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TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 575 OF 5 JULY

INFO ATHENS, BONN, BRUSSELS, COPENHAGEN, DUBLIN, THE HAGUE,
LUXEMBOURG, ROME, UKREP BRUSSELS, MADRID, LISBON,
INFO SAVING MOSCOW, WASHINGTON.

FOLLOW-UP TO MILAN EUROPEAN COUNCIL.

1. IN A ROUTINE CALL ON MME LALUMIERE THIS MORNING I ASKED HOW SHE ENVISAGED THE FOLLOW-UP TO MILAN. SHE SAID THAT THE FRENCH WOULD CONTINUE TO BASE THEMSELVES ON THE IDEAS IN THE MEMORANDUM THEY CIRCULATED SHORTLY BEFORE MILAN, IN PARTICULAR:

- (A) IMPROVEMENTS IN THE RUNNING OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. THESE DID NOT INVOLVE TREATY CHANGES AND COULD BE PUT INTO EFFECT EVEN IF ONE OR TWO MEMBER STATES DID NOT WISH TO SUSCRIBE TO THEM, THOUGH IT WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE PREFERABLE IF ALL AGREED TO FOLLOW THE SAME RULES. SHE HOPED THESE IDEAS COULD BE ADOPTED AT THE NEXT FOREIGN AFFAIRS COUNCIL.
- (B) THE STRENGTHENING OF POLITICAL COOPERATION, ON THE BASIS OF THE FRANCO-GERMAN TREATY PROPOSAL, WHICH SHE ACKNOWLEDGED INCORPORATED MOST OF THE BRITISH IDEAS. THE FRENCH CONSIDERED THAT A NEW TREATY WAS REQUIRED AND THAT THIS PROPOSAL SHOULD THEREFORE GO TO THE INTER-GOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE. (I ARGUED THAT IT SHOULD GO TO FOREIGN MINISTERS AND POLITICAL DIRECTORS. SHE CLAIMED THAT AN IGC WAS EFFECTIVELY THE SAME THING.)
- (C) PROPOSALS TO REVIEW THE TREATY UNDER ARTICLE 236. THE ONLY IDEAS OF WHICH SHE WAS AWARE RELATED TO ARTICLES 57(2), 99 AND 100, BUT THE CONFERENCE WOULD PRESUMABLY BE EMPOWERED TO CONSIDER MORE FAR-REACHING SUGGESTIONS FROM OTHER MEMBER STATES.
- (D) IDEAS FOR ENHANCING THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. SHE SUGGESTED, WITHOUT MUCH ENTHUSIASM, THAT MORE WOULD HAVE TO BE DONE TO AVOID SERIOUS TROUBLE WITH THE PARLIAMENT. SHE HAD MET A NUMBER OF MEMBERS YESTERDAY AND BEEN IMPRESSED BY THE UNANIMITY OF MEMBERS FROM ALMOST ALL PARTIES AND COUNTRIES IN PRESSING FOR SIGNIFICANT CHANGES.

2. IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION I NOTED THAT ON PRACTICAL MATTERS BRITISH AND FRENCH POSITIONS WERE NOT FAR APART. IT WOULD BE FOOLISH TO ALLOW A NEW MYTHOLOGY TO BE CREATED, DIVIDING THE SEVEN SUPPOSEDLY KEEN EUROPEANS FROM THE THREE SUPPOSEDLY BACKWARD ONES SIMPLY BECAUSE THE ITALIANS AND ONE OR TWO OTHERS HAD BEEN CARRIED AWAY BY DREAMS OF A NEW MESSINA. WHEN THE DISCUSSION GOT UNDER WAY IN LUXEMBOURG OUR VIEWS WOULD BE SEEN TO BE AS PRACTICAL AND CONSTRUCTIVE AS ANYONE ELSE'S.

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3. MUSING ALOUD, MME LALUMIERE SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD NEVERTHELESS BE POSSIBLE FOR SOME COUNTRIES TO DECIDE TO ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES UNDER A NEW TREATY EG ON THE BASIS OF THE FRANCO-GERMAN DRAFT. I SAID THAT IT WOULD BE VERY PECULIAR TO TRY TO PUT THE UK IN A MINORITY ON POLITICAL COOPERATION WHERE WE HAD ALWAYS TAKEN A LEAD AND WHERE OUR IDEAS WERE IN SOME RESPECTS IN ADVANCE OF THOSE IN THE FRANCO-GERMAN DRAFT, EG ON THE MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS TO BE UNDERTAKEN IN THE UNITED NATIONS. MME LALUMIERE REFERRED WITH A SMILE TO THE 'FALKLANDS CLAUSE' AND SAID SHE THOUGHT IT WENT A BIT TOO FAR FOR PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. I SAID IT COULD EQUALLY WELL BE CALLED THE CHAD CLAUSE OR THE NEW CALEDONIA CLAUSE; IF ONE WAS SERIOUS ABOUT MOVING TOWARDS A COMMON FOREIGN POLICY, A COMMITMENT NOT TO VOTE AGAINST A MEMBER STATE WHEN ITS IMPORTANT INTERESTS WERE AT STAKE IN THE UNITED NATIONS SEEMED A MINIMAL CONSTRAINT.

