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WITHDRAWAL SHEET **Ronald Reagan Library**

Collection: EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: Records

Country File

File Folder: Germany, FRG Vol. IV 1/1/82 - 9/30/82 (3)

Archivist: smf

FOIA ID: F97-030 (Friedrich)

Date: 06/01/00

DOCUMENT NO & TYPE		DATE	RESTRICTION
cable	201628Z/JUL 82 (Sections 1 and 2 of 3 Bonn 15592) 5p R 4/30 01 F97-630 2 # 13 Z	7/20/82	P1/F1
. cable	2816322 JUL 82 (Section 3 of 3 Bonn 15592) 3p	7/20/82	P1/F1
. cable	171209Z JUL 82 1p # 134	7/17/82	P1/F1
cable	- 170926Z JUL 82 2p	7/17/82	P1/F1
. eable	151935Z JUL 82 2p # 136	7/15/82	P1/F1 \
. cable	100356Z-JUL-82-2p	7/10/82	P1/F1
- cable	R " #137 391657Z JUN 82 1p " #138	6/30/82	P1/F1 -
. eable	251551Z JUN-82 (Section 1 of 2 Bonn 13754) 3p # 139	6/25/82	P1/F1 -
: cable	251554Z JUN 82 (Section 2 of 2 Bonn 13754) 2p # 140	6/25/82	P1/F1
0. cable	241153Z JUN 82 1p ~ = 141	6/24/82	P1/F1
1. cable	231543Z JUN 82 1p	6/23/82	P1/F1
2. cable	181556Z JUN 82 1p n #142	6/18/82	P1/F1
3. cable	1414457 II NI 92 1e	6/14/82	PI/F1
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4. cable	101146Z JUN 82 2p	6/10/82	P1/F1
5. cable	101152Z JUN 82 1p	6/10/82	P1/F1
6. cable	101146Z JUN 82 (Sections 1 and 2 of 3 Bonn 12587) 6p	6/10/82	P1/F1
7. cable	text same as document 15 (Section 3 of 3 Bonn 12587) 1p	6/10/82	P1/F1

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

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

WITHDRAWAL SHEET Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: Records

Country File

Archivist: smf

File Folder: Germany, FRG Vol. IV 1/1/82 - 9/30/82 (3)

FOIA ID: F97-030 (Friedrich) Date: 06/01/00

. cable	29169Z	MAY 823p	F97-030/2	# 149	5/29/82	P1/F1
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3. cable	171101	Z MAY 82 2p	(5/17/82	PI/FI
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RESTRICTIONS

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- financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]. F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

HCE961 STU3570 DO RUEHO DE RUFHOL #5592/01 2011719 ZNY SSSSS ZZH [] 201628Z Jul 82 FM AMEMBASSY BONN TO SECSTATE WASHIC IMMEDIATE 8632 BT S F C R E T SECTION OF UF 03 BUNN 15592 NUDIS E.O. 12065: RDS-1 07-20-1992 (WUESSNER, WILLIAM M.) OK-M TAGS: PEPR, PINT, ECON, AID, PL, GE SUBJECT: POLISH EPISCUPATE ECUNUMIC PROPOSALS: ATTACHMENT UNE TO CARDINAL HUEFFNER'S LETTER **REF: BONN 15376**

1. (C) HERE FOLLOWS THE FIRST ATTACHMENT TO JUSEPH CARDINAL HOEFFNER'S LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT ENTITLED "ON THE SITUATION IN POLAND AND REFLECTIONS OF THE POLISH EPISCOPACY (SIC) CONCERNING AN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR PRIVATE AGRICULTURE AND THE ECONOMIC FIELDS CONNECTED THEREWITH (HANDICRAFT, TRADE AND SERVICES)."

2. (%) BEGIN TEXT:

ON THE SITUATION IN PULAND AND REFLECTIONS OF THE PULISH EPISCUPACY CONCERNING AN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR PRIVATE AGRICULTURE AND THE ECONOMIC FIELDS CONNECTED THEREWITH (MANDICRAFT, TRADE AND SERVICES)

- 1. GENERAL CHARACTERIZATION
- 2. THE POSITION OF THE CHURCH
- 3. THE ATTITUDE OF THE PULISH EPISCOPACY TOWARDS THE
- SANCTIUNS OF THE WEST
- 4. AN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FUR PRIVATE-SECTUR AGRICULTURE
- IS NECESSARY.
- 1. GENERAL CHARACTERIZATION

THE PROCLAMATION OF MARTIAL LAW ON DECEMBER 13, 1981

HAS BEEN A SHOCK FOR ALL PULES.

THE POLISH MILITARY GOVERNMENT MEETS WITH THE GENERAL DIS-

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S E 6 R E T *****

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THE CHURCH, AND ABOVE ALL THE EPISCUPACY, FEELS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FUTURE AND THE FATE OF THE POLISH PEDPLE. IT HAS BEEN LIKE THIS UNDER CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI AND IT IS STILL LIKE THAT UNDER THE PRESENT PRIMATE ARCHBISHUP GLEMP. JUST AS HIS PREDECESSOR PRIMATE GLEMP IN FULL ACCURD WITH THE ENTIRE EPTSCOPACY PARTICULARLY STRIVES FOR THE FULLHWING AIMS:

(1) AN UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE PRESENT RULFRS WITHIN PARTY AND STATE AND ALL SUCIAL GROUPS. ALREADY IN THE COMMUNIQUE OF THAT GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF MARCH 1982, THE PULISH EPISCUPACY HAS LAID DOWN THE MAIN ASPECTS OF A PRACTICAL PROGRAM FOR "SUCIAL UNDERSTANDING"; LATER ON THESE ASPECTS HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED IN GREATER DETAIL IN THE "THESES" OF THE PRIMATE'S SUCIAL COUNCIL.

BEFORE BEING PUBLISHED THEY HAVE BEEN ACCEPTED BY THE ENTIRE EPISCOPACY; THEY HAVE BEEN ENCLUSED HERETO. THE INTERNED LEADERS OF 'SOLIDARITY' HAVE DECLARED THEIR EXPLICIT CONSENT TO THESE "THESES", EVEN TO THE CRITICAL PARTS CUNCERNING 'SULIDARITY'. THE BASIC CONCERN OF THESE "THESES" IS THE EMPHATICAL DEMAND FOR PERSUNAL HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE PEUPLE.

(2) DIALDGUE INSTEAD OF VIOLENCE THE RISHOPS CONSTANTLY WARN THE MILITARY LEADERS AS WELL AS THE VARIOUS SOCIAL GROUPS OF VIOLENCE AND ALL STEPS WHICH COULD LEAD TO CIVIL WAR AND THEKEBY TO AN INTER-VENTION FROM OUTSIDE. THEY AVOID ALL PUBLIC CONTROVERSY AND PUBLIC PRESSURE ON THE RULERS IN DRDER NOT TO GIVE THE "DOCTRINARIAN FURCES" WITHIN THE PARTY ANY REASON FUR INTERVENTION WHICH WOULD AGGRAVATE AND WORKEN THE SITUATION WHICH IS SO EXTREMELY CRITICAL ANYHUW.

THE RISHOPS ARE IN DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE INTERNED UNION LEADERS, ESPECIALLY WITH WALESA. THE JUDGEMENT OF THE SITUATION AS WELL AS THE DECISION ON THE ACTIONS TO BE TAKEN AS A RESULT IS MADE ON THE BASIS OF THE DISCUSSIONS WITH THEM. THE PROMINENT LEADERS OF 'SULIDARITY' WHO ARE STILL IN INTERNMENT CAMPS ON THE WHOLE SUPPORT THE COURSE OF THE EPISCOPACY.

ALTHOUGH THE CHURCH TAKES A CRITICAL VIEW OF CERTAIN EXTREME STATEMENTS AND INITIATIVES OF 'SOLIDAKITY' IT STILL STRIVES TO SAVE THE SUBSIANTIAL CONCERNS AND VALUES OF 'SOLIDARITY': THEREFORE IT ASKS FOR THE RESTORATION OF 'SULIDARITY' ON THE BASIS OF THE VALID STATUS. !

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APPROVAL OF ALL SUCIAL STRATA. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE FOR THE WORKERS. AND THE PULISH YOUTH, IN PARTICULAR, IN ALL ITS SUCIAL STRATA IS FULL OF DEEP ANGER AND RADICALLY DENIES ITSELF TO THE REGIME. THE YOUTH LOUKS FORWARD TO THE FUTURE WITHOUT HOPE AND DOES NUT SEL, ABOVE ALL, ANY CHANCE TO SOLVE THE PRESENT SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WITHIN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM AS IT WAS BEFORE AUGUST 1900. INFLUENTIAL CIRCLES OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA THO REFUSE TO COMPERATE WITH THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT.

IN THE EYES OF THE POPULATION POLAND'S COMMUNIST PARTY HAS DISCREDITED AND TOTALLY COMPROMISED IISELF. AT PRESENT IT PRESUMABLY PASSES THROUGH THE MOST SERIOUS CRISIS OF ITS HISTORY.

IT HAS BEEN THE DECLARED AIM OF DECEMBER 13, 1961 TO KESTORE THE PARTY AS THE !LEADING FORCE! WITHIN STATE AND SUCIETY AND TO PUT THROUGH A 'SUCTALIST RENEWAL', I.E. 'A CUNSE-QUENT REALIZATION OF THE SUCIALIST SYSTEM!. WHILE WITH REGARD TO THIS GOAL ALL GROUPS WITHIN THE PARTY ARE AGREED, THE TWO MUST IMPORTANT GROUPS TAKE A DIFFERENT VIEW CON-CERNING THE WAY OF REACHING THIS AIM:

- (1) IN THE EYES OF THE PRESENT MILITARY GOVERNMENT ONLY BY RESTORING AT LEAST A CERTAIN RELIABILITY OF THE PARTY THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM CAN FIND GENERAL ACCEPTANCE. THEREFORE THE PRESENT RULERS STILL DECLARE TO CARRY OUT ECONOMIC REFORMS AND TO AIM AT A DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION STYLE - I.E. A LOT OF WHAT THE TRADE UNION "SULIDARITY" HAS BEEN STRIVING FUR. THERE ARE CERTAIN FIRST SIGNS TO BE DRSERVED: SUCH AS THE RAISING OF PRICES AND WAGES; SUME FEW DECISIONS PELATING TO PERSONNEL PULICY; ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS IN THE FIELD OF THE SINGLE BUSINESS ENTERPRISES (E.G. CLASSICAL STRUCTURES OF THE CENTRAL AUMINISTRATIVE ECHNOMY HAVE BEEN CONSIDERABLY REDUCED); SOME OF THE LAWS WHICH HAVE BEEN AGREED UPON WITH "SULIDARITY" HAVE BEEN RATIFIED IN PARLIAMENT AFTER DECEMBER 13, 1981, THOUGH NOT FULLY.
- (2) THE UNCOMPROMISING GROUP THE SO-CALLED "DUCTRINARIAN FORCES" WITHIN THE PARTY PRESS FOR A RECANTATION OF ALL LIBERTIES WHICH HAD BEEN GRANTED SINCE AUGUST 1980 AND WANT TO PUT THROUGH THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM CONSEQUENTLY AND MERCILESSLY, INCLUDING THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CHURCH.

