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FM BONN 291645Z AUGUST 79

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NO 476 OF 29 AUGUST

YOUR TELNO 260: ANGLO-GERMAN CONSULTATIONS

1. I SHALL OF COURSE ACT ON YOUR INSTRUCTIONS; BUT I WOULD NOT WISH TO DO SO BEFORE SATISFYING MYSELF THAT YOU AND THE PRIME MINISTER ARE FULLY SEIZED OF THE BASIC CONSIDERATIONS WHICH GOVERN THE NOW WELL-ESTABLISHED PATTERN OF BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN HER MAJESTY'S AND THE FEDERAL GERMAN GOVERNMENTS.

2. THE GERMANS AND SCHMIDT IN PARTICULAR WELCOME THE TOTAL COMMITMENT OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT TO EUROPE AND THEY WISH TO SEE THE FUTURE OF EUROPE BASED ON AN ANGLO-GERMAN-FRENCH TRIPOD RATHER THAN ON A BONN-PARIS AXIS. THE BONN-PARIS AXIS HAS HOWEVER MORE THAN A HEAD START OVER THE BONN-LONDON RELATIONSHIP, LET ALONE THE PARIS-LONDON RELATIONSHIP. TO BEGIN WITH IT IS FRANCO-GERMAN RECONCILIATION WHICH LIES AT THE HEART OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THIS HAS BEEN INSTITUTIONALISED BY THE FRANCO-GERMAN TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COLLABORATION, SIGNED BETWEEN DE GAULLE AND ADENAUER IN 1963. AMONGST THE PROVISIONS OF THIS TREATY, WHICH IS THE ONLY ONE OF ITS KIND WHICH THE FEDERAL GERMAN GOVERNMENT HAS ENTERED INTO, IS THE REQUIREMENT THAT BOTH THE FRENCH AND GERMAN CABINETS, REPEAT CABINETS, SHALL MEET TWICE YEARLY. THIS THEY DO WITH TOTAL REGULARITY AND COMMITMENT.

3. THE RESULT IS NOT ONLY THAT THE FRENCH HAVE AUTOMATICALLY A PRIVILEGED POSITION IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, BUT THAT REGULAR MEETINGS OF WHOLE CABINETS MEAN THAT THERE HAS GROWN UP A MULTIPLICITY OF CONTACTS BETWEEN FRANCE AND GERMANY IN ALL FIELDS, FRESH AND HITHERTO UNKNOWN ASPECTS OF WHICH ARE REGULARLY COMING TO OUR ATTENTION. FOR EXAMPLE, ALTHOUGH GERMAN SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IS NATURALLY ANGLOPHONE, THERE IS A MUCH GREATER FRANCO-GERMAN THAN ANGLO-GERMAN COLLABORATION IN PURE AND APPLIED RESEARCH BECAUSE OF THE PRESSURES RESULTING FROM RESEARCH MINISTERS MEETING UNDER THE FRANCO-GERMAN TREATY. WHEN MINISTERS HAVE TO MEET SO OFTEN, THEY NATURALLY WISH TO SEE RESULTS FROM THEIR LABOURS. THE OBLIGATION FOR THE CABINETS TO MEET THEREFORE RESULTS IN A DENSITY OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FRANCE AND GERMANY WHICH HAS AS YET NO PARALLEL IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GERMANY AND THE UK.

