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## WITHDRAWAL SHEET **Ronald Reagan Library**

Collection: EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: Records Country File File Folder: Germany, FRG Vol. III 9/1/81 - 12/31/81 (6)

Archivist: smf FOIA ID: F97-030 (Friedrich) Date: 05/24/00

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#### SUBJEC: / IIILE DOCUMENT NO & TYPE

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7. statement	translation 1p K 4/27/01 F=97-030/2 #77	<del>n.d.</del>	- <u>P1/F1</u>
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### RESTRICTIONS

P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA]. P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].

P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].

P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or

financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]. P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and

his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]. P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]. F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an

agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]. F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].

F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].

F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].

F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].

F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

# **PENDING REVIEW IN ACCORDANCE WITH E.O. 13233**

## **Ronald Reagan Library**

4-MEMO	NANCE TO THOMAS RE CRANE	MVH 3/19/	<b>08</b> 12/17/1981	
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PROPOSAL

17 15 / 1981



WASHINGTON

December 17, 1981

CONFIDENTIAL WITH CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR ED THOMAS

FROM:

BUD NANCE

SUBJECT: State Follow-Up To Crane Proposal on German Reunification

As a follow-up to the November 20 response which Mr. Meese sent Phil Crane concerning the latter's proposal for a U.S. initiative on German reunification (see copy at Tab B), we asked State to provide more detailed analysis on the Crane suggestion. The memo at Tab A summarizes State's position and expresses the view that 1) a Soviet proposal of the kind Crane foresaw is unlikely at the present time; and 2) it would not be in our interest for the U.S. to launch a major reunification initiative now. State confirms, in other words, our own disinclination to proceed with the Crane idea.

Accordingly, I see no need for Mr. Meese to be involved any further with this matter at the present time; this is particularly true since the Polish crisis would be likely in any case to change the terms of the situation which initially prompted Congressman Crane's suggestion.

Tab A State Memo Tab B November 20 Response to Mr. Crane

CONFIDENTIAL WITH DECLASSIF CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT F97-030 NIS Review on 12/15/87 BY LOT NARA, DATE





DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

December 10, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. JAMES W. NANCE THE WHITE HOUSE 81 DEC 10 P10: 41

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

Subject: German Reunification

SUMMARY: With reference to the Lenz/Bremer memorandum of November 30, 1981, the Department has considered Congressman Crane's suggestion of a U.S. initiative calling for German reunification and has concluded that the idea has merit if undertaken in the form of a restatement by the President of the long-standing commitment of the United States to the eventual peaceful reunification of Germany.

The Congressman has suggested such an initiative as a means of preempting a possible Soviet move calling for reunification of Germany during the Brezhnev visit. Since his letter was written, Brezhnev visited Bonn and put forward no such proposal. In fact, we are aware of only one example in post-war history of such a Soviet proposal. This occurred in 1952 in the form of a letter to then Chancellor Adenauer. The Soviet proposal was vague and was clearly designed to prevent the integration of West Germany into the Western security system. It came at a time when FRG participation in the European Defense Community (EDC) was at a particularly delicate stage. Adenauer gave the Soviet proposal short shrift, and "revisionist" FRG observers today claim that in so doing, Adenauer missed an historic opportunity.

Our analysis is that it is extremely unlikely that the Soviets would now make such a proposal for two reasons: (1) the Soviets appear to have genuine fears of a reunified Germany, as reflected in over three decades of propaganda about German militarism and revanchism, and (2) the Soviets appear to have no current interest in introducing a major destabilizing factor in central Europe--and it is clear that a proposal for German reunification would be such a factor in the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia and perhaps in the Soviet Union itself. One circumstance in which we believe the Soviets might be induced to make such a proposal today would be to frighten sufficiently an unresponsive Polish Government so as to make that government more concerned about a Soviet security guarantee against a reunited Germany. At this point, however, we do not see this as a likely possibility.

GDS 12/8/87

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The Department further believes that it would not be in U.S. interest for the United States now to launch a major initiative calling for reunification. Such an initiative would not be welcomed by other key allies, including the United Kingdom, France and the Benelux countries. It would also be highly unsettling in the Federal Republic, adding to and complicating the difficult situation which the government of the Federal Republic now faces. Such an initiative would also be viewed as aggressive and threatening in, at a minimum, East Berlin, Warsaw, and Moscow.

The Department believes, however, that a Presidential statement reaffirming the United States commitment to the eventual peaceful reunification of Germany would be useful. Such a statement should be along the lines of that made by former President Carter in Berlin in 1978; e.g.:

"The constant commitment of the Western Allies, ever since the NATO organization was formed, ever since the Second World War was over, is for the reunification of Germany, based upon the self-determination of the German people yourselves. And this is a commitment that I believe ought to be maintained and an ultimate hope that should be carefully preserved.

We are not trying to impose our will upon the German people. But when the German people approach the time of making a decision for yourselves that Germany should be reunited and Berlin again be the capital of unified Germany, we would certainly welcome that time and we look forward to it with our prayers and our constant hope."

