

010

Prime Minister



1) Agree in principle that the Summit should issue a statement on INF?

2) We can discuss at Tuesday's meeting whether you will arrive in time to lead the Saturday dinner discussion on INF.

Dear John,

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

13 May 1983

*It will be strange if an economic summit  
The new communique is about INF. We should need an economic one too.  
MF*

A-J.C. 13/5

Williamsburg: Political Preparation

Julian Bullard attended a Political Directors' meeting with our three closest allies in Paris yesterday morning, before the meeting of the Political Directors of the Seven Economic Summit countries (reported in Paris telegram No 382, a copy of which is enclosed).

The Quadripartite Meeting is reported in the second telegram which I enclose. The US Political Director, Burt, was more explicit in the smaller than in the larger group about American ideas, both on organising the discussion at the four meals in Williamsburg and on a possible declaration on INF.

As you see, Burt said that President Reagan was inclined to invite the Prime Minister to introduce the first discussion, on arms control and especially INF, at the dinner on Saturday, 28 May. Julian Bullard undertook to report this suggestion, but made it clear that the Prime Minister was at present reviewing her commitments in view of the impending General Election.

The telegram also records what Burt said about US ideas for a statement on INF. Again, Julian Bullard undertook to consult and to let Burt have our views. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary is inclined to think that a statement would be useful. Williamsburg is perhaps the ideal forum to emphasise that the other Western Governments fully support our insistence that British and French nuclear forces must be excluded from the talks, and that the INF problem in Europe should not be solved at the expense of friends in other regions (Japan).


/Perhaps

SECRET AND PERSONAL



Perhaps you could let us know what the Prime Minister's reaction is to the INF proposal, and to the idea that she might lead the arms control discussion.

I am copying this letter to Richard Mottram (Ministry of Defence) and to Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

*Yours ever,*  


(B J P Fall)  
Private Secretary

A J Coles, Esq  
10 Downing Street

SECRET AND PERSONAL

# OUT TELEGRAM

	Classification and Caveats SECRET BURNING BUSH	Precedence/Deskby IMMEDIATE
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ZCZC  
GRS  
CLASS  
CAVEATS  
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TEL NO

1	ZCZC	ZCZC
2	GRS	
3	SECRET BURNING BUSH	
4	DEDIP	
5		
6	FROM FCO	
7	TO IMMEDIATE PARIS	
8	TELEGRAM NUMBER	
9	REPEATED FOR INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, BONN, UKREP BRUSSELS	
10	Following from Bullard.	
11	PARIS TELNO 382: POLITICAL PREPARATIONS FOR WILLIAMSBURG	
12	1. This meeting of the Seven was preceded by a Quadripartite	
13	meeting of Political Directors in Paris on the morning of	
14	11 May. (The other three are of course unaware of this.)	
15	2. Discussion in the Four was along much the same lines as	
16	afterwards in the Seven, except that <u>Burt (US)</u> outlined in	
17	greater detail the idea that the <u>Seven Heads of Government</u> might	
18	issue a statement at <u>Williamsburg</u> specifically on INF. He	
19	suggested that this might contain the following elements:	
20	(i) <u>The best solution to the problem is still the</u>	
21	<u>elimination of all Soviet and US INF systems;</u>	
22	(ii) but in the absence of (i) above, all the Summit	
23	participants endorse the <u>US interim proposal;</u>	
24	(iii) the Heads of Government of the NATO participants, ie all	
25	<u>except Japan</u> , reaffirm that INF deployment will begin	

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NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword at
File number	Dept	Distribution PS PS/Mr Hurd PS/Mr Rifkind PS/PUS Sir J Bullard Mr Evans Mr Wright Mr Gillmore Mr James Hds Planning Staff Defence Dept EESD ERD
Drafted by (Block capitals)		
Telephone number		
Authorised for despatch <i>JB 12/5</i>		
Comcen reference	Time of despatch	
		NAD WED ECD(E)

OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

Classification and Caveats  
SECRET BURNING BUSH

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2 at the end of this year as planned, and proceed in accord  
3 ance with the December 1979 decision unless agreement in  
4 Geneva permits modifications to that decision;

5 (iv) there must be global limits on Soviet INF systems, (to  
6 take account of the Japanese concern that the Russians  
7 might redeploy missiles from Europe to the Far East);

8 (v) British and French nuclear systems cannot be taken into  
9 account at Geneva.

