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MILAN EUROPEAN COUNCIL: KOHL'S SPEECH TO ACTION COMMITTEE FOR EUROPE

SUMMARY

1. KOHL SPEAKS OF SIGNIFICANCE OF EUROPE FOR THE FRG, AND IMPORTANCE OF BINDING FRG WITH THE WEST. HIS PRIORITIES AT MILAN WILL BE: INTERNAL MARKET: TREATY-BASED ARRANGEMENTS FOR POCO AS FIRST STEP TO EUROPEAN UNION: MORE MAJORITY VOTING AND MORE PARTICIPATION OF PARLIAMENT: PEOPLES'S EUROPE, AND TECHNOLOGY. SDI AND EUREKA NOT MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE.

DETAIL

2. WE HAVE NOW OBTAINED FROM THE FEDERAL PRESS OFFICE THE LATEST AVAILABLE DRAFT OF THE SPEECH WHICH KOHL MADE TO THE ACTION (MONNET) COMMITTEE FOR EUROPE AT ITS MEETING IN BONN ON 7 JUNE. PRESS REPORTS SUGGEST THAT HE SPOKE IN ACCORDANCE WITH IT.

3. AFTER OPENING REMARKS WELCOMING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW ACTION COMMITTEE, AND REFERRING TO THE WORK OF THE EUROPEAN FOUNDING FATHERS, ESPECIALLY ADENAUER AND MONNET, KOHL SAID THAT TWO LESSONS FROM THAT ERA REMAINED VALID: EUROPEAN POLICY COULD ONLY ADVANCE BY ONE STEP AT A TIME; AND EUROPE WOULD NOT MAKE PROGRESS BY RULES ALONE, BUT BY A GENUINE PROCESS OF GROWING TOGETHER.

4. ADENAUER HAD KNOWN THAT THE FREE HALF OF GERMANY COULD ONLY ENJOY PEACE IN FREEDOM IN A COMMUNITY OF LIKE-MINDED STATES. THIS HAD BEEN THE BASIS OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC'S DECISION IN FAVOUR OF EUROPE AND THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. AS HE, KOHL, HAD SAID IN HIS GOVERNMENT STATEMENT (ON COMING TO POWER) IN 1982, THE RAISON D'ETAT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC COMPRISED NOT ONLY THE CONSTITUTIONAL GOAL OF FREEDOM FOR ALL GERMANS, BUT ALSO THE BINDING OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC TO THE ATLANTIC AND TO WESTERN EUROPE. ADENAUER HAD MADE A HISTORIC DECISION: IT WAS IRREVERSIBLE.

5. FOR THIS REASON THE GERMANS MORE THAN OTHER EUROPEANS FELT THEMSELVES COMMITTED TO THE EVER CLOSER UNION OF THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE, AS FORESEEN IN THE TREATY OF ROME. THIS WAS THE SECOND GREAT ATTEMPT THIS CENTURY TO BIND THE GERMANS TO THE WEST. THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE HAD HAD TO PAY DEARLY FOR THE FAILURE OF THE FIRST ATTEMPT AT LOCARNO 60 YEARS AGO. THIS SECOND OPPORTUNITY TO ACHIEVE THE WESTERN INTEGRATION OF GERMANY WAS A HISTORICAL LUXURY WHICH DESERVED TO BE HANDLED WITH CARE.

OBJECTIVES FOR MILAN

6. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD PRESS AT MILAN FOR ADOPTION OF A CLEAR TIMETABLE FOR COMPLETION OF THE INTERNAL MARKET, WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON HIGH TECHNOLOGY.

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7. EUROPEAN UNION, WHICH THE GERMANS WANTED, WOULD ALSO BE A CENTRAL THEME FOR MILAN. IN THE GERMAN VIEW THIS STEP TOWARDS EUROPEAN UNION SHOULD BE TOUPLED WITH A TREATY-BASED ARRANGEMENT FOR POLITICAL COOPERATION, WHICH WOULD SET THIS SECOND PILLAR OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION ON A PERMANENT BASIS.

8. THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT ALSO WANTED INSTITUTIONAL REFORM, PARTICULARLY A RETURN TO THE MAJORITY VOTING PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY OF ROME, AND MORE PARTICIPATION (MITWIRKUNG) OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT.

9. THEY ALSO WANTED A EUROPE WHICH WAS CLOSER TO ITS CITIZENS, PARTICULARLY THROUGH THE OPENING UP OF BORDERS, ON THE PATTERN OF THE FRANCO-GERMAN AGREEMENT.

US/FRANCE/SDI/EUREKA

10. FRANCO-GERMAN COOPERATION HAD ALWAYS BEEN THE MOTOR OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, AND WOULD BE SO IN THE FUTURE. IT WAS NOT A QUESTION OF CHOOSING BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE USA, OR BETWEEN EUROPE AND NATO: BOTH RELATIONSHIPS WERE OF VITAL IMPORTANCE. IT WAS HOWEVER IMPORTANT THAT EUROPE LEARNED TO SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE. THIS WAS ALSO TRUE OF SDI, WHERE IT WAS SELF-EVIDENT TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT THAT THEY SHOULD AIM FOR A COMMON POSITION WITH THEIR MOST IMPORTANT EUROPEAN PARTNERS. THE AIM WAS NOT TO ERECT A COMMON FRONT AGAINST THE USA, BUT TO ENSURE THAT THE SECURITY OF EUROPE WAS NOT UNCOUPLED FROM THAT OF THE USA, AND THAT STRATEGIC STABILITY WAS PRESERVED OR IMPROVED.

11. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAD FROM THE START SUPPORTED THE FRENCH INITIATIVE FOR CLOSER EUROPEAN COOPERATION IN THE TECHNOLOGIES OF THE FUTURE. EUREKA WAS NOT AN ALTERNATIVE TO SDI, BUT RATHER A FURTHER STEP TOWARDS EUROPEAN COLLABORATION IN R AND D. FRANCO-GERMAN RELATIONS WERE NOT UNDER STRAIN. THEIR FRIENDSHIP HAD PROVED ITSELF ON MANY OCCASIONS, AND WOULD CONTINUE TO DO SO.

COMMENT

12. THIS SPEECH IS VINTAGE KOHL IN ITS EXPRESSION OF HIS COMMITMENT TO EUROPE AND TO BINDING THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC TO THE WEST. ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC'S APPROACH TO MILAN (PARAS 6-9), KOHL AVOIDED ANY PRECISION. THERE IS NO MENTION OF THE LUXEMBOURG COMPROMISE, OR OF CO-DEFISION FOR EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT.

FCO PLEASE ADVANCE TO FCO - PS, RENWICK, FAIRWEATHER, SHEPHERD, WALL  
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