With regard to Congressman Crane's suggestion of an expression of support for reunification from the Congress, such an expression exists in Section 4, S. Con. Res. 36, 83d Congress of August 3, 1953. This could be restated perhaps in conjunction with, and in support of, a statement by the President.

Kothe me Shily for

L. Paul Bremer, III Executive Secretary

#### Dear Phil:

Warms thanks for your 15 September note and the thoughtful letter to the President which accompanied it.

The initiative you propose — calling for German reunification as a means of preempting another Brezhnev propaganda offensive — is indeed an interesting idea and deserves thorough consideration. With that in mind, I have asked Al Haig and Dick Allen to review it and determine what further steps, if any, might be in order.

There is no doubt that we must be increasingly alert to Soviet propaganda efforts and counter them as effectively as possible. As you probably know, Charlie Wick's International Communication Agency is already addressing this problem through "Project Truth," and the State Department, in collaboration with our embassies, is also mounting a public affairs program geared especially to European audiences. Any initiative involving the Federal Republic -- particularly one as farreaching as German reunification -- would, of course, need to be carefully prepared and coordinated not only with the present German leadership but also the major political parties.

Your views are always welcome here, and I appreciate your thoughtfulness in sharing them with us.

Sincerely,

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EDWIN MEESE III Counsellor to the President

The Honorable Philip M. Crane U.S. House of Representatives Washington, D. C. 20515

RVAllen:chd 11/20/81

cc: Ed Meese chron. file Loick Allen Secretary Al Haig, State Department



16 SEP 1981

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515 9/15/81 PHILIP M. CRANE LLINOIS Jean Ed Would you 12 80 kind as to bring this to the attention of the Resident? Your views on This problem would be appreciated, too. Bent regards, Die

PHILIP M. CRANE

WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE

> SUCCOMMITTEES: OVERSIGHT HEALTH SOCIAL SECURITY



оручсез, Suite 1035 Longworth Duilding Washington, D.C., 20315 202/223-3711

DAVIO J. ALLEN ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Suite 101 1450 South New Wilke Road Arlington Heights, Illingig 60005 312/394-0790

## **Congress of the United States** House of Representatives Washington, D.C. 20515

September 16, 1981

The Honorable Ronald W. Reagan The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I have returned recently from a series of meetings with private citizens and government officials in West Germany in which the growing influence of pacifist, terrorist, and pro-Soviet groups was assessed.

Although you are better informed than I about the deteriorating situation in West Germany, I am increasingly alarmed at both the depth and breadth of pro-Soviet and anti-American sentiment which has recently manifested itself in a number of ugly incidents.

Rather than comment on these issues, I would like to address one possible near-term development and suggest a prospective general strategy for your consideration.

During my trip it was reported that President Brezhnev, in his November visit to West Germany, would launch a new propaganda initiative to capitalize on the growing anti-American mood and stimulate dissolution of Allied resolve with a call for the reunification of Germany.

Although devoid of practical potential, such a move may exacerbate the already disquieting trends toward so called "Creative Solutions" including independent negotiations and agreements with the Communists detrimental to the interests of the United States.

Among both conservatives and some officials in West Germany there is concern that such a Brezhnev proposal will not only command more legitimacy than may otherwise be the case, but that it could serve as a wedge between America and one of its most stratigically significant allies. Based on my observations, the prospect of a "neutralist" or anti-American West Germany within the very near future is not as incredible as one may at first imagine.

I would like to suggest a course of action which might possibly preclude or at least blunt such an initiative if in fact it should materialize. That proposal is simply one of preemption.

By taking the initiative in calling for German reunification under certain well-specified preconditions -- ie., freedom of speech, press and association, as well as free elections and withdrawal of forces from both Germanies <u>prior</u> to the conclusion of a peace treaty, you could direct the argument both in the United States and abroad along lines which would make it difficult for the Soviets to put us in a reactionary or defensive position to their version of such a proposal. By highlighting and making indispensible these stipulations, the Soviets would be forced to publically assent to the legitimacy of conditions they would in fact never be disposed to accept -- a truly free and independent Germany with quaranteed borders.

Although you are better able than I to weigh the pros and cons of such a strategy, I wanted to convey to you the sense of anxiety which the evolving West German situation has aroused, as well as a possible preemptive move against a potential Soviet ploy.

In the event you do not feel this would be an appropriate course of action for your administration to initiate, I would be most appreciative if you would apprise me of your feelings with respect to such a proposal arising from the Congress.

Respectfully yours,

Philip M. Crane, M.C.

PMC/api

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

ACTION

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6217

November 30, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR L. PAUL BREMER III Executive Secretary Department of State

SUBJECT: German Reunification

Attached for the Department's information and appropriate followup action is an exchange of correspondence between Representative Philip M. Crane and Counselor to the President Edwin Meese III.