AT PRESENT A LOT POINTS TO A RECOVERY OF THE "DUCTRINARIAN FORCES"; A DOWNFALL OF THE PRESENT LEADERS BY NU MEANS BT #5592 NNNN

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SEGRET.

UNTIL TODAY, THE JOINT EFFURTS OF THE CHURCH AND THE INTERNED LEADERS OF 'SOLIDARITY' STILL HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN CONVINCING THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION OF THE NECESSITY OF AN UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN GOVERNMENT BT #5592 NNNN

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SEEMS TO BE IMPOSSIBLE. IT IS A COMMUN PELIEF THAT A
SUCCESSOR WILL BELONG TO THE "DOC!RINARIAN FORCES" AND WILL
BE SUCCESSFUL ONLY "WITH THE HELP OF A FOREIGN POWER", I.E.
BY MEANS OF AN INVASION OF THE WARSAW PACT. WE WERE
REMINDED OF THE FACT THAT ALSO THE 13TH OF DECEMBER 1981
HAD SURPRISED EVERYONE, AND AS FAK AS THIS IS KNOWN, EVEN
THE WESTERN SECRET SERVICES.

WHAT SPEAKS AGAINST A VICTORY OF THE "DUCTRINARIAN FORCES" ARE THE EFFORTS OF THE SUVIET UNION TO PROTECT ITS ESSENTIAL INTERESTS - THAT POLAND REMAINS A MEMBER OF THE WARSAW PACT, TO SAFEGUARD THE STRATEGIC LINES TOWARDS THE WEST, TO SECURE THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM WITHIN THE COUNTRY - IN A WAY WHICH BURDENS MOSCOW ONLY WITH A SLIGHT ODIOM IN POLAND AND IN THE WEST. IN SUCH A CASE THE PRESENT LEADERS WITHIN THE PARTY GRADUALLY WOULD FIND GENERAL ACCEPTANCE WITHIN THE PARTY AND BRING ABOUT AN UNDERSTANDING WITH THE VARIOUS SUCIAL GROUPS, INCLUDING "SULIDARITY". THIS VIEW STARTS OUT FROM THE FACT THAT MOSCOW RECONCILES ITSELF TO POLAND'S SPECIAL FEATURES AND ACCEPTS A CERTAIN SPECIAL POSITION AS LONG AS THE THREE MENTIONED "ESSENTIALS" SEEM TO BE GUARANTEED.

2. THE POSITION OF THE CHURCH

AS IN THE PAST THE CHURCH ALSO TODAY UNRESERVEDLY ENJUYS THE PEOPLE'S COMPLETE CONFIDENCE. ITS EPISCOPACY HAS ADHERED TO FULL INDEPENDENCE OF THE MILITARY GUVERNMENT. AND UNTIL NUW THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT HAS NOT TRIED TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH. TO THIS VERY DAY THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN NO WAY HAS RESTRICTED THE SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE CHURCH. IT CONSIDERS THE CHURCH AS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR FOR THE INTERNAL PEACE OF SOCIETY.

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HCF964 STU3581 DO RUEHO DE RUFHOL #5592/03 2011721 ZNY SSSSS ZZH D 2016327 JUL 82 FM AMEMBASSY BONN TO SECSTATE WASHIC IMMEDIATE 8634 RT SECRET SECTION 03 UF 03 BUNN 15592

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AND THE VARIOUS SUCIAL GROUPS; I.E. THAT THIS CANNOT BE REACHED BY VIOLENCE BUT UNLY BE MEANS UP TALKS AND NEGOTIATIUNS.

3. THE ATTITUDE OF THE PULISH EPISCUPACY TOWARDS THE SANCTIONS OF THE WEST

- (1) IF AT ALL, THESE SANCTIONS SHOULD BE FOR THUSE MEMBER STATES OF THE WARSAW PACT WHICH SINCE AUGUST 1980 IN A VERY BRUTAL WAY HAVE INTERFERED IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE AND HAVE EVEN THREATENED WITH INVASION UNDER THE PRETEXT OF SAVING SOCIALISM. IT IS WELL-KNOWN WHICH COUNTRIES HAVE EXEKTED THE HEAVIEST PRESSURE UN POLAND.
- (2) SANCTIONS, THEREFURE, SHOULD ESPECIALLY BE FOR THESE COUNTRIES AND NOT FOR THE POLISH POPULATION. THAT IS WHY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PULISH EPISCOPACY IN THE JUINI COMMISSION OF EPISCOPACY AND GOVERNMENT AFTER DETAILED DISCUSSIONS AND A UNANIMOUS DECISION WITHIN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE FPISCUPACY HAVE DECLARED IWICE BEFORE THE SAID COMMISSION: THESE SANCTIONS AGAINST POLAND STRIKE THE POLISH PEOPLE, THEY DELAY AND AUGRAVATE THE SULUTION OF THE CRISIS.
- (3) DUF TO THE DECADES OF STATE-CONTROLLED MALADMINISTRATION POLAND'S ECONOMIC SITUATION - WHICH TUDAY IS UN THE BRINK OF AN ECONOMIC DISASTER - ABOVE ALL HAS BEEN AGGRAVATED BY THE CREDIT DIFFICULTIES CUNDITIONED BY THIS MALAU-MINISTRATION AND FINALLY AND EVEN MURE BRAMATICALLY, DUE TO THE SANCTIONS HAS BEEN TURNED INTO A RATHER HOPELESS SITUATION. THIS HAS HAD A DEVASTATING EFFECT ON THE ENTIRE ECUNOMY: THEY CAN BE DIRECTLY FELT IN THE UNEM-

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PLOYMENT OF SO MANY YOUNG PEOPLE AND IN THE SUPPLY SITUATION THAT STILL BECOMES EVEN MURE PRECARIOUS.

THE GOVERNMENT AGAIN AND AGAIN DECLARED IN PUBLIC AND ALSO IN THE JOINT COMMISSION: "WE WON'T BOW TO A POLITICAL DICTATE OF THE WEST". ACCORDING TO THE VIEW OF THE PULISH GOVERNMENT THE WESTERN ENTREPRENEURS ARE DEPENDENT ON THE TRADE WITH THE EASTERN COUNTRIES ANYHOW, SO THAT THEY SHOW WILL FORCE THE LIFTING OF THE RESTRICTIONS OR WILL BYPASS THEM MORE AND MORE; IT IS SAID THAT ALREADY NOW THEKE WERE SIGNS POINTING TO THIS.

4. AN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR PRIVATE-SECTOR AGRICULTURE IS

NECESSARY

THE POLISH BISHOPS OF NUT FAIL TO SEE THE DIFFICULTIES WITH WHICH THOSE POLITICAL FORCES IN THE WEST ARE CONFRONTED WHICH ADVUCATE A TOTAL LIFTING OF THE SANCTIONS AGAINST POLAND. UN THE OTHER HAND THE BISHUPS, REING CUNSCIOUS OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PULISH PEUPLE, CUNSIDER AT THEIR DUTY TO ADVUCATE EMPHATICALLY THE LIFTING OF THUSE SANCTIONS WHICH STRIKE PULAND'S PRIVATE ECONOMY, I.E. ABOVE ALL, AGRICULTURE, 80 PER CENT UF WHICH ARE STILL PRIVATELY OWNED, BUT ALSO THOSE SANCTIONS, WHICH STRIKE THE FIRMS WORKING FUR AGRICULTURE IN THE FIELDS OF HANDICRAFT, TRADE AND SERVICES. THE WEST RATHER SHOULD RESTORE AND STRENGTHEN THE PRODUCTIVITY OF THESE FIELDS IN PARTICULAR BY MEANS OF A COMPREHENSIVE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM. AFTER DETAILED DISCUS-SIONS WITH SEVERAL EXPERTS THE BISHUPS HAVE CUME TO THE CONVICTION THAT SUCH AN ASSISTANCE PRUGRAM WILL RELIEVE IMMEDIATE DISTRESS, STRENGTHEN SELF-INITIATIVE BY HELP FUR SELF-HELP, INTRODUCE A RECOVERY OF ECUNUMY FRUM ITS RUDIS, ENCOURAGE THE POPULATION AND PROMUTE NOT LEAST POLAND'S INDEPENDENCY.

TALKS BETWEEN EPISCUPACY AND GOVERNMENT AT THE LEVEL AS WELL AS AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL HAVE LED TO THE FOLLOWING RESULT: THE PRESENT GUVERNMENT WOULD NOT IMPEDE SUCH A CHURCH-INITIATED AND -SUPPURIED ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR THE SAID PRIVATE-ENTERPRISE SECTOR. THE POLISH BISHOPS HAVE CAUSE FOR BEING CONVINCED THAT EVEN IN THE CASE LIF A TAKE-DVER BY THE "DUCTRINARIAN FORCES" PRIVATE AGRICULTURE WILL CONTINUE TO EXIST AND THE PLANNED ASSISTANCE PROGRAM WILL BE CARRIED ON. ALONG WITH EXPERTS THE BISHOPS HAVE PLANNED THE DUTLINES OF SUCH AN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM, WHICH SEEMS TO BE APPROPRIATE TO GIVE IMMEDIATE IMPOLSE TO THE PRODUCTIVITY OF PRIVATE ECONUMY IN POLAND; A PROGRAM THAT AT THE MOST CAN BE UNDERSTUDD AS AN INDIRECT AID TO THE

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SYSTEM, FUR WHICH, HOWEVER, DUE TO THE NOBLER GOAL AIMED AL, THE POLISH EPISCOPACY CUNSIDERS ISSELF ARLE TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY. END TEXT. BURNS BT #5592 NNNN

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8557

S E C R E T SECTION Ø1 OF Ø2 BONN 15376

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OEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO PASS TO EMBASSY WARSAW AND

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F.O. 12955: RDS-1 97-16-2982 (BURNS ARTHUR F.) OF

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 07-16-2002 (BURNS, ARTHUR F.) OR-M TAGS: PEPR, PINT, ECON, EAID, GE SUBJECT: POLISH EPISCOPATE ECONOMIC PROPOSALS

1. SERRET - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE AMBASSADOR HAS RECEIVED AN ADVANCE COPY OF A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT FROM JOSEPH CARDINAL HOEFFNER, PRESIDENT OF THE GERMAN BISHOPS' CONFERENCE. IT RECALLS HOEFFNER'S DISCUSSION WITH THE PRESIDENT AT THE PRE-NATO SUMMIT DINNER IN BRUEHL JUNE 9 ABOUT THE CARDINAL'S VISIT TO POLAND IN MAY AND THE CONCERNS OF THE POLISH PRIMATE, ARCHBISHOP GLEMP, ABOUT THE SITUATION THERE. IT CONVEYS A REQUEST FROM THE PRIMATE AND THE POLISH EPISCOPATE FOR A LIFTING OF SANCTIONS THAT IMPINGE ON THE PRIVATE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR IN POLAND AND FOR A FIVE-YEAR "POLAND RECOVERY PLAN" TO AID PRIVATE AGRICULTURE.

