



10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister

These are cables
which Roy Flitz
sent to the
US Administration.
We have them on a
strictly personal basis.
They are heart-warming
and compulsive
reading. I wish the
FCO could write
like this!

CDP/5-

Ret LD

C O N F I D E N T I A L LONDON 008234/01

E X D I S

ORIGIN: POL-2 INFO: CHGE' POL/L POL/D POLAD ECOUN E/MIN
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PP RUEHC RUEKJCS RUEHIA RUEHDD RUEHEG RUFHTV
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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO RUEHC / SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7370
INFO RUEKJCS / SECDEF WASHDC
RUEHIA / USIA WASHDC 8662
RUEHDD / NATO COLLECTIVE
RUEHEG / AMEMBASSY CAIRO 5858
RUFHTV / AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 5214
RUEHSA / AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0192
RUEHTN / AMCONSUL CAPETOWN 2270
RUEHBU / AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 2599
RUEHMO / AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 1682
RUEHDT / USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0196
RUFHDB / AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 6266
ZEN/AMCONSUL BELFAST POUCH
ZEN/AMCONSUL EDINBURGE POUCH

OUTGOING

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
CHRG: STA 04/14/89
APPRV: CDA:RGHSFITZ
DRFTD: CIA:RGHSEITZ:LD
CLEAR: E/MIN POL PAO (1
AFT)
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CABLE RE-ISSUED.....
DISTRIBUTION CHANGED
FROM POL TO POLX////////////////////

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 08234

EXDIS

DEPARTMENT ALSO FOR P - MR. KIMMITT
DEPARTMENT PASS NSC - AMBASSADOR BLACKWILL
BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC
CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: KPRP, PREL, UK, US
SUBJECT: BASELINE: THE END

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

CABLE NO. 17 IN BASELINE SERIES ON US-UK RELATIONS

2. IF THERE IS A NEW BREEZE BLOWING, IT MAY BE THE
COLLECTIVE SIGH OF RELIEF FROM CAPITALS THAT LONDON HAS
FINALLY COME TO THE END OF ITS SERIES OF BASELINE CABLES.

3. IN OUR SERIES WE HAVE TRIED TO DEMONSTRATE THE
REMARKABLE FABRIC OF THE AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP WITH
BRITAIN AND THE REMARKABLE FREQUENCY WITH WHICH OUR
INTERESTS COINCIDE. WE HAVE ALSO DESCRIBED THE LIMITS

THE U.S. MUST HEED, BUT WITHIN THOSE BOUNDARIES THERE IS PLENTY OF ROOM FOR COOPERATION, IMAGINATION AND MUTUAL REINFORCEMENT.

4. BY LUCK AND DESIGN THE LONG POST-WAR PERIOD OF BRITAIN'S GENTEEL BUT SHABBY DECLINE HAS BEEN REVERSED. THIS HISTORIC PHENOMENON HAS PRODUCED A RENEWED BRITISH VIGOR AND ASSERTIVENESS AT HOME AND ABROAD, MUCH OF WHICH IS A PERSONAL EXPRESSION OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S CONVICTION. IN AN ALMOST MEDIEVAL FASHION, MRS. THATCHER IS A CRUSADER WHO SEES THE WORLD DIVIDED INTO LIGHT AND DARK, GOOD AND EVIL, RIGHT AND WRONG. NO NUANCE. WITH THIS GOTHIC MORALITY SHE HAS SYSTEMATICALLY ASSAULTED THE BARBAROUS PAGANS OF STATISM WHEREVER THEY MAY BE FOUND -- MOSCOW, BRUSSELS OR LIVERPOOL -- AND SHE KNOWS SHE HAS THEM ON THE RUN.

5. AFTER A DECADE OF HER BOLD, SOMETIMES STRIDENT LEADERSHIP, IT IS DIFFICULT TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THATCHER AND BRITAIN, SO INTERMINGLED HAVE THEY BECOME, AND IT IS EQUALLY HARD TO PEER INTO THE FUTURE AND DISCERN AN APRES-MAGGIE NATION. THE QUESTION OFTEN HEARD AROUND HERE IS WHAT HAPPENS IF MRS. THATCHER IS HIT BY A BUS, AND THE USUAL ANSWER IS THAT YOU WOULD HAVE TO GET THE BUS FIXED.