In line with Counselor Meese's reply to the Congressman's proposal concerning German reunification, the NSC would specifically welcome receiving the Department's assessment of this idea, with emphasis on its implications for Alliance security and East-West relations.

len Staff/Direct

Attachment:

Exchange of Correspondence



## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

### ACTION

November 30, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR ALLEN J. LENZ

FROM: JAMES M. RENTSCHLER

SUBJECT: Tasker to State on German Reunification

Your memo to Bremer (Tab I) tasks State with providing a substantive follow-up to the exchange of correspondence between Ed Meese and Congressman Phil Crane on the subject of German reunification (Tab A).

#### **RECOMMENDATION:**

That you sign the memo to Bremer at Tab I.

Approve As Amended

Tab I Memo to Bremer A - Background Information & Exchange of Correspondence Between Meese and Phil Crane



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Dear Phil:

Warms thanks for your 15 September note and the thoughtful letter to the President which accompanied it.

The initiative you propose -- calling for German reunification as a means of preempting another Brezhnev propaganda offensive -- is indeed an interesting idea and deserves thorough consideration. With that in mind, I have asked Al Haig and Dick Allen to review it and determine what further steps, if any, might be in order.

There is no doubt that we must be increasingly alert to Soviet propaganda efforts and counter them as effectively as possible. As you probably know, Charlie Wick's International Communication Agency is already addressing this problem through "Project Truth," and the State Department, in collaboration with our embassies, is also mounting a public affairs program geared especially to European audiences. Any initiative involving the Federal Republic -- particularly one as farreaching as German reunification -- would, of course, need to be carefully prepared and coordinated not only with the present German leadership but also the major political parties.

Your views are always welcome here, and I appreciate your thoughtfulness in sharing them with us.

Sincerely,

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EDWIN MEESE III Counsellor to the President

NSC # 6217

X The Honorable Philip M. Crane U.S. House of Representatives Washington, D. C. 20515

RVAllen:chd 11/20/31

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cc / Ed Meese chron. file Dick Allen Secretary Al Haig, State Department

### MEMORANDUM

## THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

ACTION

November 12, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR ED MEESE

FROM: DICK ALLEN Ow

SUBJECT: Phil Crane and German Reunification

Phil Crane's German reunification proposal is an interesting idea, but one whose time has not yet come. Public discussion of such an eventuality would generate lively controversy, not only among our allies but inside our own government. Unmanaged, it could have a particularly devastating effect on German public opinion at the present time (at a minimum such an idea would require the most careful kind of discussion and consultation with the FRG leadership and the opposition).

While we develop a more detailed analysis of the implications and consequences of the idea Phil recommends (particularly on the security effects in Central Europe flowing from removal of the 250,000-man Bundeswehr forces from NATO defenses), I suggest you send him a polite note along the lines of the attached.

**RECOMMENDATION:** 

That yo	ou sign	the letter	to	Phil	Crane	at	Tab A	۷.
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Tab A Letter to Phil Crane

Tab B Incoming Letter from Phil Crane

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

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PHILIP M. CRANE

Jean Ed-

PHILIP M. CRANE MEMBER OF CONGRESS 12TH DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS

WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE

> SUBCOMMITTEES: OVERSIGHT HEALTH SOCIAL SECURITY



OFFICES: SUITE 1035 LONGWORTH BUILDING WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515 202/225-3711

DAVID J. ALLEN ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Suite 101 1450 South New Wilke Road Arlington Heights, Illingis 60003 312/394-0790

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## **Congress of the United States Bouse of Representatives**

Washington, D.C. 20515

September 16, 1981

The Honorable Ronald W. Reagan The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

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Respectfully yours, Philip M. Crane, M.C.

PMC/api

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

TO: RVA

27N081

SUBJ: Transcript of Schmidt's Weds. Call to Pres.

ick, before meeting with von Staden this morning you might want to skim very quickly the follow-up phone call which Schmidt made to the President on Weds.

Jim R.

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CONFÌQENTIAL

November 28, 1981

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

RICHARD V. ALLEN

SUBJECT: German Debrief of Brezhnev Visit to Bonn 🖎

As prefigured in your recent phone conversations with Chancellor Schmidt, senior diplomatic envoy Berndt von Staden was in town on Friday to brief us on the Brezhnev visit. I spent an hour and a half with him, and later he saw Al Haig. A quick summary of von Staden's presentation includes the following key points:

-- Von Staden confirmed that your speech made a very positive contribution to the visit; in addition to the usefulness of the timing (Margaret Thatcher's presence in Bonn directly preceding Brezhnev's enhanced the positive impact of Allied reaction), the speech contents put the Soviets on the defensive and made it easier for the Germans to discuss strategic matters with them.

-- The Chancellor, according to von Staden, repeatedly made it clear that the U.S. means business in the proposals you have advanced and that there is a firm determination on the German side to proceed with full INF deployments if progress is not achieved in the Geneva talks.

-- Von Staden clarified the Soviet-German arms control "consultations" commitment which came out of the Brezhnev visit and emphasized that the word "consultations" was never used by the German side. What the Germans have in mind are exchanges at the Ambassadorial level which will be used to "interpret" and "impress upon" the Soviets the common Western position vis-a-vis Geneva and our determination to stick with the two-track NATO decision on INF.

