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FOLLOWING IS COVERING MATTER TO WHICH GERMAN BACKGROUND  
PAPER SERVES AS APPENDIX. COVERING MATTER BEGINS.

DRAFT SPECIAL GUIDANCE ON THE GERMAN QUESTION  
I. BASIC APPROACH

A BACKGROUND PAPER ON THE GERMAN QUESTION IS DISTRIBUTED  
AS AN APPENDIX TO THIS GUIDANCE. THE PORTENTS AND  
POSSIBILITIES EXPOSED IN THAT PAPER REQUIRE THAT RADIO FREE  
EUROPE BE PREPARED TO INFORM ITS AUDIENCES MORE  
SYSTEMATICALLY THAN HERETOFORE ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE TO THEM  
OF THE DIPLOMATIC STRUGGLE IN WHICH THE RUSSIANS AND THE  
LEADING WESTERN POWERS ARE ENGAGED ON THIS FRONT.

DURING ITS ELEVEN YEARS OF OPERATIONS AT MUNICH, RFE HAS  
FAITHFULLY REPORTED THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL  
INSTITUTIONS AND PRACTICES AND THE PROGRESSIVE DECLINE OF  
RACIST-NATIONALIST IDEOLOGY IN THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC.  
THE POLISH AND CZECHOSLOVAK BROADCASTING DEPARTMENTS,  
IN PARTICULAR, HAVE DONE SO AT SOME RISK OF ALIENATING A  
PART OF THEIR AUDIENCES. THEY HAVE PERSISTED, DESPITE THE  
FACT THAT SINCE 1958, WHEN TENTATIVE STEPS TOWARDS  
CONCILIATION BETWEEN BONN ON THE ONE HAND, AND WARSAW,  
PRAGUE AND OTHER CAPITALS ON THE OTHER HAND, WERE  
ABRUPTLY HALTED ON ORDERS FROM MOSCOW, RFE HAS BEEN FALSELY  
AND PERHAPS DAMAGINGLY IMPLICATED BY THE COMMUNIST PRESS  
AND RADIO IN THEIR VICIOUS CAMPAIGN AGAINST AN ALLEGED  
REVIVAL OF "MILITARISM" AND "REVANCHISM" IN THE FEDERAL  
REPUBLIC. IT WILL NEVERTHELESS CONTINUE ITS OBJECTIVE  
REPORTING OF WEST GERMAN EVENTS.

THE PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT GUIDANCE IS TO ENSURE THAT RFE  
WILL PUT BEFORE ITS AUDIENCES THE REALITIES OF THE GERMAN  
QUESTION IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE KIND OF GERMANY THE  
RUSSIANS WANT AND



THE KIND OF GERMANY THE WESTERN POWERS WANT, AND WILL MAKE CLEAR WHERE THE INTEREST OF THE EAST-CENTRAL EUROPEAN PEOPLES LIES IN THIS CRUCIAL ISSUE.

THE WESTERN POWERS HAVE THUS FAR BEEN UNABLE TO INDUCE THE SOVIET UNION TO DISCUSS WITH THEM THE FATE OF THE CAPTIVE PEOPLES. EISENHOWER TRIED TO DO SO AT THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF JULY 1955. THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY WAS UNABLE TO PERSUADE THE USSR DELEGATION TO DISCUSS THE HUNGARIAN QUESTION IN 1956-57. THE SOVIET PRETEXT IS THAT THESE ARE "SOVEREIGN" STATES ESTABLISHED "BY THE PEOPLES THEMSELVES" (AS BULGANIN SAID TO EISENHOWER) AND THAT THE USSR HAS NO AUTHORITY TO "INTERVENE" IN THEIR AFFAIRS. IF, THEREFORE, THE WESTERN POWERS NEGOTIATE ABOUT GERMANY AND NOT ABOUT EAST EUROPE, ONE REASON IS THAT THE GERMAN QUESTION IS THE ONLY TERRAIN ON WHICH AS A PRACTICAL MATTER IT IS FEASIBLE TO JOIN BATTLE WITH THE RUSSIANS OVER MATTERS IN FACT AFFECTING THE FUTURE OF EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE AS A WHOLE. THE RUSSIANS WANT THEIR WAY IN WEST BERLIN, THEY WANT RECOGNITION OF THE EAST GERMAN REGIME, PRECISELY AS A MEANS OF CONSOLIDATING THEIR POWER THROUGHOUT THE AREA. TO THWART THAT RUSSIAN OBJECTIVE IS A CONSCIOUS PURPOSE OF WESTERN POLICY. THAT THE GERMAN QUESTION HAS, ALSO, LARGER ASPECTS -- WHICH ALSO AFFECT THE ENTIRE AREA -- GOES WITHOUT SAYING.