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6. UNIMAGINABLE AS IT SEEMS, HOWEVER, THERE WILL COME A DAWN WHEN MARGARET THATCHER IS NO LONGER PRIME MINISTER. EVEN FROM AMONG HER CLOSEST TORY ACOLYTES, IT IS UNLIKELY A NEW LEADER WILL SOON EMERGE WITH THE SAME DEGREE OF THATCHERITE FORCEFULNESS AND AUTHORITY OR THE SAME INSTINCTIVE TRANSATLANTIC PREDILECTIONS. DAY BY DAY AND BIT BY BIT, BRITAIN IS MOVING INTO EUROPE AND MRS. THATCHER'S DISTRUSTFUL RESISTANCE TO THINGS CROSS-CHANNEL STRUGGLES AGAINST THE CURRENT OF BRITAIN'S INEVITABLE LONG-TERM INTERESTS.

7. BUT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP RUNS DEEP AND IS NOT THATCHER-DEPENDENT. STANDING HUMILIATED AND BEWILDERED IN THE DEBRIS OF THE 1956 SUEZ DEBACLE, HAROLD MACMILLAN INTONED THAT BRITAIN WAS NOW CONSIGNED TO THE SUPPORTING ROLE OF PLAYING OLD ATHENS TO AMERICA'S NEW ROME. THERE WAS TRUTH IN THIS -- THE WISDOM OF WORN EXPERIENCE COULD COUNSEL THE CALLOW STRENGTH OF YOUTH. AND FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW, FAR BETTER ATHENS THAN CARTHAGE.

8. THIRTY YEARS LATER, HOWEVER, THIS IMAGE OF CLASSICAL BATON-PASSING NO LONGER CAPTURES THE RELATIONSHIP. A REFURBISHED AND REFRESHED BRITAIN HAS BROUGHT A KEENER SENSE OF GENUINE PARTNERSHIP TO TRANSACTIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS. THE BRITISH WORRY ABOUT OUR RAMBUNCTIOUSNESS; THEY WORRY ABOUT OUR TEMPTATIONS TO DEAL OVER THEIR HEADS; THEY WORRY ABOUT OUR ATTENTION WANDERING FROM EUROPE. BUT RATHER THAN MERE FRETTING, THE BRITISH ARE USUALLY READY TO PUT UP

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SOME ANTE AT THE BIG TABLE AND TO CONTRIBUTE MATERIALLY
AS A SERIOUS PARTICIPANT IN GLOBAL EVENTS.

9. THIS RESUSCITATED BRITISH BOLDNESS IS NOT ALWAYS
COMPLEMENTARY TO OUR OWN NATIONAL EFFORTS, AND

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PARTICULARLY ON ECONOMIC ISSUES THE INDEPENDENT VOICE OF LONDON IS INCREASINGLY SHARP AND FORTHRIGHT. NONETHELESS, BRITAIN NOW ADDS WELCOME AND MEASURABLE WEIGHT TO THE UNSTEADY SCALES OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. IT MIGHT MANIFEST ITSELF AS A MINESWEEPER HERE OR AN SDI CONTRACT THERE; A MODERNIZED DEPLOYMENT AT A BRITISH BASE OR A CONTINUING GARRISON IN BELIZE; A SIGNALS TEAM IN NAMIBIA OR AN OBSERVER GROUP IN SINAI; A FLIGHT FROM AN AIRFIELD IN CYPRUS OR A SUPPORTING VOTE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THIS IS NEITHER AUTOMATIC NOR SLAVISH. INSTEAD, IT REPRESENTS BRITAIN'S CONFIDENT EXPRESSION OF ITS NEWLY ASSERTIVE ROLE IN THE WORLD, ITS SHARP EYE FOR THE PROTECTION OF ITS OWN INTERESTS, AND ITS RECOGNITION THAT ONE BUYS LITTLE TIME IN WASHINGTON WITH MERE BLANDISHMENTS.

10. IN RETURN THE BRITISH EXPECT TO BE LISTENED TO AND FOREWARNED, AND SOMETIMES THEIR CONTRIBUTION IS DESIGNED, LIKE RIDERS ON A TANDEM BIKE, TO INFLUENCE OUR OWN PACE LEST WE GET OVERHEATED. BUT FUNDAMENTALLY THIS NEW VIGOR DEMONSTRATES BRITAIN'S AFFIRMATION THAT WE ARE ALL IN THE SAME WESTERN BOAT TOGETHER, AND THE RISKS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF NAVIGATION MUST BE SHARED.

