

cc PM Tomu Abroad  
PM's visit to Bordeaux in  
September 1980 for  
Anglo-French summit.

PRIME MINISTER

I told you that the Foreign Office proposed the following Ministerial team for the Anglo/French Summit:

Prime Minister

- Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary
- Chancellor of the Exchequer
- Secretary of State for Trade
- Secretary of State for Industry.

Please now see the two attached telegrams from Paris about the agenda and participation, and the draft reply proposed by the Foreign Office.

Have you any comments on this?

Who said I wanted to  
concentrate on

MAP

12 August 1980

community questions?

I am quite happy with the  
proposed agenda.

mf

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

12 August 1980

*Dear Mike,*

Anglo-French Summit: Agenda

You will have seen the telegrams number 677 and 678 / (copies enclosed) from HM Embassy Paris putting forward the French draft agenda for the summit and the Ministers who will accompany President Giscard. We have sought the views of / the other Whitehall departments concerned: I attach a draft telegram to Paris incorporating their comments with those of FCO officials (Lord Carrington has not yet seen the draft).

Although aware of our proposal to include the Secretary of State for Defence, President Giscard has decided not to field his Defence Minister. We cannot therefore reasonably insist on Mr Pym attending the summit. Agriculture Ministers are not included and Mr Walker had already planned a visit to South America. The Secretary of State for Energy will be in Mexico and his Department do not feel his attendance in Paris is vital. The Department of Transport see no advantage in Mr Fowler attending the summit despite the presence of M le Theule, whose concerns are wider than Mr Fowler's.

The Prime Minister had earlier decided that either the Secretary of State for Trade or the Secretary of State for Industry should accompany her: we now suggest that both should do so. Our ministerial team would therefore include Lord Carrington, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and these two, in addition to the Prime Minister herself.

I should welcome your agreement to the despatch of the / attached draft telegram to Paris.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Private Secretaries to Sir G Howe, Sir K Joseph, Mr Pym, Mr Walker, Mr Nott and Mr Howell and to David Wright in the Cabinet Office.

*yours ever*  
*Roderic Lyne*

*P.P.* (P Lever)  
Private Secretary

Mike Pattison Esq  
10 Downing Street  
London

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FM PARIS 061630Z AUG 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 677 OF 6 AUGUST 1980

ANGLO-FRENCH SUMMIT

1. THE DIPLOMATIC COUNSELLOR AT THE ELYSEE GAVE MINISTER TODAY THE FRENCH PROPOSALS FOR THE AGENDA OF THE ANGLO-FRENCH SUMMIT ON 19 SEPTEMBER AND A LIST OF MINISTERS, ON THE FRENCH SIDE, WHO MIGHT ATTEND (MIFT). HE SAID THAT THE AGENDA WOULD NORMALLY HAVE BEEN TRANSMITTED THROUGH THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, BUT SINCE HE WAS SEEING JAMES AT LUNCH HE WAS HANDING IT OVER PERSONALLY.
2. HE ADDED THAT HE HAD JUST SEEN A TELEGRAM FROM THE FRENCH CHARGE D'AFFAIRES IN LONDON THIS MORNING WHICH REPORTED A CONVERSATION AT THE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE, IN WHICH IT HAD BEEN INDICATED THAT MRS THATCHER WOULD GO TO BORDEAUX FOR THE FRANCO/BRITISH COUNCIL CONFERENCE AND THAT SHE WISHED THE SUMMIT TO CONCENTRATE PRIMARILY ON COMMUNITY QUESTIONS.
3. JAMES REMARKED THAT THE AGENDA WAS VERY WIDE IN SCOPE. LECLERCQ SAID THAT IT WAS OF COURSE A DRAFT BUT IT HAD BEEN APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT. IT WOULD OF COURSE BE FOR THE PARTICIPANTS TO DECIDE HOW MUCH TIME THEY WOULD SPEND ON PARTICULAR ITEMS. SPEAKING PERSONALLY, HE WONDERED WHETHER THERE WAS NOT A DANGER THAT CONCENTRATION ON COMMUNITY MATTERS MIGHT PRODUCE CONFRONTATION RATHER THAN AGREED POSITIONS. HE THOUGHT SOMETHING SHOULD EMERGE FROM THE SUMMIT AND THAT IT WOULD THEREFORE BE IMPORTANT TO DISCUSS AREAS WHERE BRITAIN HAD A SPECIAL, SHARED EXPERIENCE WITH THE FRENCH. HE SAID THAT THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA WERE AREAS WHERE FRENCH AND BRITISH EXPERIENCE WAS GREATER THAN THAT OF ANY OTHER MEMBERS OF THE NINE. IT MIGHT ALSO BE POSSIBLE TO DISCUSS NUCLEAR MATTERS AND TO SAY SOMETHING ABOUT THE SPECIAL POSITION OF FRANCE AND BRITAIN IN THE MILITARY NUCLEAR SPHERE. HE REFERRED TO THE BRITISH DECISION ON TRIDENT AND TO FRENCH DECISIONS ON DEFENCE MATTERS. THIS WOULD UNDERLINE THE SPECIAL NATURE OF THE FRENCH AND BRITISH RELATIONSHIP AND WOULD MARK A DIFFERENCE FROM GERMANY.
4. EMPHASIZING THAT HE WAS THINKING ALOUD, LECLERCQ ASKED WHETHER IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO SAY SOMETHING ABOUT THE CHANNEL TUNNEL.
5. JAMES SAID THAT HE HAD NOT YET HEARD WHAT THE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE HAD SAID TO THE FRENCH EMBASSY ABOUT THE AGENDA. HE NOTICED HOWEVER THAT THE LIST OF THE FRENCH MINISTERS DID NOT INCLUDE THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE. LECLERCQ SAID THAT HE HAD PUT UP A SUBMISSION TO THE PRESIDENT SAYING THAT THE BRITISH SIDE HAD

