CONFIDENTIAL Foreign & Commonwealth Office Prie Mister
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separately lela. 9 November 1992 Dean Styphen, Call by Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers of the Netherlands: Tuesday 10 November Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers will call on the Prime Minister on 10 November for an hour, mainly to discuss EC business. Maastricht Ratification The Dutch Foreign Ministry suggest that what the Danes are seeking may be manageable, but the requirement for an agreement "legally binding" on all member states will cause great difficulties. Any such agreement would have to be submitted to the Dutch Parliament for approval. Danish Foreign Minister, Ellemann-Jensen plans to visit The Hague on 8 November. The Prime Minister might make the following points:

- Proposals welcome: indicate consensus in Denmark in favour of moving towards ratification.
- Need careful handling in Community. Presidency in close touch with Danes. Aim to produce proposals for Foreign Ministers before 8 December. Dutch views especially welcome.
- Legal form difficult. Want to avoid further round of parliamentary ratifications, still worse re-opening existing ratification processes. But Danes insistent on "legally binding" solution. Your impressions from Ellemann-Jensen's visit on 8 November?

If Lubbers raises specific points of substance in the Danish paper, the Prime Minister may want to say that:

- We need to consider whether it would be possible to draw a distinction between the framing of a common defence policy (a Treaty commitment) and participation in a common defence (an aspiration).



- Danish position on transfers from <u>interior/justice</u> pillar into competence legally sound. But is it acceptable politically?
- Likewise on <u>EMU</u>; no legal objection to Denmark using her protocol right to opt-out of Stage III now.
- On <u>citizenship</u> problems more of appearance than substance Denmark willing to grant rights, but wont be obliged to. Declaratory language should do the trick.

Mr Lubbers may ask about  $\underline{UK}$  ratification. The Prime Minister will want to set out the parliamentary timetable, stressing our wish to get an agreement on the Danish problem at Edinburgh.

## Subsidiarity

The Birmingham Declaration called for decisions on procedures and guiding principles at Edinburgh. The Birmingham Council also looked forward to a first report from the Commission, with examples, on its review of existing Community legislation. Work in the Council is concentrating on guiding principles or criteria for a subsidiarity test. The task now is to keep our partners up to the mark to see that substantial decisions can be taken at Edinburgh including examples of legislation fit for amendment or repeal. The Prime Minister might say:

- Work going satisfactorily. Grateful for Dutch support. Need <u>decision</u>s at Edinburgh, on procedures and on guidelines. Time is short. Real substance needed at Edinburgh to help ratification in UK and Denmark.
- Need <u>examples</u> of legislation requiring repeal/amendment for Edinburgh. Commission to take the lead need to make their report as impressive as possible. Can Dutch help?

#### Openness

The Birmingham European Council called on Foreign Ministers to suggest ways, before the Edinburgh European Council, of opening up the work of the Community's institutions, including the possibility of some open Council discussion. Most Member States, with the exception of the Dutch, the Danes and ourselves, have been reluctant to agree to any substantial measures to increase the Community's transparency. The Foreign Affairs Council on 9 November is holding its first discussion of this question since Birmingham, on the basis of a Presidency report. The UK is taking a forward position on all of the ideas which are put forward in the report. These include: the

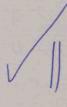


suggestion that some Council debates should be held in public, that the Community should make a better co-ordinated and clearer information effort, and that Community legislation should be made simpler and more accessible. Our ideas are very close to those of the Dutch, although we do not share their views that all Council meetings should in principle be held in open session. We believe that this would run the risk of forcing negotiations into the corridors and thus reducing transparency.

The Prime Minister may wish to make the following points to Mr Lubbers:

- Important that we make progress on openness before Edinburgh. The introduction of greater transparency into the workings of the Community and guidelines on subsidiarity are two sides of the same coin. Both are needed to show that we have been listening to public concerns throughout the Community in recent months. Both will be helpful to us as well as to Denmark.
- Welcome ambitious Dutch approach to this subject. We must maintain pressure on others to take this exercise seriously.
- (If raised) There is a balance to be struck between efficiency and transparency. Holding all Council meetings in open session would certainly slow down our work and could force negotiations to take place outside the Council chamber. We should instead identify the key meetings to open to outside scrutiny.

