

ADVANCE COPIES: FALKLAND ISLANDS GENERAL (39) (43)

IMMEDIATE

PS/ER FURD
PS/ER GIBSON
PS/PJS
MR BULLARD
SIR I SINCLAIR
MR GIFFARD
MR WRIGHT
MR ADAMS
LORD N G LENOX
LORD BRIDGES
MR URE
MR GILLIOTT
HD/PUSD (3)
HD/S AM D
HD/DEF DEPT
HD/HESS DEPT
HD/EPD
HD/ECD(2)
HD/WD ← Hd/WED
HD/PLANNING STAFF
MR ANTHONY WILLIAMS 760
EMERGENCY ROOM
RESIDENT CLERK

PS/NO 10 DOWNING ST (2)
PS/S OF S FOR DEFENCE
MR J STEWART AUSD STAFF MOD
PS/CHANCELLOR }
MR ILETT } TREASURY
MR LITTLER }
SIR R ARMSTRONG }
SIR M PALLISER } CABINET
MR MADE-GERY } OFFICE
MR FULLER SAPU/DIO }
DIO }

~~RR28 FOR 2000/0 IN 2 FEB~~

Mrs Dickson, D/ENERG

[Passed to E.R.]
ADVANCE COPY [Typists a.a.]

CONFIDENTIAL

FM BONN 201630Z MAY 82

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 495 OF 26 MAY

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON PARIS ROME UKREF BRUSSELS UKDEL NATO
MODUK

INFO SAVING BHG BERLIN CG'S IN FRG CG BERLIN DUBLIN ANKARA ATHENS
BRUSSELS COPENHAGEN THE HAGUE LISBON LUXENBOURG OSLO OTTAWA
REYKJAVIK

FALKLANDS: THE GERMAN ATTITUDE
SUMMARY

1. ALTHOUGH THE GERMANS ARE BASICALLY SOLID IN THEIR SUPPORT FOR US
OVER THE FALKLANDS, THEY ARE SHOWING TYPICAL SIGNS OF ANGST OVER
THE WAY THE SITUATION IS DEVELOPING AND ITS POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES.
WE ARE DOING ALL WE CAN TO STIFFEN THEM, BUT I BELIEVE THAT IT
WOULD BE EXTREMELY VALUABLE IF IT WERE POSSIBLE FOR YOU PERSONALLY
TO SPEAK AGAIN TO HERR GENSCHER AND TAKE HIM INTO YOUR CONFIDENCE
OVER OUR POSITION AS IT HAS DEVELOPED SINCE THE ARGENTINE REJECTION
OF OUR PROPOSALS FOR AN INTERIM AGREEMENT.

ARGUMENT

2. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY WILL SUPPORT US OVER THE FALKLANDS QUOTE SO LONG AS THE CRISIS LASTS UNQUOTE (SCHMIDT WITH KITTERRAND, 15 MAY) AND HAVE AGREED TO EXTEND COMMUNITY SANCTIONS INDEFINITELY. BUT THIS SUPPORT, WHICH WOBLED GREATLY AFTER THE SINKING OF DELERAND, HAS BECOME RELUCTANT SINCE THE FIRST UN NEGOTIATIONS BROKE DOWN AND OUR LANDINGS TOOK PLACE. THE CHANCELLOR HAS BEEN REPEATING THIS WEEK IN PUBLIC THAT GERMAN SUPPORT IS NOT A QUOTE BLANK CHEQUE UNQUOTE FOR BRITAIN, AND INDEED GIVES GERMANY A QUOTE MORAL DUTY UNQUOTE TO IMPRESS ON BRITAIN THE NEED FOR QUOTE PROPORTIONALITY UNQUOTE. HERR GENSCHER HAS BEEN STAUNCH ON HIS SUPPORT OF OUR RIGHTS AND PRINCIPLES, BUT TOLD THE CABINET ON 26 MAY, I AM RELIABLY INFORMED, THAT HE HAD AGREED TO EXTEND SANCTIONS ONLY ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE UK AS WELL AS ARGENTINA WOULD DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE A POLITICAL SOLUTION.

3. THE GOVERNMENT CONDEMN THE AGGRESSION AND THE BREACH OF INTERNATIONAL LAW INVOLVED. THE CONCESSIONS WHICH WE WERE READY TO MAKE IN THE DRAFT INTERIM AGREEMENT PASSED TO THE USSR ON 17 MAY IMPRESSED THEM. BUT THEY FEEL THAT WE ABANDONED THAT ATTEMPT AT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT TOO QUICKLY. RELIABLE SOURCES IN THE FEDERAL CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE HAVE TOLD US OF THE CHANCELLOR'S DEEP CONCERN OVER OUR PRESENT STANCE ON NEGOTIATIONS.

