



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

27 June 1986

Dear Charles,

Prime Minister's Talks with
President von Weizsacker: 2 July

The Prime Minister will have 45 minutes of talks with President von Weizsacker after her lunch in his honour. The President has asked that Herr Genscher should be present. If the Prime Minister is content, Sir Geoffrey Howe also proposes to attend.

The President will have delivered his address to Members of both Houses of Parliament in the Royal Gallery immediately before lunch. We understand that von Weizsacker's principal theme is likely to be the shared aims of Britain and Germany in overcoming the divisions between East and West and in building a more united Western Europe. I will forward a copy of his text if we receive it beforehand.

I enclose a copy of Sir Julian Bullard's recent despatch on von Weizsacker's record in office. The despatch brings out his highly political interpretation of the Presidency and readiness to enter areas of controversy. Von Weizsacker has spoken out clearly when his conscience has moved him. After the American raid on Libya, for example, he declared the operation "unavoidable and right". In his most recent public speeches he has advised the German trade unions against docility and criticised, in the light of Chernobyl, attitudes that seemed to accept indefinite dependence on nuclear power.

Von Weizsacker last visited No 10 on 5 April 1984, after he had stepped down as Governing Mayor of Berlin and before his election as President. He was in Britain to attend the annual Koenigswinter conference. The conversation before dinner (John Coles's letter of 6 April 1984 to Roger Bone) centred on East/West and inner German relations. In a separate meeting with Sir Geoffrey Howe (and at the Prime Minister's dinner) von Weizsacker took an emphatic line about the Community, saying in his speech that while it was perfectly legitimate to defend

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cc/c
BHP
(2)

Prime Minister
You may like to
see this over
the week-end.
He tends to
prefer rather

philosophical
discussion
CDP
27/6



national interests, in the German view there were no national interests in Europe outside the Community. He spoke of his conviction that in considering the Community's future it was not enough to envisage merely a free trade area plus an element of political cooperation.

Sir Geoffrey Howe recommends in her discussion with von Weizsacker the Prime Minister should :

- a) emphasise the importance of the Anglo-German relationship for the building of European cooperation in all fields : military, political, economic.
- b) point to Britain and Germany's shared interest in relation to a range of world problems.

I enclose a checklist.

Like all German leaders, von Weizsacker has a special interest in East/West relations. His own experience of Germany's predicament started in the army in Russia during the war and continued when he helped to defend his father (State Secretary at the German Foreign Office from 1938-43) at Nuremberg. He will be interested (as in 1984, when he asked about Kadar) in the Prime Minister's view of Warsaw Pact leaders and the prospects for significant change under Gorbachev. The Prime Minister might ask von Weizsacker how he now sees the prospects for change in Eastern and central Europe, particularly in the GDR. Von Weizsacker, like his predecessors, considers it his duty to defend, to the extent that he can, the interests of Germans in the GDR, where his views are listened to with respect. Discussion might also cover the role of the Europeans in East-West exchanges, both in their own right and through influencing the superpower dialogue. Von Weizsacker is likely to be interested in the Prime Minister's view of the prospects for the CSCE, before the review meeting due to begin in Vienna on 4 November.

It would be appropriate to touch on Berlin, of which von Weizsacker was Governing Mayor from 1981 to 1984. The Prime Minister might take the opportunity to reaffirm the British commitment to the security and prosperity of the city, particularly in the context of its 750th Anniversary next year. She will recall the intention of the present Governing Mayor to invite her, President Reagan and President Mitterand to visit West Berlin after the Economic Summit in Italy. If von Weizsacker raises the recent difficulty over sector crossing procedures, the Prime Minister could say that they have been resolved thanks to

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close cooperation on the part of the three protecting power, the Federal Republic and other members of NATO, whose firm stand caused the Russians and East Germans to withdraw the new measures and restore previous practices.

Von Weizsacker has given much thought to the evils of terrorism. He spoke out strongly after the bombing of the discotheque in West Berlin (in which two hundred Germans were injured). He might have ideas on how to improve international cooperation in opposing terrorism, and on the apparent reduction in Libyan-inspired terrorist ventures since the American raid.