#### Future Financing



Lubbers may ask the Prime Minister how we propose to handle future financing in the run-up to Edinburgh. The Dutch are now marginal net contributors to the EC budget. Their public line has been that there is no need for any increase in the own resources (OR) ceiling, but it is unlikely that they will stick to this at Edinburgh. They share our desire to minimise new spending across the board, and are our only allies in seeking a reduction in the agricultural guideline. They are also our principal allies on 'industrial competitiveness', but, like all other Member States, dislike the abatement. The Dutch have not commented substantively on Delors' 7-year compromise floated in COREPER on 4 November; although they will be attracted by Delors' assurance that there is no need to increase the OR ceiling in 1993 and 1994, we will want to encourage them to resist the package as still too expensive.



The Prime Minister may wish to say:

- Our approach as Presidency, as agreed at Lisbon, is to work for a future financing settlement at <u>Edinburgh</u>. Plan to table a formal Presidency compromise in advance of the joint Foreign and Finance Ministers' conclave on 27 November. Will of course keep you closely informed of our thinking.
- Delors' 7-year compromise package contains new ideas which will be an important input into the negotiation. Particularly welcome his assurance that there will be no need to increase the OR ceiling in 1993 and 1994. But package is still far too ambitious. Hope you will agree.
- Main sticking point still <u>cohesion</u>. Clear that Spain and others will need to reduce their expectations substantially if we are to make to make any real progress. Helpful if you could continue to make this point in your contacts with Spaniards etc.
- Only way to find resources for more cohesion transfers is tighter control of spending on <u>agriculture</u>. Grateful for Dutch support for cutting agriculture guideline. Hope that together we can convince South of this.
- [If raised] Must make UK position on <u>abatement</u> absolutely clear. No question of UK accepting any adverse change to the abatement or abatement formula. Even after abatement, UK second largest net contributor, in both absolute terms and per capita, well out of line with our relative prosperity. Abatement must continue to apply, as now, to all expenditure within the Community.

#### Sites of EC Institutions

Mr Lubbers has said he will raise the sites of EC institutions. He takes a close, personal interest in this subject and had prepared an outline package at Maastricht (though he did not have time to table it). Mr Lubbers indicated that he would prefer to talk about the sites package with the Prime Minister rather than see Sir R Braithwaite, the Prime Minister's sites emissary in The Hague. This may be also partly because Mr Lubbers believes that the Cavaco package still represents a deal the member states can accept and there is therefore little further work required.

Mr Lubbers will probably urge the Prime Minister to secure a deal at Edinburgh. He was the only Head of Government to mention sites at Birmingham. Dutch tactics



on sites centre on keeping their candidatures for three institutions in play: the European Central Bank (ECB), the Community Trade Marks Office (CTMO) and Europol. The first two are probably bargaining chips to cash in to secure the Dutch priority, Europol.

The Prime Minister may want to try to keep discussion on sites with Mr Lubbers brief. The Prime Minister's objective might be to indicates to Lubbers that the Cavaco package will not run and to check that the summary of Dutch views above is correct. The Prime Minister might say:

- UK Presidency want to make progress on sites at Edinburgh, if possible. But it will need careful preparation. Do not believe it sensible to present partners with a <u>fait accompli</u>;
- Many difficult questions remain before a package can be tabled. Luxembourg and Belgium have told us that they do not like Cavaco's proposal on the European Parliament seat. Cavaco's allocation of the secondary institutions looked odd: UK allocation European Drugs Monitoring Centre even though we weren't intending to host it!
- Also difficult to see how the strongly held views of a number of partners can be reconciled over the EMI/ECB site. ECB difficult issue for UK against background of UK ratification process.
- What are Dutch priorities? How serious is Amsterdam's candidature for the ECB? Given that no member state can expect to get more than one institution in the next round, what is your priority? Are there certain secondary institutions the Dutch would not like to see going to particular member states?

## GATT

Delors told the Prime Minister on 6 November that he agreed EC/US talks should resume immediately but Andriessen told the Prime Minister on 8 November that there was no agreement yet on his negotiating mandate. A confrontation was possible in the Commission meeting on 11 November.

