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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Sir Antony Acland KCMG KCVO
Permanent Under-Secretary of State

7 November 1983

Sir Robert Armstrong GCB CVO
CABINET OFFICE

My dear Robert,

- / 1. I enclose a draft Game Plan for the Anglo-German Summit in preparation for the Prime Minister's briefing meeting on 8 November. The Game Plan will be revised by the Cabinet Office immediately after a briefing meeting, in consultation with the Foreign and Commonwealth office.
- / 2. Enclosed with the Game Plan are copies of Sir Jock Taylor's scene setting telegram, Bonn telegram number 979.
- / 3. I am copying this letter to the Permanent Secretaries of other Departments who, I understand, have been invited to take part in the briefing meeting. As agreed, I also attach five copies of the Game Plan for you to pass to No 10.

Yours ever
Antony

Antony Acland

P E Middleton Esq, HM Treasury
Sir Anthony Rawlinson KCB, DTI
Sir Clive Whitmore KCB CVO, MOD
Sir Michael Franklin KCB CMG, MAFF
Sir Brian Hayes KCB, DTI
A J Coles Esq, 10 Downing St ✓

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+ date of next summit.
+ Adenauer ~~State~~ Speech.
+ President of EC Commission.

ANGLO-GERMAN SUMMIT, 8-9 NOVEMBER 1983

GAME PLAN (Draft)

/ 1. Bonn telno 979 attached sets the scene for the Summit.

First tête-à-tête with Chancellor Kohl (8 November: 1900-2000)

2. The Prime Minister might suggest starting with East/West relations and INF. She could ask the Chancellor to describe the domestic German situation in the light of Genscher's talks with Gromyko in Vienna on 15/16 October and the recent protest marches, and on the eve of the SPD special conference (19-20 November), the Bundestag debate (21 November) and INF deployment itself (which begins on 22 November). She could propose a joint public statement at the following day's press conference, and offer to restate there HMG's position on the relationship between British nuclear weapons and the arms control process. The Chancellor will want to discuss Soviet intentions, and to hear the Prime Minister's views on the likely evolution in East/West relations, on dialogue with the Soviet Union and on the implications of Andropov's ill health. He may speak about his talks in Japan on this subject.

Dinner

3. Discussion could turn to the international economy. The Prime Minister and the Chancellor might review the prospects for continuing recovery between now and the London Economic Summit, review the current German and British economic performance, and note those elements in US policy which are still unfavourable to growth in Europe. (In any extended discussion of transatlantic differences on the first evening, Chancellor Kohl is bound to ask about Grenada - see paragraph 6 (b).)

4. There should be time for preliminary discussion of Community issues. The Prime Minister may like to say something about her talk with Papandreou on 4 November. She will want to stress the

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need for the UK and FRG to stick close together. The Prime Minister should seek the Chancellor's agreement to discreet contacts with the Germans (as with the French) in the run-up to Athens in order to maximise the chances of satisfactory decisions there. We must convince the Germans of the need for a strict financial guideline to control CAP expenditure as part of the EC's budgetary procedures and bring home to them our difficulties with their ideas on positive MCAs. The Prime Minister will wish to dissuade Chancellor Kohl from linking steel (which he will certainly raise) and future financing.

Second tête-à-tête (9 November: 0915-1045)

5. This will give the Prime Minister the opportunity first to complete discussion of Community issues. She might suggest that we should explore the possible common ground between our, the German and French ideas on industrial policy. If, as expected Chancellor Kohl raises Airbus A320, the Prime Minister could say that we have still not committed ourselves, but we are interested in principle, looking seriously at the project and hope to reach a decision by the end of the year.

6. The Prime Minister could then cover, time permitting:

(a) Falklands/Argentina, emphasising that the elections have not changed the position on the UNGA Resolution, on which we are still expecting our partners to abstain in the vote on 10 November. (Defence Ministers will deal with arms supplies to Argentina.)

(b) Grenada (if not mentioned over dinner), agreeing with the FRG Government's line that the affair should not be allowed to harm transatlantic relations, and looking to the future (interim administration, withdrawal of US forces, elections, reconstruction).

(c) Middle East, Lebanon, Gulf, seeking Chancellor Kohl's impressions of his visit in October to Jordan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia ~~Arabia~~, bringing him up to date on UK thinking on the MNF, and looking at developments in the Iran/Iraq war.

