



PM/85/37

PRIME MINISTER

Political Cooperation

1. In my minute of 15 April on the development of the European Community I said that we were preparing a draft agreement on political cooperation. I suggested that you might look at this with a view to handing it privately to Chancellor Kohl at Chequers and, subsequently perhaps, to one or two other heads of government in the run up to the Milan European Council. The aim would be to ensure that the discussions which will now be engaged anyway on the formalisation of political cooperation take place on the basis of our ideas, rather than those of others. By giving the Milan summit a substantial programme of work in this area, it could also reduce the pressure for progress on other parts of the Dooge Committee report which are less acceptable to us.

/ 2. I now attach a draft agreement together with a  
/ commentary. To appeal to Chancellor Kohl, this does need to be a fairly full text covering all the major aspects of political cooperation as it has developed.

3. As you will see, the draft is essentially a codification of what is already happening. The language of virtually all the articles is based firmly on existing texts. I should however like to draw your attention to the following points.

4. This will be an agreement between the member states. The preamble is drafted in such a way as to rule out any question of Community competence (and with it any Commission right of initiative, involvement of the





European Court, etc). It would leave political cooperation in the same relationship to Community activity as at present.

5. Under Article 2 the obligation is to consult. Our record in that regard is second to none. We are not, however, committed to follow the views of others and would not be hindered in any way from acting in defence of essential British interests.

6. Agreement on Article 2.4 would make it much more difficult for any one member state (eg Greece) to have public rows with the others (such as those over the Korean airliner incident and INF deployment). Article 5.2 is intended to put pressure on our partners to take a less shaky line on the Falklands at the United Nations. Article 5.3 protects our position in the Security Council.

7. The short passages on security under Article 8 do no more than state the current practice. Article 8.1 places cooperation among the member states in this area firmly in the context of the contribution we make to the Alliance. Article 8.2 describes what is already going on in terms of cooperation between the member states in joint projects, though it would put some additional pressure on the French in relation to cooperation over the European fighter aircraft.

8. The Ten already discuss in political cooperation non-military aspects of security, in particular East-West relations and CSCE/CDE, UN disarmament issues, and economic aspects of security. The text does not change matters in this regard and,





as drafted, should not worry the Americans.

The Irish will certainly not be able to accept these references to the security cooperation between member states within the Alliance since they do not participate in it. That is their problem. It would, however, be open to them to enter into this agreement while reserving their position on this passage. The references to our existing security cooperation are indispensable for Kohl and the other member states of the Community who are also members of the Alliance.

If you are content with the draft, we shall prepare a German version to be available for your talks with Kohl. I would propose to draw on the content, though not necessarily to hand over the text, when I see Dumas in Paris on 21 May.

I am sending copies of this minute and enclosures to the Secretary of State for Defence, the Attorney General and Sir Robert Armstrong.

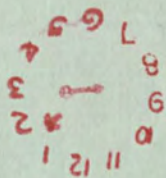
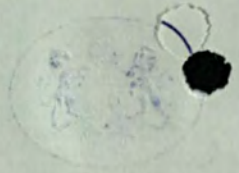
A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'G. Howe', written in a cursive style.

GEOFFREY HOWE

Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
26 April, 1985



Evko for  
Budget



29 APR 1985



CONFIDENTIAL

DRAFT AGREEMENT  
ON POLITICAL COOPERATION

THE MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES,

MINDFUL of the many agreements which already bind them,  
in particular, the Treaties establishing the European  
Communities,

HAVING DECIDED to confirm and strengthen the commitments  
which they have undertaken in European Political  
Cooperation so as to provide an effective basis for their  
cooperation in joint action in world affairs,

HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

ARTICLE 1

The Member States undertake to work for the following  
objectives, for which purpose they have established  
European Political Cooperation:

- To ensure by means of regular consultations and

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



## CONFIDENTIAL

exchanges of information a broad identity of views on the main problems of international relations;

- To ensure that their combined influence is deployed in the most effective way through the concertation of their views, the alignment of their positions and, particularly, joint action;

- Progressively, to aim towards a common external policy.