At their informal meeting on 6-7 November, EC Trade ministers agreed that EC/US negotiations should resume. Andriessen said that the differences between the EC and US on the volume of subsidised exports and on oilseeds were tiny, and the overall GATT/oilseeds deal could be accommodated within the parameters of CAP reform. But he also argued that the Community had to make clear its willingness to counter retaliate against the US. However,



a majority of member states, including the UK, Germany and the Netherlands, warned against counter retaliation which would escalate the dispute. The 9 November FAC would also discuss the position but, since a further Council decision would be needed before any counter retaliation list could be implemented, there was no need to take any decision yet.

In the margins of the meeting, Moellemann (German Minister of Economy) told the President of the Board of Trade that he thought Chancellor Kohl would support a compromise deal on the terms mentioned by the White House on 3 November, (although the German Economics Ministry is not necessarily a good guide to what Kohl really thinks). These are maximum EC oilseeds production of 9.5 million tonnes and a 21.5% reduction in the volume of subsidised agriculture exports (instead of the 24% in the Dunkel paper). We understand that the Dutch government would support this too. Andriessen may prefer to achieve the oilseeds result in a different form, eg through limits on the area under cultivation, not the volume produced. The Americans would accept this so long as the result was the same (and binding). Delors told the Prime Minister that the Community should not go below 10.5 million tonnes on oilseeds, nor above an 18% reduction in the volume of subsidised exports, which would of course ensure disaster.

The Prime Minister might say:

- Risk of trade war extremely serious. Would have disastrous effect on Community industry at very time that our economies need boost from GATT agreement. Would be foolhardy to bring that about.
- Delors extremely unhelpful but accepted on 6 November that EC/US negotiations had to resume immediately. US agree. But success only possible if Andriessen has full negotiating authority from Commission. Confrontation possible at 11 November Commission meeting.
- Difference between the closest positions reached in negotiation between the two sides is very small.

  Believe US would accept compromise which limited EC oilseeds production to 9.5 million tonnes, and eased reduction in volume of subsidised agriculture exports to 21.5%. This represents good deal for Community, but Delors opposes this. We all need to impress on him gravity of present position.
- France cannot be allowed to continue to block a negotiated outcome. Recognises difficulties it poses for them. But no question but that GATT agreement is in France's interests, and Community's. Deal available which would not go significantly beyond CAP



reform, and involves substantive US concessions. France should start preparing their public opinion by showing that GATT settlement would be a victory.

- Hope Lubbers would press Kohl to use his full weight on both Delors and Mitterrand, and do so himself.

## Former Yugoslavia

The Dutch, along with the Germans, take a consistently hard line on war crimes. They also stress that it is not yet time to consider easing sanctions.

Latest reports confirm widespread and serious human rights abuses.

The Prime Minister might wish to draw on the following:

- (If raised) Confirm introduction of visa regime for former Yugoslav nationals, excluding holders of new Croatian and Slovenian passports. We will be accepting 150 Bosnian detainees from Karlovac with dependents: will consider further requests from UNHCR/ICRC sympathetically.
- (If raised) Welcome UN Security Council Resolution 780 establishing an impartial commission to analyse information on war crimes. Perpetrators should be left in no doubt that they will be held personally responsible for such breaches. Important to keep up pressure.
- (If raised) Risk of overlap between Dutch idea of a Community body to collate information on grave breaches of Geneva Conventions and UN efforts. UNSCR 780 called upon UN Secretary General to appoint a Commission of experts to assist him in the task of collation and analysis. Understand this is underway.
- Sanctions having marked impact on Serbian economy: important to ensure they are effective. Should maintain pressure on FRY whilst encouraging Cosic and Panic to persevere.

#### Enlargement

Lubbers has recently stressed his wish to make progress on enlargement, perhaps by inverting the Lisbon linkage to future financing (ie agreement on future financing depends on enlargement going ahead). His recent letter to the Prime Minister reaffirmed support for rapid Nordic and Austrian accession.



The Prime Minister might say:

- Important to keep up momentum on enlargement.
  Preparations for EFTA accession negotiations going
  well. Presidency aims to complete them by Edinburgh.
- Working for agreement on future financing by Edinburgh. Other condition for accession negotiations
   Maastricht ratification - should also have moved forward by then.
- At Edinburgh will want to explore scope for agreement to open formal negotiations immediately. Would help Danes.
- Welcome positive Opinion on Finnish accession.