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7. Foreign Ministers will join the discussion at 1015. It will be important that main points on the Community are repeated in front of Herr Genscher.

Other Meetings

8. Meetings between other Ministers will take place during the Prime Minister's two tête-à-tête meetings. Other important points to be covered include:

Defence equipment collaboration: first report from
National Armaments Directors

Arab/Israel: how can the Ten contribute to a
settlement?

Transatlantic Relations: need for consensus on
East/West technology transfer

Southern Africa/Namibia: after the South African
referendum on constitutional change

UNLOSC: important not to sign the Convention
without improvements

Inner-German Relations: how does Kohl see the
future?

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GRS 980

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DESKBY 041500Z

FM BONN 041340Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 979 OF 04 NOVEMBER

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON, PARIS, MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO, UKREP BRUSSELS, ROME

INFO SAYING ANKARA, ATHENS, EMBASSY BRUSSELS, COPENHAGEN, LISBON, LUXEMBOURG, MADRID, OSLO, OTTAWA, REYKJAVIK, THE HAGUE, BMG BERLIN, EAST BERLIN, AND CGS IN THE FRG.

ANGLO-GERMAN SUMMIT, 8/9 NOVEMBER: THE SCENE IN THE FRG

SUMMARY

1. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAVE SO FAR HANDLED INF SUCCESSFULLY. STATIONING WILL GO AHEAD BUT THERE WILL BE FURTHER DEMONSTRATIONS. ON GRENADA, THE FIRST GERMAN REACTION IMPLIED CRITICISM OF THE AMERICANS, BUT IT HAS BEEN TONED DOWN SINCE. SHORT-TERM ECONOMIC PROSPECTS ARE IMPROVING. ON THE POST-STUTTGART NEGOTIATIONS THE GERMANS ARE SHOWING CLEAR SIGNS OF WANTING TO LOOK FOR COMPROMISES.

DETAIL

2. THE CHIEF PREOCCUPATION OF KOHL AND HIS MINISTERS REMAINS INF DEPLOYMENT. THE 'HOT AUTUMN' HAS GONE WELL FOR THEM SO FAR. THE DEMONSTRATIONS, THOUGH LARGE, HAVE BEEN ORDERLY AND NOT OUT OF PROPORTION WITH THOSE ELSEWHERE IN WESTERN EUROPE. THE GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN ABLE TO MAINTAIN A FIRM AND CONSISTENT POSITION OF DETERMINATION TO DEPLOY IF NECESSARY, COUPLED WITH PROFESSIONS OF BELIEF THAT A SOLUTION CAN STILL BE FOUND IN GENEVA, AFTER STATIONING BEGINS IF NOT BEFORE, AND THAT EAST/WEST CONTACTS OF OTHER KINDS WILL CONTINUE. KOHL, WHO RETURNS FROM A SUCCESSFUL ASIAN TRIP TODAY, GOT NAKASONE TO AGREE IN TOKYO TO A COMMON PUBLIC POSITION ON INF.

3. BUT ROCKS STILL LIE AHEAD. THE BUNDESTAG DEBATE ON INF WILL PROBABLY NOW TAKE PLACE ON 21/22 NOVEMBER, IMMEDIATELY AFTER SPECIAL PARTY CONGRESSES OF THE SPD, FDP AND GREENS. THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD WIN THE VOTE BY A COMFORTABLE MAJORITY. THE SPD ARE LIKELY TO CALL FOR A CLEAR REJECTION OF DEPLOYMENT AND FOR A GERMAN RIGHT OF VETO ON USE OF US NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATIONED IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. THE PEACE MOVEMENT PLAN ANOTHER BIG DEMONSTRATION DURING THE BUNDESTAG DEBATE, AS WELL AS OTHER ACTIONS, AND THE AUTHORITIES ARE ALERT TO THE POSSIBILITY OF TERRORIST INCIDENTS ON THE FRINGE.

4. KOHL HAS VALUED BRITISH SOLIDARITY AND CLOSE CONSULTATION ON INF, AND WILL BE HOPING THAT THE SUMMIT CAN DEMONSTRATE ANGLO-GERMAN UNITY ON THE SUBJECT ONCE AGAIN. WE SUGGEST THAT THE PRIME MINISTER SHOULD RE-ITERATE AT THE JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE

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/ THE LINE

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THE LINE YOU USED LAST MONTH IN THE UN ABOUT BRITISH NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND ARMS CONTROL. THIS WOULD MAKE OUR POSITION MUCH BETTER KNOWN IN THE FRG. KOHL WOULD, I AM CONFIDENT, BE WILLING TO RESPOND TO SUCH A STATEMENT BY ENDORSING THE BRITISH POSITION.