He made a notable contribution to Germany's position in the Middle East by his tact and discretion on his visit (the first by a German President) to Israel in October 1985. He would no doubt be interested to hear the Prime Minister's own thoughts on Israel in the light of her recent visit. His most recent State Visit was to Turkey. The Prime Minister might ask his impressions. Britain and Germany have worked together to allow Turkey to assume the Vice Presidency of the Council of Europe and to promote normalisation of Turkey's relationship with the Community.

The Prime Minister might note the special community of interest between Britain and Germany in relation to South Africa.

Von Weizsacker will be interested not only in the priorities for our Presidency of the European Community, but also in the Prime Minister's views on where the Community is heading. She might draw his attention to the achievements of the last few years (enlargement, Own Resources Decision, Single European Act) and say that it is now time to build on that foundation by completing the internal market by 1992, tackling the problem of agricultural surpluses, developing political cooperation and working together on employment growth. In all these areas we see the FRG and France as our chief partners, although on the CAP the Germans will need to restrain the demands of their own farmers.

On subjects other than foreign affairs, the President might be interested to hear the Prime Minister's views on changes she has sought to bring about in British society and economic life. He may offer his own thoughts about changes in German society, and with his interest in the problems (such as unemployment and drugs) of young people, how best to accommodate their aspirations and to reconcile differences in values and attitudes between the generations.

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The Prime Minister might conclude by mentioning her own planned visit to Germany in September for the next bilateral summit with Chancellor Kohl and their intended joint visit to British Forces Germany. Plans are in preparation for meetings at Celle with both British (total in Germany 67,000) and German army units.

In any conversation with Freifrau von Weizsacker over lunch the Prime Minister should be aware that, like her husband, she is very active in the affairs of the Evangelical Church. She might also be interested in talking about the rehabilitation of drug addicts, in view of her visit after lunch to Phoenix House (an institution pioneering rehabilitation techniques). Her other interests include modern theatre, 20th century art (she will visit the Tate Gallery), gardening and photography.

I enclose personality notes on President von Weizsacker, Freifrau von Weizsacker and Herr Genscher.

*Yours ever,
Colin Budd*

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq.
No 10 Downing St



PRIME MINISTER'S TALKS WITH PRESIDENT VON WEIZSÄCKER, 1500, 2 JULY

CHECKLIST

General

- Importance of Anglo-German relationship for building European cooperation.
- Their shared interest in relation to world problems.

East/West Relations

- Gorbachev's position firm, but under constraints.
- Calls for greater openness, but Chernobyl showed limits.
- No let-up on human rights: Gorbachev wants to improve system, not abandon it.
- Gorbachev's external policy: more activity, but fundamentals unchanged: preoccupation with US, more demands on Eastern Europe, maintaining third world investment, taking low-cost opportunities.
- UK/German role: complementary activity on dialogue (Shevardnadze to UK 14-15 July, Genscher to Moscow 20-22 July): coordination of input into US positions on arms control negotiations: joint MBFR initiative: current work on CW.
- CSCE: Vienna important opportunity to sustain momentum and re-establish balance in CSCE process.

Berlin UK commitment: 750th Anniversary.

Terrorism Value of firm international action: consequences of American raid.

Middle East Von Weizsäcker's visit to Israel in October 1985.

South Africa UK and German common interest in opposing sanctions.

Turkey Von Weizsäcker's visit at end May.

Similarity of British and German aims in Europe

- Defence co-operation.
- Technological co-operation.

Within Community:

- Emphasis on completion of internal market (though Germany more nuanced).
- Effective development of European political cooperation.
- Imaginative, but cost effective, approach to new areas (eg R and D).
- Germans too want solution to agricultural surplus problem, for financial reasons, but are vulnerable to ~~small~~ farmer lobby.