THE MATERIAL WAS PRESENTED TO THE AMBASSADOR JULY 15
PREPARATORY TO A MEETING THE NEXT AFTERNOON ARRANGED
BY COU BUNDESTAG FORE:GN AFFAIRS SPOKESMAN MERTES FOR
OR. HOMEYER OF THE GERMAN BISHOPS' CONFERENCE AND
FATHER ALOJZY ORSZULIK OF THE POLISH EPISCOPATE INFOR-

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

MATION OFFICE. ORSZULIK IS CURRENTLY ON A MISSION FOR THE PRIMATE TO SOUND OUT EC COUNTRIES AND THE U.-S. CONCERNING THE PRIMATE'S REQUEST. DR. HOMEYER REQUESTED THAT WE TRANSHIT TO THE PRESIDENT CARDINAL HOEFFNER'S LETTER AND THE MATERIAL FROM THE POLISH EPISCOPATE. WE EXPECT THE SIGNED ORIGINAL OF THE CARDINAL'S LETTER ON MONDAY AND WILL POUCH IT AND THE ACCOMPANYING MATERIAL TO THE OEPARTMENT WITH COPIES TO EMBASSY WARSAW. MEANWHILE, WE SUMMARIZE BELOW THE EPISCOPATE PROPOSAL. END SUMMARY.

3. FATHER ORSZULIK, CHIEF OF THE POLISH EPISCOPATE INFORMATION OFFICE, HAS PROVIDED TO THE GERMAN BISHOPS TWO PAPERS SEVEN AND TWELVE PAGES LONG, RESPECTIVELY, FROM THE EPISCOPATE. THEY ARE ENTITLED "ON THE SITUATION IN POLAND-AND REFLECTIONS OF THE POLISH EPISCOPATE

CONCERNING AN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR PRIVATE AGRICULTURE AND THE ECONOMIC FIELDS CONNECTED THEREWITH (HANDICRAFT, TRADE AND SERVICES) "AND "ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR PRIVATE AGRICULTURE AND THE PRIVATE-ENTERPRISE SECTORS THEREWITH IN HANDICRAFT, TRADE AND SERVICE." THEY HAVE BEEN RENDERED INTO ADEQUATE ENGLISH.

- 4. ESSENTIALLY, ORSZULIK'S MISSION IS TO SOUND OUT THE EC COUNTRIES AND THE UNITED STATES, PRESUMABLY THROUGH THE AMBASSADOR ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF DISPENSING WITH SANCTIONS THAT IMPINGE ON PRIVATE AGRICULTURE IN POLAND AND PARTICIPATING IN A LONG-TERM RELIEF PROGRAM TO IMPROVE THE AGRICULTURAL SITUATION THERE.
- 5. THE FIRST PAPER DESCRIBES THE SITUATION IN POLAND IN FAMILIAR TERMS, EMPHASIZING THE POSITION OF THE CHURCH AS SET FORTH IN AN EPISCOPATE COMMUNIQUE IN MARCH 1982 AND ELABORATED IN "THESES" OF THE PRIMATE'S SOCIAL COUNCIL. CLAIMING SUPPORT FROM SOLIDARITY AND CLOSE COORDINATION WITH ITS LEADERS INCLUDING WALESA, BUT NOTING THE EPISCOPATE'S "CRITICAL" VIEW OF EXTREMISM IN SOME SOLIDARITY OUARTERS, THE PAPER CALLS FOR DIALOGUE INSTEAD OF VIOLENCE AND RESTORATION OF SOLIDARITY ON THE BASIS OF ITS "VALID STATUS."
- 6. OUTLINING IN SOME DETAIL THE POLISH EPISCOPATE'S ATTITUDE ON WESTERN SANCTIONS, THE PAPER STRESSES

BONN 5376

DTG: 170926Z JUL 82 PSN: 007794

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

THAT, IF AT ALL, THESE SANCTIONS SHOULD BE AIMED AT THOSE WARSAW PACT STATES WHICH INTERFERED MOST "HEAVILY" IN POLISH INTERNAL AFFAIRS TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE POLISH REGIME. THE PAPER ALSO EXPRESSES CONCERN ABOUT THE EFFECT OF SANCTIONS ON THE POLISH PEOPLE AND ASSERTS THAT THE SANCTIONS "DELAY AND AGGRAVATE" THE SOLUTION OF THE POLISH CRISIS. CONCLUDING WITH AN EXPRESSION OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE "POLITICAL FORCES" IN THE WEST OPPOSING LIFTING OF SANCTIONS, THE PAPER EMPHASIZES THE BISHOPS' RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE POLISH PEOPLE AND THEIR DUTY "TO ADVOCATE EMPHATICALLY" THE LIFTING OF THOSE SANCTIONS WHICH "STRIKE POLAND'S PRIVATE ECONOMY," ESPECIALLY AGRICULTURE. IT THEN ASSERTS THE NEED FOR AN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR PRIVATE-SECTOR AGRICULTURE,





WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

DTG: 170931Z JUL 82 PSN: 008223 PAGE Ø1 BONN 7/19 5376 DATE 07/19/82

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WHSR COMMENT:

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE DE RUFHOL #5376/02 1980932 O 170931Z JUL 82 FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8558

CRET SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 15376 NODIS DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO PASS TO EMBASSY WARSAW AND EC COLLECTIVEO NOTING THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY INDICATED IT WOULD NOT IMPEDE SUCH A CHURCH-INITIATED AND-SUPPORTED ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.

- THE SECOND PAPER OUTLINES THE CONCEPT AND AIMS OF THE PROPOSED ASSISTANCE PROGRAM, THE HISTORICAL PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURE IN POLAND, AND THE STRATEGY ENVISAGED IN THE PROPOSED PROGRAM. IT INCLUDES A COST ESTIMATE FOR A FIVE-YEAR EFFORT.
- 8. NOTING THAT 80 PERCENT OF POLAND'S FARMLAND IS PRIVATELY OWNED, THE PAPER DISCUSSES THE NEED FOR STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND OUTLINES THE WAYS IN WHICH FINANCIAL AND OTHER ASSISTANCE COULD BE USED TO REFORM THE AGRICULTURAL SYSTEM. ON THE SUBJECT OF MONEY, THE PAPER ENVISAGES A REQUIREMENT FOR ABOUT 5 BILLION GERMAN MARKS FOR A FIVE-YEAR PERIOD. I PROPOSES THREE SOURCES IN THE WEST: THE CHURCHES, THE PRIVATE SECTOR, AND CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE EC COUNTRIES AND THE UNITED STATES, NOTING THAT PERHAPS ONE-QUARTER OF THE NECESSARY FUNDS COULD COME FROM THE CHURCH, ANOTHER QUARTER FROM PRIVATE SOURCES,

MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

AND THE REMAINING HALF FROM THE GOVERNMENTS. CONCERNING THE LAST, THE PAPER RECALLS AS A POSSIBLE MODEL THE EUROPEAN RECOVERY PROGRAM, AND SPECIFICALLY CALLS FOR A KIND OF CHURCH-ORGANIZED "POLAND RECOVERY PROGRAM. "

- THE BALANCE OF THIS PAPER ADDRESSES DETAILS CONCERNING THE PROBLEMS OF POLISH AGRICULTURE AND THE WAYS IN WHICH REFORMS WOULD BE IMPLEMENTED.
- COMMENT: THIS OFFICIAL REQUEST FROM THE POLISH 10 EPISCOPATE FOR EVEN A LIMITED LIFTING OF SANCTIONS AGAINST POLAND SEEMS HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT. IT COULD BE DIFFICULT TO IGNORE, AND WE SUSPECT IT WILL TEND TO ENCOURAGE PRESSURE FROM THE FRG AND ELSEWHERE FOR A RELAXATION IN U.S. AND WESTERN POLICY. BURNS



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BONN

SECRET BONN 15244

NUDIS

PAGE 01

ACTION NODS-00

WAS SEEN

= .

FOR ACTING SECRETARY STOESSEL FROM AMBASSADOR BURNS

E.O. 12065: XDS-1 7/15/12 (BURNS, ARTHUR F.) OR=M TAGS: GE, EEWT, ENRG, US SUBJECT: RELAXATION IN POLAND AND THE SANCTIONS QUESTION

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. THERE HAVE BEEN SIGNS RECENTLY THAT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT MAY ANNOUNCE SOME LIBERALIZATION OF ITS REPRESSIVE MEASURES, TIMED TO COINCIDE WITH THE JULY 22ND ANNIVERSARY, SOME, PARTICULARLY IN THE PRESS, HAVE GUNE ON TO SPECULATE THAT THIS MIGHT LEAD THE U.S. TO RECONSIDER ITS PIPELINE SANCTIONS AND THAT A TOTAL OR PARTIAL RELAXATION OF THESE MEASURES MIGHT ENSUE.

3. ANY SUCH RESPONSE SHOULD BE CONSIDERED WITH THE UTMOST CARE. THERE IS THE OBVIOUS DANGER THAT POLISH LIBERALIZATION, IF INDEED IT COMES, WILL CONSIST ONLY OF A FEW COSMETIC IMPROVEMENTS, INCLUDING THE RELEASE OF A HANDFUL OF PROMINENT INTERNEES, WHILE BEHIND IT THE REPRESSIVE MECHANISM REMAINS ESSENTIALLY INTACT. MY REAL CONCERN, HOWEVER, GOES BEYOND THIS OBVIOUS SECRET

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NLS F97-030/2 # 136

OV C43 NARA, DATE 4/30/01



INCOMING TELEGRAM

SECRET

PAGE 02

BONN 15244 151941Z

PITFALL AND PRESUPPOSES THAT THERE MAY BE SOME GENUINE LIGHTENING OF THE BURDEN THE POLISH PEOPLE MUST BEAR, FALLING SHORT, HOWEVER, OF THE THREE PRE-REQUISITES THE ALLIES HAVE AGREED ON FOR A RESUMPTION OF NORMAL RELATIONS. IN SUCH A CASE, OUR GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE TEMPTED TO RESPOND BY RELAXING THE SANCTIONS DECISIONS.