5. THE GRENADA AFFAIR HAS COMPLICATED THE INF ISSUE, AS IN BRITAIN, BY RAISING THE QUESTION OF US READINESS TO CONSULT AND OF DUAL CONTROL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WHILE THE GOVERNMENT, AS ALREADY REPORTED (MY TEL NO. 969), ARE REFUSING TO BE BUDGED INTO DEMANDING DUAL CONTROL, THE SPD ARE STARTING TO COME OUT IN FAVOUR. ON GRENADA, THE ORIGINAL GOVERNMENT LINE OF IMPLIED CRITICISM OF THE AMERICANS HAS BEEN TONED DOWN DURING THE WEEK. KOHL, CONCERNED ABOVE ALL TO AVOID TROUBLE WITH WASHINGTON, HAS NOW EMPHASISED THAT DEFINITIVE JUDGEMENT SHOULD BE WITHHELD UNTIL THE FULL FACTS ARE KNOWN. GENSCHER, WHOSE PARTY IS MORE SHOCKED BY THE US ACTION, HAS BEEN CLEARER IN HIS EXPRESSIONS OF REGRET.

6. IN OTHER RESPECTS, THINGS GO WELL FOR THE GOVERNMENT. SHORT-TERM ECONOMIC PROSPECTS CONTINUE TO IMPROVE, THOUGH DOUBTS ABOUT THE MEDIUM TERM FOUND AUTHORITATIVE EXPRESSION THIS WEEK IN THE LATEST REPORT BY 5 LEADING ECONOMIC INSTITUTES. A SHADOW HANGS OVER LAMBSDORFF WHO REMAINS UNDER THREAT OF PROSECUTION IN THE LONG-RUNNING PARTY FINANCES AFFAIR. IF HE HAS TO RESIGN, KOHL WILL HAVE TO USE HIS INGENUITY TO REPLACE HIM ADEQUATELY AT THE ECONOMICS MINISTRY WITHOUT UPSETTING THE BALANCE OF PARTY REPRESENTATION IN CABINET. BUT HE WILL REMAIN VERY KEEN TO KEEP STRAUSS OUT OF THE GOVERNMENT. THE LATTER, THOUGH HE CAPTURED THE HEADLINES AGAIN BY CRITICISING THE ORIGINAL GOVERNMENT LINE ON GRENADA FOR LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE AMERICANS LOOKS A DECREASINGLY SERIOUS THREAT TO KOHL. CRITICISM OF KOHL'S STYLE OF GOVERNMENT HAS FADED AT LEAST TEMPORARILY, EXCEPT OVER THE SUCCESSION NEXT YEAR TO CARSTENS AS FEDERAL PRESIDENT, WHERE HE HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF POSTPONING A DIFFICULT DECISION. WENZSAECKER IS GENERALLY AGREED TO BE THE OUTSTANDING CANDIDATE, BUT THE DIFFICULTY OF REPLACING HIM IN BERLIN MAY CAUSE KOHL TO PREFER SOMEONE ELSE.

7. KOHL HAS NOT HAD TIME RECENTLY TO THINK MUCH ABOUT COMMUNITY ISSUES. HIS OFFICIALS, HOWEVER, BELIEVE THAT THE POST-STUTTGART NEGOTIATIONS ARE NOW BEGINNING TO MOVE AND THAT, WITH ONLY FIVE

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WEEKS TO GO BEFORE ATHENS, THE TIME HAS COME TO SEARCH FOR COMPROMISES ON WHICH TO BUILD THE BASIS FOR A PACKAGE, THE DETAILS OF WHICH WOULD BE COMPLETED AT THE MARCH COUNCIL UNDER FRENCH PRESIDENCY. THE GERMANS BELIEVE THAT THEIR SAFETY NET PROPOSALS OFFER US A GOOD DEAL, BUT THAT WE WILL NOT GET THE FULL SECURITY WE WANT. THEY WILL ALSO ARGUE THAT OUR HOPE FOR A JURISDICTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STRICT FINANCIAL GUIDELINE IS OUT OF REACH. A SUCCESSFUL CULMINATION TO THE POST-STUTTGART NEGOTIATIONS IS IMPORTANT PERSONALLY FOR KOHL AND THE GERMANS BELIEVE THAT IT IS CRUCIAL FOR THE COMMUNITY TO SHOW AT ATHENS THAT IT CAN AGREE ON SOMETHING. THESE FACTORS TOGETHER ARE LIKELY TO CAUSE KOHL TO URGE THE PRIME MINISTER NOT TO INSIST ON TOO AMBITIOUS GOALS. WE BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD ARGUE RESOLUTELY FOR A MORE FORTHRIGHT ANGLO-GERMAN LINE. SEE MIFT.