1. THE GERMAN QUESTION IS ESSENTIALLY THE QUESTION OF EUROPEAN SECURITY FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE URALS. THE ATLANTIC PEOPLES ARE EQUALLY DESIROUS WITH THE RUSSIAN AND THE EAST EUROPEAN PEOPLES TO ENSURE THAT NO FUTURE GERMAN GOVERNMENT SHALL BE IN A POSITION TO TAKE AGGRESSIVE ACTION IN EASTERN - AS WELL AS WESTERN - EUROPE. THEY ARE HOWEVER ALSO CONCERNED TO ENSURE THAT NO RUSSO-GERMAN PARTNERSHIP SHALL BE FORMED -- EITHER BETWEEN RUSSIAN COMMUNISTS



AND WEST GERMAN ADVENTURERS, OR THROUGH THE ABSORPTION OF ALL GERMANY INTO THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM -- WHICH WOULD BE ABLE TO THREATEN WESTERN EUROPE AND THEREWITH THE SECURITY AND PEACE OF THE AMERICAN HEMISPHERE AND THE WHOLE WORLD.

2. INSOFAR AS A GERMAN DANGER MAY BE APPREHENDED, IT DOES NOT STEM FROM ANY PRESENT OR FUTURE POSSIBILITY THAT THE GERMANS WILL BECOME A SUPER-POWER ABLE TO CONFRONT EITHER THE USSR OR THE USA WITH THEIR OWN MIGHT. THE THIRD SUPER-POWER TO WHICH WE MAY LOOK FORWARD IS NOT ONE SINGLE NATION, IT IS THE FUTURE WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION OF 250 MILLION PEOPLE WHOSE ARMATURE IS ALREADY PRESENT IN THE DYNAMIC EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY. JUST AS THE WEST GERMANS NOW SHARE POWER IN THE EEC AND IN NATO WITH OTHER STATES, SO THEY -- AND EVENTUALLY THE EAST GERMANS -- WILL ONE DAY SHARE POWER WITH OTHER STATES IN A UNITED EUROPE. AND JUST AS THE GERMANS DO NOT AND CANNOT NOW DOMINATE THE EEC OR NATO, SO THEY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO DOMINATE THE FUTURE UNION OR, A FORTIORI, THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY WITH WHICH THAT UNION WILL BE ASSOCIATED.

3. THE GERMANS COULD CONSTITUTE A THREAT TO THEIR EASTERN NEIGHBORS ONLY IF THE RUSSIANS WERE TO SUCCEED IN THEIR GERMAN POLICY. SOVIET GERMAN POLICY TODAY FOLLOWS TWO PARALLEL LINES. ONE IS A 10-YEAR-LONG ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN A PEACE TREATY WHICH WOULD PERMIT THE INJECTION OF A COMMUNIST PARTY INTO WEST GERMAN POLITICS FOR THE PURPOSE, SOONER OR LATER, OF EFFECTING A TAKEOVER OF POWER AT BONN IN THE STYLE EMPLOYED AT PRAGUE IN 1945-1948. THE OTHER -- CLEARLY AND CYNICALLY EXPRESSED IN THE SOVIET MEMORANDUM OF DECEMBER 27 TO BONN -- IS AN ATTEMPT TO ENCOURAGE THE REMAINING WEST GERMAN RADICAL-NATIONALISTS TO SEIZE POWER AND TO TAKE A



LINE "INDEPENDENT" OF THE WESTERN POWERS. THIS "NEUTRAL" GERMANY IS INVITED TO BECOME THE PARTNER OF MOSCOW AGAINST THE WEST.