-- Von Staden reviewed the essence of Soviet proposals in Bonn, highlighting German rejection of both the old moratorium idea and the "goodwill" offer to remove unilaterally some weapons from the Western part of the Soviet Union (which, because of the range problem, would have no meaningful effect on the present threat). He also identified several new elements in the Coviet position, in particular 1) apparent Soviet willingness to proceed step-by-step on arms control matters; and 2) willingness to

CONFIDENTIAL Review on 11/28/87

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negotiate "significant" reductions of intermediate range weaponry, by which the Soviets mean "hundreds" rather than "tens" or "scores" of systems.

-- The Germans were impressed by apparently genuine Soviet concern over the capacity of modernized INF systems to reach Soviet territory - a concern which von Staden asserted the Germans did nothing to diminish.

-- On START, von Staden said that the Soviets wanted to continue negotiations in such a way as to preserve the "benefits" of past arms limitation agreements but expressed concern that we were ready to write off SALT II.

Von Staden briefly reviewed a number of other issues which came up during the Brezhnev visit, including the Madrid Conference (the Soviets persist in asking for extension of the geographical area "into parts of the Atlantic"); Poland (Brezhnev seemed relatively moderate on the subject though emphasizing that the Soviets could tolerate no change from the "post-war configuration"); China (a very negative Soviet attitude); and bilateral problems (the Germans pushed for a more benevolent Soviet attitude on the two million ethnic Germans within the Soviet Union and brought up some specific hardship cases).

Von Staden concluded with a few remarks concerning Brezhnev's general health and appearance along the lines Schmidt mentioned to you in his Wednesday phone call (see transcript at Tab A for quick skim).

Attachment: Tab A Telephone conversation btw Schmidt and Reagan

cc: The Vice President The Secretary of State Ed Meese Jim Baker Mike Deaver

CONFIDENTIAL

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### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

November 27, 1981

UNCLASSIFIED w/SECRET Attachment

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: JIM RENTSCHLER

SUBJECT: Von Staden Debrief on Brezhnev Visit

As per our exchange earlier this morning, your memo to the President (Tab I) provides a summary of your meeting with Berndt von Staden on the Brezhnev visit to Bonn. I have also included a clean copy of the transcript covering the November 25 Schmidt-Reagan telcon (Tab A) which may help the President put von Staden's visit in perspective (and in one fell swoop take care of including the Secretary of State and other principals on distribution for that material).

**RECOMMENDATION:** 

4

That you sign the memo to the President at Tab I.

Approve ; As amended

Attachments: Tab I RVA memo to President A Telcon btw President and Schmidt

cc: Dennis Blair Dick Pipes Bill Stearman Sven Kraemer	DECLASSIFIED / RELEASED
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Translation 105-3513/81

## Anlage 2

In the course of the actual negotiations with the United States, we shall strongly urge extensive reductions on both sides in the number of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. It is obvious that the actual figures will have to be established during the negotiations themselves. As far as our side is concerned, we would be prepared to effect reductions involving not just dozens but hundreds of weapons of this category. I repeat: hundreds of these weapons. This is our standpoint.

And if our negotiating partners show that they are willing to agree on the complete renunciation by both sides - the East and the West - of all types of medium-range nuclear weapons aimed at targets in Europe, we shall support this.

Indeed, we advocate that Europe ultimately be free from nuclear weapons - both medium-range and tactical weapons. This would be true fulfilment of a zero option in the true sense of the word - a just solution for all sides.

NLS F97030/2 #77 Cas, NARA, DATE 4/27/01

Ausgabe: 1203

Datum:

## NFORMATIONEN

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# DER SOZIALDEMOKRATISCHEN BUNDESTAGSFRAKTION

24. November 1981 KT/Ka

## Betr.: Fraktionssitzung

In der heutigen Sitzung der Sozialdemokratischen Bundestagsfraktion führte Bundeskanzler Helmut S c h m i d t zum Besuch des sowjetischen Generalsekretärs Leonid Breschnew u.a. folgendes aus:

Die Gespräche sind in der Atmosphäre sehr angenehm, in der Sache nicht einfach. Das letztere hat auch niemand anders erwartet. Sie sind übrigens noch nicht abgeschlossen – über bilaterale Beziehungen haben zum Beispiel Leonid Breschnew und ich noch nicht sehr viel geredet. Aber ich kann jetzt schon sagen, daß mich diese Gespräche voll befriedigt haben. Es gibt dafür eine Reihe von Gründen, über die ich sprechen will.

Zum ersten: Wir haben nicht nur öffentlich, sondern auch hinter verschlossenen Türen sehr klar und sehr ehrlich miteinander sprechen können. Und dies geschah - und ich wäge meine Worte - auf der Grundlage eines gegenseitigen Vertrauens in die Stetigkeit der Politik und die persönliche Redlichkeit der jeweils anderen Seite, einer Grundlage, wie sie sich im Laufe der Jahre sowohl zwischen den beiden Außenministern als auch zwischen dem Generalsekretär und mir gebildet hat. Und vielleicht darf ich hinzufügen, daß ich mich persönlich sehr gefreut habe über das Wiedersehen, über den Verlauf der Gespräche und insbesondere über das freundschaftliche Klima.

