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WITHDRAWAL SHEET Ronald Reagan Library

collection EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: RECORDS COUNTRY FILE

Archivist: cas/cas

ile Folder: United Kingdom vol. VI 7/1/84 - 1/4/85 [2 of 2]

Box 91333

Date: October 9, 1998

DOGUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
l. cable	052023z 2 p Part. 3/28/01 598 002 + 627	9/5/84	P1
2. memo	Kenneth DeGraffenreid to Robert Kimmitt re travel	-9/4/84	P1
3. draft cable	to united Kingdom 1 p. (6591) R partial 1 p.	n.d	P6
4. letter	Reagan to Charles Price 1 p. (5564)	7/31/84	P1 .
5 memo	Robert McFarlane to the President re reply to	7/27/84	P1
6- memo	Ambassador Price 1 p	7/25/84	P1-
.	Price 1 p. 1 + 181		
7. letter8. letter	Price to Reagan 1 p. original of item #6 1 p.	7/11/84	P1, P5
5. 101101	original of Roll #0 1 p.	7/11/04	11,113
		• .	

RESTRICTION CODES

- esidential Records Act [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]
 1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].

- Relating to appointment to Federal office ((a)(2) of the PRA).

 Release would violate a Federal statute ((a)(3) of the PRA).

 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- 5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- 6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy ((a)(6) of the PRA].

Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- F-1 National security classified information ((b)(1) of the FOIA].
 F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statue ((b)(3) of the FOIA).
 F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information ((b)(4) of the FOIA).
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA).



ID 8406591

RECEIVED 05 SEP 84 19

TO

KIMMITT

FROM DE GRAFFENREID

DOCDATE 04 SEP 84

Ey C4

15 6 798

KEYWORDS: GREAT BRITAIN

INTELLIGENCE

3 coHand

SUBJECT: DEGRAFFENREID TRAVEL TO UNITED KINGDOM

ACTION: FOR INFORMATION

DUE:

STATUS IX FI

Adva

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

KIMMITT

COMMENTS

REF# LOG

NSCIFID

(LF CM)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

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SPATCH W/AI

W/ATTCH FILE

National Security Council The White House

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6591 OUTGOING

CONFIDENTIAL WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 THE WHITE HOUSE 6887 DTG: Ø52Ø23Z SEP 84 PSN: Ø68761

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DISTRIBUTION: KIMM RLPH /002

OP IMMED DE YEKADS #6887 2492006 0 Ø52Ø23Z SEP 84 ZFF-4 ZYH FM THE WHITE HOUSE

C A N F | B E N T | A | V | A PRIVACY CHANNELS WH06887

SUBJ: TRAVEL NOTIFICATION

- 1. MR. KENNETH E. DEGRAFFENREID, 335-36-7140, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS AND SENIOR DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS WILL BE ON OFFICIAL TRAVEL TO LONDON. UK AND EDZELL. SCOTLAND DURING THE PERIOD 6-11 SEP 84. WHILE IN LONDON, MR. DEGRAFFENREID WILL BE A CONFERENCE PARTICIPANT AT THE ROYAL UNITED STATES INSTITUTE FROM 6-9 SEP FOLLOWED BY A VISIT TO THE US NAVY SECURITY GROUP ACTIVITY, EDZELL, SCOTLAND FROM 9-11 SEP. LODGING IN LONDON WILL BE AT THE ROYAL HORSEGUARDS, WHITEHALL COURT AND IN SCOTLAND AT THE HOLIDAY INN. ABERDEEN AIRPORT.
- MR. DEGRAFFENREID'S ITINERARY IS AS FOLLOWS:

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0800	SEP	6	153Ø	SEP	9	WA NO.	3 2	LONDON/GATWICK
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163Ø	SEP	11	TERM			WA NO.	33	WASH DC

OUTGOING

-CONFIDENTIAL WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02 THE WHITE HOUSE 6887 DTG: 052023Z SEP 84 PSN: 068761

3. ANY ASSISTANCE YOU COULD RENDER MR. DEGRAFFENREID, SHOULD HE REQUIRE, WOULD BE APPRECIATED.

DECL: OADR

218

MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CONFIDENTIAL/COMINT

September 4, 1984

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM:

KENNETH E. deGRAFFENREIDKA

SUBJECT:

Travel to United Kingdom

Attached is my itinerary for travel to London (for private intelligence conference) and Edzell, Scotland (1-day visit to US Navy Security Group Activity).

Would appreciate a back-channel to Embassy London advising them of this trip as a heads up courtesy. Thanks.

Attachment
Tab I Itinerary

OK.