4. WHAT A RUSSO-GERMAN PARTNERSHIP WOULD MEAN FOR THE EAST-CENTRAL EUROPEAN PEOPLES, PARTICULARLY THE POLES AND THE CZECHS, IS EASILY IMAGINED. TO SAY THEREFORE AS KISIELEWSKI SAID IN KULTURA (MARCH 1962) THAT "THE POLICY NATION STILL HAS NO OTHER CHOICE THAN SOVIET RUSSIA OR GERMANY" IS PURE SELF-DECEPTION. A "NEUTRAL" WEST GERMANY COULD ONLY BE ONE GOVERNED BY RECKLESS AUTHORITARIAN ADVENTURERS. WEST GERMANY IS NOT AN AUSTRIA OR A SWEDEN, TO BE AT ONE AND THE SAME TIME NEUTRAL AND DEMOCRATIC. ALTERNATIVELY, A COMMUNIST GERMANY COULD ONLY BE GOVERNED BY OLD-STYLE AUTHORITARIANS WHO HAD EXCHANGED THE SWASTIKA FOR THE HAMMER AND SICKLE. THE DAY HAS PASSED WHEN THE RUSSIANS HAD A RESERVE STOCK OF MOSCOW-TRAINED GERMANS TO PUT INTO OFFICE. SUCH A GERMANY WOULD BE NO MERE SOVIET PROVINCE LIKE THE SOCALLED GDR, ADMINISTERED BY AN AGILE AND SERVILE LITTLE ULBRICHT. IF WHAT IT WANTED WAS BORDER REVISION, BORDER REVISION IS WHAT IT WOULD BE LIKELY TO GET, EVEN IF THE PRICE HAD TO BE ANOTHER WARSAW RISING. THE WEST DOES NOT DEAL WITH THIS KIND OF GERMAN. THAT IS THE SPECIALITY OF THE KREMLIN.

5. THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THE WESTERN PURPOSE AND THE RUSSIAN PURPOSE WITH REGARD TO THE GERMANS IS CLEAR. THE WESTERN POWERS SEEK, BY BRINGING THE GERMANS INTO THE FAMILY OF EUROPEAN NATIONS, TO CURE THEM OF THE MALADY OF SELF-ALIENATION AND THE AGGRESSIVE SPIRIT IT ENGENDERED AT THE COST OF TWO WORLD WARS WHICH BROUGHT UNIVERSAL MISERY AND DESTRUCTION. ONLY THUS, THE WEST BELIEVES, CAN THE GERMAN DANGER BE PERMANENTLY CONJURED AWAY. THE RUSSIANS SEEK TO USE THE GERMANS AS A TOOL WITH THE AID OF WHICH THEY WOULD



COMMUNIZE WESTERN EUROPE AND EXTEND THEIR SWAY OVERSEAS.

6. IN THE WEST, UNEASINESS ABOUT THE GERMANS CONTINUES TO PREVAIL. THE BEHAVIOR OF THE POPULATION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC HAS BEEN EXEMPLARY FOR MORE THAN A DECADE; BUT IN EXTRAORDINARILY FAVORABLE CIRCUMSTANCES. WESTERN OPINION WILL NOT BE EASY IN ITS MIND UNTIL THE WEST GERMANS HAVE BEEN TESTED IN A CRISIS. THEREFORE THE WEST, BY AND LARGE, IS NERVOUS ABOUT REUNIFICATION AND PREFERS TWO GERMANYS TO ONE REUNITED GERMANY.

IT IS OFTEN SAID IN THE WEST THAT TWO GERMANYS ARE A REALITY WHICH WE ARE BOUND TO ACCEPT. THIS IS TRUE FOR THE TIME BEING. IT MAY WELL REMAIN TRUE FOR MANY YEARS. BUT TWO OTHER THINGS ARE ALSO TRUE. THE FIRST IS THAT THE GERMAN NATION WILL NOT BE AT PEACE WITH ITSELF UNTIL THE GERMANS ARE REUNITED. A GERMAN PEOPLE NOT AT PEACE WITH ITSELF MUST REMAIN A PROBLEM FOR ALL CONCERNED. THE SECOND, WHICH MUST REMAIN A PROBLEM FOR ALL CONCERNED. THE SECOND, WHICH EAST EUROPEANS MUST CLEARLY UNDERSTAND AND ACCEPT IS THAT THE RUSSIANS DO NOT WANT TWO GERMANYS. TO BELIEVE THEY DO IS THE MOST DANGEROUS DELUSION FROM WHICH RFE'S AUDIENCES CAN SUFFER. KHRUSHCHEV HIMSELF SAID AT MINSK (JANUARY 22, 1959) THAT THE GERMAN PROBLEM "IS THE PROBLEM OF ...RAPPROCHEMENT AND REUNIFICATION ...OF THE TWO STATES WITH THE AIM OF RESTORING THE NATIONAL UNITY OF GERMANY AS A SINGLE PEACE-LOVING DEMOCRATIC STATE." ULBRICHT SAID (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, JANUARY 5, 1962): "FOR US GERMANS IT IS SELF-EVIDENT THAT THE REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY WILL TAKE PLACE. UNFORTUNATELY, THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE USA, BRITAIN AND FRANCE ARE AGAINST IT."