Was die Sache angeht, so verlaufen diese Gespräche im deutlichen Vertrauen auf den gegenseitigen Willen zur Partnerschaft, zur Sicherheitspartnerschaft, würde ich es formulieren. Wir wissen voneinander, daß dem anderen es ebenso um die Stabilität des Friedens geht. Deswegen hört man zu und überlegt, auch jenseits aller öffentlichen Geräusche, die sicherlich sich noch verstärken können oder noch variiert werden, welche Folgerungen für die eigene Politik zu ziehen sind. Wir haben dabei keinen Zweifel daran gelassen, daß hier zwei Ungleiche miteinander reden, auf der einen Seite eine nuklerare Weltmacht und auf der anderen Seite des Tisches ein nicht nuklearer Staat mittlerer Bedeutung, der allerdings nach seiner geographischen Lage und nach seiner Geschichte an der Sicherheit in Europa, am Frieden in Europa ein besonders hohes nationales Interesse hat.

Breschnew und ich haben sehr bewußt als Vertreter jener Genera tionen gesprochen, die den letzten Krieg voll miterlebt haben, mit erlitten haben, mitgemacht haben.

Wir Deutschen hatten und haben weiterhin bei alledem eine ganz wichtige-und das haben wir so erwartet, das ist so eingetroffen - Dolmetscherfunktion zu erfüllen. Es ist überdeutlich, daß die sowjetische Führung die Absichten der amerikanischen Führung und ihrer Führer noch nicht richtig einschätzen kann.

Ein wesentlicher Teil der Gespräche galt also unserem Bemühen, unseren Gesprächspartnern, die ernste Verhandlungsabsicht und den Willen der Amerikaner plausibel zu machen, zu wirklichen Reduzierungen zu gelangen. Ein Mißverständnis wird sicherlich in den Kreisen von Berufspolitikern, die wir fast ja alle sind, nicht eingetreten sein, was von einigen in der Presse kultiviert werden mag, das Mißverständnis, als ob hier über Fragen verhandelt würde, über die erst ab nächsten Montag in Genf verhandelt wird.

Niemand konnte erwarten, und jedenfalls haben wir nicht erwartet, daß die Sowjetunion sieben Tage vor dem eigentlichen Verhandlungsbeginn in Genf bereit sein würde, ihre ja schon öffentlich vorgetragene Verhandlungsposition noch zu korrigieren, zu verändern oder Zugeständnisse auch nur anzudeuten.

- 2 -

-3-

Ebenso wenig at die sowjetische Führun Brwartet, daß wir etwas anderes als die westliche Verhandlungsposition erläutern würden, die wir ja sehr aktiv mitgestaltet hatten. Unsere Gespräche sind aber für beide Seiten so wesentlich, daß wir in dieser zentralen Frage der Verhandlungsgegenstände in Genf und der Verhandlungen, die in Genf geführt werden müssen – und ich habe sehr unterstrichen, daß dazu weniger als zwei Jahre zur Verfügung stehen, um zu einem wesentlichen Ergebnis zu kommen-, daß wir während dieser Verhandlungen in Genf in dieser zentralen Frage auch bilateral miteinander im Gespräch bleiben werden. Wir Deutschen verhandeln nicht, wir können aber hilfreich sein und wir müssen das auch im eigenen nationalen Interesse immer wieder versuchen, zu sein. Natürlich war das zentrale Thema von Herrn Breschnew eingeführt: Die Rüstungskontrollproblematik.

Ich habe nach all diesen Gesprächen keinen Zweifel an dem ernsthaften Willen der sowjetischen Führung über die Genfer Verhandlungen zu wesentlichen Reduzierungen im Bereich der Mittelstreckenwaffen zu kommen. Wir haben uns, ich wiederhole das, unsererseits bemüht, ernste sowjetische Zweifel an der Glaubwürdigkeit der amerikanischen Position und an der ernsten Verhandlungsbereitschaft der amerikanischen Führung auszuräumen.

Ich will hier hinzufügen, daß die Sowjetunion ernste Sorge vor der Stationierung amerikanischer Mittelstreckenwaffen auf europäischem Boden hat (zuletzt hatte es bis 1963 in drei Ländern Europas am Boden stationierte amerikanische Mittelstreckenwaffen gegeben, die sowjetische Ziele erreichen konnten). Das macht der Sowjetführung ernste Sorgen. Ich habe ihr diese Sorgen weder nehmen können noch nehmen wollen. Vielmehr habe ich betont, daß ihre Sorgen

unseren Sorgen entsprechen, unseren eigenen Sorgen vor der wachsenden sowjetischen Raketenkapazität, die auf Westeuropa gerichtet ist.

Und ich habe deshalb die beiderseitige Null-Lösung für landgestützte Raketen in den Vordergrund unserer Argumentation gestellt. Ich habe nicht verschwiegen, daß das politische Schicksal dieser Bundesregierung mit dem Doppelbeschluß in seinen beiden Teilen verknüpft ist.