RMK

9/5/84

DECLASSIFIED / RELEASED

NLSS98-002 #628

BY CAS , NARA, DATE 3/28/0/

CONFIDENTIAL/COMINT Declassify on: OADR



CIDHI IUCALINGE

DRAFT CABLE

FROM: THE WHITE HOUSE

TO: AMERICAN EMBASSY, LONDON UK

SUBJ: TRAVEL NOTIFICATION

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. AR. deGRAFFENREID'S ITINERARY IS AS FOLLOWS:

ARRIVE	DEPART	AIRLINES	DESTINATION
0800 SEP 6	1530 SEP 9	WA #32	LONDON/GATWICK
1650 SEP 9	0700 SEP 11	BA #5614	ABERDEEN
0825 SEP 11	1340 SEP 11	BA #5601	LONDON/HEATHROW
1630 SEP 11	TERM	WA #33	WASH DC

3. ANY ASSISTANCE YOU COULD RENDER MR. deGRAFFENREID, SHOULD HE REQUIRE, WOULD BE APPRECIATED.

10¹8 198

LEGNEIDENTIAL

ITINERARY

Kenneth E. deGraffenreid

September 5-11, 1984

Wednesday, September 5 - Sunday, September 9

World Air Flight #32 Depart: 7:35 p.m. (BWI)

September 6 Arrive: 8:00 a.m. (London/Gatwick)

Lodging: Royal Horseguards

_ . . .

Whitehall Court, London Phone: 01-839-3400

Attending: British-American Colloquium on 20th Century

Intelligence

Royal United Services Institute

Sunday, September 9 - Monday, September 10

British Air Flight #5614 Depart: 3:30 p.m. (London/Heathrow)

Arrive: 4:50 p.m. (Aberdeen)

Lodging: Holiday Inn, Airport (Aberdeen)

Phone: (44) 770011 (\$57 per night)

Attending: Visit to US Navy Security Group Activity, Edzell,

Scotland

Tuesday, September 11

British Air Flight #560l Depart: 7:00 a.m. (Aberdeen)

Arrive: 8:25 a.m. (London/Heathrow)

World Air Flight #33 Depart: 1:40 p.m. (London/Gatwick)

Arrive: 4:30 p.m. (BWI)

RECEIVED 18 JUL 84 18

TO

PRESIDENT

FROM PRICE, CHARLES H DOCDATE 11 JUL 84

10/8/98

KEYWORDS: CREAT BRITAIN

MEDIA

THATCHER, MARGARET

SUBJECT: AMB PRICE FWDS CY OF ECONOMIST ARTICLE CRITICIZING THATCHER

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE DUE: 20 JUL 84 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

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Original of Tab I with Tabs A& B passed to Dick Darman 7/28 pm.

84 JUL 26 P2: 14

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCILY

D 8405564

DATE: 17 AUG 84

REFERRAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHARLE HILL

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: AMB CHARLES H PRICE

SOURCE. PRESIDENT

DATE: 31 JUL 84

KEYWORDS GREAT BRITAIN

MEDIA

THATCHER, MARGARET

SUBJ: PRESIDENTIAL LTR TO AMB PRICE -- CLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL

REQUIRED ACTION: FOR DISPATCH TO AMB PRICE ASAP BY POUCH.

SEALED ENVELOPE; DO NOT OPEN.

THANK YOU.

DUEDATE: 18 AUG 84

COMMENTS ORIGINAL LTR RETURNED TODAY FROM PRESIDENT

FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE



OF CLASSI

CAS 10/8/98

ED

1997

The Honorable Charles H. Price, II U.S. Ambassador to the United Kingdom United Kingdom London

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

July 31, 1984

Dear Charlie:

Thank you for sending me the Economist article concerning Mrs. Thatcher's foreign policy management style. I also appreciate receiving your candid and thoughtful personal views.

I must admit that the <u>Economist</u> article, in some ways, reminded me of U.S. media criticism of my policies. Margaret's perseverance and persuasiveness, in my view, have always been among her greatest strengths. At the same time, I am sure you are right in saying that she must be alert to not being isolated in her own Cabinet.

Thank you for keeping me informed about the situation in the U.K.

Sincerely,

P.S. Namy somes her love to from both of no to care.

The Honorable Charles H. Price, II U.S. Ambassador to the United Kingdom United Kingdom London

CAJ 598-002 #629 CAJ 7/21/00

CONFIDENTIAL Declassify on: OADR

Herself

Margaret Thatcher as foreign policy maker

The reduction in Britain's EEC budget bill is more than anybody in Britain or the rest of Europe would have thought possible five years ago. That much is a tribute to the unusual kind of prime minister that Mrs Margaret Thatcher is.

Yet the whole of this latest bout of British budget bargaining in Europe puts a question-mark over Mrs Thatcher as a foreign policy maker. She knows she wanted more and thought she could get more. Her bargaining power went when she lost control of her party over withholding payments to Brussels; so her supporters in Britain are left disappointed, her opponents to make capital from her discomfiture. A modest budget benefit for Britain, but the ceiling on EEC spending breached, the farm policy trimmed not reformed. This has gained her little in the rest of Europe.

More than instinct, but less than finesse

In the compromise she made at Fontainebleau—and notably in the skilful pre-emptive concession she made on figures (see page 47)—Britain's European partners have seen that Mrs Thatcher's reputation for pragmatic reasonableness at the end of the day is deserved. Outweighing that, however, they see a perennial bluffer whose bluff can be called, a kneejerker whose knee can be stroked; and somebody who has soured European politics through months and years at a time when world events badly required it to be sweet, all for a deal that could (such things are always easier in retrospect) have been struck much earlier.

