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TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
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PRIORITY INFO EC CAPITALS AND UKREP BRUSSELS, MADRID, LISBON.

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Prime Minister  
You might look  
at the last sentence  
of this telegram.

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY : DUTCH VIEWS ON MILAN AND THE WAY AHEAD.

CDD  
5/7.

SUMMARY

1. LUBBERS CRITICAL OF THE PRESIDENCY HANDLING OF THE CENTRAL ISSUE OF DECISION-MAKING AT MILAN. HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE AGREEMENT ON MAJORITY VOTING IN ESSENTIAL AREAS RECORDED AS A POLITICAL ACT : IF THIS DID NOT WORK THE AGREEMENT WOULD BE MADE LEGALLY BINDING AFTER TWO YEARS BY AMENDING THE TREATY. HE WAS ALSO CRITICAL OF THE FRANCO-GERMAN ATTEMPT TO TACK EUROPEAN UNION ON TO THE BRITISH DRAFT ON POLITICAL COOPERATION. THE TWO SUBJECTS SHOULD BE TAKEN SEPARATELY. POSTHUMUS-MEYJES ENVISAGES A PREPARATORY MEETING AT 'DOOGUE LEVEL' BEFORE A ONE OR TWO DAY INTER-GOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE (IGC) OF FOREIGN MINISTERS, WITH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT AT LUXEMBOURG CONSTITUTING THEMSELVES INTO AN IGC AT HIGHER LEVEL. DUTCH DISAPPOINTMENT ABOUT MILAN HAS NOT LED TO CRITICISM OF THE UK, BUT TO SOME CONCERN AT OUR BEING GROUPED WITH GREECE AND DENMARK.

DETAIL

2. I HAVE HAD TWO DISCUSSIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER LUBBERS ON SOCIAL OCCASIONS SINCE MILAN. AT THE FIRST, ON 2 JULY, HE SEEMED TIRED AND SPOKE TO ME PRIVATELY OF HIS DISAPPOINTMENT AT THE WAY THINGS HAD GONE. HE SAID HE HAD VERY SERIOUSLY UNDERESTIMATED THE DESIRE OF CHANCELLOR KOHL TO MAKE A SPLASH FOR INTERNAL POLITICAL REASONS AND 'DO SOMETHING FOR EUROPE'. KOHL'S ATTITUDE HAD BEEN FATALLY DIVISIVE IN EFFECT. AT THE SECOND, A COMMUNITY AMBASSADORS' DINNER ON 3 JULY, LUBBERS WAS MUCH MORE RELAXED, EMPHASISING SOME POSITIVE ASPECTS OF MILAN AND PREPARED TO LOOK AHEAD. HE SAID THAT IF HE HAD HAD THE PRESIDENCY AT MILAN HE WOULD HAVE TACKLED THE CENTRAL QUESTION OF DECISION-MAKING QUITE DIFFERENTLY. HE WOULD HAVE TRIED TO GET AGREEMENT FOR MAJORITY VOTING IN AREAS ESSENTIAL TO THE COMPLETION OF THE INTERNAL MARKET AND THE CREATION OF THE TECHNOLOGICAL COMMUNITY : TO RECORD THIS AGREEMENT AS A POLITICAL ACT WITHOUT AMENDING THE TREATY, AND AT THE SAME TIME TO RECORD THAT IF COUNTRIES DID NOT ABIDE BY THAT 'GENTLEMAN'S AGREEMENT' THE TREATY WOULD BE AMENDED TO MAKE IT LEGALLY BINDING AFTER TWO YEARS.

3. LUBBERS WAS CRITICAL OF THE FRANCO-GERMAN ATTEMPT TO TACK ON EUROPEAN UNION TO THE BRITISH DRAFT ON POLITICAL COOPERATION. THIS GAVE THE ERRONEOUS IMPRESSION THAT EUROPEAN UNION COULD BE DERIVED ONLY FROM POLITICAL COOPERATION INSTEAD OF FROM A WHOLE SERIES OF ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, TECHNOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL MEASURES WHICH WERE LEADING TOWARDS THE INTEGRATION OF EUROPE. THE INTER-GOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE (IGC) SHOULD THEREFORE TACKLE POLITICAL COOPERATION QUITE SEPARATELY FROM EUROPEAN UNION. THE WIDER ISSUE OF EUROPEAN UNION SHOULD FEATURE LATE ON THE AGENDA.