Presidency Priorities

- Action programme on completion of internal market.
- Deregulation/UK initiative on employment growth.
- Liberalisation in transport.
- CAP reform.
- Impetus on GATT.
- Sensitive handling of EC/US trade disputes.
- Disciplined solution to budget problems.
- Development of EC/Turkey relations.
- Effective cooperation through EPC.

VON WEIZSÄCKER, DR RICHARD

Federal President.

Born 1920 in Stuttgart, the son of a career diplomat, Ernest von Weizsäcker, (who though not a Nazi was State Secretary at the Wilhelmstrasse 1938-43 and was sentenced by a US tribunal in 1949 for complicity in war crimes). His brother Carl Friedrich is an eminent physicist and philosopher. His grandfather was a close adviser to the Kaiser and once considered a possible successor to Bismarck.

After a period at Oxford in the family of a Balliol don, he was called up in 1938 and served with the infantry on the eastern front. Came within sight of Moscow in 1941. In 1945 he was among the troops cut off in East Prussia and evacuated to Denmark. When the surrender came he demobbed himself and went home.

Studied law at Grenoble and Göttingen, and helped to defend his father. Entered industry. Became a member of the board of Boehringer and Co at Ingelheim. President of the German Evangelical Church Conference 1964-70 and again 1979-81. Member of the Bundestag from 1969-81, and a Vice Chairman of the CDU/CSU Parliamentary Party, 1972-79. Nominated to oppose Scheel in the Presidential election of 1974 and did far better than expected against an unbeatable candidate. Author of the party's programme of basic principles, agreed at the 1978 party conference. A Vice President of the Bundestag 1979-81. In the Bundestag he managed to stand above party political infighting. He came to epitomise the liberal socially conscious element in the CDU and clearly saw himself as a conservative with a duty to conciliate and integrate diverging elements of society.

Imported by the Berlin CDU, somewhat at the last moment, to lead the party into the 1979 Berlin elections, he failed to defeat the SPD/FDP coalition, but achieved a record vote for the CDU. When Stobbe fell in January 1981, Weizsäcker forced the other parties to agree to a dissolution. In the subsequent elections the CDU just failed to obtain an absolute majority. Weizsäcker owed his election as Governing Mayor in June 1981 to support from break away members of the FDP Parliamentary Party. Elected Deputy Chairman of the Federal CDU in May 1983: he resigned the post on becoming Federal President.

In Berlin he proved an outstanding success. He took over at a time of considerable disillusionment with the City's political establishment. He came to grips with the problems of the City, showing a depth of vision, wisdom and good sense. His successes were such that only he seemed able to guarantee a further CDU victory in the 1985 Berlin elections. So it was only after some delay and with reluctance that the Chancellor nominated him for the Federal Presidency. But he never had a real alternative. Opinion polls showed von Weizsäcker to be the clear popular favourite. Germans of all parties see him as someone who can integrate and conciliate, who stands above narrow party political interest. He was elected to the Federal Presidency in June 1984 when Carstens's period of office came to an end.

Despite a touch of vanity, von Weizsäcker exudes wisdom and good sense, and is an excellent speaker. An intellectual and philosopher with a conversational style to match, he is liberal in his views on both domestic policy and Ostpolitik, and plays an influential and beneficial national role on the side of moderation in his party. He openly admitted to a wish to make the Presidency a more political office. Many of his speeches in his first 18 months indicate that he intends to stick to this resolution. His address to the Bundestag on 8 May 1985, the 40th anniversary of the end of the war, was a classic example and a masterpiece of its kind, containing a powerful plea for a greater awareness among Germans of their moral responsibility for events between 1933 and 1945. An old friend of Britain, who has given much time to the Deutsch-Englische Gesellschaft and the Königswinter conference. Is to pay a State Visit to the UK in July 1986.

Married with four children. He speaks excellent, and his wife adequate, English. Although born a Freiherr (Baron) he prefers not to use his title.

VON WEIZSAECKER, FREIFRAU MARIANNE

Marianne Freifrau von Weizsaecker, nee von Kretschmann, was born and educated in Essen on 17 May 1932. She subsequently attended Business College at Hamburg. In 1953 at the age of 21 she married Richard von Weizsaecker.