The rest of Mrs Thatcher's foreign policy record is a budget affair. She can be accused of it, rightly, over Hongkong, where her premature lurch into the breach helped not a bit. And but for Lord Carrington's and Lord Harlech's well-timed persuasion, she probably would have been accused of it over Zimbabwe.

The book is not all written. In common with all sufferers from Downingstreetitis, Mrs Thatcher has



similarly mixed one. Her relationship with the United States is not what conservative common ground and personal liking for the present president suggest. Uneven response, impatience mixed with courtship, simple lack of knowledge have reduced Mrs Thatcher's influence over economic and foreign policy in Washington. Unconsulted over Grenada (and badly briefed by her own advisers) she allowed the heat of the moment to boil her reaction out of all proportion, thereby offending an America whose massive secret arms supply helped win her the Falklands war. Smiles are back in fashion, but fundamental sympathy and trust for her in Washington have gone, probably for good.

Her conversion to being a good European itself dates from her assessment in opposition that post-Nixon, post-Vietnam America was a jumpy, if essential, ally that could not always be relied upon. Yet Mrs Thatcher has patently failed to convince anybody that she is really a "good European" either. Her east European policy is, equally, not coherent. She discarded her iron lady's clothing last autumn, she has visited Hungary. The door to Moscow has been ajar since she mentioned Russian sacrifices during Hitler's war. But she cannot easily walk through it without undermining Mr Reagan—and all she stands for herself. As for a Thatcher foreign policy in the world beyond Europe and America—to compare with, say, President Mitterrand's in Africa—i does not seem to exist.

There is plenty of sound instinct in Mrs Thatcher. O timing and strategic sense there is little. She can be accused of failure, rightly or wrongly, over the Euro caught the foreign policy bug, but only recently. She has one thoughtful long-range adviser, but her attempt to equip Downing Street with its own foreign policy centre falls between every stool: a suitable idea in the hands of unsuitable people. And, as in so much else, Mrs Thatcher's central strength in foreign policy making is her central weakness: herself.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Log Number

AUG 1 7 1984

5564

ENCLASSIFIED U DISTRIBUTION RECORD Subject: SEALED PRESIDENTIAL ENVELOPE DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: TOP SECRET CONFIDENTIAL SECRET ☐ UNCLASSIFIED INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION - Amb. McFarlane Ms. Dornan Mr. R. Lehman Mr. Pollock Mr. Teicher ... Adm. Poindexter _ Cmdr. Dur __ Mr. Levine Mr. Raymond __ Cmdr. Thompson Mr. Fontaine Col. Lilac Ms. Reger - Mr. Tyson _ Sit. Room Mr. Fortier _ Ltc. Linhard Mr. Robinson _ Mr, Wettering Mr. Beal - Mr. Helm — Mr. Martin — Gen. Russeli — Exec. Secretary _ Ltc. Childress _ Mr. Kemp _ Mr. Matlock __ Col. Rye __ NSC Secretariat Ltc. Cox Mr. Kraemer Cpt. Shull — N5C Registry Mr. Menges Mr. De Graffenreid Mr. Laux Mr. McMinn _ Mr. Sigur __ NSC Admin. Ms. Dobriansky Mr. C. Lehman Ltc. North **NSC MSG Center** Mr. Sommer EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION: # CYS Time Received/Signed For By: Date THE VICE PRESIDENT THE SECRETARY OF STATE ORIGINAL Exec sec/Room 7241 THE SECRETARYOF THE TREASURY Main Bldg/Room 3422 THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE The Pentagon DIRECTOR, ACDA Room 5933/Dept. of State CHAIRMAN US START DELEGATION C/o ACDA, 5933 State CHAIRMAN US INF DELEGATION C/o ACDA, 5933 State DIRECTOR, CIA Langley, Va/or Pickup CHAIRMAN, JCS The Pentagon DIRECTOR, OMB Room 252 OEOB U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO UNITED NATIONS Room 6333, State Dept. THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE 14th & Const. Ave. NW, Room 5851 THE SECRETARY OF, ENERGY GA257, Forrestal Bldg DIRECTOR, AID Room 5942, Dept. of State THE ATTORNEY GENERAL Dept. of Justice, Room 5119 DIRECTOR, OSTP Room 360, OEOB DIRECTOR, USIA 400 C Street, S.W. THE SECRETARY OF INTERIOR 18th & E. Street NW THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE Independence & 14th SW UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE Room 209 Winder Bldg 17 & FSt NW. THE DIRECTOR, FEMA 500 C Street,

DIRECTOR, DMSPA

Room 3E813, Pentagon

MSG FROM: NSWGH --CPUA

TO: NSFEG --CPUA

To: NSFEG --CPUA

-- SECRET

NOTE FROM: WILMA HALL

SUBJECT: Items back from the President

10/4/98

1270

5564

Sommer/Reply to Amb Price -- RR signed ltr to Amb Price w/handwritten note: "P.S. Nancy sends her love & from both of us to Carol."