Die sowjetische Bereitschaft, wenn auch gegenwärtig mit vielen Bedingungen verknüpft, zu einer einseitigen Vorleistung in der Reduzierung ihrer Mittelstreckenwaffen deutet darauf hin, daß die sowjetische Führung sehr deutlich die Notwendigkeit von Es zeigte sich in den Gesprächen auch bei aller Unterschiedlichkeit in der Beurteilung der tatsächlichen Gewichte, bei aller Unterschiedlichkeit in der Präsentation der tatsächlichen Gewichte beiderseits, es zeigte sich auch, daß die Sowjets ebenso wie wir eine etappenweise, eine phasenweise Lösung ins Auge fassen.

Zu den sowjetischen Moratoriumsvorschlägen habe ich daran erinnert, daß die Sowjetunion 1978 ein annäherndes Gleichgewicht als gegeben ansah und dies öffentlich so erklärt hat, daß aber seitdem die Zahl der SS 20-Sprengköpfe von damals 150 auf gegenwärtig 750 erhöht worden ist.

Ich möchte vor dem Ende der Gespräche noch nicht über die übrigen Themen berichten, über die der Bundesaußenminister und ich mit den Herren Gromyko und Breschnew gesprochen haben. Aber ich möchte einen Satz aus dem gestrigen eröffnenden Delegationsgespräch hier wiederholen dürfen, den ich gesprochen habe, zu Herrn Breschnew und zu Herrn Gromyko und der ganzen sowjetischen Delegation gewandt:

"Ich spüre Ihren Willen zum Frieden, und ich hoffe, daß auch Sie unseren Willen zum Frieden spüren."

Und ich kann heute hinzufügen, daß ich überzeugt bin, daß das letztere auch tatsächlich der Fall ist. Auch die sowjetische Führung spürt unseren Willen zum Frieden und unsere ernsthafte konkrete Entschlossenheit, zu Lösungen beizutragen.

Vorletztes Wort: Als ich gestern in einem privaten Gespräch im kleinsten Kreise mit Herrn Breschnew, um die Bedeutung eines Arguments, das ich vortrug, zu unterstreichen, gesagt habe: "Ich habe Sie, Herr Generalsekretär, in den letzten acht Jahren, in denen wir sechs oder sieben Mal ausführliche Gespräche hatten, ich habe Sie in den letzten acht Jahren unserer Gespräche niemals irre geführt" – und ich wollte dann den Satz fortsetzen- ist er mir ins Wort gefallen und hat sehr demonstrativ gesagt: "Das ist wahr." Ich bin mal so indiskret , das hier zu erzählen, um auf

- 5 -

diese Weise zu illustrieren, daß das Vertrauen in die Partnerschaftlichkeit der anderen Seite wirklich echt ist.

Und hier sprechen in der Tat - ich wiederhole einen Gedanken, den ich gestern abend in einer Tischrede schon ausgesprochen hatte - zwei Angehörige einer Generation, die den letzten Krieg aus eigener soldatischer Erfahrung kennen, die Europa von Calais bis Moskau zerstört gesehen haben, von Rotterdam und Köln und Dresden bis Warschau und Leningrad zerstört gesehen haben. Und die wissen, was Krieg und was Tod und was Flucht und Zerstörung und Verlust von Heimat bedeuten.

Es wird morgen ein Kommuniqué geben; das ist fertig. Ich will dem nicht vorgreifen. Das werdet Ihr sicher sorgfältig lesen und in Eure Rede-Unterlagen für die nächsten drei Wochen aufnehmen. Ich bitte ebenso in die Rede-Unterlagen aufzunehmen, das, was im Kommuniqué nicht steht, was aber in den beiden Tischreden von gestern abend sehr klar zum Ausdruck gekommen ist. Beides gehört zu den Materialien, die man für die nächsten Wochen braucht.

Abschließend möchte ich mich bedanken für mancherlei Argumentationshilfen, die wir in den letzten drei Wochen der Vorbereitung sowohl aus Kreisen der Bundestagsfraktion wie aus der Parteiführung bekommen haben.

- 5 -

MEMORANDUM

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### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

November 27, 1981

INFORMATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Review on 11/27/87

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICHARD V. ALLEN

SUBJECT: German Debrief of Brezhnev Visit to Bonn 🔿

As prefigured in your recent phone conversations with Chancellor Schmidt, senior diplomatic envoy Berndt von Staden in town on Aukay to brief us on the Brezhnev, visit. I spent an hour-andhalf with him this morning, and he will be seeing Al Haig later this afternoon. A quick summary of von Staden's presentation includes the following key points:

-- Von Staden confirmed that your speech made a very positive contribution to the visit; in addition to the usefulness of the timing (Margaret Thatcher's presence in Bonn directly preceding Brezhnev's enhanced the positive impact of Allied reaction), the speech contents put the Soviets on the defensive and made it easier for the Germans to discuss strategic matters with them.