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ORIGIN: POL-2 INFO: CHGE' POL/L POLAD POL/D E/MIN E/COUNS
DAO AMC /13 E Y D I S MURPHY EDINBURGH BELFAST

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RUEHSA RUEHTN RUEHBU RUEHMO RUEHDT RUFHDB
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RUEHIA / USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 2380
RUEHDD / NATO COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
RUEHEG / AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 5821
RUFHTV / AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY 6184
RUEHSA / AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY 0152
RUEHTN / AMCONSUL CAPETOWN PRIORITY 2235
RUEHBU / AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY 2582
RUEHMO / AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY 1576
RUEHDT / USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0146
RUFHDB / AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY 6128
ZEN / AMCONSUL BELFAST POUCH
ZFN / AMCONSUL EDINBURGH POUCH
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CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
CHRG: STA 03/08/89
APPRV: CDA:RGHSFITZ
DRFTD: CDA:RGHSFITZ:LD
CLEAR: COUNTRY TEAM (IN FT)
DISTR: POL
ORIGIN: WNG ID: 02541 TU

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 05009

EXDIS

DEPART ALSO FOR P - KIMMITT; DEPT PASS NSC - BLACKWILL;
BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC; CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: KPRP, PREL, UK, US
SUBJECT: GREAT BRITAIN: THE BASELINES OF OUR
RELATIONSHIP

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

INTRODUCTION TO BASELINE CABLE SERIES ON US-UK RELATIONS

2. SUMMARY. IF WE AT HOME HAVE BEEN EXPERIENCING
MORNING IN AMERICA, THE BRITISH ARE TUCKING INTO HIGH
TEA. END SUMMARY.

3. OVER THE LAST DECADE THE COMPLEXION OF BRITAIN HAS
CHANGED DRAMATICALLY. CHANGE COMES SO LABORIOUSLY TO
THIS COUNTRY AND IS TRADITIONALLY SO LITTLE VALUED THAT
CLOSE OBSERVERS ARE RELUCTANT TO SURRENDER THEIR WARY
SKEPTICISM. TO CHANGE BRITAIN FUNDAMENTALLY AND
PERMANENTLY WOULD REQUIRE AN ANGLICIZED PERESTROIKA
THAT MIGHT MAKE EVEN GORBACHEV BLANCH AT THE DAUNTING
TASK.

4. TEN YEARS AGO THE CHATTER IN THE CLUBS AND THE PUBS
WAS OF BRITAIN'S GENTEEL BUT IRREVERSIBLE DECLINE.
NOTHING TO BE DONE BUT TO REVERE THE GLORY DAYS AND

HALLU THE QUEEN. BRITAIN WAS A COUNTRY WHOSF DESTINY
FAD PLAYED OUT. GRADUALLY THIS VERDANT BUT GERIATRIC
ISLE WAS TRANSFORMING ITSELF INTO A KIND OF SICILY OF
THE NORTH. THE BEST GLOSS TO BE APPLIFD WAS TO SAY
THAT BRITAIN, AS THE WEST'S FIRST INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY,
WAS ALSO TO BE ITS FIRST POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY, A
RATIONALIZATION THAT GAVE SOME DIGNITY TO IDLE
FACTORIES AND THREE-DAY WEEKS.

5. THE BRITISH MALAISE WAS THE BRITISH. IN THE 1970S
BRITAIN WAS CLASS-RIDDEN AND UNION-BOUND. THE
DEFINITION OF GOOD MANAGEMENT WAS TO SEE HOW MUCH MONEY
YOU COULD SQUIRREL AWAY OVERSEAS. THE MINERS BROUGHT
DOWN TWO GOVERNMENTS AND THE IMF BAILED OUT THE
TREASURY. LIKE A RAGAMUFFIN LATE FOR CLASS, BRITAIN
SLOUCHED INTO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. BRITAIN'S
POLITICS WERE DRAB AND PETULANT. FOREIGN COMMITMENTS
WERE REGARDED AS SOMETHING STICKY TO BE SCRAPED OFF THE
BOTTOM OF A RETREATING BOOT. TEN YEARS AGO THIS WAS A
HANG-DOG COUNTRY AND YOU COULDN'T FIND A BRIT WHO FAD A
GOOD THING TO SAY ABOUT THE PLACE. NO SWAGGER AND NO
STICK.

6. WHAT HAPPENED? FIRST, OIL -- LOTS OF IT. SECOND,
THE FALKLANDS, WHICH RESUSCITATED THE ENDEARING
JINGOISM THAT LIES JUST BENEATH THE LINING OF EVERY
ENGLISH HEART. THIRD, A BURGEONING INTERNATIONAL
ECONOMY THAT OPENED ITSELF TO BRITISH EXPORTS AND,
AFOVE ALL, BRITISH INVESTMENTS. FOURTH, THE
TRIVIALIZATION OF OPPOSITION PARTIES WHICH YIELDED THE
STAGE TO A DOMINANT, SINGLE PARTY OF GOVERNMENT. AND,
FINALLY, MARGARET THATCHER WHO BARRELED INTO BRITAIN AS
A TOUGH, WILLFUL, PURPOSEFUL, DOMINEERING, TIRELESS,
HECTORING, IDEOLOGICAL PHENOMENON OF A PRIME MINISTER.
TO A SOCIETY ACCUSTOMED TO ASPIRIN, SHE ADMINISTERED
TRANSPLANTS.