CANNOT BE DISPATCHED UNTIL RETURN TO WASHINGTON -- The response to an unclassified incoming letter was classified CONFIDENTIAL!



how sien action

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 27, 1984

CONFIDENTIAL

SIGNED

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

SUBJECT:

Reply to Ambassador Price

Charlie Price has sent you an <u>Economist</u> article highly critical of Mrs. Thatcher's foreign policy management style. Charlie also adds his own candid, personal view that her management style, i.e., her disregard of the views of others, is becoming progressively worse.

Your reply thanks Charlie for his candid views and notes that at least some of the <u>Economics</u> allegations remind you of U.S. media criticism of yourself.

RECOMMENDATION

OK No

That you sign the reply to Ambassador Price.

Attachments

Tab A Reply to Ambassador Price

Tab B Price's Incoming

598-002 #630 CAS 7/2./00

CONFIDENTIAL
Declassify on: OADR

CONFIDENTIAL



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

_CONFIDENTIAL \

ACTION

July 25, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM:

PETER R. SOMMER PETER

SUBJECT:

Reply to Ambassador Price

Charlie Price has written the President to draw his attention to a critical Economist article about Mrs. Thatcher's foreign policy management style. Price also adds his own private, candid views about her management style.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Tab I memo to the President forwarding for signature a suggested reply to Price.

Approve Disapprove

Attachments

Tab I

Memo to President

Tab A Suggested Reply
Tab B Price's Incoming

598-002 #631 CAS 7/21/00

CONFIDENTIAL -Declassify on: OADR

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THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER LISTED ON THE								
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.								
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THE WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED:	JULY	18,	1984	
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NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE CHARLES H. PRICE II

SUBULCT:	ONOPENED			

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REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE (ROOM 75,OEOB) EXT. 2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS MANAGEMENT.

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.	
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Herself

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL DISTRIBUTION RECORD

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	Mr. Fontaine -	Col. Lilac		Ms. Reger	Mr. Tyson
	Mr. Fortier _	Ltc. Linhard		Mr. Robinson	Mr, Wettering
	Mr. Helm -	Mr. Martin		Gen. Russell Col. Rye	Exec. Secretary NSC Secretariat
	Mr. Kemp Mr. Kraemer	Mr. Matlock Mr. Menges		Cpt. Shull	NSC Registry
	Mr. Laux	Mr. McMinn		Mr. Sigur	NSC Admin.
Ms. Dobriansky	Mr. C. Lehman		h	Mr. Sommer	NSC MSG Center
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RECEIVED 10 JUL 84 17

TO

MCFARLANE FROM WRIGHT, O

DOCDATE 06 JUL 84

KEYWORDS CREAT BRITAIN

EC

SUBJECT: EC HEADS OF GOVT PAPER PRESENTED BY PM THATCHER AT EUROPEAN COUNCIL

MTG 25 & 26 JUN

ACTION: FOR INFORMATION

DUE: 13 JUL 84 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

SOMMER

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COMMENTS

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National Security Council The White House

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10.	1271	5320	Sommer/Reply to Sir Oliver Wright 7/30 - RCM signed Tab I ltr to Wright; ltr dispatched from S/B
√11.	1273	· 5365	Sommer/Reply to Archbishop Iakovos 7/30 - RCM signed Tab I ltr to Iakovos; ltr dispatched from S/B
12.	1273	5425 :	Cobb/Presl Ltr to Mother-in-Law of Assassinated General Dalla Chiesa 7/30 - RCM signed Tab I Memo to Pres; Memo w/Tab A: Ltr to Mrs Carraro forwarded "Via Darman"
√13.	1270	556 4	Sommer/Reply to Amb Price 7/28 - RCM signed; original memo to Pres with Tabs A & B passed to Darman
√14.	1273	557 5 ADD-ON	Sommer/New German Ambassador 7/30 - RCM notes "OK"; pls provide a copy to W. Hall for followup action
V 15.	1268	5578	Matlock/Ltr from Wm Taylor of CSIS 7/30 - RCM signed Tab I Ltr to Taylor; dispatched from S/B
V 16.	1270	5585	Dobriansky/Polish Church Private Agricultural Plan 7/28 - RCM signed Tab I Memo to Pres; original w/Tab A passed to Darman
^V 17.	1268	5642	Matlock/Ltr from Terry Pearce and Tom Green 7/30 - RCM signed Tab I; 1tr dispatched from Santa Barbara Pls provide copy of pkg to W. Hall
V 18.	?? '269	5707	McFarlane memo to Michael Deaver/ President's Attendance at the B-1B Roll-out 7/28 - RCM discussed with Deaver: RR attendance not approved.

10. 1271 5320

Sommer/Reply to Sir Oliver Wright
7/30 - RCM signed Tab I ltr to Wright;
ltr dispatched from S/B

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

JUL 3 0 1984

Dear Sir Oliver,

Thank you for providing me a copy of the paper entitled "Europe--The Future" that Mrs. Thatcher sent to other European Community Heads of Government as a contribution to discussion at the European Council's June meeting in Fontainbleau.

I understand that Ken Dam has already conveyed to you our pleasure at the outcome of the Fontainbleau meeting. I would like to add I was struck by both the paper's emphasis that the European Community and the Alliance cannot rest on the achievements of the post-war period and by its upbeat assessment of the future.