## ARTICLE 2

1. Member States shall consult on all important questions of Foreign Policy, including the political and economic aspects of security.

2. Such consultations shall take place before the Member States adopt final positions on major Foreign Policy questions of interest to them all.

3. Each Member State shall take full account of the position of its partners and give due weight to the desirability of the adoption and implementation of common European positions when working out national positions and taking national action.

CONFIDENTIAL



## CONFIDENTIAL

4. The Member States shall make every effort to avoid action damaging to their joint reputation as a coherent force in international relations.

## ARTICLE 3

The work of Political Cooperation shall be carried out under the general guidance of the European Council. The structure is set out in Annexes I and II, which may be amended by unanimous agreement.

## ARTICLE 4

1. The Member States shall ensure maximum coherence between the external policies of the Communities and the policies agreed in European Political Cooperation. In particular, unless in any particular case all Member States agree to the contrary, the Commission shall be invited to all meetings of Political Cooperation.

2. The Member States shall ensure that the European Parliament is informed of developments in Political Cooperation.



3. The provisions of this agreement shall not affect the provisions of the treaties establishing the European Communities.

#### ARTICLE 5

1. In organs of international organisations, and at major international conferences, in which all Member States participate, they shall work for common positions in accordance with Article 2.

2. In particular a Member State shall not support a resolution in such organs or conferences which directly criticises or might gravely affect the vital interests of another Member State. The Member States shall also work to avoid a situation where one or more of them co-sponsor a resolution which another or others of them vote against.

3. In organs of international organisations and at major international conferences in which not all Member States participate, those which do participate shall take into account common positions adopted in Political Cooperation.



## ARTICLE 6

1. With the aim of making their joint diplomacy effective, the Member States shall ensure that the necessary contacts are established with third countries and regional groupings of interest to them.

## ARTICLE 7

1. The Member States shall work to intensify cooperation between their missions in third countries and accredited to international organisations. The aim of such cooperation shall be to enable missions to perform their functions more effectively and economically through mutual assistance, shared facilities, shared information and joint action.

2. In particular Member States shall work both to take advantage of local opportunities, and to establish general schemes, for strengthened cooperation in third countries on the matters listed in Annex III. That annex may be amended by unanimous agreement.



CONFIDENTIAL

## ARTICLE 8

1. The Member States agree that closer European cooperation on security matters is an essential component of the effort to develop Europe's external political identity. The aim of such cooperation shall be to maximise the contribution which Member States can make to the objectives of the organisations specifically established to guarantee Western security, in particular the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and Western European Union.

2. Member States shall also work to enhance their contribution to the objectives of the Alliance and other relevant bodies by strengthened cooperation in the design, development and production of military equipment and systems.

3. The Member States are determined to maintain the technological and industrial conditions necessary for their security. They shall work both individually and, as appropriate, through their joint institutions for this end.

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

ARTICLE 9

Signature and Entry into Force

(The usual final clauses on signature entry into force  
etc would be added.)

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

ANNEX I: THE STRUCTURE OF POLITICAL COOPERATION

(a) The Presidency of Political Cooperation shall be held by the same Member State as holds the Presidency of the Communities.

*Great?*

(b) The Presidency shall be responsible for the day to day management of Political Cooperation. It shall in particular be responsible for the timetable and other arrangements for meetings, and for the preparation of and circulation of drafts, agendas, conclusions and other necessary texts.

(c) The Foreign Ministers shall discuss Political Cooperation matters formally at least four times per year, and informally as appropriate. These discussions may take place on the same occasion as meetings of Ministers in the Community framework.

(d) The Political Directors shall meet monthly in the Political Committee in order to maintain the continuity of Political Cooperation and to prepare discussions among Ministers.