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4. LUBBERS'S IDEA FOR HANDLING THE QUESTION OF DECISION-MAKING DIFFERS FROM VAN EEKELLEN'S WHO IS STILL TALKING OF AMENDING THE TREATY, ALBEIT ONLY ABOUT TWO ARTICLES, IN A SHORT AND PRECISELY TARGETTED IGC. THIS IS NOT SURPRISING AS THERE HAS BEEN NO TIME YET FOR THE DUTCH TO COORDINATE THEIR THINKING AFTER MILAN. POSTHUMUS-MEYJES TOLD ME TODAY THAT LUBBERS HAD HAD HIS IDEA ABOUT DECISION-MAKING IN HIS POCKET AT MILAN BUT HAD NOT PRODUCED IT BECAUSE THE MEETING HAD TAKEN A TURN IN THE WRONG DIRECTION. I ASKED IF LUBBERS' IDEA ON THIS AND DE-COUPLING CONSIDERATION OF EUROPEAN UNION FROM POLITICAL COOPERATION WOULD BE PASSED ON TO THE LUXEMBOURGERS. POSTHUMUS-MEYJES REPLIED THAT HE WAS IN VERY CLOSE TOUCH WITH THEM. HE ALSO SAID THAT ALTHOUGH DUTCH IDEAS HAD NOT DEVELOPED VERY FAR ON THE IGC, HE THOUGHT PERSONALLY THAT THERE SHOULD BE A PREPARATORY MEETING AT A 'DOOGHE LEVEL' FOLLOWED BY A ONE OR TWO DAY IGC OF FOREIGN MINISTERS, WITH THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT AT LUXEMBOURG CONSTITUTING THEMSELVES INTO AN IGC AT A HIGHER LEVEL.

5. THE DUTCH FEELING OF DISAPPOINTMENT OVER MILAN EXPRESSED EXTENSIVELY IN THE PRESS HAS NOT INCLUDED CRITICISM OF THE UK. LUBBERS HIMSELF WELL UNDERSTANDS OUR POSITION AND CERTAINLY DOES NOT WISH TO SEE US ISOLATED IN THE COMPANY OF DENMARK AND GREECE. THE DANES ARE SEEN AS SUFFERING FROM A POLITICAL SITUATION PECULIAR TO THEMSELVES AND PERHAPS LIKELY TO MOVE WITH THE BRITISH : THE GREEKS AS CYNICAL MEMBERS INTERESTED ONLY IN WHAT THEY CAN EXTRACT FROM COMMUNITY MONEY BAGS. THOSE OF MY COLLEAGUES WHO ARE HAPPY TO PAINT THE BRITISH AS UN-EUROPEAN DERIVE SOME SATISFACTION FROM MILAN , BUT THIS IS NOT A DUTCH POSITION AND OUR RECORD OF PREPARATION FOR MILAN HAS GIVEN ME MUCH AMMUNITION WITH WHICH TO COUNTER SUCH SUGGESTIONS. I HAVE STRESSED IN PARTICULAR THAT IDEAS OF A TWO-SPEED EUROPE (AS PUT FORWARD, FOR EXAMPLE, BY MY GERMAN COLLEAGUE) ARE A RECIPE FOR DISINTEGRATION NOT INTEGRATION.

6. LASTLY, I CAN CONFIRM THAT THE DUTCH KNEW NOTHING OF THE FRANCO-GERMAN EUROPEAN UNION/POLITICAL COOPERATION DRAFT UNTIL THEY RECEIVED A COPY IN GERMAN JUST AS THE PRIME MINISTER'S PARTY WAS ABOUT TO BOARD THE PLANE FOR MILAN. CONCERNING THE DRAFT, MY GERMAN COLLEAGUE COMMENTED TO ME PRIVATELY THAT IT WAS POLITICALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR GERMANY TO BE SEEN ACCEPTING BRITAIN AS WRESTING THE LEADERSHIP OF EUROPE FROM FRANCE AND GERMANY.

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