A strengthened Europe is clearly in U.S. interests. We look forward to Europe playing an increased role in our common efforts to promote peace and prosperity.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

SIGNED

Ambassador Oliver Wright British Embassy Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

July 26, 1984

BIGNED

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM:

PETER R. SOMMER

SUBJECT:

Reply to Sir Oliver Wright

British Ambassador, Sir Oliver Wright, has forwarded you under a covering letter a copy of a British paper on Europe's future that Mrs. Thatcher circulated to other EC Heads of Government prior to the recent Fontainbleau meeting (Tab II).

Wright also provided a copy to Ken Dam who has replied with regard to the specifics of the Fontainbleau meeting. I thought a more general reply from you would also be useful.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Tab I reply to Sir Oliver Wright.

Approve____ Disapprove____

Dave Wigg concurs.

Attachments

Tab I Reply to Wright
Tab II Wright's Incoming



FROM THE AMBASSADOR

BRITISH EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON, D.C.

TELEPHONE: (202) 462-1340

6 July 1984

The Honorable
Robert C McFarlane
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House
WASHINGTON DC

Dan Brd,

I thought you would be interested to see the enclosed paper which was sent by the British Prime Minister to other European Community Heads of Government as a contribution to discussion at the recent European Council meeting at Fontainebleau. It sets out clearly and fully the aspirations of the British Government for the future development of the European Community and will be an important element in the work on this which was set in hand at that meeting.

It is often said on this side of the Atlantic that Europe has lost direction and become inward-looking; and that it is preoccupied with budgetary issues and not sufficiently committed to the development of a stronger, more outward-looking Community. I think the outcome of the Fontainebleau meeting - and indeed the British paper itself - demonstrates how wrong these views are. agreement reached at Fontainebleau has brought to a successful conclusion a damaging internal row about Community finances, and has opened the way to the relaunching of the European Community which was called for at the Stuttgart European Council in 1983. The paper clearly demonstrates Britain's determination to make a constructive and imaginative contribution towards this relaunching. It sets out practical ideas for strengthening the Community internally and, every bit as important, it suggests ways in which the Community could play a more effective role internationally as part of the overall Western effort.

(her)

Oliver Wright

EUROPE - THE FUTURE

THE ATTACHED PAPER WAS GIVEN TO

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY HEADS OF GOVERNMENT

BY THE PRIME MINISTER

AS A CONTRIBUTION TO DISCUSSION

AT THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL

HELD AT FONTAINEBLEAU ON 25/26 JUNE 1984

EUROPE - THE FUTURE

INTRODUCTION

- 1. At the European Council in Stuttgart an ambitious programe was decided, involving a review of almost every aspect of the Community's activities. The negotiation has not been easy; and that is not surprising. There will continue to be arguments over priorities and the allocation of resources. That would be true even in a full-fledged federation. The Community progresses by the process of argument and discussion necessary to resolve its differences.
- 2. The Community is now close to agreement on the issues determining the course of its future development. Some progress has been made towards financing Community activity in the longer term and establishing a fairer balance of contributions. Some steps have been taken towards limiting the future costs of the agricultural regime. The Ten have agreed to work on a series of new policies to promote the economic, social and political growth on which their future well being depends. The negotiations remain to be completed. Their completion will enable the Community to concentrate on longer term objectives, and on responding to the needs and aspirations of its 270 million inhabitants.

- 3. This means giving greater depth to the Community in both its internal and external activities. The European Community, which has the largest share of international trade in the world and the immense benefit of the ingenuity of its peoples, and of the diversity of its economies, has only just begun to take advantage of its great potential. The Common Market is a means to an end, described in the Treaty itself as, "a harmonious development of economic activities, a continuous and balanced expansion, an increase in stability, an accelerated raising of the standard of living".
- 4. The Community's energies must also be turned outwards so that we can:
 - (i) create the sense of common purpose and momentum needed to hold together a Community of 12;
 - (ii) defend our collective interests in an increasingly troubled world;
 - (iii) fulfil our international responsibility to the causes of freedom, democracy, prosperity and peace;
- 5. If the European Community is to be effective in the world, it must also be effective in the national life of each of its Member States.

Strengthening the Community

If the problems of growth, outdated industrial structures and unemployment which affect us all are to be tackled effectively, we must create the genuine common market in goods and services which is envisaged in the Treaty of Rome and will be crucial to our ability to meet the US and Japanese technological challenge. Only by a sustained effort to remove remaining obstacles to intra-Community trade can we enable the citizens of Europe to benefit from the dynamic effects of a fully integrated common market with immense purchasing power. The success of the United States in job creation shows what can be achieved when internal barriers to business and trade come down. We must create the conditions in which European businessmen too can build on their strengths and create prosperity and jobs. This means action to harmonise standards and prevent their deliberate use as barriers to intra-Community trade; more rapid and better coordinated customs procedures; a major effort to improve mutual recognition of professional qualifications; and liberalising trade in services, including banking, insurance and transportation of goods and people. If we do not give our service and manufacturing industries the full benefit of what is potentially the largest single market in the industrialised world, they will never be fully competitive at international level, and will be unable to create much needed jobs within the Community.

