

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, as amended, Sect 3.5

NSC/Soubers to Smith 09/06/2002

By hrc Date 02/06/07

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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December 29, 1970

NATIONAL SECURITY STUDY MEMORANDUM 111

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

SUBJECT: Study of Four Power Negotiations on Berlin  
and Implications of Ostpolitik

References: NSDM 91; Chancellor Brandt's  
Letter of December 15, 1970

1. The President wishes to review the four-power negotiations in Berlin and the alternatives we might adopt in the next phase. The review should include (1) a statement of the main issues, and the positions adopted by the USSR, the Western Allies, and where pertinent, the attitude of the West German government; (2) the currently agreed Western position, including fallback positions not presented to the USSR; and (3) the view points of our Allies and Bonn on how to proceed in the next phase. On this basis, the study should present and discuss the various approaches we could adopt on the main issues, and evaluate the effects that would result. This evaluation should build on the policy guidelines outlined in NSDM-91.
2. This study should be undertaken by a working group established by the Chairman of the European Interdepartmental Group, and should be submitted by January 12, 1971.
3. The President also wishes a longer term study to cover the consequences of various developments in the Eastern policy of the West German government. This study should assume (a) the success of the Berlin talks and subsequent ratification of the Soviet and Polish treaties, and (b) the failure of the Berlin talks and the consequences. In particular, the study should examine longer term problems such as the problems associated with the international recognition of East Germany, admission to the UN, questions relating to our rights and responsibilities for Berlin and Germany as a whole, domestic

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problems inside West Germany, our relations with Bonn, and Bonn's relations with its Western allies, as well as the effects on Soviet policy and Eastern European attitudes under the alternative assumptions.

4. The same group indicated in paragraph 2, will be charged with this study, with completion by February 10, 1971.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Henry A. Kissinger". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Henry A. Kissinger

cc: Chairman, The Joint Chiefs of Staff