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FM BONN

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 401

OF 281625Z APRIL 88

INFO ROUTINE UKDEL NATO, UKREP BRUSSELS, MODUK, CABINET OFFICE  
INFO SAVING PARIS

MY TELEGRAM NUMBER 399: FIRST CALL ON FEDERAL CHANCELLOR:  
ANGLO-GERMAN RELATIONS

SUMMARY

1. KOHL LOOKING FORWARD TO MEETING THE PRIME MINISTER ON 9 JULY.  
KEEN TO FIND WAYS OF DEVELOPING AND PUBLICISING ANGLO-GERMAN  
RELATIONS.

DETAIL

2. I SAID TO KOHL THAT ANGLO-GERMAN RELATIONS WERE VERY CLOSE AND  
VERY IMPORTANT BUT NOT SUFFICIENTLY RECOGNISED. SINCE THINGS ALMOST  
ALWAYS WENT WELL BETWEEN US, THE PRINCIPLE "GOOD NEWS IS NO NEWS"  
WORKED AGAINST US. WORSE THAN THAT, WHEN WE DID HAVE DIFFERENCES,  
THEY TENDED TO BE EXAGGERATED BY THE MEDIA: POOR NEWS BECAME BAD  
NEWS. THE FACT WAS THAT OUR DEFENCE RELATIONSHIP WAS THE BIGGEST  
EXAMPLE OF BILATERAL EUROPEAN DEFENCE COOPERATION IN THE ALLIANCE.  
OUR COOPERATION IN ARMAMENTS PRODUCTION WAS THE GREATEST BETWEEN ANY  
PAIR OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN VALUE TERMS. OUR TRADE WAS GROWING AND  
WAS VERY IMPORTANT TO BOTH OF US. IN THE EC WE WERE COOPERATING IN  
THE CAUSE OF BUILDING A SINGLE MARKET. THE UNITED KINGDOM WAS THE  
FEDERAL REPUBLIC'S LARGEST SUPPLIER OF OIL, AND THAT WAS A FORCE FOR  
ECONOMIC STABILITY IN EUROPE. OUR CULTURAL RELATIONS WERE VERY  
ACTIVE: THE BRITISH CONTRIBUTION TO THE EVENTS TO MARK BERLIN'S ROLE  
AS EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE 1988 WAS THE GREATEST FROM ABROAD.

3. KOHL NODDED ALL THROUGH THIS AND AGREED ON ALL COUNTS. HE WAS  
LOOKING FORWARD TO HIS INFORMAL MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER AT  
CHEQUERS ON 9 JULY. HE ADDED THAT THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC  
PHILOSOPHIES OF THE BRITISH AND GERMAN GOVERNMENTS WERE CLOSER THAN  
THOSE OF ANY OTHER EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT. HE  
COMPLAINED THAT THE BRITISH MEDIA HAD A LESS FRIENDLY ATTITUDE  
TOWARDS THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC THAN THE MEDIA HERE HAD TOWARDS THE  
UNITED KINGDOM: AND IN THE BRITISH MEDIA THERE WAS "A DEFINITELY  
NEGATIVE VIEW" OF HIMSELF.

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4. I SAID THAT THIS LAST REMARK UNDERLINED MY FEELING THAT MORE SHOULD BE DONE TO BRING HOME TO THE MEDIA AND PUBLIC OPINION THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ANGLO-GERMAN RELATIONSHIP. MY PERSONAL THOUGHTS INCLUDED THAT:

A) OUR FORMAL SUMMIT MEETINGS ONCE A YEAR MIGHT BE SIMPLIFIED BY THE INCLUSION ONLY OF THOSE MINISTERS, BESIDES THE PRIME MINISTER AND YOURSELF, WHO HAD SPECIFIC BUSINESS TO DO

B) THE VISITING HEAD OF GOVERNMENT MIGHT UNDERTAKE SOME PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT IN ADDITION TO THE SUMMIT, SUCH AS A MAJOR SPEECH

C) THE TWO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MIGHT TOGETHER VISIT SOME ANGLO-GERMAN FIRM OR OTHER BODY

D) THE SUMMITS MIGHT TAKE PLACE OUTSIDE CAPITALS

E) THERE SHOULD ALSO BE INFORMAL BILATERAL MEETINGS BETWEEN THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT. THESE TOO COULD BE OUTSIDE CAPITALS. PUBLIC ENGAGEMENTS LIKE SPEECHES AND VISIT TO FIRMS COULD ALSO BE INCLUDED.