7. NOW, IN BRITAIN, SAD TO SAY, IT IS RARE TO SEE A
BOWLER HAT OR A CLOTH CAP. MOST PEOPLE SEEM TO HAVE
VIDEOS, CARS, MORTGAGES AND PLANS TO TAKE THE KIDS TO
FLORIDA. THE PLACE IS AWASH IN YUPPIFNESS AND SURFEY
NO LONGER HAS TO APOLOGIZE TO CONNECTICUT. CALCIFIED
INSTITUTIONS ARE DISSOLVING, THE EXCHEQUER IS TAKING IN
FAR MORE THAN IT IS PAYING OUT, ENGLAND BEAT FRANCE AT
TWICKENHAM, AND THE PRIME MINISTER CLOSES A DECADE OF

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POWER TOP A HUNDRED-SEAT MAJORITY IN PARLIAMENT.

8. IN THE INEVITABLE RHYTHM OF HISTORY, OF COURSE, MUCH OF THIS WILL COME TO AN END. THE FOUNDATIONS ARE NOT INDEFINITELY SECURE. LARGE AND DISMAL PATCHES OF NORTHERN ENGLAND REMAIN UNAFFECTED BY THE METAMORPHOSIS, AND THE GOVERNMENT'S PRESENT PROGRAM OF SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION SITS UNEASILY WITH A PUBLIC THAT TAKES COSY COMFORT IN THE SLIGHTLY FRAYED AND FAMILIAR. BUT SO FAR MARGARET THATCHER HAS DEFIED POLITICAL GRAVITY JUST AS HER OPPOSITION HAS DEFIED POLITICAL GRAVITAS. AND WITH EACH DAY THAT GOES BY, BRITAIN'S GENUINE SEA CHANGE RUNS DEEPER.

9. THIS IS GOOD NEWS FOR US. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A QUARTER-CENTURY WE ARE DEALING WITH A MUDDLE-FREE BRITAIN. WITH A SOUND ECONOMY AND AN UNASSAILABLE POLITICAL BASE, THE THATCHER GOVERNMENT HAS LITTLE OF THE PREOCCUPIED HAND-WRINGING THAT OFTEN CHARACTERIZES SO MANY OF THE COALITION GOVERNMENTS IN EUROPE. BRITAIN'S FOREIGN POLICY IS INCREASINGLY CONFIDENT AND ASSERTIVE. MRS. THATCHER LIKES STAKING OUT THE HARD LINE ON NUCLEAR ISSUES; SHE LIKES FEELING COMFORTABLE AND SERIOUS IN THE KREMLIN OR THE WHITE HOUSE; SHE LIKES THE SUPPORTING ROLE IN AFGHANISTAN OR ANGOLA OR THE MIDDLE EAST; SHE LIKES POURING COLD WATER ON EUROPE'S INSTITUTIONAL FANTASIES. AND IF THOSE ARGIES GET UPPITY AGAIN, BY JOVE, SHE'D LIKE TO GIVE THEM ANOTHER SOUND THRASHING TOO.

10. AS WE REVIEW OUR OWN STRATEGIC POSTURE, WE SHOULD BEAR IN MIND THAT BRITAIN IS AN ASSET FOR US:

-- BRITAIN IS A NUCLEAR POWER AND INTENDS TO REMAIN SO WELL INTO THE NEXT CENTURY. WHEN THE TRIDENT PROGRAM IS COMPLETE BRITAIN WILL HAVE INCREASED ITS STRATEGIC WARHEAD CAPACITY BY MORE THAN FOUR-FOLD, A FIGURE ALL THE MORE SIGNIFICANT IF WE REACH A START AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIETS.

-- BRITAIN IS A CASE STUDY FOR THE FREE MARKET ECONOMY AND ALL THE POLITICAL VALUES THAT FLOW FROM IT. THE BANKRUPTCY OF STATISM HAS BEEN NOWHERE MORE EXPOSED THAN HERE. BRITAIN IS A ROLE MODEL FOR OTHERS -- IF IT WORKS FOR AMERICA, THAT'S ONE THING; BUT IF IT WORKS FOR BRITAIN, THAT'S REALLY SOMETHING ELSE.

