Culshaw, Esq., M.V.O.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

cc PC

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 March 1987

Dear Charles

Prime Minister's Meeting with President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl : Administrative Arrangements

Please refer to your letter of 9 March about the Prime Minister's proposed meetings with President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl on Monday 23 March.

I confirm the flight timings by RAF HS125 which were passed by our Overseas Conference and Visits Section to Number Ten yesterday :-

Timings by RAF HS125

London	- Caen	55 minutes
Caen	- Bonn	1 hour 15 minutes
Bonn	- London	1 hour 15 minutes

UK = GMT; France and Germany = GMT + 1

An HS125 aircraft has been reserved, but no details of passengers or destinations will be given until you authorise us to do so.

Yours ever

(R N Culshaw)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
No 10 Downing St

PM TOLKS
FRANCE TOURNAT
3/87

(1)

PRIME MINISTER

c. Mr Ingham

VISIT TO FRANCE AND GERMANY

I have been in contact with the offices of President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl during the day and have agreed arrangements for you to meet both the President and the Chancellor on Monday 23 March. At French request, we propose to announce the visit at lunchtime tomorrow. We shall say that you will be visiting France and the Federal Republic of Germany for informal consultations with President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl before your visit to Moscow.

President Mitterrand has suggested that he should meet you at Calvados in Normandy. This would mean flying to Caen (55 minutes). The proposal is that you should have a working lunch with President Mitterrand and then fly on to Bonn (1 hour 10 minutes) where you will meet Chancellor Kohl from 4-6 pm and then return to London.

Both the meetings will be between Heads of Government only, each with a notetaker. There is unlikely to be time for any formal press conference but no doubt there will be an opportunity to make a few remarks to the press at the end of each meeting. Bernard will of course accompany you.

All being well, we should have you back in No. 10 by approximately 6.30 pm, allowing for the one hour's time difference.

C.D.P

mt

CHARLES POWELL

9 March 1987

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The National Archives

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Agreed MT

10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister

You have not actually pronounced on this.

Of the days proposed by Mitterrand, Monday 23 March (diary entry attached) is relatively free. One might for instance hold the strategy group at 0900 & then leave for a meeting with Mitterrand (and Kohl). We could postpone Orlov until the next day. But I do not want to push you.

CDP 8/3

CC A

Ref. A087/648

MR POWELL

Thank you for your minute of 6 March about President Mitterrand's suggestion that the Prime Minister and he should meet. with CDP?

2. Monsieur Attali rang back this afternoon, before I had a chance to ring him. I spoke as instructed in the last paragraph of your minute of 6 March. Monsieur Attali said that the President would be very glad to know that the Prime Minister would welcome a talk; he had been asked to make it clear to me that the President was extremely keen to talk to the Prime Minister. He had been instructed to propose possible dates. The dates which he proposed were 16 and 23 March and 1 April.

[You could not manage any of these]

3. I said that I thought that on 1 April the Prime Minister was expected to be in Moscow. I would of course consult immediately about the two earlier dates, though I knew that her diary was under extreme pressure between now and her departure for Moscow. Monsieur Attali said that the President now had it in mind to meet somewhere near the Channel coast, so as to make it as easy as possible for the Prime Minister to fit it in.

4. I said that I would be in touch again with Monsieur Attali after the weekend.

RTA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

6 March 1987

bc. PE.

PERSONAL AND
CONFIDENTIAL

BM

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

6 March 1987

I enclose copies of a minute from Sir Robert Armstrong and my reply dealing with an invitation from President Mitterrand to the Prime Minister to visit Paris to discuss Mr. Gorbachev's latest arms control proposals.

I have suggested to Sir Robert Armstrong that he should not act upon my reply until after the weekend, in case there may be second thoughts.

(C.D. Powell)

A.C. Galsworthy, Esq., C.M.G.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

PERSONAL AND
CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

INVITATION FROM PRESIDENT MITTERRAND

I attach a copy of the minute which I have sent to Sir Robert Armstrong about President Mitterrand's invitation, following our discussion this morning.

I have asked Robert not to act on it until Monday, just in case you have any further thoughts over the weekend.

Obviously there is something to be said for being seen to consult your two principal European allies before you go to Moscow. It would make an impact on the Russians and on public opinion here. Bernard thinks that it would be to your advantage politically. Although it might raise expectations about your Moscow visit, he thinks that these would be manageable.

I have considered whether it might not be possible to arrange for ~~the~~ you, Mitterrand and Kohl to meet together on 22 March in Paris. But that might look to the Americans a bit like ganging up and would be resented by some of the other European NATO members (although I would not take that too seriously). It would be better to do it separately; and it would be technically feasible to get you to an early lunch with Mitterrand at Rambouillet, and on to an afternoon meeting with Chancellor Kohl (which might be at some convenient air base close to his weekend home).

But I know that your strong feeling is that you need the time to catch up on your boxes after the Central Council speech. You will of course 'lose' four days in Moscow. We don't anyway know whether Mitterrand (or Kohl) could manage 22 March. And I am not sure that you would actually gain a great deal in substance from a talk.

So I think you are probably right to defer a talk with Mitterrand until later.

CDP

C.D. POWELL

6 March 1987

P.S. Please now see further minute from RTA behind

BM2BCV

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG

I have discussed with the Prime Minister your minute of 5 March regarding the suggestion by President Mitterrand that the Prime Minister should meet him for an informal and private talk about Mr. Gorbachev's latest arms control proposals.