## Eastern Europe

As Mr Lubbers will be travelling directly to Hungary, the Prime Minister may wish to mention the EC/Visegrad Summit which he hosted in London on 28 October, and the agreement on the Gabcikovo Dam which was negotiated in the margins. He might say:

- Successful summit which covered much ground in a few hours. Able to discuss ways of giving substance to Europe Agreements.
- Visegrad leaders raised a number of issues of concern to them: notably accession and trade liberalisation. Now for the Commission to report to Edinburgh on strengthening links.
- Visegrad leaders were uniformly gloomy about prospects for former Soviet Union.
- Took advantage of Hungarian and Czechoslovak leaders presence in London to make progress on Gabcikovo Dam dispute. Glad both sides have now accepted agreement negotiated by Commission.

I am copying this letter to Jeremy Heywood (HM Treasury), Peter Smith (DTI), David Rossington (MAFF) and Melanie Leech (Cabinet Office)

(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

J S Wall Esq CMG LVO 10 Downing Street



# Call by Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers of the Netherlands: Tuesday 10 November

## Points to Make

# Maastricht Ratification

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- Need careful handling in Community. Presidency in close touch with Danes. Aim to produce proposals for Foreign Ministers before 8 December. Dutch views especially welcome.
- Legal form difficult. Want to avoid further round of parliamentary ratifications, still worse re-opening existing ratification processes. But Danes insistent on "legally binding" solution. Your impressions from Ellemann-Jensen's visit on 8 November?

## Substance

- We need to consider whether it would be possible to draw a distinction between the framing of a common defence policy (a Treaty commitment) and participation in a common defence (an aspiration).
- Danish position on transfers from <a href="interior/justice">interior/justice</a> pillar into competence legally sound. But is it acceptable politically?
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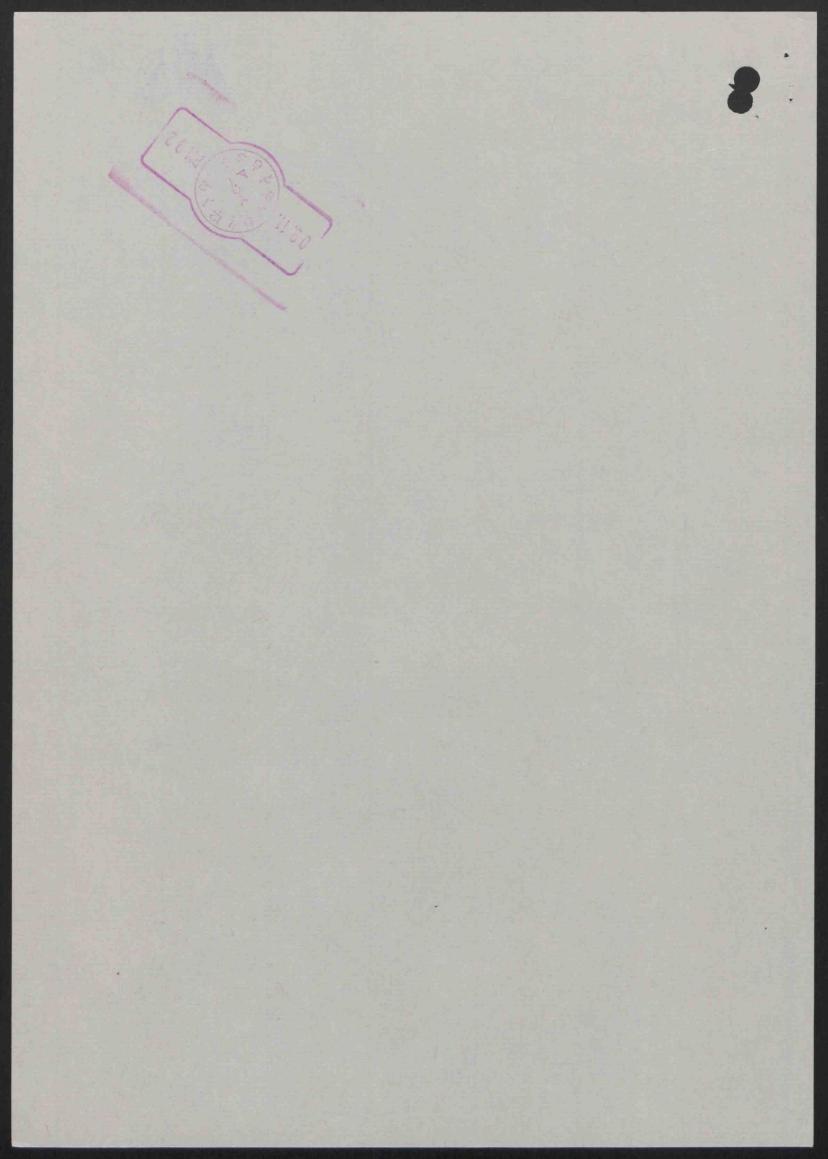
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- Visegrad leaders were uniformly gloomy about prospects for former Soviet Union.
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LUBBERS' CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER, 10 NOVEMBER