F) WHEN WE HAD SOME DEVELOPMENT IN BILATERAL RELATIONS TO ANNOUNCE, WE SHOULD SAVE IT UP FOR A SUMMIT AND ADVERTISE IT STRONGLY THEN. WE SHOULD ALSO WATCH OUT FOR INTERNATIONAL SUBJECTS ON WHICH OUR BILATERAL SUMMITS COULD ISSUE JOINT DECLARATIONS.

5. KOHL SAID HE AGREED WITH EVERY SUGGESTION. THESE IDEAS SHOULD BE FOLLOWED UP, NOT LEAST WHEN HE SAW THE PRIME MINISTER ON 9 JULY. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE CLOSENESS OF BRITISH-GERMAN RELATIONS COULD BE EMPHASISED BY A PUBLIC WALKABOUT BY THE PRIME MINISTER AND HIMSELF, PERHAPS IN THE COUNTRY NEAR CHEQUERS, OR ON A VILLAGE STREET. HE HAD ALREADY MADE A SPEECH IN OXFORD AND WOULD LIKE TO MAKE ONE IN CAMBRIDGE: AND ALSO ONE IN AN INDUSTRIAL CITY, WHERE VISITS TO MODERN FACTORIES WOULD ALSO INTEREST HIM.

## COMMENT

6. I MADE VERY CLEAR THAT THE IDEAS IN PARAGRAPH 4 WERE PERSONAL ONES OF MINE. KOHL'S REACTION SHOWED THAT HE WAS INTERESTED IN CONCRETE SUGGESTIONS WHICH COULD HELP TO CONVINCE THE PUBLIC HERE THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S, AND HIS PERSONAL, RELATIONSHIP WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WAS BETTER THAN IS OFTEN THOUGHT. IF IT IS POSSIBLE TO PUT TO HIM FORMALLY ON 9 JULY SOME OF THE POINTS LISTED ABOVE, I BELIEVE THAT HE WILL AGREE TO THEM.

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INFO SAVING OTHER NATO POSTS, DUBLIN, WARSAW, VIENNA, BUDAPEST  
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.

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FIRST CALL ON FEDERAL CHANCELLOR: 28 APRIL.

1. MY FIRST CALL ON KOHL LASTED 75 MINUTES. WE WERE ALONE.

2. HE BEGAN BY WELCOMING ME. HE SAID HE WAS GLAD THAT YOU HAD SENT  
ANOTHER AMBASSADOR WHO UNDERSTOOD GERMANY WELL. WE WOULD WISH TO  
HAVE REGULAR MEETINGS AND A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH ME. I SHOULD  
SEEK INTERVIEWS FROM TIME TO TIME, AND WHENEVER I HAD SOMETHING  
SPECIAL TO RAISE. HE WOULD NOT WANT MY SPECIAL ACCESS TO BE "STRUNG  
UP IN NEON LIGHTS" SINCE THAT WOULD CAUSE ILL-FEELING AMONG OTHER  
AMBASSADORS IN BONN.

3. KOHL THEN LAUNCHED INTO A CHARACTERISTIC DISQUISITION ABOUT  
GERMAN AND EUROPEAN HISTORY, VERY BRIEFLY SUMMARISED IN MIFT. I  
RAISED ANGLO-GERMAN RELATIONS, AND HE AGREED WITH MY PERSONAL  
SUGGESTIONS OF WAYS IN WHICH WE MIGHT MAKE PUBLIC OPINION RECOGNISE  
THE IMPORTANCE AND EXCELLENCE OF THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP:  
SEE MY SECOND IFT (NOT TO ALL). A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF THE POSSIBLE  
SALE OF TORNADO AIRCRAFT TO JORDAN IS RECORDED IN MY THIRD IFT (NOT  
TO ALL)

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WARSAW  
VIENNA  
BUDAPEST  
ANKARA  
ATHENS  
BRUSSELS  
COPENHAGEN  
LISBON

LUXEMBOURG  
MADRID  
OSLO  
OTTAWA  
REYKJAVIK  
ROME  
THE HAGUE  
CSCE VIENNA  
UKDEL VIENNA

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