IT IS NOT TRUE THAT THE WESTERN POWERS ARE AGAINST IT. THEY ARE NOT, LIKE THE RUSSIANS, PRESSING FOR IT TO COME SOON; THEY



NYC 144/6--

HAVE NO REUNIFICATION TIME-TABLE. THEY WOULD NOT, LIKE THE RUSSIANS, TRY TO USE THE GERMANS AGAINST OTHER NATIONS; AND THEY WOULD NOT, AS THE RUSSIANS WOULD, PERMIT THE GERMANS TO TAKE AGGRESSIVE STEPS AGAINST OTHER NATIONS. THEY FAVOR EVENTUAL REUNIFICATION AS A MEANS OF TRANQUILLIZING THE GERMAN PEOPLE AND PRESERVING THAT PEOPLE FROM THE TEMPTATION TO FOLLOW FALSE GOODS AND ONCE AGAIN PLUNGE THE WORLD INTO A SEA OF HAT AND HORROR. AND THEY SURROUND THIS FUTURE REUNIFICATION BY SAFEGUARDS OF EVERY CHARACTER -- POLITICAL, MILITARY, ECONOMIC, PSYCHOLOGICAL -- WHICH WOULD HOLD GERMANY IN THE POSITION OF MERELY ONE AMONG OTHER PARTNERS WITH OTHER NATIONS -- THE UNITED STATES, BRITAIN, FRANCE AMONG THEM -- IN AN ATLANTIC COMMUNITY WHICH HAS ALREADY SHOWN THAT IT KNOWS HOW TO BURY ANCIENT ENMITIES AND TO GIVE MEN THE BEST LIFE THAT POPULOUS NATIONS HAVE THUS FAR HAD ON EARTH.

7. OUR BACKGROUND PAPER DEALS BRIEFLY WITH THE CURRENT INTERNAL POLITICAL CRISIS IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. THAT CRISIS STEMS FROM THE DIFFICULT PROBLEM OF FINDING A SUCCESSOR TO A STATESMAN OF 36 YEARS WHOSE SERVICES TO HIS OWN PEOPLE AND TO EUROPE HAVE BEEN MEASURELESS, HIS AUTHORITY (UNTIL RECENTLY) UNQUESTIONED, AND WHOSE WITHDRAWAL FROM OFFICE WILL BRING ABOUT THE FIRST CRUCIAL TEST FACED BY THE GERMAN DEMOCRACY. IT IS OUT OF THE QUESTION THAT HE SHOULD BE SUCCEEDED BY AN ADVENTURER. WHAT IS POSSIBLE, HOWEVER, IS THAT AN INCOMING ADMINISTRATION MAY REQUIRE TIME TO LEARN THE DIFFICULT ART OF DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP. WE MUST SUSPEND JUDGMENT AND TAKE WHAT SATISFACTION WE CAN FROM THE FACT THAT A TEST OF THE WEST GERMANS, WHICH ALL INTELLIGENT OBSERVERS HAVE LONG WISHED TO SEE, IS COMING. IT SHOULD TEACH GERMAN MODERATE OPINION AND LEADERSHIP MANY THINGS AND, IF

NYC 144/7--

SKILFULLY MET, OPEN THE WAY TO FURTHER EUROPEAN PROGRESS AND GREATER ASSURANCE OF SECURITY.

9. THE BORDER QUESTION DOES NOT, IN FACT, EXIST FOR CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND THE CHANCES THAT THE POLES MAY NOT RETAIN THEIR WESTERN FRONTIER HAVE BEEN CONSIDERABLY EXAGGERATED. WORLD OPINION FAVORS THE POLES. EXCEPT THE EXPELLEES, MOST WEST GERMANS WHO ARE AGAINST IMMEDIATE GERMAN RENUNCIATION OF THE WESTERN TERRITORIES ARE NOT IN FACT "REVISIONISTS", THEY ARE MERELY SUPPORTERS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S INSISTENCE THAT THIS IS A CARD WHICH CAN BE PLAYED AT THE PEACE TABLE TO GET BETTER CONDITIONS ON REUNIFICATION. THERE WOULD SEEM TO BE NO SERIOUS REASON WHY THE POLES SHOULD NOT BE TOLD THESE FACTS.

END OF SECTION ONE. SECTION II FOLLOWS.

END MSG.