-- The Chancellor, according to von Staden, repeatedly made it clear that the U.S. means business in the proposals you have advanced and that there is a firm determination on the German side to proceed with full INF deployments if progress is not achieved in the Geneva talks.

-- Von Staden clarified the Soviet-German arms control "consultations" commitment which came out of the Brezhnev visit and emphasized that the word "consultations" was never used by the German side. What the Germans have in mind are exchanges at the Ambassadorial level which will be used to "interpret" and "impress upon" the Soviets the common Western position vis-à-vis Geneva and our determination to stick with the two-track NATO decision on INF.

-- Von Staden reviewed the essence of Soviet proposals in Bonn, highlighting German rejection of both the old moratorium idea and the "goodwill" offer to remove unilaterally some weapons from the Western part of the Soviet Union (which, because of the range problem, would have no meaningful effect on the present threat). He also identified several new elements in the Soviet position, in particular 1) apparent Soviet willingness to proceed step-by-step on arms control matters; and 2) willingness to

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NSC/S PROFILE

FROM RENTSCHLER

USSR

TO ALLEN

KEYWORDS: GERMANY F R

BREZHNEV, LEONID I VON STADEN, BERNDT

SUBJECT: VON STADEN DEBRIEF ON BREZHNEV VISIT

ACTION: FWD TO PRES FOR INFO DUE: 28 NOV 81 STATUS X FILES
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## COMMENTS

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#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL



INFORMATION

November 23, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: JAMES M. RENTSCHLER V

SUBJECT: Your Meeting With Bundestag Defense Committee Delegation (Tuesday, November 24 - 11 a.m.)

You really need no specific guidance for dealing with tomorrow's visit by seven members of the FRG Bundestag Defense Committee (see attached list). At the risk of telling grandmother how to suck eggs, however, I suggest you open the meeting with a few preliminary remarks which would stress the following points:

-- Importance of the President's INF proposal and the need for continuing Alliance solidarity on the two-track NATO decision if that proposal is to have any hope for success;

-- Integrity of the President's strategic-decision package and the signal this sends to the Soviets concerning our seriousness about maintaining Western security;

-- Necessity of persevering along the Camp David track in the Middle East and our hope that no EC-10 initiative will compromise the prospects of that delicate effort.

You could then throw the session opn to questions and elicit German views on the status of the "peace" movement in Europe, the atmosphere in Bonn now that Brezhnev has arrived, the likely effect of the Yamal pipeline deal in inner-German relations, etc. Incidentally, in line with the first tick above, you might note (more in sorrow than anger) that Egon Bahr's widely quoted remarks about concern that the President's proposal did not go far enough cannot be helpful in preserving the Allied unity which successful negotiations with the Soviets will require.

Tab A List for Meeting

cc: Dick Pipes

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MEMORANDUM

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

30 October 1981

FOR: ED MEESE

FROM: ED THOMAS

SUBJECT: Meeting with President and Chancellor Schmidt

Director Lahnstein, Foreign Secretariat, Bonn, Germany called to inquire of the feasibility of a meeting between President Reagan and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. As the Chancellor was ill at Cancun and did not have an opportunity to meet with President Reagan, Lahnstein is calling to inquire if Chancellor Schmidt took his vacation on December 26 - January 10, would there be an opportunity for a meeting to be put together between the President and Chancellor Schmidt.

If the likelihood of such a meeting exists, a more formal request will be made. It will also be necessary to know whether Chancellor Schmidt need to take his vacation in Florida or California, depending on where the President will be during that time. Director Lahnstein will be in his office for the next two hours and would very much appreciate an indication as to the receptivity to this request before next Tuesday.

cc: Dick Allen

Will Meet:

Will Not Meet:



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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

October 8, 1981

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MEMORANDUM FOR ED MEESE

FROM:

ACTION

DICK ALLEN

SUBJECT:

Message from Lahnstein Requesting Meeting Between Schmidt and President

Manfred Lahnstein has sent you a personal message (Tab B) reiterating Chancellor Schmidt's request for a meeting with the President on the way to Cancun. Schmidt has made this same request in a letter to the President at the end of last week, and he had earlier lobbied Al Haig on the subject in Bonn. (2)

Although we are not sure, our best estimate is that Schmidt wants to give the President advice on the correct tack to take in Cancun. He will probably advise that we not oppose Global Negotiations, emphasize the importance of aid programs, etc. In addition, he wishes to discuss the November visit of Brezhnev to Bonn.

We have turned down this meeting previously when Al Haig raised the idea, and still think it should be rejected; the President's time will be extremely short and he will gain little from this meeting. Schmidt may be mildly offended by our refusal, but he can live with it.  $(\mathcal{C})$ 

Accordingly, we have prepared for your approval a reply to Lahnstein (Tab A), which we will send from the Situation Room.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the message to Lahnstein at Tab A, informing him that the President will not be able to receive Chancellor Schmidt.

Approve

Disapprove

Attachments

Tab A Tab B Proposed message to Manfred Lahnstein Incoming message to the President

CONFIDENTIAL Review October 7, 1987.