- 7. At the same time we must do more, and work harder, to make actions undertaken within the Community relevant to the lives of our people. A sustained effort will be required further to simplify and speed up customs and other formalities affecting the ease with which our citizens can travel across intra-Community borders. We should aim, for example, to allow European citizens to travel as freely and cheaply as the inhabitants of the United States. Important steps could be taken in that direction by increased competition and the de-regulation of air services.
 - The Common Agricultural Policy has succeeded in the 8. objective of providing Europe with a strong agricultural base. Remarkable increases in productivity have been achieved. The preservation of the best elements of that policy requires a continuing effort to correct the distortions which manifest themselves in the form of massive and costly surpluses of certain products, imposing high storage costs and the need to dispose of them in ways which complicate trading relations with our OECD partners and are impossible to defend to our own citizens and tax payers. An important and courageous effort has been made to control surpluses in the dairy sector. A sustained, multi-year effort will be required to achieve a better balance between production and demand, thereby releasing resources for other purposes.

- For in the next decade equal priority must be given to creating the right conditions for the development of a vigorous, efficient and cost effective industrial sector able to compete with the United States, Japan and the newly industrialised countries. To this end, we need to examine urgently whether more can be achieved, or can be achieved more economically, by action on a Community basis rather than nationally. Better cooperation on research and development will help avoid duplication and In some cases Governments can cooperate directly to encourage industrial activity at European levels - as in the case of Airbus, ESPRIT and JET. The Commission has suggested that the Community now look at possible programmes in telecommunications and biotechnology. We should examine these and similar proposals carefully to see whether they will be more effective at the Community level. In doing so, we should give high priority to facilitating collaboration at the industrial level. Governments must act to limit the administrative and legal impediments to risk-sharing and investment, in order to allow European firms to compete and cooperate in a way which will enhance their ability to match the performance of their competitors.
 - 10. Creating the right conditions for economic growth without due regard for the wider interests of our environment and of our consumers is not acceptable. The peoples of Europe must feel

that the Community improves the quality of their lives. Many environmental problems require action going beyond the capabilities of individual Member States. They have to be tackled on the basis of serious analysis of the scientific evidence and with due regard to industrial costs and efficiency. This is an area in which the Community has an important role to play. The United Kingdom has already suggested that decisions should be taken urgently to bring about the elimination of lead in petrol. It is also time for a programme of research aimed at finding solutions to the problems caused by acid rain, and for controls on trans-frontier shipments of hazardous waste to continue to be developed.

- 11. At the cultural level, we should examine whether Governments cannot do more to encourage the learning of other Community languages. The European Foundation could play a useful role in this and in developing professional exchanges. Full access to each others' satellite broadcasting systems would help the process of cultural interchange in an eminently practical way of direct concern to mass audiences.
- 12. This process will require political direction. We should agree in the European Council that each Member Government should examine its priorities and policies in sectors covered by the Treaties in order to see in each case whether greater progress

could be made by a cooperative approach at the Community level.

A flexible Europe

in a suitable high-level forum.

The European Communities, with their corpus of institutional and legal structures, and their own resources, are and must remain the framework within which Community law applies. - Action undertaken in the Community framework must continue to be on a basis of equal rights and equal obligations. But a certain flexibility of approach may be necessary in the coming decade, when the Community will have become larger, its membership more diverse, and in some areas of technological development, the industrial structures and interests of Member States more varied. For such practical reasons, it may sometimes make sense for participation in new ventures to be optional. This should not lead to rigid distinctions between different groups of participants. That would be particularly disillusioning for our new members who expect to be joining a democratic and homogeneous Community. Where ventures are launched by Member States with limited participation, it should be open to others to join in as and when they are able to do so. The possibility for action financed by the Community or with Community law as its legal base should be examined before it is decided to proceed on a more limited basis. The progress of all such work relevant to European integration should be monitored and open for discussion

Europe in the World

- 14. It must be our objective to aim beyond the Common Commercial Policy through Political Cooperation towards a common approach to external affairs. Such a policy can only be achieved progressively: it must nevertheless be the aim before us.
- The Community and its Member States already have at their disposal many of the elements for a common external policy. is linked to other Western European countries through the EEC/EFTA agreements. The Lomé Convention binds the Community in a contractual relationship covering aid and trade with 64 developing countries. The Common Commercial Policy governs its trade relations with the rest of the world. The Community takes common action in international economic organisations. the network of Association and Cooperation agreements both with individual countries and with groups such as ASEAN and the Andean The growth of Political Cooperation enables the members of the Community increasingly to adopt common positions on world problems and to vote together in non-economic international bodies. Gur aim for the future should be to bring about a greater coherence between these different elements. In that way a common external policy could be progressively achieved.
- 16. The US will remain central to European security and the

management of East-West relations, and no less so in the management of the problems of the world economy and trade. Our task must be to ensure that Europe plays no less central a role in all those respects. By common action of the Community and the Ten, Europe must impress on the US that unilateral American action, eg on technology transfers, extra-territoriality, unitary taxation and, above all, protection for US industries will put the success of Alliance consultation and coordination at risk. Equally we must be ready in Europe to make progress towards the liberalisation of our trading practices, and to play a full part in strengthening the GATT trading system. Mechanisms for consultation and coordination between the Allies are already in place. What we need is the will on both sides to use them to get results: bilaterally, within the Alliance, and on behalf of the Community and its Member States.