10 3. Schauer (FRG) expressed unhappiness about point (iv). When  
11 the double decision had been taken in 1979, there had been no  
12 intention of negotiating on a global basis. The FRG government  
13 might object to the implication that an agreement covering the  
14 European theatre alone would not be enough. Burt said sharply  
15 that any such objection would run counter to the US negotiating  
16 position on INF, which had been agreed by the SCG, and would be  
17 unacceptable to the US. I said that, if Heads of Government  
18 did agree to issue a statement on INF, this difficulty could be  
19 overcome by careful drafting, eg a sentence to the effect that  
20 there could be no question of solving the problem in Europe at  
21 the expense of another region. The others agreed.

22 4. Andreani (France) said that any statement on INF should make  
23 the political point that the West wishes to improve relations  
24 with the Soviet Union but believes that the restoration of the  
25 military balance, by deployments/reductions, is necessary to  
26 create the conditions for any such improvement. I agreed that  
27 the political context should be brought out.

28 5. Burt promised to circulate the draft of a possible statement  
29 to Quadripartite partners within the next few days. Andreani,  
30 Schauer and I undertook to consult our Heads of Government and  
31 let Burt have a considered reaction to his idea as soon as  
32 possible.

33 6. Burt also described American ideas as to which participants  
34 should be invited to introduce the discussion at the first three

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Catchword  
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GRS 750  
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FM PARIS 111530Z MAY 83  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 382 OF 11 MAY  
AND TO PRIORITY WASHINGTON, BONN, OTTAWA, UKREP BRUSSELS,  
TOKYO, ROME.

POLITICAL PREPARATIONS FOR WILLIAMSBURG.

FOLLOWING FROM BULLARD.

1. FOLLOWING A MEETING OF THE SEVEN POLITICAL DIRECTORS OVER LUNCH IN PARIS TODAY, BURT (US) WILL REPORT TO PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVES (SHERPAS) THIS EVENING AS FOLLOWS:

- (I) THERE IS A GENERAL DESIRE THAT DISCUSSION OF POLITICAL ITEMS BY HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT AT WILLIAMSBURG SHOULD BE "TRULY INFORMAL".
- (II) THERE SHOULD BE NO POLITICAL COMMUNIQUE, BUT THE SEVEN PARTICIPANTS MAY WISH TO CONSIDER ISSUING A STATEMENT, PERHAPS OR PERHAPS NOT IN THE FORM OF AN OPEN LETTER TO ANDROPOV, ON ARMS CONTROL, OR POSSIBLY ON INF ALONE. THE US WILL CIRCULATE A DRAFT. MEANWHILE ALL PARTICIPANTS WILL CONSULT THEIR HEADS OF GOVERNMENT ON THIS SUGGESTION AND REPORT REACTIONS. TO ENSURE A PUBLIC IMPACT SEPARATE FROM THE ECONOMIC CONCLUSIONS OF THE MEETING, A STATEMENT ON ARMS CONTROL/INF COULD BEST BE ISSUED ON THE SUNDAY.
- (III) PRESIDENT REAGAN PROPOSES THAT THE POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS SHOULD TAKE PLACE AT THE FOUR MEALS (DINNER ON SATURDAY 28 MAY, LUNCH AND DINNER ON SUNDAY 29 MAY AND LUNCH ON MONDAY 30 MAY). HIS INTENTION IS TO ORGANIZE THE DISCUSSION IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE FIRST THREE MEALS SHOULD BE DEVOTED RESPECTIVELY TO ARMS CONTROL; EAST/WEST POLITICAL RELATIONS; AND THE MIDDLE EAST, AND POSSIBLY OTHER REGIONAL QUESTIONS. THE FOURTH MEAL WOULD BE A "WRAP UP" SESSION.
- (IV) THE PRESIDENT PLANS TO INVITE A DIFFERENT HEAD OF GOVERNMENT TO INTRODUCE THE DISCUSSIONS AT EACH OF THE FIRST THREE MEALS. HE HIMSELF WILL LEAD THE "WRAP UP" SESSION. SINCE THERE WILL BE NO NOTE-TAKERS PRESENT AT THE MEALS, THE HEAD OF GOVERNMENT WHO INTRODUCES EACH DISCUSSION MIGHT SUMMARISE IT BRIEFLY AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FOLLOWING PLENARY.

