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EUROPEAN UNION: GERMAN VIEWS

SUMMARY

STUTT GART AND FONTAINEBLEU HAD CLEARED THE WAY FOR PROGRESS TOWARDS EUROPEAN UNION. 1985 OFFERED AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY. DOOGE COMMITTEE HAD IDENTIFIED KEY ISSUES. FRANCE AND FRG KEEN TO GO AHEAD. BENELUX AND ITALY PROBABLY TOO. BRITAIN ALSO. BUT HOW FAR, NOT CLEAR. POINTS FRG WANTED OUT OF DOOGE. BRITISH ATTITUDES EVOLVING. THAT ENCOURAGING. PROSPECTS FOR PROGRESS NOT TOO BAD. UNANIMITY IMPORTANT BUT THE SLOWEST SHIP MUST NOT HOLD UP THE CONVOY. CONCEPTS OF 'CORE EUROPE' EXAMINED.

1. YESTERDAY AT A SEMINAR IN BONN, TELTSCHIK, THE FEDERAL CHANCELLOR'S PRINCIPAL FOREIGN AFFAIRS ADVISER, DELIVERED AN ADDRESS ENTITLED 'THE FUTURE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY'.

2. TELTSCHIK SPOKE AS FOLLOWS. EUROPEAN STATESMEN HAD TO DEAL WITH DIFFICULT DAY TO DAY PROBLEMS AND THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNITY. WITHOUT A COMMITMENT TO THE LATTER, THE COMMUNITY COULD NOT PROGRESS. MUCH HAD BEEN ACHIEVED AT STUTT GART AND FONTAINEBLEAU. THAT RANGE OF PROBLEMS SOLVED, IMPORTANT TASKS WERE WAITING. DID THE CONDITIONS EXIST FOR A NEW STEP IN THE DIRECTION OF:

- ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION,
- A COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY,
- A POLITICAL UNION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF COMMON INSTITUTIONS.

3. TELTSCHICK BELIEVED THAT 1985 OFFERED AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY. IT ~~WAS~~ WOULD BE UP TO THREE GOVERNMENTS - THE FRENCH, THE GERMAN AND THE BRITISH. 1985 OFFERED THE FOLLOWING ADVANTAGES. THERE WAS WIDE RANGING AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE THREE GOVERNMENTS ON KEY FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY ISSUES AND, IN GROWING MEASURE, ON ECONOMIC ISSUES TOO. IN ALL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES THERE WAS RECOGNITION THAT MANY PROBLEMS EG OF INDUSTRIAL POLICY, UNEMPLOYMENT, R AND D AND ENVIRONMENT COULD NO LONGER BE SATISFACTORY DEALT WITH AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL ALONE. ALL THREE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT HAD SPOKEN OUT FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF THE COMMUNITY, IN PARTICULAR

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IN THE FOREIGN, SECURITY AND ECONOMIC SPHERES. BETWEEN THE THREE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT, A CLOSE PERSONAL CONFIDENCE EXISTED. FINALLY, THE THREE GOVERNMENTS HAD IN FRONT OF THEM AN ELECTION FREE YEAR.

4. TELTSCHIK NOTED THAT THE DOOGE COMMITTEE REPORT IDENTIFIED THREE ITEMS AS KEY COMPONENTS OF A EUROPEAN UNION - THE GOAL OF COMMON FOREIGN POLICY, THE DEVELOPMENT OF A COMMON SECURITY POLICY AND THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION. IN JUNE THE QUESTION WHETHER THERE WAS A CONSENSUS TO TAKE A QUALITATIVE STEP FORWARD, WOULD ARISE. KOHL AND MITTERAND WERE FIRMLY DETERMINED TO GO IN THE DIRECTION OF EUROPEAN UNION. ITALY AND THE BENELUX WOULD PROBABLY JOIN IN. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WAS PREPARED TO GO AS FAR AS POSSIBLE IN THE SAME DIRECTION: HOW FAR, WAS NOT CLEAR. OTHER GOVERNMENTS WERE LIKELY TO BE MORE HESITANT. TURNING TO METAPHOR, TELTSCHIK SAID THAT SIX OR SEVEN GOVERNMENTS WOULD BE PREPARED TO GO A 100 METRES, ONE OR TWO ONLY 40, TWO OR THREE PROBABLY ONLY 10. SHOULD THE DECISION BE FOR 100 OR 40? NO WAY SHOULD IT BE FOR 10. IF OTHERS WOULD JOIN IN, MITTERAND AND KOHL WOULD GO FOR THE FURTHEST REACHING PROPOSAL. BUT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD DO EVERYTHING TO FIND A CONSENSUS WHICH BRITAIN COULD JOIN. IN ANY CASE, THE DOOR WOULD NOT BE CLOSED ON THOSE NOT YET READY.

5. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD WORK TO RETURN TO THE RULES OF MAJORITY VOTING IN THE TREATY. THE DOOGE COMMITTEE OFFERED TWO OPTIONS. THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT ALSO WANTED TO STRENGTHEN THE ROLE OF THE COMMISSION. A FURTHER AIM OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WAS TO STRENGTHEN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT WHICH SHOULD HAVE A SAY IN THE FORMATION OF COMMUNITY POLICY AND GRADUALLY DEVELOP INTO A REAL LEGISLATURE. TELTSCHIK NOTED THAT THE SOLEMN DECLARATION REFERRED TO THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE TOTALITY OF RELATIONS BETWEEN MEMBER STATES INTO A EUROPEAN UNION AS A GOAL. PROGRESS WOULD BE REVIEWED IN 1988 TO SEE WHETHER WHAT HAD BEEN ACHIEVED COULD BE PUT INTO A TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION.

6. TURNING TO THE QUESTION OF HOW REAL THIS PROSPECT WAS FOR A TWELVE MEMBER COMMUNITY, TELTSCHIK SAID THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WAS CONVINCED THAT REAL PROGRESS COULD ONLY BE ACHIEVED IF IT WERE TREATY BASED. FRANCE SEEMED SIMILARLY MINDED. AS FOR THE BRITISH, THEIR POSITION WAS EVOLVING. TELTSCHIK QUOTED FROM 'EUROPE - THE FUTURE' AND, MORE EXTENSIVELY FROM YOUR ARTICLE IN HANDELSBLATT ON 31 DECEMBER. ENCOURAGED BY THESE REFERENCES, TELTSCHIK SUGGESTED THAT IF BENELUX, ITALY AND IRELAND WERE ALSO READY, THE CHANCES FOR A TREATY BASED EUROPEAN UNION WERE NOT TOO BAD.

7. TELTSCHIK THEN ADDRESSED THE QUESTION OF WHETHER PROGRESS COULD IN FACT BE ACHIEVED IF ALL MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY WERE NOT READY TO GO FORWARD. HE REFERRED TO THE CONCEPT OF A CORE EUROPE WITHIN THE COMMUNITY THAT TRIED TO HANDLE MATTERS ALREADY PART OF THE ACQUIS, POCO MATTERS AND OTHERS OUTSIDE THE TREATY, SUCH AS CULTURE. SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD REQUIRE THE AGREEMENT OF ALL, THOSE

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NOT READY TO JOIN IMMEDIATELY COULD DO SO LATER. A FURTHER POSSIBILITY WOULD BE A 'CORE EUROPE' THAT CONCENTRATED ON AREAS OUTSIDE THE TREATY OF ROME AND WAS ESTABLISHED WITHOUT THE ACQUISITION OF THE SUCH A UNION WOULD BE A PROVISIONAL STRUCTURE, SUI GENERIS, OUTSIDE THE COMMUNITY. THAT COULD BE, BUT DID NOT HAVE TO BE, DANGEROUSLY DIVISIVE IE PROVIDED IT DID NOT EXCLUDE FURTHER PROGRESS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY AND WAS OPEN TO PARTICIPATION BY OTHER MEMBER STATES AT DIFFERENT LEVELS.

### COMMENT

B. TELTSCHIKS ADDRESS COVERS FAMILIAR GROUND. BUT IN DOING SO OFFERS A HANDY ACCOUNT, IN EXTENSO, OF GERMAN ASPIRATIONS. HIS PRESENTATION IS REASONABLE, UNPOLEMICAL AND FREE OF EXTRAVAGANT FLIGHTS OF FANCY. NOTEWORTHY ARE HIS QUOTATIONS FROM BRITISH SOURCES AND HIS EXPLICIT RECOGNITION OF BRITAIN'S CENTRAL ROLE. (FULL TEXT FOLLOWS BY BAG).

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