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4. WHILE THE GERMANS ARE CONTENT WITH THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS SO FAR AS FRANCE IS CONCERNED, THEY DO NOT WISH IT TO BE EXCLUSIVE. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT THEY HAVE ENCOURAGED THE PATTERN OF BRITISH-GERMAN CONSULTATION, ALSO ON A TWICE YEARLY BASIS ALTHOUGH NOT ON THE SAME SCALE. NORMALLY IT HAS BEEN THE CUSTOM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER TO BE ACCOMPANIED NOT ONLY BY THE FOREIGN SECRETARY AND THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER BUT ALSO BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DEFENCE AND BY ONE OR MORE OF THE ECONOMIC MINISTERS. THIS IS OF VALUE FOR BOTH PRESENTATIONAL AND PRACTICAL REASONS. PRESENTATIONALLY IT EMPHASISES THAT THE GERMANS SEEK TO PLACE AS MUCH WEIGHT ON THEIR CONSULTATIONS WITH US AS THEY DO WITH THE FRENCH: IN PRACTICAL TERMS IT HELPS TO ENSURE THAT WE GET PRACTICAL RESULTS FROM THE BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS. IT IS THEREFORE, I SUBMIT, A VERY STRONG BRITISH INTEREST FOR HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT TO TAKE THESE BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS AS SERIOUSLY AS THE GERMANS DO AND TO BE SEEN TO BE DOING SO. THE BEST WAY TO DO SO IS FOR THE PRIME MINISTER TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY A STRONG MINISTERIAL TEAM. THIS NEED NOT MEAN THAT SHE WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY A LARGE TEAM OF OFFICIALS.

5. AMONG THE MINISTERS WHOM I HOPE WOULD ALWAYS BE A MEMBER OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S TEAM AT THESE TWICE-YEARLY CONSULTATIONS IS THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DEFENCE. THE PRIME MINISTER HAS EMPHASISED THE PRIORITY WHICH SHE ACCORDS TO DEFENCE. THE MILITARY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BRITAIN AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE. WE ARE ONE OF THE PROTECTING POWERS IN BERLIN AND HAVE A FIELD FORCE OF BRIGADE STRENGTH STATIONED THERE. WE ARE THE ONLY EUROPEAN ALLY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE NATO TRIAD, THE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR, THEATRE NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES. WE ARE GERMANY'S ONLY NATO ALLY WITH A TREATY OBLIGATION TO STATION A SPECIFIC NUMBER OF SOLDIERS AND AIRMEN ON THE GERMAN SOIL VIZ 55,000 SOLDIERS AND 10,000 AIRMEN. THE ROYAL NAVY REPRESENTS THE BIGGEST EUROPEAN MARITIME FORCE. MOREOVER WE SHARE WITH THE GERMANS THE DESIRE TO KEEP AN EFFECTIVE DEFENCE INDUSTRY ON THIS SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC AND WE ARE AT PRESENT ENGAGED WITH THEM IN THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT COLLABORATIVE PROJECT OF ALL, THE TORNADO AIRCRAFT. WE HOPE TO CONTINUE WITH THIS COLLABORATION, PERHAPS INCLUDING THE FRENCH AS WELL, IN THE FUTURE TACTICAL COMBAT AIRCRAFT (FTCA). WE ARE CLOSELY ENGAGED WITH THE GERMANS ON SUCH POLITICO-MILITARY PROBLEMS AS THE MODERNISATION OF THEATRE NUCLEAR FORCES AND THE RELATED ARMS

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CONTROL EXERCISES. IT IS DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE THE IMPORTANCE WHICH HMG ATTACHES TO DEFENCE AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ANGLO-GERMAN MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ABSENCE OF THE DEFENCE SECRETARY FROM THE BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS.