(e) The Working Groups of experts from the Foreign Ministries of Member States, whether of a continuing nature or ad hoc to deal with particular problems, shall meet as directed by the Political Committee.

CONFIDENTIAL



## CONFIDENTIAL

(f) The Political Committee or, if necessary, a Ministerial meeting, shall convene within 48 hours at the request of three Member States.

(g) The Presidency shall be assisted by a small Secretariat based in the main place of work of the Community. The office space and services shall be provided by arrangement with the Council Secretariat. The Head of the Secretariat shall be appointed by agreement among the Member States.

(h) The functions of the Secretariat, which shall work under the direction of the Presidency, will include those set out in Annex II. That annex may be amended by unanimous agreement.

(i) As is required by their functions the Head and Members of the Secretariat shall be free to attend ? relevant meetings held in the Community framework.

(j) Formal Political Cooperation meetings at Ministerial level may take place in the capital of the Presidency. At official level they will normally take place at the places of work of the Communities unless otherwise agreed.

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

ANNEX II: FUNCTIONS OF THE POLITICAL COOPERATIONSECRETARIAT

The Secretariat shall:

- (a) Advise the Presidency as necessary on the conduct of Political Cooperation, in particular on maintaining coherence between the external policies of the Community and the policies agreed in European Political Cooperation;
- (b) provide support for Political Cooperation meetings - including as necessary the preparation and circulation of texts, keeping of records and preparation of conclusions;
- (c) assist the Presidency in the preparation of texts to be issued on behalf of the Member States including replies to European Parliament questions;
- (d) keep a Political Cooperation archive;
- (e) prepare, and update as necessary, a full codification of Political Cooperation rules and practices.

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

ANNEX III: AREAS FOR COOPERATION AMONG THE MISSIONS OF  
MEMBER STATES IN THIRD COUNTRIES

1. Exchange of Political and Economic Information.
2. Shared Information on Administrative Problems.
3. Mutual Assistance and Sharing of Organisational Infrastructure.
4. Cooperation on Communications.
5. Exchange of Information and Joint Planning for Local Crises.
6. Cooperation on local Security Measures.
7. Cooperation on Consular Matters.
8. Cooperation on Health Matters.
9. Cooperation on Information Matters.
10. Cooperation on Cultural Matters.
11. Cooperation on Development Aid Matters.

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

DRAFT AGREEMENT ON POLITICAL COOPERATION : COMMENTARY

Preamble: The key point in this is the reference to the Community Treaties. Kohl and others will be looking for such a reference to make clear the link between Political Cooperation and the Communities. The link does indeed need to be made clear but in such a way as to ensure that Political Cooperation is not a Community activity as such. This is an agreement between the Member States. We do not wish to see the Commission play more than its present ancillary role in Political Cooperation, or the European Court involved in any way. The present text achieves these objectives.

Article 1: This is based on the objectives set out in the 1970 Luxembourg Report which originally established Political Cooperation. The second objective has been made more operational in accordance with our view that discussions among the Ten need to be more firmly

CONFIDENTIAL



## CONFIDENTIAL

focussed on the achievement of joint action. The third objective is from "Europe - the Future".

Article 2.1: Sets out the scope of Political Cooperation exactly as described in the Luxembourg Report as modified by the Stuttgart Declaration on European Union.

Article 2.2 and 2.3: Are the key paragraphs on the commitment to consult and take notice of partners' views. If, having consulted, we decide to go it alone this commitment in no way limits our right to do so. The wording comes from the November 1981 Ministerial agreement on Political Cooperation (the London Report) and is reiterated in the Stuttgart Declaration. It is an undertaking that we have consistently observed. It would exert additional pressure on others eg the Greks, whose record is unsatisfactory.

CONFIDENTIAL



## CONFIDENTIAL

Article 2.4: Is intended to render more difficult Greek behaviour of the kind displayed over the KAL airliner incident.

Article 3 is a statement of existing practice, and a peg on which to hang a description of the structure of Political Cooperation without incorporating it in the main text of the agreement.