8. THE FRENCH HAVE APPARENTLY BEEN GETTING AT THE GERMANS AGAIN ABOUT ARGENTINA AND THE FALKLANDS VOTE AT THE UN (MY TEL NO.977). GENSCHER IS TO TAKE THE GERMAN DECISION ON THE VOTE. THE LIKELIHOOD IS ABSTENTION. BUT WE SUGGEST THAT THE PRIME MINISTER SHOULD MENTION THE MATTER TO KOHL, AS WELL AS YOUR DOING SO TO GENSCHER.

9. KOHL WILL SEE US DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE DAM ON THE DAY BEFORE OUR SUMMIT AND TRUDEAU ON THE DAY AFTER.

FCO PLEASE PASS TO SAVING ADDRESSEES ABOVE EXCEPT BMG BERLIN, EAST BERLIN AND CGS IN THE FRG.

TAYLOR

~~REPEATED AS REQUESTED~~

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GRS 180
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FM BONN 041150Z NOV 83
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 978 OF 4 NOVEMBER

MY TELNO 942 AND YOUR TELNO 547: ANGLO-GERMAN SUMMIT

1. CURRENT GERMAN PLANNING IS THAT THE DINNER IN THE PALAIS SCHAUMBURG GIVEN BY CHANCELLOR KOHL ON 8 NOVEMBER SHOULD BEGIN AT 2030 HOURS OR POSSIBLY 2045. KOHL WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY GENSCHER, MINISTER OF STATE JENNINGER AND STATE SECRETARY SCHRECKENBERGER FROM THE CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE, AN AMBASSADOR RUHFUS, DEPUTY SECRETARY TELTSCHIK (AS NOTE TAKER) AND AN INTERPRETER.

2. I THEREFORE RECOMMEND THAT THE PRIME MINISTER SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED AT THE DINNER BY YOU, SIR J BULLARD, MR WILLIAMSON, MR BUTLER (AS NOTE TAKER), MR LEDERER (AS INTERPRETER) AND MYSELF.

3. OTHER OFFICIALS FROM THE NO 10/FCO PARTIES WILL ALSO BE CATERED FOR BY THE GERMANS EITHER AT THE CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE OR IN THE PALAIS SCHAUMBURG. WE ASSUME THAT, AS NORMAL, HINGHAM AND GOULDEN WILL PREFER TO OPERATE FROM THEIR HOTEL.

4. ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE OTHER MINISTERS ARE NOT YET FIRM. IT IS CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT THE GERMANS NO LONGER FORESEE A CONVERSATION BETWEEN MR TEBBIT AND THE GERMAN POSTS MINISTER. MR TEBBIT IS THEREFORE LIKELY TO CONTINUE HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH COUNT LAMBSDORFF.

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CABINET OFFICE

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been told O.K.
11/6/83*

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FM BONN 051119Z NOV 83
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 989 OF 5 NOVEMBER

RESTRICTED

ANGLO/GERMAN SUMMIT: OUTLINE PROGRAMMES FOR MINISTERS

1. MIFTS GIVE OUTLINE PROGRAMMES FOR YOU AND THE OTHER MINISTERS ACCOMPANYING THE PRIME MINISTER. SOME OF THE DETAILS GIVEN MAY BE SUBJECT TO CHANGE. NOT ALL OF THESE PROGRAMMES ARE EQUALLY FAR ADVANCED. TO HELP THE GERMANS FINALISE THEM IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE DETAILS OUTSTANDING FROM OUR SIDE. APART FROM THE POINTS MENTIONED IN THE INDIVIDUAL TELEGRAMS THE PRIME MINISTER'S PLANS MAY ALSO AFFECT THOSE OF HER MINISTERS. THUS MR HESELTINE'S AIRCRAFT ARRIVAL TIME MAY NEED TO BE ADJUSTED TO KEEP IT A MINIMUM OF 5 MINUTES EARLIER THAN THE PRIME MINISTER'S. EQUALLY THE START OF YOUR DINNER ON 8 NOVEMBER MAY BE DELAYED IF, AS PROPOSED, THE PRIME MINISTER'S ARRIVAL AT THE FEDERAL CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE IS DELAYED FROM 1900 TO 1915.

