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INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON, PARIS, UKREP BRUSSELS, UKDEL NATO
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INFO SAVING CONSULATES GENERAL IN THE FRG

MY IPT: FIRST CALL ON KOHL: GENERAL DISCUSSION.

SUMMARY.

1. HISTORICAL DISQUISITION BY KOHL, DESIGNED TO BE REASSURING ABOUT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC'S ATTACHMENT TO THE WEST AND ABOUT THE LONG TERM NATURE OF HIS HOPE OF REUNIFICATION.

DETAIL.

2. AFTER GREETING ME, KOHL SAID THAT MANY MATTERS DATING FROM 40 YEARS AGO WERE SUDDENLY RAISING THEIR HEADS. WALDHEIM'S PROBLEMS WERE ONE EXAMPLE. ANOTHER WAS THE PHENOMENON OF LE PEN. ANOTHER WAS RENEWED CONTROVERSY IN FRANCE ABOUT THE REISTANCE: THOUGH NOT A BETTING MAN, HE WOULD WAGER THAT THE QUESTION WHETHER PETAIN'S GRAVE SHOULD BE MOVED TO VERDUN WOULD SOON AROUSE ACTIVE CONTROVERSY. ANOTHER POSTWAR QUESTION THAT HAD COME UP AGAIN WAS THE ARGUMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM ABOUT RE-PATRIATION OF RUSSIANS AFTER THE WAR. THE MOST IMPORTANT SUCH QUESTION WAS THE GERMAN QUESTION.

3. PEOPLE HAD THOUGHT THAT THE DIVISION OF GERMANY HAD SETTLED THE GERMAN QUESTION FOR GOOD. NOT SO. THE GERMANS BOTH SIDES OF THE IRON CURTAIN WANTED THAT QUESTION TO REMAIN OPEN. KOHL'S TASK WAS NOT TO WORK TOWARDS REUNIFICATION: MERELY TO ENSURE THAT THE QUESTION OF REUNIFICATION REMAINED OPEN. HE DOUBTED WHETHER HE WOULD LIVE TO SEE MUCH PROGRESS TOWARDS IT. GORBACHEV WOULD NOT DELIVER ANYTHING IN THIS DIRECTION. THE TASK FOR YEARS AHEAD WAS TO GO ON BUILDING UP RELATIONS WITH THE GDR. I INTERJECTED SOME REMARKS ABOUT THE DANGER OF WESTERN EUPHORIA ABOUT GORBACHEV. KOHL AGREED: IT WAS RIDICULOUS THAT PEOPLE WERE ALREADY SUGGESTING THAT GORBACHEV SHOULD BE GIVEN THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE.

4. KOHL SAID THAT TOP PEOPLE IN LONDON DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY FOR THE FEDERAL

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REPUBLIC. THE WAY TOWARDS REUNIFICATION, AS ADENAUER HAD SAID, WAS THROUGH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC'S MEMBERSHIP OF THE WESTERN FAMILY, ITS DEMOCRACY AND ITS PROSPERITY. THE EXAMPLE WOULD IN THE END ATTRACT THE GDR. THE ALLIANCE WAS ESSENTIAL TO THIS APPROACH. SO WAS THE COMMUNITY, BECAUSE THE PROCESS OF INTEGRATING THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC WITH THE OTHER PARTNERS WAS THE ONLY WAY TO MAKE THE WESTERN CHARACTER AND ALIGNMENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC IRREVERSIBLE. KOHL INTENDED, WHILE HE WAS CHANCELLOR, TO REMOVE THE REVERSE GEAR FROM THE GEARBOX OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, SO THAT ANY SUCCESSOR IN THE CHANCELLERY COULD AT WORST SLOW DOWN THAT VEHICLE. WE SHOULD NEVER FORGET THAT EC EUROPE WAS NOT THE WHOLE OF EUROPE. THE SUCCESS OF THE COMMUNITY COULD BE AN EXAMPLE AND A MAGNET IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE. IN THIS, TIME WAS UNQUESTIONABLY ON OUR SIDE.

5. KOHL SAID THAT ANOTHER MATTER NOT FULLY UNDERSTOOD IN LONDON WAS THE DRIFT WESTWARDS IN THE UNITED STATES. HE DISMISSED AS EPHEMERAL MY POINT THAT A BUSH OR DUKAKIS ADMINISTRATION MIGHT INCLUDE A NUMBER OF THE KIND OF AMERICANS WITH WHOM EUROPEANS WERE MOST USED TO DEALING. PACIFIC DRIFT WAS A FURTHER REASON FOR ACCELERATING INTEGRATION IN EUROPE. THE RECONCILIATION AND THE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND FRANCE WERE A CRUCIAL FACTOR IN THAT INTEGRATION. SOME PEOPLE IN LONDON SAW ITS VALUE: OTHERS MISINTERPRETED IT AS UNDERMINING NATO. I EXPLAINED OUR POSITION ON THIS, AND TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO SWITCH THE CONVERSATION TO ANGLO-GERMAN RELATIONS: SEE MIFT.

MALLABY

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