Article 4.1: Underlines our wish to see coherence between the external policies of the Community and Political Cooperation. It confirms the already established association of the Commission with Political Cooperation, without giving the Commission any additional rights.

Article 4.2: Authorises the maintenance of the existing links (notably through parliamentary questions and regular colloquies with the President in office) between the European Parliament and Political



CONFIDENTIAL

Cooperation without giving the Parliament any additional role.

Article 4.3 simply ensures that this new agreement does not affect the existing treaties.

Articles 5.1 is existing practice.

Article 5.2: Is a tighter version of rules of procedure for the Ten at the UN which were approved by the Ministers of the Ten in 1977. We have always observed them. Others (eg over the Falklands) have not.

Article 5.3: Ensures that none of the above can be interpreted in a way that would affect our freedom of action in the UN Security Council.

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

Article 6: Authorises the maintenance of existing means whereby the Ten in Political Cooperation maintain joint contact with a number of interested third countries (eg the US and Japan) through the Presidency and other established mechanisms. The idea is not to establish 'Community Embassies' in third countries. Neither we nor others would agree to this.

Article 7.1 and 7.2: Authorise the continuation and intensification of existing cooperation among Embassies of the Ten in third countries eg on consular matters. There is potential for economies as such cooperation grows closer.

Article 8: The Germans, and others, will certainly insist that there be a section on security in this text. This section places activity by the Ten in this field firmly in the context of contributing to the objectives of NATO. The Ten at present concert together on East/West relations, CSCE/CDE, UN disarmament subjects, economic aspects of security etc. The text would not change that or impinge on consultations in the Alliance. Paragraphs 2 and 3 restate objectives to which we are already committed.

CONFIDENTIAL



## CONFIDENTIAL

Paragraph 2 describes what happens already in terms of collaborative projects, but would put some additional pressure on the French in relation to the European Fighter Aircraft.

Annexes I and II: Summarise the present structure of Political Cooperation with the addition of the small political Secretariat recommended by the Dooge Committee. The passages on the Secretariat are designed to keep it small, useful and cheap.

Annex III: Lists the areas on which the Ten are already working to strengthen their cooperation in third countries.

CONFIDENTIAL





10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

6 May 1985

Dear Len,

## POLITICAL COOPERATION

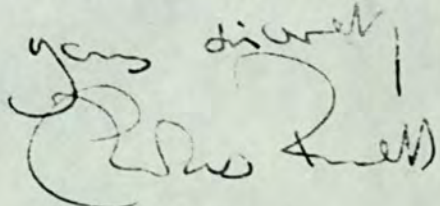
The Prime Minister has considered the Foreign Secretary's minute of 26 April with which he enclosed a draft agreement on political cooperation. He recommended that this might be handed privately to Chancellor Kohl at Chequers on 18 May.

The Prime Minister finds the Foreign Secretary's proposals reasonable and would be content to hand them over to Chancellor Kohl as proposed. On a number of detailed points:

- (i) although used in "Europe: The Future", the phrase "common external policy" suggests a degree of loss of sovereignty which is not compatible with the limited arrangements set out in the draft agreement. The Prime Minister would prefer it to be omitted at least at this stage;
- (ii) the Prime Minister attaches great importance to ensuring that the proposed Political Cooperation Secretariat is kept small and that its size cannot be increased except by unanimous agreement. The provision in (i) of annex I for the members of the Secretariat to attend relevant meetings in the Community framework already smacks of proliferation. A proviso that the Secretariat should number no more than X with Y supporting staff and this number would not be increased save by unanimous agreement of member states would provide some reassurance.

I should be grateful if the text could now be translated into German.

I am copying this letter to Richard Mottram (Ministry of Defence), Henry Steel (Law Officers' Department) and David Williamson (Cabinet Office).

*your diary*  
  
 (C. D. POWELL)

L.V. Appleyard, Esq.,  
 Private Office,  
 Foreign and Commonwealth Office.