- 4. IF WE ARE CONFRONTED WITH SUCH A SITUATION, I WOULD RECOMMEND THAT WE PROCEED VERY CAUTIOUSLY. MY POINT IS MORAL AND POLITICAL. WE HAVE THUS FAR INSISTED THAT WE WILL RETAIN THE SANCTIONS UNTIL THE POLISH GOVERNMENT RESTORES A NORMAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ITSELF AND THE PEOPLE IT PURPORTS TO GOVERN. IF WE NOW SETTLED FOR MUCH LESS THAN FULL RESTORATION OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S RIGHTS, WE WOULD BE CONDONING THOSE ELEMENTS OF REPRESSION THAT STILL REMAIN. SUCH A COURSE WOULD UNDERMINE OUR MORAL POSITION AND IT MIGHT WEAKEN OUR POLITICAL POSITION, BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD AS WELL.
- 5. AS YOU KNOW, THE SANCTIONS DECISION HAS TROUBLED OUR RELATIONS WITH OUR ALLIES GREATLY AND I AM HOPEFUL THAT WITH TIME WE WILL BE ABLE TO PUT IT BEHIND US. I HAVE ALREADY HAD SOMETHING TO SAY ON THIS SUBJECT, AND I EXPECT TO SAY MORE WHEN I RETURN HOME.FOR CONSULTATIONS. FOR THE PRESENT, MY POINT IS SOLELY THAT WE MUST BE CAUTIOUS AND AVOID FALLING INTO THE TRAP OF CONDONING, OR APPEARING TO CONDONE; THE REPRESSIVE MEASURES THAT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT MAY STILL RETAIN.
- 6. I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR SHARING THIS MESSAGE WITH JUDGE CLARK. BURNS

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

NLS F97-030/2 # W

PAGE 01 OF 02 SECSTATE WASHDC 0943 SIT799 DATE 07/19/82

DTG: 1003567 JUL 82 PSN: 054929 TOR: 191/06197

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MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE
DE RUEHC #0943 1910413
O P 100356Z JUL 82 ZFF6
FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE 0000

INFO AMEMBASSY JIDDA PRIORITY 8000
AMEMBASSY AMMAN PRIORITY 8000
AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 8000
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS PRIORITY 8000
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT PRIORITY 8000
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E.O. 12065: RDS-1 7/9/2002 (EAGLEBURGER, L. S.) TAGS: PEPR, LE, IS, GE, EG, JO

TO HIS VISIT TO AMMAN AND CAIRO

REF: (A) BONN 14438

- 1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.
- 2. FRG AMBASSADOR PETER HERMES CALLED ON UNDER .
 SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER JULY 8 TO OBTAIN BRIEFING ON LEBANON. UNDER SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER OUTLINED US OBJECTIVES IN BEIRUT AND LEBANON AND DISCUSSED AMBASSADOR HABIB'S EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE THE PLO WITHDRAWAL FROM BEIRUT. END SUMMARY.

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

3. FRG AMBASSADOR HERMES INFORMED UNDER SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER THAT FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER PLANNED TO VISIT AMMAN AND CAIRO JULY 12-15 AND HAO REQUESTED A SPECIAL BRIEFING ON THE LEBANESE SITUATION. UNDER SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER EXPLAINED THAT US POLICY REMAINS THE SAME; THAT IS, WE REGRET THE ISRAEL! INVASION, HOWEVER, THE SITUATION OFFERS AN OPPORTUNITY TO RESTORE

LEBANESE SOVEREIGNTY AND STRENGTHEN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN LEBANON. IT ALSO OFFERS THE OPPORTUNITY TO WITHDRAW ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM LEBANON. IN OVERALL MIDDLE EAST POLICY THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM REMAINS TO BE SOLVED. THE US IS COMMITTED TO PURSUING THIS THROUGH THE AUTONOMY NEGOTIATIONS AS QUICKLY AS

POSSIBLE AS SOON AS CONDITIONS SEEM PROPITIOUS.

- 4. EAGLEBURGER TOLD HERMES THAT AMBASSAOOR HABIB MEETS WITH PRIME MINISTER WAZZAN JULY 9 TO CONTINUE HIS NEGOTIATIONS. EAGLEBURGER NOTED THAT THE CROSSING POINTS WHICH HAVE BEEN CLOSED FOR FIVE DAYS WOULD, ON JULY 9, ONCE AGAIN BE OPEN. PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WAS SIGNALED BY ARAFAT'S SIGNING A DOCUMENT TO PRIME MINISTER WAZZAN SAYING THAT THE PLO AGREES TO LEAVE BEIRUT. SINCE THE SIGNING OF THIS DOCUMENT THE LEBANESE AND PLO REPRESENTATIVES HAVE BEEN MEETING TO WORK OUT THE DETAILS OF SUCH A WITHDRAWAL.
- 5. EAGLEBURGER ALSO NOTED THAT THE SYRIANS APPEAR TO HAVE AGREED TO ACCEPT ALL PLO FORCES NOW IN BEIRUT. IT IS UNCLEAR HOW ANY SECONDARY MOVEMENTS FROM SYRIA WOULD UNFOLD NOR IS IT CLEAR HOW THE PLO WOULD MOVE FROM BEIRUT TO SYRIA. FOR THE MOVE FROM BEIRUT TO SYRIA THERE ARE TWO POSSIBILITIES -- ONE BY SEA TO LATAKIA OR BY LAND DIRECTLY INTO SYRIA. THE LEBANESE HAVE INFORMED THE US THAT THEY WANTED OUTSIDE MILITARY FORCES TO ASSIST IN THIS EVACUATION FROM BEIRUT (ESPECIALLY IN TURNING OVER HEAVY WEAPDNS) AND TO ASSIST THE LEBANESE ARMED FORCES IN TAKING OVER CONTROL OF THE CITY. THE GOL SPECIFIED TO US THAT IT DOES NOT REPEAT NOT WANT A UN FORCE, BUT WOULD ACCEPT A

SECSTATE WASHDC Ø943

DTG: 1003567 JUL 82 PSN: 054929

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

MULTINATIONAL FORCE INCLUDING US MILITARY.

6. EAGLEBURGER NOTED THAT WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING WITH THE FRENCH THEIR PARTICIPATION IN A BI-NATIONAL FORCE TO ASSIST IN THE EVACUATION OF BEIRUT. HE NOTED THAT CHEYSSON TOLD SECRETARY HAIG LAST FRIDAY THAT FRANCE WOULD CONTRIBUTE IN PRINCIPLE, BUT SINCE THEN THE FRENCH-HAVE NOT-MOVED FORWARD WITH ANY SPECIFIC AGREEMENT. THEY HAVE INSTEAD RAISED DEMANDS TRADING OFF THE REDUCTION IN PLO MILITARY FORCE FOR PLO POLITICAL POWER WHICH THE US CANNOT ACCEPT. EAGLEBURGER WAS HOPEFUL THAT POSSIBILITIES EXIST TO ASSIST THE PLO IN WITHDRAWING FROM BEIRUT. THE FRENCH CAN DRAW A BATTALION FROM THEIR UNIFIL FORCES STILL IN LEBANON OR MAY MOVE A RAPIO DEPLOYMENT FORCE FROM FRANCE. HOVEVER, WE STILL HAVE NO FRENCH COMMITMENT. FURTHERMORE, THE FRENCH WANT A UN BLESSING WHICH WE

BELIEVE IS UNATTAINABLE BECAUSE OF CERTAIN SOVIET OPPOSITION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE DO, HOWEVER, PLAN TO INFORM THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF OUR PLANS AND INVITE UN OBSERVERS.

- 7. IN RESPONSE TO HERMES' QUESTION ABOUT THE PALESTINIANS IN THE NORTH OF LEBANON, EAGLEBURGER SAID THIS WAS A DISCUSSION TOPIC FOR AMBASSADOR HABIB. EAGLEBURGER STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT THE US FOCUS IS ON THE EVACUATION OF PLO FROM BEIRUT AND NOT ON THE PALESTINIANS IN THE NORTH
- 8. EAGLEBURGER EXPLAINED THAT FOLLOWING THE BEIRUT OPERATION, ISRAELI DISENGAGEMENT AND WITHDRAWAL SHOULD FOLLOW IN A SEPARATE, SECOND PHASE. THIS PHASE WOULD INCLUDE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM LEBANON. WE WILL BE WORKING WITH THE GOL ON THIS ASPECT OF THE



SECRET WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02 SECSTATE WASHDC 0943

DTG: 100356Z JUL 82 PSN: 054929

NEGOTIATIONS AS WELL.

9. AS REGARDS BREZHNEV'S LETTER, EUR ASSISTANT SECRETARY-DESIGNATE RICHARD BURT NOTED THAT THE SOVIET RESPONSE WAS MILDER THAN PREVIOUS RESPONSES AND

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

CONTAINED NO SPECIFIC THREATS OF CDUNTERACTIONS.
EAGLEBURGER ADDED THAT IN COMPARISON TO THE 1973
CONFRONTATION, THE SOVIETS' RESPONSEWAS INDEED VERY

10. HERMES ENDED THE CONVERSATION BY SAYING THAT FRG FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER HAD ASKED THAT HE STRESS THAT THE FRG SUPPORTS. THE US INITIATIVE IN LEBANON. EAGLEBURGER RESPONDEDTHAT WE APPRECIATED THIS FIRST SIGN OF EUROPEAN SUPPORT FOR OUR ENDEAVOR IN LEBANON AND ASKED THAT OUR THANKS BE CONVEYED TO GENSCHER.

11. BURT WILL CONTACT HERMES MORNING OF SATURDAY, JULY
10 TO GIVE HIM ANY LAST MINUTE INFORMATION WHICH WE
BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER
TO HAVE AS HE SETS OUT ON HIS MIDDLE EAST TRIP. STOESSEL

SECSTATE WASHDC #943

DTG: 100356Z JUL 82 PSN: 054929

SEGRET

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø1 BONN 4131 BUNN 4.5. DATE 07/19/82 SIT588

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TOR: 181/1912Z

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EOB:

WHSR COMMENT: F Y I

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE DE RUFHOL #4131 1811657 R 301657Z JUN 82 ZFF4 FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8150

E C R E T BONN 14131 NODIS FOR THE SECRETARY PLEASE PASS JUDGE CLARK E.O. 12065: RDS-3 6/30/12 (BURNS, ARTHUR F.) OR-M TAGS: ENRG, EEWT, ETRD, EEC, US SUBJECT: EUROPEAN RESPONSE TO U.S. TRADE SANCTIONS

REF: LONDON 13959

- (SENTIRE TEXT).
- 2. AS I HAVE INDICATED IN A PREVIOUS COMMUNICATION, I SHARE AMBASSADOR LOUIS' CONCERN (REFTEL). I BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT IT WOULD BE BEST IF THE EUROPEANS TOOK THE INITIATIVE IN DISCUSSING THE CIRCUMSTANCES THAT MIGHT LEAD US TO LIFT THE EMBARGO ON PIPE LINE EQUIPMENT. I HAVE SOME REASON FOR HOPING THAT THE GERMANS AT LEAST WILL DO THAT.
- DEPARTMENT PLEASE REPEAT TO EMBASSY LONDON AND OTHER EMBASSIES AS APPROPRIATE. BURNS



INCOMING TELEGRAM

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PAGE 31 BONN 13754 01 OF 02 251602Z ACTION NODS-00

