

2. 67-1440

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

FILE NO

DATE : 088 DB/DLD / *Red/ta* 11 JUL 59

S-E-C-R-E-T

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TO : DIRECTOR

FROM : BONN

ACTION: EE 6

INFO : DCI, D/DCI, DD/P, COP, A/DD/P/P, CI, CI/OPS, CI/IC, FI, FI/ROM 3, PP 2, PP/PRO, PP/PROP, PP/EAD, 100 4, DD/I, AD/CI, S/C 2, WE 4

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JUL 1 0723Z 59
Harold Aiding

ROUTINE

IN 35585

TO : DIR INFO FRAN FROB HAMB MUNI BRLN(POUCH) CITE BONN 8708

CALL INTEL

RE BONN 8499 (IN 15526)*

1. WE HAVE THUS FAR REFRAINED FROM REPORTING OR COMMENTING UPON ADENAUER DOMESTIC POLITICAL MOVES FOLLOWING REF SINCE THESE EVENTS ADEQUATELY AND ACCURATELY DESCRIBED AND ANALYZED IN PRESS AND EMBASSY REPORTS (SEE EMBASSY CABLES SENT DEPT 2871, 2875, 2884, 2885, 2898). ^{** ** *} ~~Now~~ THAT UNEASY TRUCE REACHED BETWEEN ADENAUER AND ERHARD AS RESULT EXCHANGE LETTERS 22-23 JUNE AND PERIOD OF CALM DURING SUMMER PARLIAMENTARY RECESS SEEMS LIKELY, CERTAIN OBSERVATIONS OF LONG-TERM INTEREST TO ODOYOKE WOULD APPEAR PERTINENT:

A. ADENAUER WAS AND EVIDENTLY STILL IS GRIMLY DETERMINED TO SO DISCREDIT ERHARD PERSONALLY AND POLITICALLY AS TO RENDER IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR LATTER EVER TO SUCCEED HIM AS CHANCELLOR, PRESS INTERVIEWS AND OTHER ADENAUER STATEMENTS REGARDING ERHARD ON AND OFF RECORD WERE DELIBERATELY DESIGNED ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE. REGARDLESS HOW ONE WISHES ASSESS HIS METHODS, ADENAUER BEHAVIOR DURING PAST TWO MONTHS SHOULD NOT BE ASCRIBED TO SENILITY OR DESPERATE EFFORTS POWER HUNGRY OLD MAN REMAIN IN CONTROL PARTY AND GOVERNMENT. [] HAD OPPORTUNITY TO OBSERVE ADENAUER AT CLOSE QUARTERS FOR APPROXIMATELY THREE HOURS AT PALAIS SCHAUMBURG IN COMPANY WITH GROUP GERMAN INDUSTRIALISTS EVENING 3 JUNE AND CAN ATTEST TO FACT THAT HE WAS EVERYTHING BUT SENILE. OTHER OBSERVERS WHO HAVE SEEN HIM SINCE THEN CONFIRM THAT HE CONTINUES BE PHYSICALLY FIRM AND MENTALLY

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SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2008

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ALERT AND THAT WHILE IT MAY HAVE BEEN MADNESS TO EMBARK UPON ERHARD DEFAMATION CAMPAIGN THERE WAS CERTAINLY METHOD IN IT.) IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT ADENAUER REVERSED HIMSELF ON PRESIDENCY ONLY WHEN HE REALIZED HE WOULD NOT BE ABLE NAME HIS SUCCESSOR AS HAD BEEN PROMISED BY CDU PARLIAMENTARY LEADERS. PROSPECT ERHARD AS CHANCELLOR SO ABHORRENT TO ADENAUER THAT HE CHOSE ONLY RECOURSE OPEN TO HIM, NAMELY TO REMAIN CHANCELLOR. WE BELIEVE ADENAUER STILL INTENDS FINISH OFF ERHARD, REGARDLESS OF CONSEQUENCES TO HIMSELF OR PARTY AND THAT HE REGARDS LETTER OF APOLOGY TO ERHARD MERELY AS TEMPORARY EXPEDIENT FORCED UPON HIM BY PARTY LEADERS.