4. ON POSSIBLE TREATY AMENDMENT I SAID WE WOULD OF COURSE ADVANCE OUR IDEAS ALONG WITH EVERYONE ELSE AT THE CONFERENCE IN LUXEMBOURG. WE SHOULD BE LOOKING FOR AGREEMENTS AND OTHERS SHOULD NOT ASSUME THAT THEY COULD SHELTER BEHIND US TO HIDE THEIR OWN DIFFICULTIES. BUT IF IN FACT THE INTENTION WAS TO AMEND TWO ARTICLES OF THE TREATY SO AS TO PROVIDE FOR MAJORITY VOTING IT HARDLY SEEMED ESSENTIAL TO GO TO THE LENGTH OF TREATY REVISION AND ACCEPTANCE BY 12 PARLIAMENTS WHEN THE PRACTICAL OBJECTIVE COULD BE ATTAINED SIMPLY BY THE MEMBER GOVERNMENTS AGREEING TO ABSTAIN WHEN IN A MINORITY.

5. MME LALUMIERE WENT ON TO TALK ABOUT THE TWO DIFFERENT CONCEPTS OF EUROPEAN UNION: THE SWEEPING IDEAS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT FOR A NEW ORGANISATION TO ENVELOP THE COMMUNITY AND POLITICAL COOPERATION, WITH INCREASED ROLES FOR THE PARLIAMENT AND THE COMMISSION AND REDUCED STATUS FOR THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS; AND WHAT SHE TERMED THE FRANCO-GERMAN DRAFT TREATY OF MINI-UNION. THIS WAS WHAT FRANCE ENVISAGED AND WOULD PREFER, ALTHOUGH ACCOUNT HAD TO BE TAKEN OF MORE FAR-REACHING IDEAS FROM ELSEWHERE.

6. I IMPHASISED THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING THE CLOSE CONTACTS WE HAVE HAD WITH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT OVER THE LAST YEAR ON ALL THESE MATTERS TO ENSURE THAT WE WERE NOT SOMEHOW DRAGGED INTO OPPOSING CAMPS WHEN WE WERE REALLY SEEKING SIMILAR PRACTICAL OBJECTIVES. MME LALUMIERE AGREED, THOUGH I SENSED SOME UNCERTAINTY ABOUT QUITE HOW THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT MIGHT WANT TO PLAY THEIR HAND IN TERMS OF BROAD POLITICAL OBJECTIVES: THEY WOULD CLEARLY NOT WISH TO APPEAR LESS IDEALISTIC THAN ITALY, GERMANY OR BENELUX.

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7. FINALLY I ASKED WHETHER THERE WAS ANY TRUTH IN THE RUMOUR THAT GORBACHEV WOULD BE INVITED TO ADDRESS THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. MME LALUMIERE SAID SHE HAD NOT HEARD OF THIS, BUT THOUGHT IT WOULD BE A STRIKING POLITICAL GESTURE IN TERMS OF RECOGNITION BY THE SOVIET UNION OF THE REALITY OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. IN THIS RESPECT IT FITTED WITH THE RECENT APPROACHES MADE ON BEHALF OF THE CMEA, BUT WENT MUCH FURTHER. I NOTED THAT THE RUSSIANS HAD ALREADY DEALT WITH THE COMMUNITY ON MATTERS SUCH AS FISHERIES WHEN IT SUITED THEM AND THAT THE IMPLICATIONS OF A VISITATION BY GORBACHEV PERHAPS CALLED FOR SOME THOUGHT. MME LALUMIERE DID NOT SEEM TO THINK THERE WAS MUCH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT COULD DO TO ENCOURAGE OR DISCOURAGE A SPEECH BY GORBACHEV IN STRASBOURG, BUT HER OWN FIRST REACTION WAS POSITIVE.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING ADDRESSEES.

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