/(V)

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- (V) THE FOREIGN MINISTERS MIGHT DISCUSS THE SAME 3 BROAD THEMES, BUT IN GREATER DETAIL. THE US WILL CIRCULATE A SUGGESTED LIST OF SUB-HEADINGS UNDER EACH THEME AND INVITE COMMENTS AND ADDITIONS.
- (VI) THE US PROPOSES THAT FOREIGN MINISTERS SHOULD ALSO DISCUSS THE FOLLOWING ITEMS:
- PRESIDENT REAGAN'S PROPOSALS ON YOUTH EXCHANGES;
  - HIS INITIATIVE ON PROMOTING DEMOCRACY;
  - TERRORISM;
  - NON-PROLIFERATION.
- THE AMERICANS WILL CIRCULATE A NOTE EXPLAINING HOW THEY INTEND TO RAISE THESE POINTS AND WHAT CONCLUSIONS THEY WOULD HOPE TO REACH. (THE FRENCH POLITICAL DIRECTOR AND I EXPRESSED SOME DOUBTS ABOUT THE VALUE OF DISCUSSION OF THE LAST TWO ESPECIALLY).
- (VII) THE JAPANESE HAVE SPECIFICALLY PROPOSED THAT SOUTH EAST ASIA SHOULD BE AMONG THE REGIONAL THEMES DISCUSSED.
- (VIII) SHULTZ WILL GIVE THE PRESS PERIODIC BRIEFINGS ABOUT THE POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS, IN PARTICULAR A HALF-TIME BRIEFING AT MIDDAY ON SUNDAY. THESE WILL BE VERY GENERAL, LISTING THE TOPICS DISCUSSED AND THE SPIRIT IN WHICH THEY WERE APPROACHED, BUT NOT THE CONTENT OF THE DISCUSSION.
- (IX) ASSUMING THAT THE FINAL STATEMENT ON ECONOMIC ISSUES WILL BE INTRODUCED BY THE PRESIDENT ON MONDAY 30 MAY, SHULTZ WILL FOLLOW THIS WITH A SUMMARY OF THE POLITICAL DISCUSSION IN TERMS WHICH HE WILL HAVE CONCERTED WITH HIS COLLEAGUES.

FRETWELL

LIMITED

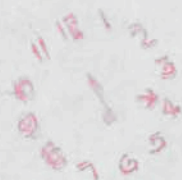
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73 MAY 1983





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10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

17 May 1983

Williamsburg: Political Preparation

Thank you for your letter of 13 May.

In a separate letter of today's date I recorded that the Prime Minister was willing to introduce the discussion on arms control and INF at the dinner in Williamsburg on Saturday, 28 May. The Prime Minister is also prepared to support the idea of a public statement at Williamsburg on INF, provided this can be agreed without difficulty with our other Summit partners. It would be most important to avoid any appearance of divisiveness.

I am copying this letter to Richard Mottram (Ministry of Defence) and Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

A. J. COLES

Brian Fall, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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