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TO SECSTATE WASHOC IMMEDIATE 7999

SECRET SECTION 01 OF 02 BUNN 13754

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR BURNS

PLEASE PASS SECRETARY REGAN AND JUDGE CLARK

E.O. 12065: XDS=1 6/25/12 (BURNS, ARTHUR F.) OR=M TAGS: GE, EEHT, ENRG, US SUBJECT: PIPELINE SANCTIONS AND SOVIET CREDITS

- 1. SECRET ENTIRE TEXT
- 2. FULLOWING THE CHANCELLOR'S SPEECH TO THE BUNDESTAG IN WHICH HE REACTED TO THE EXTENSION OF SANCTIONS RELATED TO THE SOVIET PIPELINE, I MET WITH ECONOMICS MINISTER COUNT LAMBSDORFF TO DISCUSS THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION AND FUTURE ACTION THAT WE AND THE EUROPEANS MIGHT TAKE. I BEGAN OUR TALK BY OUTLINING WHAT I BELIEVED TO BE THE. FACTORS THAT LED TO THE DECISION TO EXTEND THE SANCTIONS ON PIPELINE EQUIPMENT. I DIFFERENTIATED BETWEEN MY ACTUAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE BACKGROUND OF THE DECISION AND MY INTERPRETATION OF THE PRESIDENT'S MOTIVATIONS.
- 3. I REVIEWED WITH LAMBSDORFF WHAT I BELIEVE TO BE THE PRESIDENT'S IMPRESSION OF THE VERSAILLES SUMMIT. ON ONE



INCOMING TELEGRAM

-BEGRET

PAGE 02

BONN 13754 01 OF 02 2515027

HAND, A U.S. WILLINGNESS TO ACCOMMODATE SUME EUROPEAN CONCERNS ON TECHNOLOGY, NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE, AND INTER-VENTION IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKETS; AND ON THE OTHER HAND, USEFUL BUT GUITE LIMITED ACCOMMODATION ON THE PART OF THE EUROPEANS WITH REGARD TO CREDITS FOR THE SUVIET UNION. I STRESSED THE PRESIDENT'S STRONG INTEREST IN THE CREDIT ISSUE AND HIS BELIEF THAT THE EUROPEANS HAD BEEN GIVEN TO UNDERSTAND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CREDIT RESTRAINTS AND THE VARIOUS SANCTIONS, PARTICULARLY THE PIPELINE EQUIPMENT EMBARGO. I SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT, AND NOT HE ALONE, MUST HAVE BEEN DISMAYED BY PRESIDENT MITTERRAND'S RECKLESS REMARKS AFTER THE SUMMIT, STRESSING THAT THOSE REMARKS NOT ONLY MISINTERPRETED AMERICAN OBJECTIVES BUT ALSO REPUDIATED THE LIMITED PROMISE OF THE SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE ON RESTRAINTS OF SOVIET CREDIT. I ALSO INFORMED LAMBSUORFF THAT, WHILE IN BONN, THE PRESIDENT EXPLICITLY ASKED BOTH GENSCHER AND SCHMIDT TO HELP HIM FIND A POLITICAL HANDLE THAT HE COULD USE TO RESCIND THE PIPELINE SANCTIONS ADOPTED LAST DECEMBER. IN VIEW OF THIS BACKGROUND, I SAID THE PRESIDENT BELIEVED HE HAD NOT RECEIVED THE HELP FROM EUROPEANS, PARTICULARLY THE FRENCH, TO WHICH HE WAS ENTITLED. IN HIS MIND, THE EUROPEANS HAD VIRTUALLY IGNORED HIS NEED FOR THE POLITICAL HANDLE HE NEEDED ON THE CREDITS ISSUE TO JUSTIFY ACCOMMO-DATING THEIR CONCERNS WITH REGARD TO EQUIPMENT FOR THE PIPELINE.

4. I SAID I HAD REVIEWED THOSE PORTIONS OF THE CHANCELLOR'S SPEECH (WHICH THE EMBASSY HAS REPORTED SEPARATELY)
DEALING WITH THE SANCTIONS ISSUE AND THAT I FOUND THEM TO
BE "COOL" AND RESPONSIBLE. I URGED LAMBSOOKFF TO IMPRESS
ON HIS COLLEAGUES IN THE GOVERNMENT THE NEED TO MAINTAIN
THIS TONE AND TO AVOID PROVOCATIVE STATEMENTS. I SAID I
PARTICULARLY HOPED THE GERMANS WOULD TAKE THIS LINE AT

SECRET.



INCOMING TELEGRAM

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PAGE 03

BONN 13754 01 OF 02 251602Z

THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL NEXT WEEK, AND TRY TO PERSUADE OTHER EC MEMBERS (FRANCE IN PARTICULAR) TO TEMPER THEIR RHETORIC AS WELL. I STRESSED THAT RETALIATORY ACTION, OR EVEN HINTS OF SUCH ACTION, MUST BE AVOIDED. I CONCLUDED THAT THE PIPELINE PROBLEM MUST AND CAN ONLY BE WORKED OUT AT A HIGH POLITICAL LEVEL, AND THAT I HOPED HE WOULD SHARE THESE VIEWS.

- 5. LAMBSDORFF THANKED ME FOR MY ANALYSIS AND FOR COMING TO HIM. HE SUGGESTED I NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE DAMAGE DUNE TO THE PRESIDENT'S IMAGE IN EUROPE BY THE PIPELINE DECISION, COMING AS IT DID IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING MASTERFUL SPEECHES IN THE BUNDESTAG AND BERLIN. HE BELIEVED THAT THE PIPELINE DECISION HAD REKINDLED EARLIER CONCERNS ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S ATTITUDES TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION AND EAST-WEST TRADE.
- 6. HE FURTHER NOTED THAT THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN FOLLOWING PRESS AND OTHER REPORTS COMING FRUM WASHINGTON ON THE PIPELINE DEBATE. HE SAID BONN HAD FORMED THE IMPRESSION THAT ANTI-PIPELINE SENTIMENT HAD MODERATED IN RECENT WEEKS AND THEREFORE HAS SURPRISED BY THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION. HE DEPLORED THE LACK OF CONSULTATION OR EVEN OF ADVANCE WARNING. THE LACK OF CONSULTATIONS ASIDE, HE BELIEVED THE EUROPEANS HAD MADE AN EFFORT TO ACCOMMODATE U.S. CONCERNS ON CREDITS. HE RECUGNIZED THAT THE EFFURT HAD PERHAPS BEEN INSUFFICIENT, BUT IT WAS AT LEAST A BEGINNING, WHICH WE SHOULD NOT DISCOUNT. AND HE EXPLICITLY DEPLORED MITTERRAND'S POST-SUMMIT BLAST ON THE CREDIT.

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BY CH NARA, DATE 4/30/01

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PAGE 01 BONN 13754 02 OF 02 2516027 ACTION NODS-00

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SECREL SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 13754

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR BURNS

PLEASE PASS SECRETARY REGAN AND JUDGE CLARK

- 7. LAMBSDORFF OBSERVED THAT HE FELT THE IMMEDIATE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FOR GERMAN FIRMS RESULTING FROM THE SANCTIONS COULD BE SOLVED, BUT THAT HE CONTINUED TO BELIEVE THAT THE EXTRA-TERRITORIAL APPLICATION OF U.S. LAW, INTERFERENCE WITH EXISTING CONTRACTS, AND THE EFFECT OF SUCH ACTIONS ON THE INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOR WERE OF SERIOUS CONCERN. HE DID NOT BELIEVE THE SANCTIONS WOULD STOP THE PIPELINE, OR ALTER THE SITUATION IN POLAND.
- 8. LAMBSDORFF AGREED WITH ME THAT ONLY VERY HIGH-LEVEL POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS OFFERED A WAY OUT OF THE PRESENT SITUATION. HE SAID THE FIRST AREA OF CONSIDERATION OUGHT TO BE THE APPLICABILITY OF THE SANCTIONS TO THOSE TURBINE PARTS WHICH HAD BEEN EXPORTED TO EUROPE PRIOR TO THE DECEMBER 29 DECISION. PERMITTING THE EXPORT TO THE SOVIET UNION OF TURBINES USING THESE PARTS WOULD HELP TO ALLEVIATE THE HARDSHIP CAUSED BY THE SANCTIONS DECISION, AND WOULD GIVE US TIME TO WORK OUT A SOLUTION ACCEPTABLE TO THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE ON BOTH CREDITS AND THE PIPELINE.



INCOMING TELEGRAM

SECRET

PAGE 02

BONN 13754 02 OF 02 2516027

9. LAMBSDORFF SAID HE WOULD BE IN WASHINGTON ON JULY 20 AND 21 AND WOULD DISCUSS THE ISSUE AT THAT TIME. I URGED HIM TO DO THIS AND IN THE INTERIM TO TRY AND SECURE THE AGREEMENT OF THE OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO PROVIDE THE PRESIDENT THE POLITICAL HANDLE HE NEEDS TO RECONSIDER THE PIPELINE DECISION. I ADDED THAT SOME PUSITIVE MOVE—MENT ON THE CREDIT ISSUE WOULD BE PARTICULARLY HELPFUL. FINALLY, I INFORMED LAMBSDORFF THAT I WOULD BE BACK IN WASHINGTON ON JULY 21, AND WE AGREED TO TRY TO MEET FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS AT THAT TIME.

10. LATER IN THE DAY, OTTO VON DER GABLENTZ GALLED AT MY OFFICE, AND I REPEATED WHAT I HAD PREVIOUSLY TOLD LAMBSDORFF.
BURNS

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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SECSTATE WASHDC 5324 DATE 06/28/82

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FOR-

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MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

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IMMEDIATE DE RUEHC #5324 1751204 O P 2411537 JUN 82 7FF6 FM SECSTATE WASHDO

TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE 2142

INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY 7337 USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY Ø71Ø

SECRET STATE 175324

NODIS

GENEVA FOR USINF, BONN ALSO FOR BURT/WARD E.O. 12065: RDS-3 6/23/92 (NILES, THOMAS M. T.)

TAGS: PARM, INF

SUBJECT: INF: FRG ALTERNATIVES TO "ZERO/ZERO"

REF: GENEVA 5912 (NOTAL)

- 1. _(SECRET ENTIRE TEXT)
- 2. ON FRINGES OF DIRECTOR ROSTOW'S JUNE 4 NAC BRIEFING, AMBASSADOR NITZE SPOKE WITH FRED RUTH ON INF. RUTH'S MAIN POINT WAS THAT WE SHOULD NOT SHOW OURSELVES TO BE LOCKED IN TO THE "ZERO/ZERO" PROPOSAL: WHILE IT WAS AN OPTIMUM OUTCOME, A SOVIET PROPOSAL OF 100 LRINF SYSTEMS ON EACH SIDE WOULD ALSO BE ACCEPTABLE.
- 3. WE WANT TO DISCOURAGE RUTH FROM RAISING THIS IDEA IN THE SCG. ACCORDINGLY, EMBASSY BONN SHOULD

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

CONTACT RUTH, NOTE THAT HE WILL HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THESE ISSUES WITH SCG CHAIRMAN BURT BEFORE THE JUNE 30 MEETING, AND ASK THAT RUTH ENSURE THESE SUGGESTIONS ARE NOT AIRED MORE WIDELY IN THE SCG. WITH OTHER ALLIES OR IN PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS.