Although the Prime Minister would, in principle, welcome such a talk, there are difficulties over timing. In particular, there seems no realistic prospect that she could meet President Mitterrand before her visit to Moscow. I have discussed with her the possibility of using the one free day which she has left (Sunday 22 March) to fly to Paris to see President Mitterrand and perhaps also on to Germany for a brief talk with Chancellor Kohl ahead of her Moscow visit. But she feels that this would leave her no time for contingencies and for catching up on other work. Subject to further reflection, she would prefer not to pursue this possibility.

Looking to the period after her Moscow visit, there is an additional complication in that she has invited M. Chirac to lunch with her at Chequers on 26 April to discuss the outcome of her visit to Moscow and the prospects for his own forthcoming visit. A separate visit to Paris before that might be overdoing it. It would of course take the gilt off M. Chirac's gingerbread.

I think that the best course, therefore, is to say to M. Attali that the Prime Minister would welcome a chance for a talk with M. Mitterrand in due course and is grateful for his invitation. Sadly it is unlikely that she can take up his invitation before her own visit to Moscow. In any case, her understanding is that the President's position and her own on Mr. Gorbachev's offer are fairly close. If the President were content, she would like to be in touch with him in due course to propose a date, possibly at a weekend, when she might go over to Paris to talk with him.

C.D. POWELL
6 March 1987

Monday 23 March

0715	Hair
1000	Diary meeting
1030-1100	Meeting of colleagues
1100	E(A)?
1200	Strategy Group +SS
1300	Lunch for colleagues
1430-1500	Chairman +SS
1500	S/S Health
1530	Baroness Faithful +S/S Health +AB
1630-1715	Mr Orlov +CDP
1730-1830	Keep free

Ref. A087/629

MR POWELL

I have just had a telephone call from Monsieur Attali at the Elysée.

2. He recalled the President's visit to the Prime Minister after the Reykjavik summit, and reminded me that the Prime Minister and the President had agreed that it could be useful for them to meet again for a similar informal and private talk if there were further developments in the East-West and arms control situation. He said that the President thought that it would be useful if the Prime Minister and he could meet again for a further talk in the light of Mr Gorbachev's latest "offer", and he would like to invite the Prime Minister to go and have lunch with him in Paris or Rambouillet for such a talk.

3. He had no particular date in mind: dates would be for discussion, if the Prime Minister shared his view that in principle it would be a good idea for the two of them to meet.

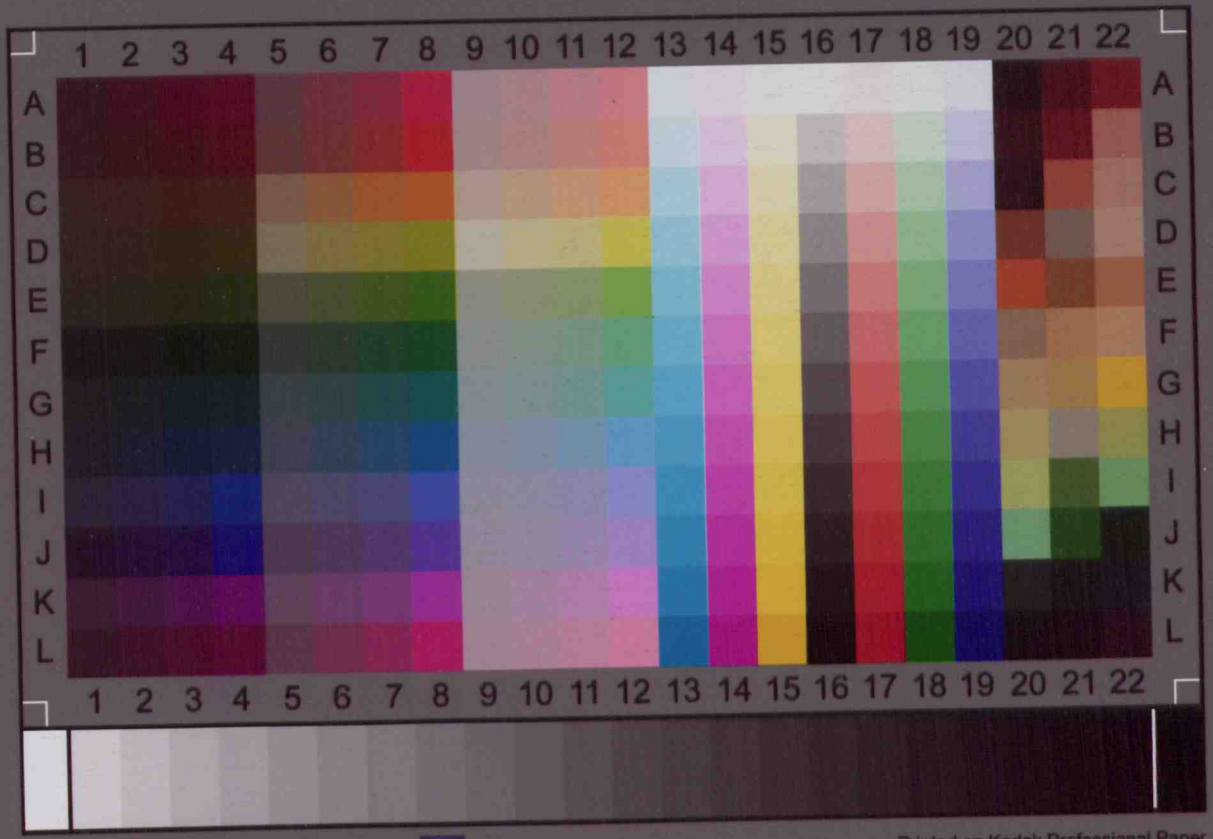
4. Nothing was said between us as to whether it would be better for such a meeting to take place before or after the Prime Minister's visit to Moscow.

5. The meeting would be on the same basis as last time: the Prime Minister and the President on their own, each with one note take, and an interpreter.

RTA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

5 March 1987



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