

MEMORANDUM

ACTION - 30540

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET~~

July 21, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. KISSINGER

FROM: Helmut Sonnenfeldt

SUBJECT: RFE and Pauls Interest in Seeing You

In late June, Foreign Office Political Director von Staden held talks in Warsaw with the Polish Deputy Foreign Minister. According to information passed to our Embassy by the Foreign Office, the Poles brought up RFE and flatly stated there could be no normalization of relations as long as the radio is located in FRG soil. The Germans were concerned about this hard line which they felt reflected the Poles' uncertainty in handling an unstable domestic situation, although they also recognized the Poles might be bluffing. (Embassy cable report at Tab B.)

25X1

[Redacted]

25X1

[Redacted]

I had previously advised you that Pauls called on the 19th to request an appointment with you (Log #30567, Tab C).

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[Redacted]

ACTION REQUESTED:

[Redacted]

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DOS, NSS reviews completed.

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The report should not be disseminated _____

It may be disseminated, but with the deletion of references to
HAK _____

No objection to the dissemination HK _____

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SUMMARY TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 530

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FILE COPY

51
ACTION: EUR-25

INFO: OCT-01 10-16 NIC-01 ACDA-19 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09
H-02 INR-08 L-04 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01
SS-20 USIA-12 RSR-01 /133:W

R: 031530Z JULI 71
M: AMEMBASSY BONN
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC 3746
INFO: AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
JMISSION: BERLIN

005262

- ~~ANDERSON~~
- ~~BEHR~~
- ~~BERGSTEN~~
- ~~CHAPIN~~
- ~~HOLDRIDGE~~
- ~~KENNEDY~~
- ~~LEHMAN~~
- ~~NACHMANOFF~~
- ~~ROBINSON~~
- ~~RONDON~~
- ~~SAUNDERS~~
- ~~SMITH~~
- ~~SMYSER~~
- ~~SONNENFELD~~
- ~~WRIGHT~~

C O N F I D E N T I A L BONN 8182

SUBJECT: FRG-POLISH RELATIONS: RFE

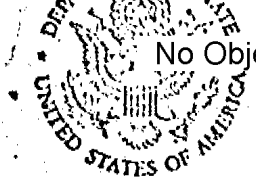
REF: WARSAW 1948

1. THE FONOFF (GORENFLUS, EE AFFAIRS) TOLD US THAT THE VON STADEN-WILLMAN TALKS, JUNE 22-23 IN WARSAW WERE GOOD: ICE-BREAKER FOR EXPERT LEVEL POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN FRG AND POLAND. FRG DELEGATION ENJOYED A GOOD RECEPTION BY POLES AND TALKS WENT WELL.

OEP

2. ON RFE, WILLMAN TOLD VON STADEN IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION THAT THERE COULD BE NO NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS AS LONG AS THE RADIO IS LOCATED ON FRG SOIL. THIS, GORENFLUS SAID, WAS THE HARDEST LINE THE GERMANS HAVE YET HEARD FROM THE POLES ABOUT RFE. WILLMAN STRESSED THE POLES WERE NOT INTERESTED IN THE FRG CUTTING DOWN THE PROPAGANDA CONTENT OF THE BROADCASTS BUT INSISTED ON THE COMPLETE REMOVAL OF STATION. VON STADEN GAVE STANDARD FRG DEFENSE OF THE RADIO, AND SAID THAT THE FRG IS ALWAYS WILLING TO LOOK AT CONCRETE PROOF FROM THE POLES ABOUT IMPROPER BROADCASTS. GORENFLUS THOUGHT THE TOUGH POLISH LINE REFLECTED THE UNCERTAINTY OF THE GIEREK GOVERNMENT IN HANDLING AN UNSTABLE DOMESTIC SITUATION. THE FONOFF IS CONCERNED WITH THE POLES' INSISTENCE ON REMOVAL OF RFE BEFORE NORMALIZATION, BUT RECOGNIZES POLES MAY WELL BE BLUFFING.

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TELEGRAM

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3. THE POLES POSITION ON RATIFICATION OF THE WARSAW TREATY WAS UNCHANGED; WILLMAN SAID THE WARSAW TREATY "SHOULD NOT BE RATIFIED INDEPENDENTLY FROM THE SOVIET TREATY." THEY PUT NO PRESSURE ON THE GERMANS ABOUT THE PRECONDITION OF A BERLIN SETTLEMENT BEFORE RATIFICATION OF THE MOSCOW TREATY. GORENPLUS SAID THE POLES DID NOT ACCEPT THE FRG POSITION, BUT OBVIOUSLY DID NOT WANT TO WASTE TIME TRYING TO MOVE THE GERMANS FROM THEIR FIRM POLICY ON THE LINKAGE. THE POLES SEEMED FAVORABLY IMPRESSED WITH THE LISBON COMMUNIQUE. THE FRG DELEGATION HAD THE STRONG IMPRESSION THE POLES HAD LITTLE ENTHUSIASM FOR MBFR AND WERE MORE INTERESTED IN CES.

4. ON NATIONALITY PROBLEM, GORENPLUS REPEATED SUBSTANCE PARA 3 AND 4 REFTEL. RUSH.

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30567

ACTION

July 19, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. KISSINGER

FROM: Helmut Sonnenfeldt

SUBJECT: Pauls Anxious To See You

Ambassador Pauls called today to say that he was very anxious to see you for about twenty minutes. He is available whenever it suits your schedule. I assume he wishes to talk about China. China policy is a continuing issue in Germany although Brandt ruled some time ago that the FRG was to make no attempt to play China off against the USSR. Schroeder has been interested in making a trip. With the US now substantially out ahead of the Germans, Bonn may be considering how to move. All its major allies are in direct contact with Peking.

RECOMMENDATION

That you agree to see Pauls.

Approve _____ Date _____ Time _____; Halperin notify _____
Sonnenfeldt notify _____

Disapprove _____

HC:hc