6. WITH RESPECT, I DO NOT THINK IT IS THE CASE THAT THE BRITISH AND GERMAN MINISTERS OF DEFENCE SEE EACH OTHER ENOUGH ANYWAY. THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR A CLOSE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP TO STRENGTHEN THE NORMAL MULTI-LATERAL NATO RELATIONSHIP. (THE SAME IS TRUE IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY CONTEXT) BILATERAL <sup>AND TRILATERAL</sup> MEETINGS OF DEFENCE MINISTERS IN THE CONTEXT OF HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETINGS PRODUCE LESS DISCORD IN THE ALLIANCE THAN OTHER BILATERAL MEETINGS WHICH ANYWAY HAVE ONLY BEEN HELD TWICE, THE LAST BEING IN JULY 1978. BRITAIN'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEFENCE OF EUROPE NEEDS TO BE VISIBLY UNDERLINED, PARTICULARLY IN BONN, AND SO DOES THE DEPTH AND COMPLEXITY OF OUR WHOLE POLITICO-MILITARY RELATIONSHIP. THE PRESENCE OF THE TWO DEFENCE MINISTERS AT THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT CONSULTATIONS SEEMS TO ME TO BE THE NECESSARY OUTWARD AND VISIBLE SIGN OF THE INWARD ESSENCE OF OUR MILITARY-POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP, MOREOVER THERE ARE MATTERS WHICH NEED TO BE BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF HEADS OF GOVERNMENT FROM TIME TO TIME IN ORDER THAT THE NECESSARY IMPULSE MAY BE GIVEN TO THE SUBSEQUENT WORK. I PERSONALLY WOULD CERTAINLY HOPE THAT THE FUTURE TACTICAL COMBAT AIRCRAFT WOULD BE ON THE AGENDA AT THE NEXT BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS FOR DISCUSSION BETWEEN MR PYM AND HERR APEL AND FOR SUBSEQUENT REPORTING, HOWEVER BRIEFLY, TO THE PRIME MINISTER AND CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT.

7. THERE ARE ALSO STRONG ARGUMENTS FOR THE PRESENCE OF MINISTERS OF AGRICULTURE. THERE IS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD OF MULTI-LATERAL PROGRESS WITHOUT INTIMATE BILATERAL CONTACT UNDER THE AEGIS OF HEADS OF GOVERNMENT.

8. I CONSIDER MOREOVER THAT IT IS HIGHLY DESIRABLE TO INVOLVE GRAF LAMBSDORFF OUR BEST ALLY ON CAP REFORM ON THE GERMAN SIDE. HE AND MATTHOEFER ARE THE TWO MOST IMPORTANT GERMAN ECONOMIC MINISTERS. HERR MATTHOEFER IS THE NATURAL COUNTER PART OF THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER BUT GRAF LAMBSDORFF'S RESPONSIBILITIES COVER A BROADER SPECTRUM THAN ANY INDIVIDUAL BRITISH MINISTER. IT IS DIFFICULT TO FIELD ONE EXACT COUNTER PART. WHEN GRAF LAMBSDORFF WAS UNABLE TO ATTEND THE LAST BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS IN LONDON BUT PAID A SUBSEQUENT VISIT, HE CALLED ON THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, THE TRADE SECRETARY, THE ENERGY SECRETARY AND

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THE INDUSTRY SECRETARY IN ORDER TO COVER HIS FIELD OF RESPONSIBILITY. IT IS OBVIOUSLY NOT PRACTICAL TO SUGGEST THAT THREE MINISTERS SHOULD COME TO TALK TO GRAF LAMBSDORFF. BUT I SHOULD HAVE THOUGHT THAT THERE WAS ENOUGH IMPORTANT BUSINESS TO MAKE IT WORTH WHILE FOR AT LEAST ONE OF THEM TO HAVE A SESSION WITH HIM. THE ENERGY FIELD PRESENTS ITSELF AS ONE, BUT THERE IS ALSO A GOOD DEAL IN THE TRADE FIELD TO COVER AS WELL, WHICH, GIVEN LAMBSDORFF'S EXISTING COMMITMENTS, IS OTHERWISE UNLIKELY TO BE COVERED BEFORE NOVEMBER.