2. IF THE PRIME MINISTER WISHES TO HOLD A BRIEFING MEETING AT THE RESIDENCE AFTER THE FIRST ROUND OF TALKS (EITHER LATE ON 8 NOVEMBER OR EARLY THE FOLLOWING MORNING) THIS SHOULD IDEALLY BE DECIDED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND CERTAINLY BEFORE MINISTERS LEAVE LONDON. OTHERWISE IT WILL BECOME DIFFICULT TO ADJUST THE SCHEDULES FOR THE MINISTERS' CARS WHICH ARE ALL SUPPLIED BY THE GERMANS.

3. SEE MIFTS.
FCO PLEASE ADVANCE TO:
NO 10
PRIVATE OFFICES MOD, TREASURY, DTI
PS/MR MACGREGOR, MAFF
WED
PROTOCOL DEPT (MISS GOLDSMITH)

[ADVANCED AS REQUESTED]

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PS/ CHANCELLOR
PS/ SOF S. DTI
PS/MR MACGREGOR, MAFF

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CB BONN/FCO 014/04

IMMEDIATE

7

Mr Young } WED
Mr Munro }

Ps/NO/10

Miss Lackey } ECIP/OTI
Mr Smith }

Mr Halligan/HMISy

RC

OO FCO

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FM BONN 041630Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 986 OF 04 NOVEMBER

ANGLO-GERMAN SUMMIT: ANGLO-GERMAN FOUNDATION

1. THE FEDERAL CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE HAVE TOLD US THAT AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE AFTER THE SUMMIT HE MAY REFER POSITIVELY TO THE ANGLO-GERMAN FOUNDATION ON THE OCCASION OF ITS 10TH ANNIVERSARY (WHICH IS BEING CELEBRATED IN LONDON ON 7 NOVEMBER). THEY ASKED WHETHER THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD BE CONTENT TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH A STATEMENT ON THE FOLLOWING LINES:

"BOTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT CONGRATULATE THE AGF ON THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF ITS EXISTENCE AND NOTE THAT IT HAS CONTRIBUTED HITHERTO TO THE SOLUTION OF NUMEROUS PROBLEMS WHICH CONFRONT PEOPLE IN BOTH COUNTRIES IN PRESENT CONDITIONS OF RAPID INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE. IT IS IN THE POLITICAL INTEREST OF BOTH SIDES THAT THE FOUNDATION SHOULD CONTINUE AND BUILD ON ITS ACTIVITIES IN THE FUTURE AS WELL. THEY EMPHASISE THEREFORE THEIR DETERMINATION TO FOLLOW CLOSELY THE WORK OF THE FOUNDATION AND TO FOSTER IT DURING THE NEXT FIVE YEARS (1984-1988)."

3. THIS STATEMENT WOULD BE IN TUNE WITH THE GERMANS' COMMITMENT TO THE FOUNDATION. IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED BY THE AUSWAERTIGES AMT IN FULL KNOWLEDGE OF THE LIMITS TO OUR FINANCIAL COMMITMENT (ESCRIPTT'S LETTER OF 27 OCTOBER TO MUNRO) AND DESPITE OUR DISCOURAGEMENT (TELECON YOUNG/HUNTER) ON THE GROUNDS THAT A STATEMENT AT THIS SUMMIT COULD BE PREMATURE. WE SUGGEST THAT IT IS DIFFICULT TO TURN THE SUGGESTION DOWN WITHOUT GIVING AN IMPRESSION OF LACK OF ENTHUSIASM FOR AN ORGANISATION TO WHICH THE GERMANS ATTACH IMPORTANCE. WE RECOMMEND THAT THE PRIME MINISTER AGREE TO IT.

FCO PLEASE ADVANCE TO:
YOUNG, MUNRO - WED/FCO
MISS LACKEY, A J SMITH - ECIP/OTI
HALLIGAN - HM, TREASURY
NUMBER 10

MALLABY