4. EMBASSY SHOULD ALSO EXPRESS TO RUTH AND APPROPRIATE CHANCELLERY OFFICIALS OUR CONCERN OVER REMARK ATTRIBUTED TO CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT BY JOSEPH KRAFT IN COLUMN ENTITLED "THE FRUITS OF THE GRAND TOUR" WHICH APPEARED IN JJNE 17 WASHINGTON POST (WE UNDERSTAND IT ALSO APPEARED IN INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE). RELEVANT PORTION OF COLUMN FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT:

CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT, WHOM I SAW IN NEW YORK AFTER THE NATO SUMMIT IN BONN, WAS AS MITTERRAND PREDICTED "ON THE SAME WAVE LENGTH. " SCHMIDT REFERRED TO THE AMERICAN PREFERENCE FOR ZERO NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE EUROPEAN THEATER AS AN "OPENING POSITION." THE CLEAR IMPLICATION WAS THAT, IN TIME, THE WEST GERMANS WOULD RENOUNCE DEPLOYMENT OF PERSHINGS AND CRUISE MISSILES, IF THE RUSSIANS AGREED TO CUT DOWN THE NUMBER OF SS-20S IN EJROPE TO ABOUT 75. SCHMIDT SUGGESTED THAT EVENTUALLY THE UNITED STATES WOULD WANT TO MERGE THE NEGOTIATIONS ON INTERMEDIATE-RANGE MISSILES WITH THOSE ON INTERCONTINENTAL MISSILES.

END TEXT.

5. EMBASSY SHOULD MAKE THE POINT THAT SUCH PUBLIC COMMENTS -- IF TRUE -- TEND TO UNDERMINE US NEGOTIATING POSITION CALLING FOR THE ELIMINATION OF ALL LONGER-RANGE INF MISSILES, A POSITION WHICH WAS DEVELOPED IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH AND AGREED TO BY THE ALLIES.

HAIG

SECSTATE WASHDC 5324 DTG: 241153Z JUN 82 PSN: Ø32891



SECRET

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

DTG: 231543Z JUN 82 PSN: Ø31552 BONN 3519 PAGE Ø1 DATE Ø6/28/82

TOR: 174/1707Z SIT661

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MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE DE RUFHOL #3519 1741544 O 231543Z JUN 82 ZFF-4 FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7905

SECRET BONN 13519

NODIS

DEPARTMENT PLEASE REPEAT AS APPROPRIATE E. O. 12065: RDS-1 6/23/02 (WOESSNER, W. M.) OR-M TAGS: MNUC, MPOL, GE SUBJECT: NUCLEAR WEAPONS SECURITY REF: STATE 163092 (DTG 141445Z JUN 82)

1. P - ENTIRE TEXT).

DCM MADE POINTS CONTAINED REFTEL TO VON DER GABLENTZ, THE PRINCIPAL NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER IN THE CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE, JUNE 22 STRESSING THE SENSITIVITY OF OUR APPROACH. VON DER GABLENTZ REPLIED THAT HE WOULD INFORM THE CHANCELLOR OF OUR CONCERNS AND ENSURE THAT THERE WAS FOLLOWUP BY THE RESPONSIBLE FRG MINISTRIES. HE SAID THAT AT LAST WEEK'S CABINET MEETING THE CHANCELLOR HAD EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT AFTER ITS DEBACLE IN LEBANON THE PLO WOULD RESORT TO TERRORIST ATTACKS IN EUROPE, AND THAT GERMAN TERRORIST GROUPS SUCH AS THE REVOLUNTIONARY CELLS AND THE RED ARMY FACTION, WHICH HAD CLOSE TIES TO THE PLO, WOULD AGAIN BECOME ACTIVE. VON DER GABLENTZ SAID THAT THE FRG WOULD, OF COURSE, SHARE WITH US ANY INFORMATION IT ACQUIRES WITH REGARD TO THREATS TO US NUCLEAR INSTALLATIONS. BURNS

END OF MESSAGE FOOTER

SECRET WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

BONN 32Ø7

DTG: 181556Z JUN 82 PSN: Ø24813

PAGE Ø1 BONN 3207 DTG:181556Z JUN 82 PSN: Ø24813 SIT664 DATE Ø6/28/82 TOR: 169/1651Z

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MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE
DE RUFHOL #32Ø7 1691557
O 181556Z JUN 82 ZFF4
FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7787

SECRET BONN 13207

NODIS

E.O. 12865: RDS-1 6/18/82 (WOESSNER, WILLIAM M.) OR-M

TAGS: PEPR, AF, UR, US

SUBJ: BRIEFING ALLIES ON U.S.-SOVIET DIALOGUE ON

AFGHANISTAN--THE FRG REF: (A) STATE 166452

1. /8-ENTIRE TEXT)

- 2. WE BRIEFED DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR SOUTH ASIAN AFFAIRS BUERGER ON JUNE 18. HE EXPRESSED THANKS AND SAID HIS OFFICE WOULD INFORM FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER BUT WILL WAIT UNTIL NEXT WEEK WHEN IT MIGHT BE ABLE TO INCLUDE A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS OF THE SECRETARY'S JUNE 18 DISCUSSION OF AFGHANISTAN WITH FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO. BUERGER ASKED THAT WE PROVIDE THIS INFORMATION IF WE CAN
- 3. BUERGER FURTHER OBSERVED THAT IT IS GOOD THAT THE U.S.-SOVIET TALKS WOULD REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL. IF OTHERS GOT WIND OF THE TALKS, THEY MIGHT BE TEMPTED TO RELAX THEIR OWN EFFORTS. BUERGER REFERRED TO ISLAMIC COUNTRIES SOME OF WHICH, HE BELIEVES, HAVE ALREADY SHOWN A TENDENCY TO SIT BACK AND DO NOTHING BECAUSE OF THE TALKS JUST BEGUN IN GENEVA. BUERGER EXPRESSED A NEED TO FIND WAYS TO ENCOURAGE SUCH COUNTRIES TO CONTINUE THE PRESSURE

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

FOR SOVIET WITHDRAWAL. HE POINTED IN THIS CONTEXT TO THE RECENT RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE BUNDESTAG (REPORTED SEPARATELY), NOTING THAT THE FOREIGN OFFICE HAD SENT IT TO FRG POSTS ABROAD TO USE AS THEY COULD IN ENCOURAGING OTHER COUNTRIES.

4. ACTION REQUESTED: PLEASE PROVIDE RESULTS OF SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH GROMYKO THAT WE CAN CONVEY TO FOREIGN OFFICE.
BURNS

NLS F97-036 2 #143

NLS F97-036 2 #143

NARA, DATE 4/36/01

SEGRET.

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø1 SIT901 DATE 07/19/82

SECSTATE WASHDC 3092

DTG: 141445Z JUN 82 PSN: Ø177Ø6

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MESSAGE:

PRIORITY DE RUEHC #3092 1651525 P R 141445Z JUN 82 ZFF6 FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY 1667

INFO USMISSION USNATO 6489 WHITE HOUSE RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE 7724 USMR SHAPE

SFCRET STATE 163092

NODIS

MLITARY ADDRESSEES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE E.O. 12065 RDS-01 06-11-02 (HOWE, JONATHAN T.) TAGS: MNUC, MPOL, GE SUBJECT: NUCLEAR WEAPONS SECURITY

REF: (A) STATE 126375 (B) BONN 10708

1. (SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT).

- 2. AS RECOMMENDED IN REFTEL B, EMBASSY S; OULD APPROACH APPROPRIATE FRG OFFICIALS AT YOUR DISCRETION TO UNDERSCORE US CONCERNS ABOUT POSSIBLE DEMONSTRATIONS OR TERRORIST INCIDENTS AT NUCLEAR WEAPONS SITES IN THE FRG AND THE NEED TO UNDERTAKE ALL REASONABLE PRECAUTIONS TO DEAL WITH THESE THREATS
- 3. IN THE CONTEXT OF CONCERNS AND CAUTIONS EXPRESSED IN

MESSAGE (CONTINUED) .

REFTEL A, EMBASSY SHOULD DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

- -- WE ARE CONCERNED THAT THE MOST RECENT ATTACKS ON US FACILITIES COULD BE A PRELUDE TO ANTI-NUCLEAR ACTIVITIES IN EUROPE THIS SUMMER.
- -- OF PARTICULAR CONCERN IS THE POSSIBILITY THAT A DISSI-DENT/TERRORIST GROUP MIGHT INSPIRE OR USE AN ANTI-NUCLEAR DEMONSTRATION AT A NUCLEAR WEAPONS SITE AS A COVER FOR A

PREPLANNED ATTACK. EVEN IF THE ATTACK SUBSEQUENTLY FAILED OR WAS ABANDONED, THE ADVERSE PUBLIC AND POLITICAL FALLOUT FROM THE DEMONSTRATION ALONE COULD SERIOUSLY AFFECT THE FUTURE OF THE NATO NUCLEAR PROGRAM.

-- YOU CAN BE ASSURED THAT SHOULD WE OBTAIN ANY

EVIDENCE OF A SPECIFIC THREAT TO THE NUCLEAR SITES. YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL BE NOTIFIED IMMEDIATELY.

- -- FOR OUR PART, THE US HAS THOROUGHLY REVIEWED ITS CONTINGENCY PLANS AND HAS, WHERE NECESSARY, TAKEN APPROPRIATE ACTIONS TO IMPROVE SECURITY AT NUCLEAR SITES.
- -- WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE GERMAN MINISTRY OF DEFENSE TO ENSURE THAT JOINT PLANS AND PROGRAMS FOR RESPONDING TO INCIDENTS AT NUCLEAR SITES. INCLUDING THOSE DEALING WITH PUBLIC AFFAIRS. ARE FULLY IN ORDER.
- -- ALSO IN THIS REGARD, WE ATTACH PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO THE TIMELY DISSEMINATION AND SHARING OF INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION AS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT STEPS WE CAN UNDERTAKE JOINTLY TO ENSURE NUCLEAR SI-E PERSONNEL ARE AS PREPARED AS POSSIBLE TO DEAL WITH POTENTIAL TERRORIST THREATS.
- 4. EMBASSY COULD ALSO OFFER TO ARRANGE BRIEFINGS FOR APPROPRIATE SENIOR HOST GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ON THE PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED US CONTINGENCY PLANNING. THE US EUROPEAN COMMAND, FOR EXAMPLE, WOULD WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS NUCLEAR SECURITY ISSUES WITH INTERESTED FRG OFFICIALS.