17. Europe is more than Western Europe alone. By the end of this century we could see the Soviet Union with increasingly serious economic difficulties and growing problems in Eastern Europe. At that stage more than ever, a coherent and persuasive West European voice will need to be heard on the management of East-West relations. Europeans have their own interest in economic relations with the Soviet Union and East European countries, illustrated by the level and intensity of their political contacts with them. They should reflect on the special

status this gives them, and on the scope it offers for a more coordinated approach on wider questions, eg the encouragement of a more differentiated economic and social development in Eastern Europe. Steps of this kind will strengthen the European political entity and enable it to act more effectively in relation to the major international issues which legitimately concern it.

The Community must also use its weight to influence the other major industrialised economies to shoulder their share of responsibility for the world economy: the United States by paying more attention to the international consequences of its domestic economic policies, and Japan by integrating its financial markets into the world economy and raising the level of its manufactured imports to one comparable with other industrial democracies. Community must act jointly with these major trading partners to promote the further liberalization of international trade and to extend the open trading system, including a well-prepared new-GATT trade round. This would bring the many varieties of developing countries more effectively into the world trading system, and persuade the more advanced among them to take more responsibility for its good management. Our performance so far in encouraging development in the Lomé countries, in South-East Asia, in Latin America, and in many other countries through our food aid and non-associates programmes is commendable.

is room for better coordination between Member States, the Community and other donors to secure maximum political as well as developmental effectiveness from our aid.

19. In <u>Political Cooperation</u>, the Ten need to act with more vigour and greater purpose. Cooperation should not just be a matter of making declarations in the face of increasingly complex challenges. The Ten have the weight and must show more political will to act together: concentrate their efforts where their leverage is greatest and their interests most directly touched e.g. in the Middle East and Africa; and recognise that influence does not last if not backed by the necessary resources. Member States must take more seriously their solemn commitments to consult and take account of partners' views and work for common positions. The objective should be the progressive attainment of a common external policy.

Defence and Security

- 20. Our objective must be to strengthen the European pillar of the Alliance and improve European defence cooperation.
- 21. Europe already carries a heavy defence burden within the Alliance although some of its members take a greater share of that burden than others. It contributes to security both on this Continent and in the wider world by a variety of political and economic as well as military instruments. This contribution is

far greater than is understood in the United States. If such views are not corrected, the temptation will grow for America, under pressure from the Congress, to look more toward interests outside Europe. Yet the US strategic commitment to Europe will remain an irreplaceable guarantee of Western security. If we wish to preserve it and ensure that our views continue to be given due weight by future US Administrations, the European Allies must find answers to some difficult questions: Are we able to take on a larger share of the responsibility for our defence? Bow should we respond to renewed public questioning of defence policy? Or the need to develop new technologies at a time of rising costs and resource constraints? The answers make it evident that such problems have to be tackled jointly.

22. Most work to coordinate European positions on this so far has been done in the NATO framework, particularly in the Eurogroup and the IEPG (which has the merit of including France), and there is still more that could be done to exploit the potential of these groupings. We must contine to work for the implementation of the Genscher/Colombo Solemn Declaration of 19 June 1983 which provides a helpful reaffirmation of the Community's political and economic objectives. But if we want early progress - and an early chance to demonstrate our seriousness - we must be willing to look at new openings including those offered by the WEU.

23. Procedure, and new organisations are no substitute for content and action to solve existing problems. We have to be prepared to make efforts before we can pool them. demands in particular that we focus on the resource allocation and defence industrial aspects of the problem. We should be able to achieve better value for money by common procurement and collaborative manufacturing projects, recognising (as past experience has always shown) that this process will give rise to very real political problems and difficulties for which there are no facile solutions. Individual projects are probably best organised on a case-by-case basis between those member countries with the capacity and wish to undertake them, making use of the framework of the IEPG. But the general prospects for them could be greatly improved by progress towards a more integrated European industrial and technological base, and by strengthening the Community's internal market. These are areas of proper Community concern which need our urgent attention.

Organisation and Institutions

- 24. There are several areas in which specific improvements can be made. With regard to the Community:
 - (a) The <u>Commission's role</u> is central to the functioning of the Community. It is crucial that it should attract, and that Member States should appoint, individuals of the

highest calibre with a clear recognition of the tasks to be done. After enlargement the Commission still needs to be able to provide real jobs for people of the best quality. A Commission of 17 is liable to be too large for efficiency or to provide all members with serious portfolios.

- (b) The Presidency also plays a key role in the management of the Community's business. Its effectiveness would be enhanced by greater cooperation between the Presidency in office and the preceding and succeeding Presidencies.
- (c) An early European Council should consider adopting a new procedure under which each year the European Council would adopt a brief and succinct statement of priorities, with specific timings and targets, which would form the basis of the Community's activities for the following 12 months.
- (d) When the Commission reviews its <u>legislative proposals</u> each year, there should be a thorough weeding out of hopelessly blocked items and unnecessary cases of obstruction brought to the notice of the Council.
- (e) The voting provisions of the Treaty must be fully honoured. Unanimity must be respected in all cases where the Treaty so provides. The same applies for majority

voting. At the same time, Member States must be able to continue to insist where a very important national interest is at stake on discussion continuing until agreement is reached. But they should be required in each case to set out their reasons fully.