SUMMARY

1. LUBBERS WILL WANT TO COVER UK TREATY RATIFICATION TIMETABLE, GATT AND SITES OF THE INSTITUTIONS. DUTCH RATIFICATION PROCESS CURRENTLY UNDER WAY.

DETAIL

- 2. WHEN I SPOKE TODAY TO VISSER (WHO, WITH MERCKELBACH, HANDLES FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN LUBBERS OFFICE) ABOUT THE SUBJECTS ON WHICH LUBBERS WOULD WISH TO FOCUS DURING HIS BRIEF CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER ON TUESDAY 10 NOVEMBER, HE SAID LUBBERS WOULD FIND IT USEFUL TO HAVE CLARIFIED THE GOVERNMENT'S INTENTIONS AS REGARDS THE RATIFICATION OF THE MAASTRICHT TREATY, IN THE LIGHT OF MR MAJOR'S REMARKS IN THE COMMONS ON 5 NOVEMBER. I EXPLAINED THE PROCEDURAL POSITION TO VISSER ON THE LINES OF FCO TELNO 439 TO UKREP BRUSSELS. HE WAS GRATEFUL FOR THIS CLARIFICATION BUT HE WAS CLEARLY CONCERNED THAT THE CONCLUSION THAT THE THIRD READING WOULD TAKE PLACE AFTER THE DANISH REFERENDUMN WOULD EASE PRESSURE ON THE DANES TO MODERATE WHAT THEY WERE SEEKING FROM THEIR PARTNERS. I WOULD EXPECT LUBBERS TO RAISE THIS POINT WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, AS WELL AS THE PROBLEMS RAISED BY THE DANISH REQUIREMENT FOR A JURIDICALLY BINDING ARRANGEMENT. ELLEMAN-JENSEN WILL BE VISITING THE NETHERLANDS ON 8 NOVEMBER AND LUBBERS WILL NO DOUBT WANT TO DISCUSS THE RESULTS OF THAT MEETING AND THE CONCLUSIONS HE HAS DRAWN FROM IT.
- 2. ON THE GATT, LUBBERS HAS TAKEN AN ACTIVE INTEREST THROUGHOUT THE NEGOTIATIONS AND HE WILL WANT TO DISCUSS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER THE WAY FORWARD IN THE LIGHT OF EVENTS SINCE THE CHICAGO DISCUSSIONS. THE DUTCH TRADE MINISTER, MRS VAN ROOY HAS SAID

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PUBLICLY THAT THE EC SHOULD EXERCISE RESTRAINT IN THE FACE OF THE THREATENED US TRADE MEASURES AND SHOULD NOT TAKE HASTY DECISIONS OVER COUNTER-MEASURES.

