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
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.

Henry A. Kissinger

cc: Chairman, The Joint Chiefs of Staff