- (f) The European Council should eschew the role of Court of Appeal from the Council. Its true and irreplaceable task is to provide strategic direction and political impetus for all areas of Community work and Member States' cooperation. For this, it might be enough for it to meet no more than twice a year, perhaps for two full days. Alternatively, one of the three annual meetings might be conducted on a more informal "Gymnich-type" framework without advisers. The primary responsibility for preparing European Councils should rest, as it does now, with Foreign Ministers.
- (g) In a grouping of democratic European states the directly elected European Parliament must reflect with increasing responsibility the preoccupations and priorities of our peoples. Through the various procedures set out in the Solemn Declaration of June 1983, the Council and Member States need to work out ways of keeping the Parliament better informed, responding to its suggestions and bringing it to work in greater harmony with the main decision making

institutions of the Community.

(h) Once the post-Stuttgart negotiation has been completed it should be possible for Member Governments to take common action to present the Community to their peoples in a more favourable light. It is important that people should receive an objective picture of the present state of European integration. It would be desirable for Foreign Ministers, at an early informal meeting, to discuss this question and, if possible, to agree on some common themes for Governments to put forward in their presentation of the Community and of the issues under discussion in it.

Conclusions

- 25. The European Community and the Alliance jointly have brought an unprecendented period of peace and prosperity to the peoples of Europe. We cannot rest on the achievements of the post-war generation. Over the next decade Europe will face new economic and social challenges, and a continuing threat to her security.
- 26. Periodic expressions of pessimism about the future of the Community have never turned out to be justified. Europe needs to advance its internal development. The progress that has been made towards "an ever-closer union of the peoples of Europe" of which the Treaty of Rome speaks in its first paragraph is

. ا unlikely to be reversed.

27. The objectives now must be to:

- strengthen democracy and reinforce political stability in Europe. This means bringing to a successful conclusion the accession negotiations with Portugal and Spain;
 - develop a dynamic society in which industry thrives and activities which create wealth are encouraged. To do so, we must complete the internal market, particularly in the services sector;
 - strengthen the European pillar of the Alliance and the contribution Europe makes to its own security;
 - promote policies which will improve the quality as well as the standard of life in the Community;
 - with due regard for the needs of economic and industrial efficiency, do more to promote the improvement and protection of the environment;
 - agree urgently on certain organisational changes;
 - adopt policies which will guarantee the relevance of the Community to the problems, particularly unemployment, which

affect our societies;

- take the necessary steps to strengthen the voice of the Community and make its influence felt in the world;
- heighten the consciousness among our citizens of what unites us.

DISPATCH ____

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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

July 30, 1984

Dear Sir Oliver,

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A strengthened Europe is clearly in U.S. interests. We look forward to Europe playing an increased role in our common efforts to promote peace and prosperity.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Robert C. McFarlane

Ambassador Oliver Wright British Embassy 3100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20008

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

July 26, 1984

SIGNED-

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM:

PETER R. SOMMER

SUBJECT:

Reply to Sir Oliver Wright

British Ambassador, Sir Oliver Wright, has forwarded you under a covering letter a copy of a British paper on Europe's future that Mrs. Thatcher circulated to other EC Heads of Government prior to the recent Fontainbleau meeting (Tab II).

Wright also provided a copy to Ken Dam who has replied with regard to the specifics of the Fontainbleau meeting. I thought a more general reply from you would also be useful.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Tab I reply to Sir Oliver Wright.

Approve____ Disapprove____

Dave Wigg concurs.

Attachments

Tab I Reply to Wright
Tab II Wright's Incoming



FROM THE AMBASSADOR

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

TELEPHONE: (202) 462-1340

6 July 1984

The Honorable
Robert C McFarlane
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House
WASHINGTON DC

Dan Brd,

I thought you would be interested to see the enclosed paper which was sent by the British Prime Minister to other European Community Heads of Government as a contribution to discussion at the recent European Council meeting at Fontainebleau. It sets out clearly and fully the aspirations of the British Government for the future development of the European Community and will be an important element in the work on this which was set in hand at that meeting.

It is often said on this side of the Atlantic that Europe has lost direction and become inward-looking; and that it is preoccupied with budgetary issues and not sufficiently committed to the development of a stronger, more outward-looking Community. I think the outcome of the Fontainebleau meeting - and indeed the British paper itself - demonstrates how wrong these views are. agreement reached at Fontainebleau has brought to a successful conclusion a damaging internal row about Community finances, and has opened the way to the relaunching of the European Community which was called for at the Stuttgart European Council in 1983. The paper clearly demonstrates Britain's determination to make a constructive and imaginative contribution towards this relaunching. It sets out practical ideas for strengthening the Community internally and, every bit as important, it suggests ways in which the Community could play a more effective role internationally as part of the overall Western effort.

Oliver Wright



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Oliver Wright