A committed Christian, she was a member of the Presbytery of the Evangelical Peace Church in Bonn from 1972-81, and undertook nursing work at an Evangelical Children's Hospital. Her interest in education has led to her membership of the Board of Trustees of the German National Scholarship Foundation and the St John's Foundation, Berlin.

When her husband became President in 1984, she assumed the Presidency of the Elly Heuss-Knapp Foundation (German Mothers' Welfare Institution). She also became Patroness of the German UNICEF Committee. In 1985 she became Patroness of the Federation of Parents of Adolescents Exposed or Addicted to Drugs.

Her cultural interests include modern theatre and 20th century art. She is a keen photographer and gardener. She has 4 children (3 sons and 1 daughter).

She speaks excellent English.

CONFIDENTIAL

GENSCHER, HANS DIETRICH, HON GCMG

Federal Foreign Minister and Vice-Chancellor since May 1974.

Born 1927 in Reideburg, Saxony (now GDR). Son of a farm cooperative official. War service with the Luftwaffe. POW. Later studied law in Halle and Leipzig. Left the GDR for the Federal Republic in 1952 and joined the FDP. Became Business Manager of the FDP Parliamentary Party in 1959 and then in addition, from 1962-64, Federal Business Manager of the FDP. Elected to the Bundestag in 1965. Became a Vice-Chairman of the Party in 1968, Minister of the Interior 1969-74. When Scheel became Federal President in 1974, Genscher succeeded him as Chairman of the FDP, Vice-Chancellor to Schmidt, and Foreign Minister.

