NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

SECRET/NODIS December 29, 1970

NATIONAL SECURITY STUDY MEMORANDUM 111

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

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

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

1. The President wishes to review the four-power negotiations in
Berlin and the alternatives we might adopt in the next phase. The
review should include (1) a statement of the main issues, and the
positions adopted by the USSR, the Western Allies, and where
pertinent, the attitude of the West German government; (2) the
currently agreed Western position, including fallback positions
not presented to the USSR; and (3) the viewpoints of our Allies
and Bonn on how to proceed in the next phase. On this basis, the
study should present and discuss the various approaches we could
adopt on the main issues, and evaluate the effects that would result.
This evaluation should build on the policy guidelines outlined in
NSDM-91.

2. This study should be undertaken by a working group established
by the Chairman of the European Interdepartmental Group, and should
be submitted by January 12, 1971.

3. The President also wishes a longer term study to cover the
consequences of various developments in the Eastern policy of the
West German government. This study should assume (a) the success
of the Berlin talks and subsequent ratification of the Soviet and Polish
treaties, and (b) the failure of the Berlin talks and the consequences.
In particular, the study should examine longer term problems such
as the problems associated with the international recognition of East
Germany, admission to the UN, questions relating to our rights and
responsibilities for Berlin and Germany as a whole, domestic

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

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

Henry A. Kissinger

cc: Chairman, The Joint Chiefs of Staff