B. ADENAUER EFFORTS DENIGRATE ERHARD HAVE BEEN NOTABLE SUCCESS. WHAT ERHARD GAINED IN SYMPATHY FROM CDU DEPUTIES, PRESS AND PUBLIC OPINION, HE MORE THAN LOST IN STATURE AS POLITICIAN AND PROSPECTIVE CHANCELLOR. ERHARD'S EMOTIONAL, VACILLATING AND GENERALLY INEPT PERFORMANCE DURING PAST FEW WEEKS DID NOT INSPIRE CONFIDENCE IN HIS LEADERSHIP QUALITIES, EVEN AMONG THOSE IN CDU FRAKTION WHO SUPPORTED HIM AND PUBLICLY CONDEMNED ADENAUER. MANY PRIVATELY ADMITTED THAT ADENAUER ASSESSMENT ERHARD AS WEAK AND ESSENTIALLY APOLITICAL PERSONALITY APPARENTLY CORRECT AFTER ALL. WHILE ERHARD STILL MOST LIKELY SUCCEED ADENAUER IF LATTER WERE TO BE INCAPACITATED IN NEAR FUTURE, WE BELIEVE THAT RECENT EVENTS HAVE SO PUNCTURED ERHARD REPUTATION THAT OTHER CANDIDATES FOR SUCCESSION SUCH AS ETZEL, SCHROEDER, STRAUSS, HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED TO CAMPAIGN

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FOR CHANCELLORSHIP MORE ACTIVELY. COMING MONTHS WILL WITNESS EMERGENCE SERIOUS RIVALS TO ERHARD CANDIDACY AND IT NOT UNLIKELY ONE OR MORE OF THESE WILL OVSERHADOW ERHARD BEFORE NEXT ELECTIONS. IF ADENAUER ABLE TO SURVIVE AND WIN 61 ELECTIONS, IT MAY BE ASSUMED THAT ERHARD WILL NOT BE HIS SUCCESSOR.

C. WHILE ADENAUER HAS AGAIN EMERGED KING OF CDU JUNGLE, IT NOT WITHOUT GRAVE AND PROBABLY IRREPARABLE DAMAGE TO HIS PERSONAL AUTHORITY WITHIN CDU AND LOWERED PRESTIGE WITH GERMAN PUBLIC. FOR FIRST TIME IN HIS POST-WAR CAREER, CDU PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION HAS SUCCESSFULLY, IF ONLY TEMPORARILY, SUBJECTED HIM TO PARTY DISCIPLINE AND PUBLICLY CRITICIZED HIS JUDGMENT AND METHODS. NEVERTHELESS, AFTER ADENAUER RELUCTANTLY SIGNED LETTER OF APOLOGY TO ERHARD, CDU PARLIAMENTARIANS BREAHTED COLLECTIVE SIGH OF RELIEF AND THEIR PRESENT MOOD, WITH EXCEPTION SMALL BUT VOCAL GROUP LONGTIME ADENAUER ENEMIES, IS TO LET BYGONES BE BYGONES. DESPITE PUBLIC REVULSION AT ADENAUER METHODS, WE DOUBT WHETHER SUBSTANTIAL PORTION ELECTORATE WOULD FAIL VOTE FOR HIM AND CDU AGAIN IF ELECTIONS WERE TO TAKE PLACE UNDER PRESENT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

D. ALTHOUGH BOTH ADENAUER AND ERHARD HAVE SUSTAINED PERSONAL BLOWS TO THEIR PRESTIGE, CDU FRAKTION HAS EMERGED FROM FRACAS WITH ENHANCED STATURE AND AUTHORITY. IT NOT YET CLEAR, HOWEVER, WHETHER CDU PARLIAMENTARY GROUP WILL BE ABLE TO MAINTAIN AND ASSERT ITS NEWLY WON AUTHORITY OVER ADENAUER IN FUTURE OR WHETHER FRAKTION WILL LARGE AGAIN INTO AMORPHOUS STATE FROM WHICH IT AROSE

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IN MOMENT OF CRISIS. CERTAINLY ADENAUER WILL LOSE NO TIME OR OPPORTUNITY TO REESTABLISH HIMSELF AS UNDISPUTED PARTY AND PARLIMENTARY CHIEF.

E. AS MENTIONED ABOVE, ADENAUER OBJECTION TO ERHARD PRIMARILY PERSONAL, EVEN THOUGH HE OFTEN CHOOSES EXPRESS HIS OPPOSITION IN TERMS ERHARD FIALURE PROVIDE ADEQUATE SUPPORT FOR COMMON MARKET AND OTHER EUROPEAN INTEGRATION INSTITUTIONS AND POLICIES. OVER THE YEARS AND PARTICULARLY IN RECENT MONTHS, ADENAUER HAS MADE CLEAR THAT HE REGARDS ERHARD AS WEAK CHARACTER, LACKING DEVOTION TO WESTERN CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION AND FAILING GRASP SINISTER NATURE COMMUNIST THREAT TO FREE WORLD. IT IS THEREFORE OUT OF QUESTION THAT ERHARD CAN EVER HOPE WIN ADENAUER CONFIDENCE EVEN IF HE OFFERS ADOPT ADENAUER'S EUROPEAN POLICIES. SECOND PHASE ADENAUER CAMPAIGN DEGRADE ERHARD WILL PROBABLY TAKE MORE SUBTLE FORM OF WHITTILING AWAY ERHARD RESPONSIBILITIES WITHIN CABINET. ADENAUER MAY BE EXPECTED RESUME EFFORTS, INTERRUPTED BY CDU FRAKTION LEADERS, TO STRIP ERHARD MINISTRY OF FUNCTIONS RELATED COMMON MARKET AND EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS AND TRANSFER THEM TO FOROFF AND FINANCE MINISTRY.