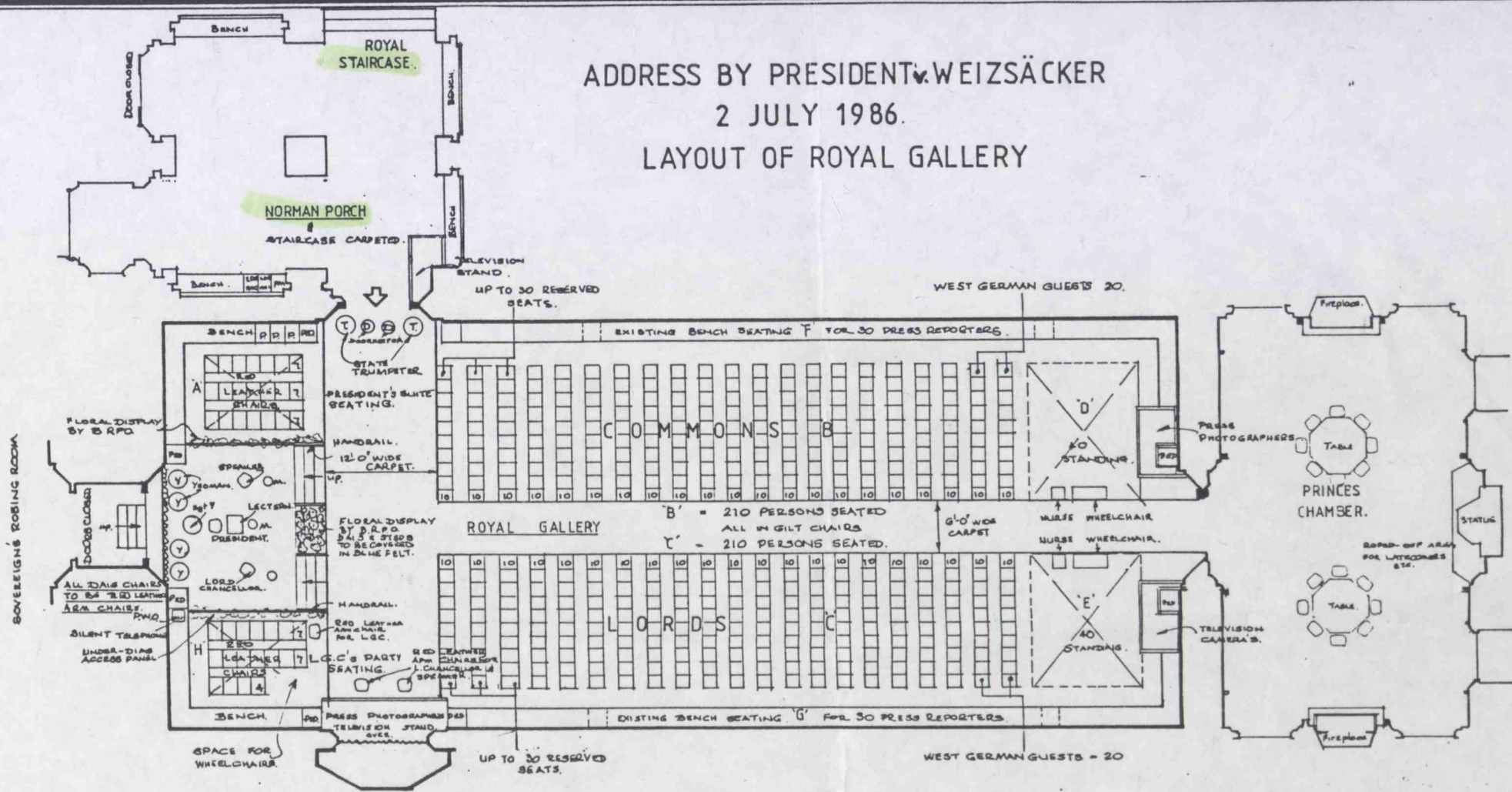
The FDP's excellent showing in the 1980 Federal election increased Genscher's standing both as Foreign Minister and Party Chairman. But it became increasingly clear that Genscher no longer believed that the SPD/FDP Coalition had a future; and he began to look for the best way to end it. When the moment came in September 1982, however, Genscher was outmanoeuvred by Schmidt, and he and his party took the full force of public criticism for the break-up of the Government. Genscher was also attacked by the FDP left-wing for the way in which he had forced through the switch without consulting his party. At the FDP Party Conference in November 1982, a determined, but unsuccessful, effort was made to unseat him as Party Chairman, and a large proportion of the FDP left then quit the party. By realigning it well to the right, Genscher managed to ensure that the FDP secured re-election to the Bundestag in March 1983.

But discontent with him in the Party re-emerged when he tried to corral the FDP into accepting an amnesty for politicians and businessmen in the so-called Flick scandal. Faced with a further challenge to his leadership at the Party Conference in 1984 he only succeeded in defusing the situation by announcing that he would stand down as Party Chairman in 1985, which he subsequently did to make way for Bangemann (qv).

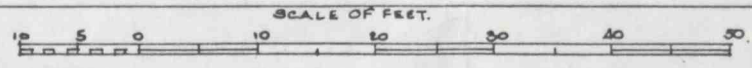
Genscher's problems with his own Party have inevitably affected his authority as Foreign Minister, and there is now speculation about his replacement (eg by Bangemann) after the 1987 elections. He has also lost ground since 1982 to the Chancellor's Adviser on Foreign Affairs, Teltschik (qv). But he remains an active and effective Foreign Minister, and can be expected to use all the tactical cunning at his disposal to hang on to the job.

An immensely hard worker, with the capacity to absorb detailed information quickly. In private he is an easy-going man, informal yet with a certain reserve. He divorced his first wife and married his then secretary in 1969. For both it was their second marriage. Since then, he draws a clear line between business and family life, partly in the interests of his daughter, (by his first wife), to whom he is deeply attached. He reads voraciously anything that lies to hand. His tastes in music are equally wide-ranging from classical to pop. In the 50s he suffered from a nearly fatal bout of tuberculosis which kept him three years in a clinic. In November 1977 he was admitted to hospital with pneumonia, and secondary blood circulation instability. He did not return to work until mid-January 1978. Although he seemed to recover well at the time, the enormous strain of his working habits has taken its toll and he often looks less than healthy.