9. IN SHORT, WHILE I UNDERSTAND AND NATURALLY ACCEPT THE PRIME MINISTER'S WISH TO KEEP HER PARTY AS SMALL AS POSSIBLE, I THINK, FOR THE REASONS THAT I HAVE GIVEN, THAT WE SHOULD BE INADEQUATELY TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THESE TWICE YEARLY CONSULTATIONS TO PROMOTE THE BRITISH INTEREST IF THE PRIME MINISTER'S PARTY ON THIS AND SUBSEQUENT OCCASIONS WAS AS RESTRICTED AS IS NOW PROPOSED. MY VERY STRONG RECOMMENDATION IS THAT AT LEAST THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DEFENCE SHOULD BE INVITED TO JOIN THE PRIME MINISTER'S PARTY AND PREFERABLY EITHER MR NOTT OR MR HOWELL AS WELL. IT MAY BE THAT CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT MAY NOT BE ABLE TO FIELD A COMPLETE TEAM ON HIS SIDE. UNLESS I MAKE ENQUIRIES I CANNOT BE CERTAIN. WHAT I AM CERTAIN ABOUT HOWEVER IS THAT IF WE PROPOSE SO RESTRICTED A MEETING, HOWEVER HIGH POWERED, WE SHALL RUN THE RISK, IN THE GERMAN EYES, OF NOT TAKING THESE CONSULTATIONS AS SERIOUSLY AS WE SHOULD, AND CERTAINLY NOT AS SERIOUSLY AS THE FRENCH DO.

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x The Foreign & Commonwealth Secretary is inclined to favour Mr Howell but does not, I think, feel strongly as between the two ministers.

*Wright*

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FM BONN 311156Z AUG 79

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 484 OF 31 AUGUST

INFO PRIORITY PARIS

MY TELNO 476 (NOT TO PARIS)

ANGLO/GERMAN CONSULTATIONS

1. I HAVE TODAY HEARD THAT APEL HAS SUGGESTED 15-16 OCTOBER FOR A TRILATERAL MEETING OF DEFENCE MINISTERS. APEL'S OFFICE HAVE TOLD US THAT THE FRENCH CAN ALSO AGREE TO THESE DATES.
2. MY RECOMMENDATION THAT MR PYM SHOULD JOIN THE PRIME MINISTER'S TEAM FOR THE CONSULTATIONS ON 31 OCTOBER NONETHELESS STANDS. THE GENERAL GROUNDS I ADVANCED FOR HIS PRESENCE IN THE TEAM REMAIN VALID AND I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THERE WILL BE IMPORTANT BILATERAL MATTERS TO DISCUSS AND PERHAPS BILATERAL ASPECTS OF THE RESULTS OF THE TRILATERAL MEETING .
3. IF MR PYM WERE HOWEVER TO FIND IT DIFFICULT TO MAKE TWO JOURNEYS TO GERMANY WITHIN THE SPACE OF A FORTNIGHT, THE ARGUMENTS FOR REINFORCING THE ECONOMIC REPRESENTATION IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S TEAM WOULD OF COURSE GAIN ADDED STRENGTH.

WRIGHT

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FM F.C.O. 231725Z AUG 79  
TO PRIORITY BONN  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 260 OF 28 AUGUST.

FROM W.E.D.

F.C.O. TELNO 234: ANGLO/GERMAN CONSULTATIONS

1. THE PRIME MINISTER HAS DECIDED THAT SHE WOULD LIKE TO BE ACCOMPANIED ONLY BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER AT THE NEXT ROUND OF ANGLO/GERMAN CONSULTATIONS. SINCE TALKS BETWEEN N.A.T.O. DEFENCE MINISTERS ARE SO FREQUENT, SHE DOES NOT (NOT) CONSIDER IT NECESSARY FOR THE DEFENCE SECRETARY TO ACCOMPANY HER ON THIS OCCASION.
2. PLEASE SO INFORM THE AUCWAERTIGES AMT.
3. DECISIONS HAVE YET TO BE TAKEN ABOUT PARTICIPATION OF OFFICIALS AT THE SUMMIT, BUT IT IS TO BE KEPT TO THE ABSOLUTE ESSENTIAL MINIMUM.
4. THE PRIME MINISTER'S DECISION ALSO HAS A BEARING ON YOUR RECOMMENDATION FOR A MINISTERIAL VISIT TO BERLIN DURING THE AUTUMN. WE SHALL BE CONSIDERING SEPARATELY WHETHER TO RECOMMEND A VISIT AT ANOTHER TIME, FOR EXAMPLE BY THE DEFENCE SECRETARY.

CARRINGTON

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