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

- 5. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE EMBASSY'S VIEWS REGARD-ING FRG OFFICIALS' REACTIONS NOTED DURING THE DISCUSSION. TO INCLUDE ANY ACTIONS WHICH HOST GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE MOVED TO UNDERTAKE AS A RESULT.
- 6. THIS CABLE WAS PREPARED JOINTLY BY STATE AND DEFENSE, HAIG

SECSTATE WASHDC 3092

DTG: 1414457 JUN 82 PSN: 017706





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TELEGRAM

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-SECRET

NOD422

MCF WHLL PAGE AS BONN ACTION NODS-88 INFO OCT-00 /888 W 0 291629Z MAY 62 ZFF-4 PM AMENBASSY BONN TO SECSTATE WASHOC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7234 SECRET BONN 11766 NODIS FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR BURNS X08-1 5/29/12 (BURNS, ARTHUR F.) OR-M E.O. 128651 TAGS: PPDC GE UBJECT: LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT FROM FRANZ JOSEP STRAUSS 1. (8 - ENTIRE TEXT) FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS HAS WRITTEN THE FOLLOWING LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT. PLEASE BE GOOD ENOUGH TO TRANSMIT IT TO THE PRESIDENT AND INFORM HR. WICK OF ITS CONTENTS. SIGNED ORIGINAL, DATED MAY 26, 1982, WILL FOLLOW BY POUCH. 3. BEGIN TEXT. DEAR HR. PRESIDENT. -- MY POLITICAL FRIENDS AND I ARE LOOKING FORWARD WITH PLEASURE AND SATISFACTION TO YOUR FORTHCOMING VISIT TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY. THE MAJORITY OF THE GERMAN POPULATION CONSIDERS YOUR VISIT TO BONN TO BE A SPECIAL TOKEN OF THE CLOSE TIES OF PRIENDSHIP SECRET DECLASSIFIED -F97-630/2 #



INCOMING TELEGRAM

SECRET

PAGE 02

BONN 11766 2016332

BETHEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND OUR COUNTRY.

AS I HAVE ALREADY INFORMED YOU ON THE OCCASION OF MY LAST VISIT TO WASHINGTON, THE CHRISTIAN-SOCIAL UNION AND THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION WILL CALL UPON THE PUBLIC TO PARTICIPATE IN PEACEFUL AND POWERFUL MANIFESTATIONS ALREADY BEFORE YOUR ARRIVAL ON JUNE 5, 1982. THESE MANIFESTATIONS ARE INTENDED TO DEMONSTRATE UNMISTAKABLY THAT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF DUR PEOPLE UNERRINGLY ADHERES TO THE FRIENDHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS, DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, AS WELL AS OUR COMMITMENT TO OUR PERMANENT PARTNERSHIP WITHIN NATO.

OF FRIENDSHIP IN BONN AND MUNICH WILL NOT ONLY BE COVERED BY THE GERMAN MASS MEDIA BUT THAT THE AMERICAN PUBLIC WILL BECOME AWARE OF HOW SERIOUSLY WE TAKE OUR OBLIGATIONS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE.

TELEVISION NETWORKS HAVE INSTRUCTED THEIR STAFF TO REPORT ON THE DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST YOUR PRESENCE IN GERMANY ORGANIZED BY LEFTIST FRINGE GROUPS, BUT TO COMPLETELY DISREGARD THE EVENTS ORGANIZED BY CSU AND COU IN BONN AND HUNICH. THEREFORE I HOULD LIKE TO URGE YOU TO BRING YOUR INFLUENCE TO BEAR -- AS FAR AS YOU CONSIDER IT POSSIBLE AND EXPEDIENT -- THAT ALSO THE PRO-AMERICAN MANIFESTATIONS IN BONN AND MUNICH WILL FAND ADEQUATE COVERAGE IN THE U.S. PRINTED AND BROADCAST MEDIA.

WE SHALL CERTAINLY NOT PAIL TO DO OUR UTHOST

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY



INCOMING TELEGRAM

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PAGE 83

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BONN 11766 291633Z

ALREADY BEFORE YOUR ARRIVAL IN GERMANY TO MAKE YOUR VISIT A POWERFUL AND CONVINCING DEMONSTRATION OF LOYAL FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS AND OUR DEDICATION TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION.

-- LOOKING FORWARD TO YOUR VISIT WITH GREAT ANTICIPATION AND KEEN INTEREST, I REMAIN, MR. PRESIDENT.

-- Yours FAITHFULLY,

FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS.

END TEXT. BURNS

SPERFT-

SEGRET

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø1 BONN 1423

DTG: 261019Z MAY 82 PSN: 044775 SIT371 DATE 06/02/82 TOR: 146/1201Z

DURING THEIR VISIT TO WASHINGTON LATER THIS WEEK. BURNS

BONN 1423

DTG: 261019Z MAY 82 PSN: 044775

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MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE DE RUFHOL #1423 1461019 0 261019Z MAY 82 ZFF4 FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7123

S.E.C.R.E. T. BONN 11423

NODIS

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS MADRID AND USNATO E.O. 12865: RDS-1 5/26/82 (WOESSNER, W.M.) OR-M

TAGS: NATO, SP, GE

SUBJECT: NATO SUMMIT: SPANISH ACCESSION CEREMONY

REFS: (A) STATE 137576 (B) STATE 140980 (C) USNATO Ø3464

1. (SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. DCM DISCUSSED QUESTION OF SPANISH ACCESSION CEREMONY AT SUMMIT WITH PEEFFER MAY 25 MAKING POINTS CONTAINED REF A. PFEFFER SAID THE GERMANS DID NOT LIKE THE IDEA OF HAVING MITTERRAND STAY OVER FOR A CEREMONY ON JUNE 10 AND THEN LEAVE JUST AS THE SUMMIT MEETING CONVENED. THAT WOULD NOT BE GOOD. THE EVENING OF JUNE 9 WAS ALREADY SO TIGHTLY SCHEDULED THAT A CEREMONY THEN APPEARED TO BE A LOGISTICAL IMPOSSIBILITY. IN ANY CASE THERE WOULD BE EXTENSIVE REFERENCES TO SPANISH ACCESSION IN THE SPEECHES SUCH AS THAT OF THE FEDERAL PRESIDENT.

3. PFEFFER WENT ON TO SUGGEST, ON A PERSONAL BASIS,

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

THAT THE OPENING SUMMIT CEREMONY ON JUNE 10 COULD BE BEEFED UP IN SOME WAY SO AS TO GIVE MORE PROMINENCE TO THE SPANISH. HE WASN'T SURE PRECISELY HOW THIS COULD BE DONE. WE WOULD NEED CONCRETE PROPOSALS WHICH COULD THEN BE DISCUSSED IN NATO CHANNELS.

4. TURNING TO THE QUESTION OF SEPARATE SUMMIT DOCUMENT ON CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE PFEFFER SAID THAT PERHAPS SOME OF THE LANGUAGE COULD BE TAKEN UP IN THE COMMUNIQUE ITSELF. HE EXPRESSED SOME CONCERN THAT THE SPANISH MIGHT JOIN THE FRENCH IN ABSTAINING FROM A SEPARATE DOCUMENT. 14 TO 2 WOULD NOT BE GOOD. AMBASSADOR RUTH AND GENERAL TANDESKI WOULD BE ADDRESSING THIS SUBJECT

-GONFIDENT! AL

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø1 SECSIAL DATE Ø6/Ø2/82

SECSTATE WASHDC 1664 DTG: 222005Z MAY 82 PSN: 039888

TOR: 142/2138Z

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WHSR COMMENT:

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

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MESSAGE:

TMMEDIATE DE RUEHC #1664 1422029 O 222005Z MAY 82 ZFFE FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE Ø629 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 9938 AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 4985 AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE 7555 AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 4886 AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE 4266 AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE 6738

CONFIDENTI A L STATE 141664 NODIS

FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY, USEEC ONLY E. O. 12065: RDS 5/22/02 (HAIG, ALEXANDER M.) TAGS: OVIP (SHULTZ, GEORGE) SUBJECT: SHULTZ MISSION

1. CENTIRE TEXT.

- GEORGE SHULTZ WAS BACK IN WASHINGTON ON THURSDAY AND I HAD A CHANCE TO HAVE A FEW WORDS WITH HIM ABOUT HIS TRIP. AS YOU MAY KNOW, GEORGE SPENT OVER AN HOUR WITH THE PRESIDENT LAST SATURDAY (THE 15TH), GIVING HIM A VERY COMPLETE REPORT ON THE TRIP.
- 3. THE CONVERSATIONS GEORGE HAD WITH THE VERSAILLES PARTICIPANTS AND WITH SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS

MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

HAVE BEEN EXTREMELY VALUABLE TO THE PRESIDENT AS HE PREPARES FOR HIS EUROPEAN TRIP. I AM CERTAIN THAT GEORGE WAS ALSO ABLE TO PROJECT THE PRESIDENT'S SENSITIVITY AND CONCERN ABOUT THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL HEALTH OF THE ALLIANCE TO HIS INTERLOCUTORS ON YOUR SIDE.

- GEORGE'S MISSION WAS, IN MY OPINION, HANDLED JUST RIGHT. IT RECEIVED SOME PRESS ATTENTION, BUT WAS NOT PLAYED AS A HIGH-PROFILE ITEM. GEORGE TELLS ME THAT THE ARRANGEMENTS ALONG THE WAY WERE PERFECT.
- 5. I WOULD LIKE TO THANK YOU AND YOUR STAFFS FOR AN OUTSTANDING JOB WELL DONE. HAIG

DECLASSIFIED NLS F97-030/2 # 151 CONFIDENTIAL BY CAS, NARA, DATE 4/30/01

SECRET

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

DTG: 220214Z MAY 82 PSN: 038965 PAGE Ø1 SECSTATE WASHDC Ø98Ø

DATE Ø6/Ø2/82 TOR: 142/0230Z SIT256 ______

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WHSR COMMENT: NODIS

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

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MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE DE RUEHC # Ø98Ø 142Ø228 O 220214Z MAY 82 ZFF6 FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE Ø586 AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE 6375

INFO USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE 9981 WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE 7577 BT

CRET STATE 140980

NODIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 05/21/02 (HOLMES, H. ALLEN)

TAGS: NATO, SP, GE SUBJECT: NATO SUMMIT: SPANISH ACCESSION CEREMONY

REF: (A) BONN 11112; (B) STATE 137576

1.___ ENTIRE TEXT.

IN VIEW OF HIGH LEVEL INTEREST IN USG IN SPANISH ACCESSION CEREMONY AT THE SUMMIT, AND BEARING IN MIND ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLMES' CONVERSATION WITH PFEFFER AT LUXEMBOURG (REF B), REQUEST EMBASSY GO IN AT MORE SENIOR LEVEL (E. G., PFEFFER) TO REINFORCE THE VIEWS CONTAINED REF (A). YOU MAY ALSO ADD AS APPROPRIATE THAT WE DOUBT PORTUGUESE WOULD HAVE PROBLEMS WITH IDEA OF CELEBRATING A NEW NATO MEMBERSHIP AND THAT A SYMBOLIC SEPARATION BETWEEN CEREMONY MARKING SPANISH ENTRY AND FORMAL OPENING OF SUMMIT NEED NOT ADD

MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

SIGNIFICANTLY MORE TIME TO EVENTS OF JUNE 10.

