

RESTRICTED

FM ATHENS

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INFO PRIORITY UKREP BRUSSELS, THE HAGUE

INFO ROUTINE OTHER EC POSTS, ANKARA

FRAME GENERAL

MY TELECON WITH GOMERSALL: LUBBERS' PRE-MAASTRICHT VISIT TO ATHENS

SUMMARY

1. LUBBERS FEARS TROUBLE FROM GREECE OVER WEU MEMBERSHIP AT MAASTRICHT: WANTS A FORMULA PREPARED, FORESHADOWING GREEK ENTRY BUT ON CONDITION THAT MUTUAL ASSISTANCE GUARANTEE CANNOT BE INVOKED AGAINST TURKEY AND ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT SIGNED BETWEEN WEU AND NON-WEU NATO ALLIES. GREEK VIEWS ON COHESION, SITING OF BODIES, AND EMU.

DETAIL

2. ACCORDING TO DUTCH AMBASSADOR, GREEK MEMBERSHIP OF WEU WAS THE MOST DIFFICULT POINT DURING LUBBERS' VISIT. MITSOTAKIS ARGUED THAT POLITICAL UNION WOULD NOT BE COMPLETE WITHOUT A MUTUAL GUARANTEE OF BORDERS. IF THIS WAS IMPOSSIBLE IN SHORT TERM, THEN MEMBERSHIP OF WEU NOW WAS ESSENTIAL FOR GREECE: THERE WAS A GROWING THREAT FROM THE NORTH AND EAST. LUBBERS SAID THAT WIDENING OF WEU WOULD ONLY BE POSSIBLE IF AN ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT BETWEEN WEU AND NON-EC NATO COUNTRIES IN EUROPE, INCLUDING TURKEY, ENTERED INTO WEU. THE ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT WOULD PROVIDE FOR MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AND RULE OUT THE INVOCATION OF ARTICLE 5 OF THE WEU TREATY BY MEMBERS AGAINST ASSOCIATE MEMBERS (EG BY GREECE AGAINST TURKEY). MITSOTAKIS OBJECTED TO NEW ARRANGEMENTS THAT BOUND GREECE TO ASSIST TURKEY, BUT DID NOT OBJECT TO A WEU/TURKEY ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT AS SUCH. HE SAID THAT EUROPEAN UNION WAS UNACCEPTABLE UNLESS GREECE ENTERED THE WEU AND/OR OBTAINED A SHORT TERM GUARANTEE OF GREEK BORDERS ON ALL SIDES. TURKEY HAD NOTHING TO FEAR FROM GREECE BUT GREECE HAD TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE REAL THREAT FROM TURKEY.

3. LUBBERS AND HIS PARTY HAD CONCLUDED FROM THE ABOVE THAT THERE WAS A REAL RISK OF GREECE BLOCKING AGREEMENT AT MAASTRICHT - ESPECIALLY IF OTHER MEMBER STATES BLOCKED AGREEMENT OVER OTHER ISSUES, THUS REQUIRING A SECOND 'MAASTRICHT' COUNCIL TO BE HELD IN



ANY CASE BUT ALLOWING MITSOTAKIS TO ACT TOUGH AT THE FIRST ROUND. LUBBERS THEREFORE WANTED THIS ISSUE CLEARED OUT OF THE WAY AND HAD ASKED THE DUTCH MFA TO WORK ON A FORMULA FOR MAASTRICHT WHICH WOULD FORESHADOW ACCESSION TO WEU BY EC MEMBERS OF NATO, BUT (A) RULE OUT THE INVOCATION OF THE ARTICLE 5 MUTUAL ASSISTANCE OBLIGATION AGAINST NATO ALLIES AND (B) PROVIDE FOR AN ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT BETWEEN WEU AND NON-WEU EUROPEAN ALLIES IE TURKEY, NORWAY AND DENMARK (THE LATTER APPARENTLY PREFERRED ASSOCIATION TO MEMBERSHIP OF WEU). A AND B MIGHT BE AMALGAMATED.

4. MY DUTCH COLLEAGUE ADDED (PLEASE PROTECT) THAT THERE WAS SENSITIVITY BETWEEN LUBBERS AND VAN DER BROEK ON THIS SUBJECT. LUBBERS HAD NOT UNTIL RECENTLY SHOWN THE MFA A LETTER FROM MITSOTAKIS ON IT. THE GREEKS WERE TRYING TO EXPLOIT THE DIFFERENCES. BUT HE (THE AMBASSADOR) HAD EXPLAINED TO THEM THAT LUBBERS COULD NOT OVERRULE VAN DER BROEK WITHOUT THE AGREEMENT OF THE WHOLE DUTCH CABINET.

5. GREEK MINISTERS HAD ALSO MADE A PITCH TO LUBBERS ON COHESION. BUT MITSOTAKIS HAD NOT BEEN WELL BRIEFED ON THE DETAIL. THE DUTCH THOUGHT THE GREEKS WOULD LET THE SPANISH MAKE THE RUNNING ON THIS.

6. ON SITING OF EUROPEAN BODIES THE AMBASSADOR SAID LUBBERS WANTED THIS SOLVED BEFORE MAASTRICHT. IF THIS DID NOT HAPPEN, HE DID NOT WANT THE SUBJECT DISCUSSED THERE. THE PROBLEM WAS LUXEMBOURG, WHICH WAS THREATENING TO APPEAL TO THE ECJ IF THE CENTRAL BANK WAS CITED ELSEWHERE. THE GREEKS WANTED ONE OF THE COMMUNITY BODIES IN GREECE 'IN THE FRAMEWORK OF DECENTRALISATION' BUT WOULD ACCEPT A MAJORITY DECISION.

7. ON EMU, THE GREEK PREOCCUPATION WAS TO AVOID A TWO TIER ARRANGEMENT. THEY WANTED TO BE INCLUDED IN THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF STAGE THREE EVEN IF THEIR OPERATIONAL PARTICIPATION WAS PUT OFF UNTIL THEIR ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE WAS ADEQUATE. THEY OBJECTED TO THE CRITERIA FOR THIS BEING SPELLED OUT NUMERICALLY IN THE EMU TREATY OR ITS PROTOCOLS. THEY WANTED THIS RELEGATED TO SECONDARY EC LEGISLATION.

8. ON HIS VISIT TO LONDON LUBBERS HAD COMMENTED (ACCORDING TO THE AMBASSADOR: PLEASE PROTECT) THAT HE BELIEVED MR MAJOR WOULD AGREE TO A PACKAGE DEAL AT MAASTRICHT PROVIDED IT COULD BE DEMONSTRATED TO PARLIAMENT THAT ENOUGH CONCESSIONS HAD BEEN MADE TO THE BRITISH POINT OF VIEW. LUBBERS THOUGHT THE REJECTION OF THE DUTCH EPU DRAFT HELPFUL IN THIS RESPECT.

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ADDITIONAL 1

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