-- IF WE ARE TO DETER A WAR IN EUROPE, BRITAIN IS VITAL. DESPITE THE SINGULARITY OF ITS GEOGRAPHY, BRITAIN DOES NOT WISH TO BE SINGULARIZED ANY MORE THAN OTHERS, BUT WHEN IT COMES TO SECURITY QUESTIONS OF DEPLOYMENTS OR BURDENSARING OR ARMS CONTROL OR INTELLIGENCE EXCHANGE, BRITAIN IS READY TO DO MORE THAN OTHERS AND TO CAJOLE OTHERS TO DO MORE AS WELL. BRITAIN LIKES THE BIG LEAGUES.

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-- ON TRADE ISSUES BRITAIN IS USUALLY IN THE CORNER OF COMMON SENSE. SUBSIDIES AND OTHER DISTORTIONS SHOULD BE REDUCED OR ELIMINATED. THE BRITISH ARE OFTEN CONSTRAINED BY THEIR EC MEMBERSHIP, BUT IT IS FAR BETTER TO HAVE THEM IN THAN OUT, AND THEY WILL USUALLY ARGUE THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE CASE IF WE ARE CONSTRUCTIVE AND PRAGMATIC IN OUR OWN POINTS. WHEN WE BECOME CLUMSY OR LOUSY ABOUT EXTRATERRITORIALITY OR SANCTIONS OR UNILATERAL RESTRICTIONS, OUR PATHS DIVERGE.

-- THROUGH ARMS SALES, TRADE AND FOREIGN ASSISTANCE BRITAIN IS GRADUALLY REASSERTING ITS INTERESTS AND INFLUENCE IN THE THIRD WORLD. A DECADE

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AGO IT WOULD HAVE BEEN INCONCEIVABLE FOR A BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO DISPATCH MINESWEEPERS EAST OF SUEZ. THE BRITISH ARE OFTEN MORE CONSISTENT ON TERRORISM THAN WE ARE. AND AS DIPLOMACY AND PEACEKEEPING COME BACK INTO FASHION, BRITAIN, WITH ITS PERMANENT SEAT ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND ITS TRADITIONAL PREFERENCE IN THE COMMONWEALTH, HAS WIDER SCOPE TO DO WHAT IT DOES BEST: NEGOTIATE. 11

11. SO, BRITAIN IS NO LONGER A DIPLOMATIC LEG-IRON FOR US. IT IS NOW A POSITIVE ASSET TO BE DEALT WITH IMAGINATIVELY. IN EAST-WEST ISSUES OR IN THE COUNCILS OF EUROPE IT IS NOT ALTOGETHER BAD TO HAVE BRITAIN ARGUING SOMEWHERE TO THE RIGHT OF US. AND IT IS ALTOGETHER GOOD TO HAVE ANOTHER GOVERNMENT THAT GENUINELY WANTS TO SUPPORT US, NOT JUST RHETORICALLY BUT SPECIFICALLY AND ACTIVELY AS WELL.

12. IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO EXPECT BRITAIN TO CARRY OUR WATER, AND MRS. THATCHER AS MESSENGER DOES NOT ALWAYS HAVE THE PROPER ACCENT. IT WOULD BE A PARTICULAR MISTAKE TO VIEW LONDON AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO DIRECT DEALINGS IN OTHER CAPITALS. INSTEAD, WE SHOULD CREATIVELY NURTURE THIS FAMILIAR RELATIONSHIP; WE SHOULD REGARD IT AS A VIGOROUS AND EXPANDING ASSET AS OUR OWN ROLE BECOMES MORE BURDENED; WE SHOULD CONSULT AND LISTEN; AND WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT THE BRITISH, ONCE CONVINCED, WILL ACT.

13. THIS EMBASSY HAS PREPARED A SERIES OF BRIEF CABLES THAT EXAMINES WHERE OUR INTERESTS INTERSECT WITH BRITISH INTERESTS AND WHERE OUR RESPECTIVE POLICIES ARE MOST ENERGETICALLY ENTWINED. THESE ARE NOT DESIGNED AS DEFINITIVE, ANALYTICAL PIECES BUT AS EFFORTS TO SET UP THE GUIDEPPOSTS AND LIMITS OF ANGLO-AMERICAN COOPERATION AND TO DESCRIBE THE "RED LINES" IN BRITISH THINKING AS OUR NEW ADMINISTRATION SETS ITS OWN COURSE. TOGETHER THESE CABLES CONSTITUTE THE BASELINES OF OUR RELATIONSHIP.

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