4. BEHIND THIS ATTITUDE LIES THE EMOTIONAL GERMAN AVERSION TO WAR WHICH I HAVE REFERRED TO BEFORE. TWO OTHER WORRIES HAVE LOOPEL LARGER IN THE PAST WEEK. ONE IS THE POSSIBILITY OF DAMAGE TO EUROPE'S AND (ESPECIALLY) THE US'S RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA, FROM WHICH THEY BELIEVE ONLY THE USSR STAND TO GAIN. STATE MINISTER CORTERIER, WHO IS VISITING VENEZUELA, COLOMBIA AND HONDURAS NEXT WEEK, WILL AT THE CHANCELLOR'S PERSONAL REQUEST BE TRYING TO HEAD THIS OFF. THE OTHER CONCERNS THE POSSIBLE EFFECT IN BOTH SHORT AND LONG TERM ON OUR NATO CONTRIBUTION AND OUR FORCES IN THE FRG.

5. THESE GOVERNMENT CONCERNS REFLECT THOSE OF GERMAN PUBLIC OPINION AND OF PARTS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES, NOT EXCLUDING THE CDU/CSU. I AM CONTINUING TO COMBAT SUCH ATTITUDES AS HARD AS POSSIBLE, WITH POLITICIANS, THE PRESS AND OTHERS. AND I AM SLIGHTLY ENCOURAGED BY THE ROBUST EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT WHICH WE ARE GETTING FROM SOME INDIVIDUALS.

6. BUT IT IS WORRYING THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S SUPPORT, THAT OF A MAJOR ALLY, SHOULD BE GRUBBLING IN THE LONGER TERM - PARTICULARLY

A MAJOR ALLY, SHOULD BE GRUDGING. IN THE LONGER TERM - PARTICULARLY IF THE CONFLICT DRAGS ON - THERE IS SOME DANGER THAT THE DIFFERENCE OF VIEW WILL OPEN UP A RIFT IN ANGLO-GERMAN UNDERSTANDING WHICH WILL AFFECT OTHER AREAS OF MUTUAL INTEREST.

7. WHAT CAN WE DO TO STEM THE TIDE? FIRST, I BELIEVE THAT THE GERMANS ARE MUCH INFLUENCED BY THE ATTITUDES OF OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. A LEADING SPD CRITIC OF OUR POLICY WAS VISIBLY DISCOMFERTED WHEN I TOLD HIM YESTERDAY THAT EVEN THE ITALIANS, DESPITE THEIR KNOWN DIFFICULTIES AND THEIR INABILITY TO RENEW SANCTIONS, HAD MADE ROBUSTER VOICES IN OUR SUPPORT THAN THE GERMANS. THE FRENCH ARE OF COURSE A PARTICULARLY HELPFUL INFLUENCE, AND THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT IT WAS MITTERRAND WHO PERSUADED SCHMIDT TO MAKE THEIR JOINT STATEMENT OF SUPPORT. I HOPE HE CAN BE PERSUADED TO KEEP UP THIS GOOD WORK.

6. I ALSO THINK IT MOST IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, FOR OUR LONGER TERM RELATIONS THAT HMG SHOULD TAKE A FURTHER HIGH-LEVEL INITIATIVE TO IMPRESS UPON THE GERMANS THAT WE ARE REACTING RESPONSIBLY AND APPROPRIATELY, AND WISH TO KEEP THEM IN OUR CONFIDENCE ABOUT WHAT IS GOING ON. I KNOW THAT YOU HAVE ALREADY GIVEN HERR GENSCHER A GOOD DEAL OF SPECIAL ATTENTION, INCLUDING THE INVITATION WHICH RESULTED IN HIS VISIT TO NORTHOLT ON 6 MAY. BUT THINGS HAVE MOVED ON SINCE THEN, AND THE TELEPHONING THIS WEEK HAS BEEN ONE WAY, FROM BORN TO LONDON. THE GERMANS ARE A KEY ALLY, AND THEY SET GREAT STORE BY THE CONCEPT OF DIALOGUE. BEST OF ALL WOULD BE IF YOU WERE ABLE TO OFFER A FURTHER OPPORTUNITY FOR A TALK. IF THIS COULD BE IN BORN IT WOULD PROBABLY ENABLE YOU TO SEE HERR SCHMIDT ALSO. I WOULD OF COURSE BE SURPRISED IF YOUR PROGRAMME PERMITTED THAT, BUT I FEEL IT WOULD PAY GREAT DIVIDENDS FOR THE FUTURE. IF YOU CAN'T, I HOPE YOU MIGHT TELEPHONE HERR GENSCHER TO BRING HIM UP-TO-DATE AND SUGGEST THAT YOU GET TOGETHER FOR AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS IN THE MARGINS OF VERSAILLES. I AM SURE THAT SUCH A GESTURE WOULD BE APPRECIATED.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAYING TO ADDRESSEES EXCEPT BMG BERLIN CG BERLIN AND CS'S IN THE FRG.

TAYLOR

11/11/50