F. IN CONTRAST ADENAUER APPROACH ERHARD PROBLEM, THERE INDICATIONS THAT COHERENT SEGMENT ERHARD SUPPORTERS WITHIN CDU INTEND CONTINUE CONTROVERSY NOT MERELY AGAINST ADENAUER PERSONALLY AND HIS RUTHLESS METHODS BUT ALSO AGAINST POLICIES WITH WHICH HIS NAME SO CLOSELY IDENTIFIED. INITIALLY, THIS LIKELY TAKE FORM OF ATTACKING ADENAUER'S EXCLUSIVE RELIANCE UPON FRANCO-GERMAN AXIS TO DETRIMENT

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ANGLO-GERMAN RELATIONS. FIRST SPECIFIC ISSUE WILL BE FTA VERSUS COMMON MARKET. INCLUDED AMONG CDU POLITICIANS WHO HAVE ADOPTED ERHARD POSITION ON FTA AND DEMAND FOR BROADER FEDREP ECONOMIC HORIZONS THAN COMMON MARKET ARE MANY WHO SINCERELY CONCERNED ABOUT DETERIORATION ANGLO-GERMAN RELATIONS AND WISH SEE POSITIVE MEASURES FOR IMPROVEMENT. BUT ERHARD GROUP WARRANTS CLOSE ODOYKE OBSERVATION BECAUSE THERE ARE OTHERS WHO REGARD THIS AS OPPORTUNITY UNDERMINE AND REVISE ADENAUER FOREIGN POLICY OF WHICH FEDREP INTEGRATION INTO EUROPEAN AND NATO COMMUNITIES IS FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE.

G. IMPLICIT IN SITUATION OUTLINE PART F ABOVE IS DANGER THAT RESUMPTION ADENAUER FEUD WITH ERHARD AND, IN LAST ANALYSIS WITH CDU FRAKTION, WILL AROUSE SO MUCH RESENTMENT AGAINST ADENAUER PERSONALLY THAT IT BOUND HAVE ADVERSE EFFECT ON FOREIGN POLICY WITH WHICH HE ASSOCIATED. IT UNREALISTIC EXPECT THAT EVEN SOPHISTICATED POLITICIANS CAN MAIN OVER LONG PERIOD TIME SCHIZOPHRENIC ATTITUDE OF DETESTING ADENAUER WHILE ENTHUSIASTICALLY SUPPORTING POLICIES WHICH VIRTUALLY SYNONYMOUS WITH HIS NAME. CDU LEADERS AND POLITICAL OBSERVERS WITH WHOM WE HAVE DISCUSSED THIS PROBLEM ASSERT THAT SATURATION POINT WHICH MIGHT BRING ON IRRATIONAL POLITICAL BEHAVIOR ON PART CDU DEPUTIES WAS NOT REACHED EVEN AT HEIGHT THEIR REVULSION AGAINST ADENAUER EARLIER THIS MONTH. CDU LEADERS DO, HOWEVER, RECOGNIZE DANGER IF ADENAUER CONTINUES DISPLAY SUCH CALLOUS DISREGARD FOR SENSITIVITIES PARTY RANK AND FILE OVER PROLONGED PERIOD TIME.

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H. ALL INDICATIONS POINT TO ADENAUER INTENTION REMAIN PARTY CHAIRMAN AS WELL AS CHANCELLOR, DESPITE HIS EARLIER EXPRESSED VIEW THAT THESE TWO POSTS SHOULD BE SEPARATED. HE WILL PROBABLY FIND SOME PLAUSIBLE EXPLANATION SUCH AS GRAVITY INTERNATIONAL SITUATION TO JUSTIFY RETENTION PARTY CHAIRMANSHIP AT LEAST UNTIL AFTER 61 ELECTIONS. TO FACILITATE HIS DECISION, ADENAUER MAY BE EXPECTED TO ENCOURAGE RIVALRIES AMONG PARTY CHAIRMANSHIP CONTENDERS WHO AT MOMENT ARE KRONE, MEYERS, VON HASSEL, KIESINGER.

2. FOREGOING OBSERVATIONS INTENDED FOR INTERNAL KUBARK BACKGROUND USE BUT MAY, AT HQS DISCRETION, BE GIVEN FURTHER DISSEM WASH. FRAN: REQUEST NO FIELD DISSEM.

3. SUBSTANCE ABOVE DISCUSSED WITH AMBASSADOR AND APPROPRIATE EMBASSY OFFICERS.

END OF MESSAGE

C/S Comments: *Bonn reviews regarding Adenauer succession ramifications.

**OCR/CB notified of references.

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