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT WEIZSÄCKER 2 JULY 1986. LAYOUT OF ROYAL GALLERY



ACCOMMODATION.			
BLOCK A	SEATED	21.	BENCH F.
• B	"	210.	SEATED 30. (PRESS REPORTERS)
• C	"	210.	• G
• D	STANDING	40.	BLOCK H.
• E	"	40.	• 19.



KEY.	
BLOCK 'A' (SEATED)	CHAIRS FOR PRESIDENTIAL SUITE BENCHES AT REAR RESERVED FOR ANY ACCOMPANYING STAFF. eg. POLICE, MEDICAL etc.
BLOCK 'B' (SEATED)	M.P.s _____ 190 WEST GERMAN GUESTS. — 20 <u>210</u>
BLOCK 'C' (SEATED)	PEERS _____ 190 WEST GERMAN GUESTS — 20 <u>210</u>
BLOCK 'D' (STANDING)	STANDING VACANCIES FOR COMMONS INCL. 20 OFFICERS/STAFF <u>40</u>
BLOCK 'E' (STANDING)	STANDING VACANCIES FOR LORDS & LORDS OFFICERS/STAFF <u>35</u> <u>5</u> <u>40</u>
BENCHES 'F' & 'G' (SEATED)	30 EACH BENCH FOR JOURNALISTS _____ 60.
BLOCK 'H' (SEATED)	CHAIRS FOR L.G.C.'S PARTY WITH BENCHES AT REAR RESERVED FOR P.W.O AND OVERFLOW.

W.H. LEWIS OBE.
PARLIAMENTARY WORKS OFFICER
PALACE OF WESTMINSTER.
DRAWING N° PNO 1705/AB1/1. May 86
T.T.S.

THE RT HON THE PRIME MINISTER

His Excellency Dr Richard von Weizsäcker

His Excellency Herr Hans Dietrich Genscher

MR DENIS THATCHER

The Lady Hailsham of St Marylebone

Freifrau von Weizsäcker

Dr Klaus Blech

The Rt Hon The Lord
Hailsham of St Marylebone

Lady Howe

Frau Genscher

The Rt Hon George Younger

The Rt Hon Kenneth Baker

His Excellency the Ambassador of
the Federal Republic of Germany

The Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe

Frau Blech

Dr Gerold von Braunmühl

Mrs Younger

Baroness von Wechmar

The Rt Hon Roy Jenkins

Dame Jennifer Jenkins

Werner Graf von der Schulenberg

The Hon William Waldegrave

Gräfin von der Schulenberg

The Viscount Boyne

The Hon Mrs Waldegrave

Herr Peter Schönfeld

General Sir Nigel Bagnall

Lady Bagnall

Dr Reinhold Schenk

Lady Susan Hussey

Lady Bullard

Sir Nicholas Henderson

Lady Sylvia Maltby

Sir William Barlow

Mr George Robertson

Lady Messervy

Sir Julian Bullard

Lady Henderson

Lady Hogg

Mr Donald Anderson

Mrs Robertson

Sir Godfrey Messervy

Sir Patrick Wright

Mrs Holmes

Mr J N Maltby

Mrs Anderson

Mr Peter Holmes

Sir Christopher Hogg

Lady Barlow

Colonel Wolfgang Sand

Mrs Rutherford

Lady Wright

Mr Nigel Forman

Mr Peter Jenkins

Mr Robert Jones

Dr Friedbert Pflüger

Mrs Jenkins

Mrs Powell

Miss Virginia Wade

Mrs Mallaby

Mr Malcolm Rutherford

Mr Christopher Mallaby

Major Hugh Lindsay

Professor Roger Morgan

Mr Charles Powell

ENTRANCE



LUNCHEON

In honour of
His Excellency the President
of the
Federal Republic of Germany
and Freifrau von Weizsäcker

10 DOWNING STREET
WEDNESDAY 2ND JULY 1986

*The Rt Hon
The Prime Minister*