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/PROPOSED

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PROPOSED THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE, BUT THE PRESIDENT HAD TURNED THIS DOWN. THIS DID NOT EXCLUDE HOWEVER SOME STATEMENT ABOUT FRENCH JOINT RESPONSIBILITY FOR NUCLEAR DEFENCE IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT. AS REGARDS THE CHANNEL TUNNEL, JAMES SAID HE DOUBTED WHETHER MATTERS WOULD BE SUFFICIENTLY ADVANCED BY SEPTEMBER TO WARRANT A STATEMENT BY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS.

6. COMMENT. WHAT THE PRESIDENT HAS PROPOSED IS A VERY FULL AND DETAILED BUT VERY ORDINARY AGENDA. THIS AND HIS PREFERENCE FOR NOT HAVING MINISTERS OF DEFENCE PRESENT AND HIS DECISION NOT TO GO TO BORDEAUX TO SPEAK AT THE COLLOQUY SEEM TO ME ALL TO POINT IN THE SAME DIRECTION, THAT IS TO SAY, THEY ARE ALL DESIGNED TO DISCOURAGE ANYONE FROM THINKING THAT A FRANCO-BRITISH SUMMIT IS COMPARABLE TO A FRANCO-GERMAN ONE. ON THE OTHER HAND THE LIST OF MINISTERS IS GOOD AND THE IDEA OF PICKING OUT THE COMMON GROUND WHICH FRANCE AND BRITAIN HAVE AS NUCLEAR POWERS AND OTHERWISE COULD BE HELPFUL. IF IT IS CORRECT THAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAS EXPRESSED A WISH TO CONCENTRATE MAINLY ON COMMUNITY MATTERS, A POSSIBILITY MIGHT BE TO SUGGEST THAT COMMUNITY MATTERS SHOULD BE PUT FIRST AND EXPANDED (EG TO INCLUDE AT LEAST BUDGET RESTRUCTURING AND CAP). ANOTHER POSSIBILITY WOULD BE TO MAINTAIN THE FOUR MAIN HEADINGS, WITH COMMUNITY QUESTIONS COMING FIRST, BUT WITHOUT SPECIFYING ALL THE DETAILED QUESTIONS WHICH MIGHT BE TOUCHED ON UNDER EACH HEADING. EACH SIDE COULD PERHAPS INDICATE BEFOREHAND WHICH OF THE DETAILED POINTS IT WISHED TO DEAL WITH AND WHICH OF THEM SHOULD BE LEFT TO FOREIGN MINISTERS OR OTHER MINISTERS.

*No - it is not correct*

7. I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR INSTRUCTIONS FOR A REPLY TO THE ELYSEE.

HIBBERT

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GRS 210  
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FM PARIS 0611630Z AUG 80  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 678 OF 06 AUGUST 1980

MIPT: ANGLO/FRENCH SUMMIT, 19 SEPTEMBER

1. FOLLOWING IS THE DRAFT AGENDA PROPOSED BY THE FRENCH:

I INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL QUESTIONS

- A. THE AFGHANISTAN PROBLEM.
- B. EAST/WEST RELATIONS.
- C. DEFENCE AND DISARMAMENT PROBLEMS.
- D. MIDDLE EAST.
- E. SOUTHERN AFRICA.
- F. OTHER TOPICAL QUESTIONS:
  - PREPARATION FOR THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY
  - SOUTH-EAST ASIA
  - CARRIBEAN
  - PACIFIC

II INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

- A. NORTH/SOUTH.
- B. INTERNATIONAL MONETARY PROBLEMS.
- C. INTERNATIONAL ENERGY PROBLEMS (FOLLOW UP TO THE VENICE CONFERENCE).
- D. RELATIONS WITH THE INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES (JAPAN-UNITED STATES).
- E. SECTORAL PROBLEMS (TEXTILES, STEEL).
- F. TRILOGUE.

III EUROPEAN QUESTIONS

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/A. ENLARGEMENT

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- A. ENLARGEMENT OF THE COMMUNITY.
  - B. INSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS (LOCATION, RELATIONS WITH THE ASSEMBLY, COMMISSION).
  - C. MISCELLANEOUS (COCOA, RECYCLING, INSURANCE, CONSENSUS (PRESUMABLY INTEREST RATES), ZIMBABWE AND THE LOME AGREEMENT, RELATIONS WITH NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA).