DECLASSIFIED NLS M1460 # 10 BY CIL NARA, DATE 12/1/05

PROPOSED ANNEX CHARLIE MESSAGE FOR MANFRED LAHNSTEIN, HEAD OF THE CHANCELLERY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY FROM EDWIN MEESE, III, COUNSELOR TO THE PRESIDENT

### Dear Manfred:

Thank you for your personal message requesting to know if there will be a chance for Chancellor Schmidt to meet with President Reagan before Cancun. The President has received the same request from the Chancellor himself in a letter of several days ago, and of course Al Haig discussed the subject with the Chancellor in Bonn.

As you can well appreciate, between President Mitterrand's visit on the 18th and 19th, and the President's departure for Cancun on the 21st, the schedule is extremely tight. I am afraid that we simply cannot fit a meeting with the Chancellor into the President's schedule during that time. I know the President is looking forward to seeing Chancellor Schmidt at Cancun and we are reviewing his schedule there to see what can be arranged in the way of separate bilateral meetings. If there are specific recommendations that the Chancellor wishes to convey to the President before the meeting, the President would be happy to receive them.

Sincerely, Ed Meese

FROM HEAD OF THE CHANCELLERY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY TO MR. EDWIN MEESE

October 7, 1981

#### Dear Ed:

I am on my way to an informal meeting between the Chancellor and President Mitterrand and I will return to Bonn only tomorrow night. Before leaving I would like to raise with you the question of a meeting between the Chancellor and your President before or on the occasion of Cancun. I would be grateful if you could let me know whether there is a chance for a meeting in Washington before the President leaves for Cancun, of course after the Yorktown celebrations and possibly on the evening of the 20th. FOR YOUR INFORMATION ONLY: The Chancellor will spend a few days of rest on the Bermudas from Sunday, 18 October, until his departure for Cancun, via Washington if it suits you.

Looking forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

Manfred Lahnstein

PM-SCHNIDT-LEAD (ROOS)

BONN, OCT 14, REUTER -- <u>CHANCELLOR HELMUT SCHMIDT</u>, FITTED WITH A HEART PACEMAKER YESTERDAY, COULD LEAVE THE HOSPITAL AS EARLY AS SATURDAY, WEST GERMANY'S CHIEF GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN KURT BECKER SAID TODAY.

NR SCHNIDT SPENT A PEACEFUL NIGHT AFTER THE OPERATION IN A MILITARY HOSPITAL IN KOBLENZ, SOUTH OF BONN, AND DOCTORS WERE VERY PLEASED WITH HIS CONDITION, MR BECKER TOLD RADIO INTERVIEWERS.

VICE CHANCELLOR HANS-DIETRICH GENSCHER RETURNED EARLY FROM A MEETING OF EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET FOREIGN MINISTERS IN LONDON LAST NIGHT AND WAS CHAIRING THE WEEKLY CABINET MEETING THIS MORNING, OFFICIALS SAID.

NR SCHNIDT, 62, HAD THE PACENAKER INSTALLED UNDER LOCAL ANESTHESIA IN AN OPERATION WHICH LASTED LESS THAN AN HOUR. DOCTORS SAID THE PACEMAKER WAS NEEDED TO PREVENT HEARTBEAT IRREGULARITIES.

NR BECKER SAID DOCTORS HAD ADVISED THE CHANCELLOR AGAINST TRAVELING TO CANCUN, MEXICO, NEXT WEEK TO ATTEND THE NORTH-SOUTH SUMMIT AND HE WOULD PROBABLY NOT GO. BUT HE SHOULD BE BACK AT HIS DESK IN THE BONN CHANCELLERY BEALING WITH PAPERWORK NEXT WEEK, THE SPOKESMAN ADDED. NR BECKER SAID THE SURGERY...PICKING UP 4TH GRAF

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MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

#### CONFIDENTIAL

October 7, 1981

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN FROM: DENNIS BLAIR/JAMES RENTSCHLER

SUBJECT: Lahnstein Message to Meese on Schmidt Meeting with the President

Manfred Lahnstein has sent Meese an Annex Charlie message about a Schmidt meeting with the President on the way to Cancun. Schmidt has made the same request twice previously. We still think that this is not a good use of the President's time.

Attached for your signature at Tab I is a memorandum to Meese giving him the background on the request and forwarding for his approval a reply to Lahnstein refusing the request.

## RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to Ed Meese at Tab I.

-

Approve\_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove\_\_\_\_\_

Attachments:

Tab	I	Memorandu	um to Ed	Mee	ese	
Tab	A	Proposed	message	to	Manfred	Lahnstein
Tab	B	Incoming	message	to	the Pres	sident

CONFIDENTIAL Review October 7, 1987.

DECLASSIFIED White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997 By\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ NARA, Date\_\_ 5/22/00

## 5939

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

#### JIM RENTSCHLER

Help. Could you or Dennis prepare a package for Meese which includes a typed version of the incoming Annex Charlie message and a proposed response from Meese to Lahnstein.

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Meese is out today, for whatever that difference makes to your timing.

Thanks.

Janet Colson

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