- 3. ON SITES, LUBBERS WILL NO DOUBT SPEAK TO THE PRIME MINISTER ON THE LINES FORESHADOWED BY VAN DEN BROEK WITH YOU (FCO TELNO 187). THIS IS VERY MUCH LUBBERS' OWN DOSSIER BUT HIS ADVISERS EXPECT THE LISBON PROPOSALS TO FORM THE BASIS OF ANY NEW PACKAGE. HOWEVER AS REGARDS THE ECB LUBBERS HAS COME UNDER ATTACK IN THE DUTCH PARLIAMENT DURING THE RATIFICATION DEBATE FOR NOT FIGHTING HARD ENOUGH FOR AMSTERDAM, AND HE IS LIKELY TO MAINTAIN THE DUTCH BID UNTIL THE FINAL PACKAGE IS AGREED. ON EUROPOL, THE JUSTICE MINISTER MADE CLEAR TO THE HOME SECRETARY ON 26 OCTOBER THAT HE ATTACHED IMPORTANCE TO GETTING IT IN THE HAGUE AS PROPOSED BY THE PORTUGUESE, AND HE SHOWED RELUCTANCE TO ENTERTAIN SUGGESTIONS THAT SECTIONS OF EUROPOL SHOULD OPERATE ON A TEMPORARY BASIS IN STRASBOURG FROM NEXT YEAR IN THE ABSENCE OF AGREEMENT.
- 4. THE DUTCH BILL TO RATIFY THE MAASTRICHT TREATY IS CURRENTLY BEFORE THE SECOND CHAMBER AND IS LIKELY TO BE APPROVED WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. IT WILL THEN GO TO THE FIRST CHAMBER WHERE THERE WILL BE DEBATE BUT PROBABLY NO REAL DIFFICULTIES. IN THE SECOND CHAMBER THE ONLY SIGNIFICANT ISSUE HAS BEEN THE DESIRE BY SOME MEMBERS FOR PARLIAMENT TO HAVE A SAY BEFORE DUTCH ENTRY INTO STAGE 3 OF EMU. KOK HAS RESPONDED THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD ALWAYS WISH TO ENSURE THAT IT HAD PARLIAMENTARY BACKING BEFORE TAKING UP A POSITION IN BRUSSELS, BUT THAT IF THE NETHERLANDS MEETS THE CRITERIA THERE WILL BE NO CHOICE. ON THE DANISH PROPOSALS, VAN DEN BROEK COMMENTED THAT 'IT IS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT IF DANISH DEMANDS RESULT IN RE-OPENING THE TREATY. THE PROBLEMS CONCERN NOT THE SUBJECTS ON WHICH THE DANES WANT EXCEPTIONS BUT THE INDEFINITE PERIOD FOR WHICH THEY WANT THEM. WE SHALL HOLD THE DANES TO THEIR WORD THAT A SOLUTION DOES NOT REQUIRE RE-NEGOTIATION'.
- 5. IN THE CONTEXT OF LUBBERS' 10TH ANNIVERSARY IN OFFICE BOTH KOHL AND DELORS HAVE BEEN QUOTED AS OFFERING SUPPORT FOR HIM AS THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION. SPEAKING ON DUTCH RADIO KOHL SAID 'I DON'T KNOW WHAT HIS PERSONAL AMBITIONS ARE BUT HE IS ONE OF THE LEADING PERSONALITIES IN EUROPE. HE HAS ALL THE QUALITIES NEEDED TO PREPARE AND CARRY OUT IMPORTANT DECISIONS IN THE ROLE OF COMMISSION PRESIDENT'. KOHL ADDED THAT THE MAASTRICHT TREATY WAS A RESULT OF LUBBERS' PERSONAL EFFORT AND WITHOUT HIM MANY THINGS IN

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EUROPE WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE. DELORS, ASKED ON DUTCH RADIO WHETHER LUBBERS SHOULD TAKE OVER FROM HIM, SAID THAT 'HE WOULD BE THE RIGHT MAN IN THE RIGHT SPOT. HE IS A REAL PRO-EUROPEAN MILITANT, HAS FRESH IDEAS AND IS IN A POSITION TO BRING ABOUT INNOVATIONS. HE IS A MAN OF DIALOGUE, IN A POSITION TO BRING THE TWELVE TOGETHER. THESE QUALITIES ARE ESSENTIAL FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE COMMUNITY'.

6. THE PRIME MINISTER MAY WISH ORALLY TO CONGRATULATE LUBBERS ON HIS TEN YEARS IN OFFICE AS PRIME MINISTER IF HE HAS NOT ALREADY SENT A WRITTEN MESSAGE.

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