

GRS 420

CONFIDENTIAL

FM BONN 271705Z JUN 85

TO F L A S H FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 667 OF 27 JUNE
INFO FLASH PARIS AND UKDEL MILAN
INFO IMMEDIATE OTHER EC POSTS

MY TELNO 662

MILAN SUMMIT: FRANCO-GERMAN DRAFT TREATY

1. WORDS ALMOST FAIL ME.
2. THE GERMANS WERE THE FIRST TO BE GIVEN, BY THE PRIME MINISTER HERSELF, THE BRITISH DRAFT ON POCO. THEY TALKED ABOUT ENRICHING IT, BUT THEY PUT NOTHING ON PAPER UNTIL KOHL'S MESSAGE OF 19 JUNE. THIS SPOKE OF A TREATY, BUT A TREATY ON POCO WITH EUROPEAN UNION WRITTEN INTO IT AS AN OBJECTIVE. TWO DAYS AGO TELTSCHIK TALKED OF A "TREATY OF EUROPEAN UNION ON POLITICAL COOPERATION". INSTEAD OF THIS WE HAVE A FRANCO-GERMAN DRAFT DECLARING THE EUROPEAN UNION TO EXIST, OR AT LEAST DECLARING THAT THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL IS THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION, STARTING TOMORROW.
3. PERHAPS THE GERMAN DELEGATION IN MILAN WILL BE READY TO EXPLAIN HOW THIS CAME ABOUT. OUR CONTACTS HERE ARE TOO EMBARRASSED TO SAY MORE THAN THAT THE CHANGE IN THE DOCUMENT TOOK PLACE VERY LATE, BECAUSE OF DELAY BY MITTERRAND. PRESUMABLY IT WAS AGREED BETWEEN GENSCHER AND DUMAS DURING THE LATTER'S VISIT TO BONN YESTERDAY. BUT ALL THIS IMPLIES THAT THE GERMANS AND FRENCH HAD BEEN IN TOUCH FOR SOME TIME, WITHOUT A WORD TO US, ALTHOUGH IT WAS OUR TEXT THEY WERE USING AS THEIR STARTING POINT. GENSCHER IS ONLY ONE OF THOSE TO WHOM IT MIGHT HAVE OCCURRED TO GIVE THEIR BRITISH OPPOSITE NUMBERS AT LEAST A HINT OF THE LINES ON WHICH THEY WERE WORKING WITH THE FRENCH.
4. THE GERMANS HAD TALKED OF OUR OWN DRAFT AS NOT GOING FAR ENOUGH AND NEEDING TO BE ENRICHED. WHAT THEY AND THE FRENCH HAVE DONE IS TO INFLATE THE PREAMBLE AND WATER DOWN THE REST, ESPECIALLY THE PARAGRAPHS ON SECURITY AND COMMON POSITIONS IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

5. MY GUESS IS THAT KOHL HAS HAD PROGRESSIVELY TO LOWER HIS EXPECTATIONS OF THE OUTCOME OF MILAN. HE WANTS NONETHELESS TO BE SEEN TO GO DOWN FIGHTING FOR THE IDEAS AND ASPIRATIONS ABOUT WHICH HE HAS TALKED SO MUCH. FACED WITH THE DETERMINATION OF THE FRENCH NOT TO GO SO FAR AS WE WERE PREPARED TO ON POCO, HE HAS CHOSEN RHETORIC IN TANDEM WITH FRANCE IN PREFERENCE TO SUBSTANCE IN TANDEM WITH BRITAIN, PERHAPS BECAUSE HE THINKS IT WILL GO DOWN BETTER DOMESTICALLY. HE WAS ATTACKED IN THE BUNDESTAG TODAY BY THE SPD LEADER, VOGEL, FOR NEGLECTING THE VITAL GERMAN INTEREST IN GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE ELYSEE THROUGH HIS HANDLING OF VEHICLE EMISSIONS, THE PRICE FIXING AND SDI.

6. I HAVE SPOKEN MY MIND TO THE FEDERAL CHANCELLERY (STABREIT) AND THE AUSWAERTIGES AMT (RUHFUS). I SAID I FOUND GERMAN BEHAVIOUR INEXPLICABLE. WHAT WAS THE POINT OF EXCHANGING LETTERS AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL IF THE FRG FELT FREE TO CONDUCT A SEPARATE NEGOTIATION ON DIFFERENT LINES AT THE SAME TIME? I WAS AFRAID THAT THEY HAD DONE TWO THINGS: DAMAGED GERMANY'S REPUTATION IN LONDON TO THE POINT WHERE URGENT REPAIR WORK WAS REQUIRED, AND THROWN AN APPLE OF DISCORD INTO THE MILAN MEETING WHICH HAD UNTIL TODAY APPEARED TO HAVE SOLID AGREEMENTS WITHIN ITS GRASP.

BULLARD

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