IV BILATERAL QUESTIONS

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A. FRANCE/UK RELATIONS.

B. ECONOMIC COOPERATION

- ENERGY
- INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION
- TRANSPORT

C. CULTURAL RELATIONS.

3. FOLLOWING IS THE LIST OF MINISTERS PROPOSED ON THE FRENCH SIDE:

PRESIDENT GISCARD  
M BARRE  
M FRANCOIS- PONCET  
M MONORY (MINISTER OF ECONOMY)  
M GIRAUD (MINISTER OF INDUSTRY)  
M DENIAU (MINISTER OF EXTERNAL TRADE)  
M LE THEULE (MINISTER OF TRANSPORT).

HIBBERT.

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- A. THE AGREEMENT ON THE COMMUNITY
- B. INSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS (LOCATION, RELATIONS WITH THE BANKS, CAPITAL)
- C. INVESTMENT (TODAY, REGIONAL INVESTMENT, CONSENSUS, INVESTMENT INTEREST RATE), INVESTMENT AND THE LOCAL AGREEMENT
- D. RELATIONS WITH NEW ISLAND AND MISTRALIA

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12  
 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24

12 AUG 1980

- E. BILATERAL QUESTIONS
- F. ECONOMIC RELATIONS
- G. ECONOMIC COOPERATION
- H. ENERGY
- I. INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION
- J. TRANSPORT

THE FOLLOWING IS THE LIST OF MEMBERS INVOLVED ON THE LOCAL LEVEL

PRESIDENT OF BOARD  
 VICE PRESIDENT  
 SECRETARY  
 TREASURER  
 MEMBER OF BOARD  
 MEMBER OF BOARD  
 MEMBER OF BOARD  
 MEMBER OF BOARD  
 MEMBER OF BOARD

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[TEXT]

YOUR TELNOS 667 AND 678: ANGLO-FRENCH SUMMIT: AGENDA

1. The French draft agenda has now been circulated.

Detailed comments are given below but the overall framework seems largely satisfactory. Comments follow the schema of your telno 678.

I INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL QUESTIONS

B. East-West relations should play a prominent part in discussing <sup>the</sup> political questions. A discussion on COCOM might be included.

C. On defence, we ~~are~~ agreed that, as the two Western European nuclear powers, we face common problems and think that it would be useful to discuss the subjects proposed (telno 677). Since the Defence Minister will not be attending the summit,



it would be helpful to know what aspects of the subject the French intend to raise. We assume that the subject would be discussed under this item of the agenda. We would also like to know what specific topics the French want to cover on the disarmament side.

- F. - We should prefer the Foreign Ministers to discuss Security Council enlargement (rather than Mrs Thatcher and President Giscard).

The proximity of the UN General Assembly to the summit talks might preclude worthwhile preparations at such a late stage.

- We should like to include discussion on Central America as well as the Caribbean.
- We sincerely hope it will not be necessary to discuss substance on Vanuatu.

## II INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

- B. Unless the French objected we should wish to discuss export credit here.
- C. Mr Howell has a long-standing engagement and will not be attending the summit but we would be happy to discuss the follow up to the Venice Conference.

## III EUROPEAN QUESTIONS

- A. Our main concern will be not to give the French any scope for representing us as attempting to slow down enlargement. This should not present major problems.
- B. We suggest widening the scope of this item by calling it 'Internal Community Questions (including the institutional problems and insurance)'. We assume that the French purpose

in raising institutions is to explore what common ground exists between the French and <sup>British</sup> / approach. We see no objection to discussing this but may also wish to raise, in general terms, implementation of the 30 May Budget Agreement and restructuring. The former depends on the outcome of the 15 September Foreign Affairs Council. We are surprised the French wish to discuss insurance as they are usually the most obstructive and overprotectionist on insurance proposals. We could use this occasion to air our own grievances.

- C. Recycling might fit better under II.B. We see little merit in discussing cocoa but it may prove a valuable link with sugar quotas for Zimbabwe (which may however be settled at the 15 September Council). This Council will also affect our attitude to relations with New Zealand. In the absence of Mr Walker, we shall wish to avoid getting into detailed discussion on agricultural matters.

#### IV BILATERAL QUESTIONS

- B. - We assume the French will insist on discussing bilateral energy matters and are resigned to this. In the absence of Mr Howell we would be happy to discuss other areas of economic cooperation first.
- We were surprised at the raising of the Channel Tunnel as an issue. We had earlier agreed that the Prime Minister should not be briefed to raise this at the summit although defensive briefing would be provided. The Department of Transport doubt that Mrs Thatcher and President Giscard could do more than note, in

discussion, the renewed interest in the project and give some sort of general blessing to further activity. It is certainly too early to know whether present projects are realistic. We see no advantage in Mr Fowler attending the summit and believe that some of M Le Theule's interests are covered by the Department of Trade, eg traffic separation in the Channel, pollution control and other maritime matters.

2. The following Ministers are expected to accompany

Mrs Thatcher:

Lord Carrington

Sir Geoffrey Howe

Sir Keith Joseph

Mr Nott.