3. FOR MADRID: YOU SHOULD AS APPROPRIATE EMPHASIZE TO THE GOS THAT WE SEE SPANISH ACCESSION CEREMONY AS CENTRAL SUMMIT EVENT, AND ONE THAT WOULD NOT BE

OVERSHADOWED BY OTHER PROCEEDINGS BUT WOULD RATHER DOMINATE THEM. IN LIGHT OF COMMENTS BY AMBASSADOR AGUIRRE CONCERNING JUNE 5 CEREMONY AT EVERE, WE WOULD APPRECIATE CLEARER READING FROM GOS ON IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO THIS CEREMONY. IN THIS DISCUSSION YOU SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT WE DO NOT WANT ANYTHING TO DETRACT FROM THE IMPACT OF THE SUMMIT EVENT. HAIG

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø1

SECSTATE WASHDC 7576 SIT273 DATE 06/02/82

DTG: 200358Z MAY 82 PSN: 036069

TOR: 140/0642Z

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WHSR COMMENT: NODIS/CHECKLIST

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MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE DE RUEHC #7576 1400517 0 200358Z MAY 82 ZFF6 FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE Ø475 USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE 9926

INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 4639 AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE 6325

SECRET STATE 137576 NODIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 05/19/02 (HOLMES H. ALLEN)

TAGS: NATO, SP

SUBJECT: NATO SUMMIT: SPANISH ACCESSION CEREMONY

REF: (A) USNATO 2774: (B) PARIS 14638

1. SENTIRE TEXT.

2. THERE IS GOOD REASON TO BELIEVE THAT SPANISH ACCESSION WILL BE COMPLETED IN TIME FOR THE SUMMIT: THUSIT IS TIME TO BEGIN TO PLAN FOR THE FORMAL CEREMONY WELCOMING SPAIN INTO THE ALLIANCE WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE AT BONN. WE ATTACH CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE TO THIS CEREMONY, SINCE IT WILL BE A CENTERPIECE OF THE BONN MEETING, SYMBOLIZING THE HEALTH AND VITALITY OF THE ALLIANCE AND THE DEMOCRATIC VALUES WHICH NATO WAS CREATED TO DEFEND.

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

3. FOR BONN: ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLMES RAISED ISSUE OF SPANISH ACCESSION CEREMONY WITH FRG POLITICAL DIRECTOR PFEFFER ON THE MARGINS OF THE LUXEMBOURG MINISTERIAL, DRAWING ON POINTS BELOW. PFEFFER'S INITIAL REACTION WAS POSITIVE. EMBASSY SHOULD NOW FOLLOW UP WITH FRG AT THE HIGHEST APPROPRIATE LEVEL TO REITERATE OUR INTEREST IN THIS QUESTION AND OUR VIEW

THAT THE BEST OUTCOME WOULD BE ONE WHICH PROVIDED FOR THE GREATEST POSSIBLE INTEGRATION OF THE SPANISH CEREMONY INTO THE SUMMIT PROCEEDINGS AND THE FULLEST POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION BY NATO HEADS OF STATE/GOVERNMENT -- INCLUDING FRENCH PRESIDENT MITTERRAND. YOU SHOULD ALSO REITERATE HOLMES' SUGGESTION THAT THE FRG, AS HOST, APPROACH MITTERRAND TO DETERMINE WHETHER HE WOULD BE WILLING TO PARTICIPATE

IN THIS CEREMONY. AS NECESSARY AND APPROPRIATE IN YOUR FOLLOW-UP DISCUSSIONS. YOU SHOULD DRAW ON THE POINTS CONTAINED IN PARA 2 ABOVE AND ON THE FOLLOWING:

- -- WE CONSIDER A MEANINGFUL AND EFFECTIVE SPANISH ACCESSION CEREMONY TO BE VITAL TO THE OVERALL SUCCESS OF THE SUMMIT.
- -- WITH PREPARATIONS FOR THE SUMMIT UNDER WAY IN EARNEST FOLLOWING THE MINISTERIAL, WE WANT TO GIVE EARLY ATTENTION TO THE WELCOMING CEREMONY FOR SPAIN. WE SEE THREE BASIC ALTERNATIVES WITH RESPECT TO TIMING:
- (1) THE EVENING OF JUNE 9. THIS WOULD PERMIT FULL PARTICIPATION BY ATTENDING HEADS OF STATE/GOVERNMENT BY ALLOWING FOR THE PRESENCE OF FRENCH PRESIDENT MITTERRAND. BUT IT ALSO WOULD SEPARATE THE CEREMONY FROM THE JUNE 10 SUMMIT PROCEEDINGS THEMSELVES. THEREBY DETRACTING FROM BOTH THE CEREMONY AND THE SUMMIT. WE BELIEVE THAT THE DRAWBACKS OF A SUMMIT-EVE CEREMONY THEREFORE SIGNIFICANTLY OUTWEIGH ITS POTENTIAL ADVANTAGES.
- . (2) IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE FORMAL OPENING OF THE SUMMIT ON JUNE 18. THIS ALMOST CERTAINLY WOULD RULE OUT MITTERRAND'S ATTENDANCE.
- . (3) CLEARLY THE BEST TIME, IN OUR VIEW, WOULD BE THE

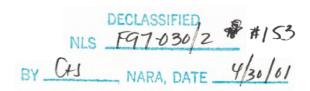
MESSAGE (CONTINUED) .

MORNING OF JUNE 10, IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THE FORMAL OPENING OF THE SUMMIT ITSELF. THIS WOULD RETAIN A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE CEREMONY AND THE SUMMIT PROCEEDINGS WHICH WOULD ENCOURAGE MITTERRAND'S ATTENDANCE. WE HOPE THE GERMANS AGREE AND THAT THEY WILL, IN APPROACHING MITTERRAND, OFFER TO SCHEDULE THE CEREMONY IN THIS MANNER.

4. FOR USNATO: YOU SHOULD, AS YOU DEEM MOST APPROPRIATE, CONVEY OUR THINKING ON THIS QUESTION TO LUNS. HAIG

SECSTATE WASHDC 7576

DTG: 200358Z MAY 82 PSN: 036069



-SECRET

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02 BONN 0728 DTG: 171:01Z MAY 82 PSN: 031996

SIT676 DATE 05/19/82 TOR: 137/1246Z

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E CB:

WHSR COMMENT: NODIS

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESS/GE:

TO SECSIATE WASHDO IMMEDIATE 6880

S E O B E INECNN 10708

NODIS
E.O. 12265: GDS: 5/14/88 (WOESSNEE, WILLIAM W.) OR+M
TAGS: MAUC, MEDL, XG, GE
SLEJECT: NJOLEAR WEAPONS SECURITY IN THE FRG
REF: STATE 126375

- 1. GEORET ENTIRE TEXT).
- 2. THE EMBASSY REVIEWED NUCLEAR WEAFONS ACCIDENTAL INCIDENT PLANS AT A MEETING WITH FUCOM REPRESENTATIVES IN BONN ON MAY 13. AS A RESULT WE ARE REVISING OUR PROCEDURES SOMEWHAT TO PROVIDE A MORE FLEXIBLE AND RESPONSIVE OF BILLITY TO DEAL WITH SUCH PROBLEMS SHOULD THEY ARISE.
- S. AITH RESARD TO A FOSSIBLE AFFROACH TO THE FRG AUTHORITIES ALONG THE LINES CUTLINED IN FARA 2 REFTEL, WE BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO FOCUS HIGH LEVEL ATTENTION ON OUR CONCERNS REGARDING THE PROBLEM OF POSSIBLE TERRORIST INCIDENTS INVOLVING NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IT WOULD BE PARTICULARLY TIMELY TO DO SO AT THIS TIME IN VIEW OF REPORTS THAT TERRORISTS MAY TAKE ACTION AGAINST US INSTALLATIONS HERE AROUND THE TIME OF THE PRESIDENT'S JUNE VISIT. AS FOR SOME OF THE OTHER POINTS MENTICHED IN FARA 2. DEPARTMENT SHOULD BE AWARE THAT EUCOM IS ALREADY ENCAGED IN WORKING OUT

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

WITH THE FMOD PLANS FOR DETAILED IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EXISTING US-FRG AGREEMENT ON DEALING WITH NUCLEAR INCIDENTS.

4. WE BELIEVE THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO BRING THIS MATTER TO THE ATTENTION OF THE FRG FOLICYMAKERS WOULD BE FOR THE DOM TO DISCUSS IT WITH THE SENIOR CHANCELLERY OFFICIAL RESPONSIBLE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY MATTERS. SUFNS

NLS F97-030/2 #154

BY CHI NARA, DATE 4/30/0/

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02 BOWN 0708 DTG: 171101Z MAY 82 PSN: 031996

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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EONN 2684 PAGE Ø1 DTG: 150943Z MAY 82 PSN: 029780 DATE 05/19/82 TCR: 135/1017Z SIT688 DISTRIBUTION: REPT /001 WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION: SIT: MCF JP VP WHLR SIT EOB E OB: WHSR COMMENT: MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS: NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS MESSAGE: INMEDIATE DE FUE FOL 11884 . 103945 O 15 848Z M11 90 DEF#4 FM INEVELSEY EUTIN TO DECSTATE W/SHDC NIACT INMEDIATE 6873 R E T EDNN 10684 NODIS DEPT ALSO PASS TO FOLG POSTS AS INDICATED: JEPT ALSO FIRST OF THE GRAP OF THE ACTION LEMISSION USHATO INFO: USDEL RESPECTARY AMEMBASSY PARIS AMEMBASSY PARIS

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AMEMBASSY PEIDLAN (FOR DECORER)

E.O. 12085: PDS-1. 3 935 15.02) (BURNS, ARTHUR F.)

TAGS: OVIP (FAIG. ALIXANIER M., UR.)

SUBJECT: SCHEDULING A CONTACT GROUP ON THE MARGINS OF THE NAC MINISTERIAL REF: SECTO CT026 1. SECELT - L'TIRE TEXT. FOREIGN MINISTER SHILLSCHER'S OFFICE HAD THOUGHT CONTACT GROUP MEETING WAS SET FOR 2230 SUNDAY, MAY 16.
GENSCHER'S SCHEDULE IS OPEN FOR A BREAKFAST MEETING 0800 0930 TUESDAY, MAY 18, HOWEVER, AND HIS OFFICE ACCEPTS
THAT TIME, IF THIS IS VHAT THE U.S. FREFERS. SURNS

NLS F97-030/2 # 155
BY CH NARA, DATE 4/30/01