

March 1, 1967

**Gottfried William Moser, ACDA/Bureau of
International Relations, 'Consultations with the FRG'**

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Summary:

In this report and after criticism over the NPT in West Germany, ACDA official G. William Moser looked into the chronology of U.S.-West German interactions. Noting that Washington had "stood foursquare with [the FRG] on the question of maintaining the MLF option under a non-proliferation treaty," he highlighted a decision made by Rusk on 18 October 1966 to defer consultations with Bonn until he was sure that the Soviets were "serious" about the new Article I language. He concluded that Washington may need to explain Rusk's rationale.

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SECRETConsultations
with FRG

The record of our consultations with the FRG has been good on the whole until the fall of 1966, perhaps because we stood foursquare with them on the question of maintaining the MLF option under a non-proliferation treaty. Consequently, we engaged in high-level exchanges with the Germans in July 1965 prior to tabling our August 17, 1965 treaty draft. (It was in this period that we discouraged the UK from tabling a treaty draft that would have outlawed an MLF). Again in February/March 1966 there was a series of President/Chancellor letters concerning the treaty amendments we tabled on March 22, 1966.

Between these two, in September and December 1965, Chancellor Erhard visited Washington and received assurances from the Secretary of State and the President concerning our continued adherence to the concept that the MLF was compatible with non-proliferation.

Mr. Foster visited Bonn in July 1966 and talked frankly to Schroeder and von Hassel, telling them that although US policy was unchanged, he personally felt it made no sense to

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continue to hold out for a "hardware" solution that was becoming ever more unobtainable. He noted that the chances of changing U.S. legislation which prohibited the transfer of US nuclear weapons were remote.

Negotiations in Geneva in August 1966 with the Soviets began the unfreezing of both the Soviet and US positions. On the US side this meant giving up on the "hardware" or NATO nuclear sharing option. On October 18, 1966, the Secretary made the key tactical decision that we should submit the new language which excludes the option to the Soviets before raising it with the Germans and other NATO allies. He reasoned that it would be no use to stir up the latter until we were sure the Soviets were serious. Moreover, all formulations agreed to with the Soviets are subject to consultation with our allies, thus are not binding. At the same time he authorized Ambassador Cleveland to report to NAC that US policy is (1) non-transfer to non-nuclear countries directly or indirectly; and (2) non-relinquishment of US control over nuclear weapons. The Secretary saw this as "the heart of the matter" and reasoned that this should forewarn the Germans to the direction in which negotiations were trending.

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Any charge sustainable by Kiesinger that the Germans were not adequately informed must be based on the foregoing decision. Once the new Article I was delivered to the Soviets ^{UR} on consultations with the Germans have been continuous and as complete as circumstances will allow.

In response to the Kiesinger charges I think it best to outline the decision the Secretary took in October 1966 and defend it on the basis of his rationale at that time. Unfortunately we are now victimized by our previous record of staunch and forthright support of German interests prior to last Fall.

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January 12, 1967. At dinner given by Ambassador McGhee for senior officials of FRG Foreign Ministry and other ministries, there was discussion of NPT, particularly with regard to Soviet attitudes, technological gap and the European option.

January 12, 1967. Dept of State official and Miss Renat^e Baerensprung of FRG Embassy discussed nuclear question and report of FRG Ambassador Von Walther's conversation ^{with} of Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, December 29, 1966.

January 13, 1967. J.S. Sutterlin, ^{and} US Ambassador - Bonn and Helmut Schmidt, Acting Chairman of SPD Parliamentary Group, discussed value of NPT, United Europe and ABM.

January 24, 1967. DCM US Embassy Bonn handed State Secretary ^{SCHULTZ} ~~Shultz~~ Aide Memoire on NPT; ^{SCHULTZ} ~~Shultz~~ expressed satisfaction at amount of information being given German Government.

January 24, 1967. ACDA officer handed von Lilienfeld Oral Note with summary draft NPT interpretations.

January 26, 1967. In Washington, Gunther Diehl of FRG Foreign Ministry discussed FRG concerns about NPT with ACDA Assistant Director De Palma.

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January 27, 1967. Ambassador McGhee met with Foreign Minister Brandt and discussed FRG attitude toward NPT.

January 27, 1967. In Washington, Mr. Foster and Gunther Diehl of the FRG Foreign Ministry discussed FRG views on NPT.

January 27, 1967. In conversation between ACDA officer and von Staden of FRG Embassy, von Staden said FRG consulting other non-nuclear powers on NPT; covered safeguards also.

January 28, 1967. In background briefing by Brandt to German journalists, Brandt stressed that the US had kept the FRG adequately informed; also commented on spin-off, consultations with other non-nuclears.

January 29, 1967. In Paris, Ambassadors Cleveland and Grewe discussed NPT, particularly with regard to NATO nuclear arrangements, European option and safeguards.

January 31, 1967. US Embassy officers gave Ambassador Schnippenkoetter Aide Memoire on Art III and received comments on it from him.

February 3, 1967. Ambassador Knappstein gave Secretary Rusk Aide Memoire expressing appreciation for detailed

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information with regard to US-Soviet talks and for extensive answers to questions FRG has raised concerning NPT draft; Aide Memoire raised further considerations regarding NPT interpretation.

February 7, 1967. Ambassador Knapstein discussed with Dept. Assistant Secretary Stoessel FRG problems regarding Article III.

February 7, 1967. US Embassy officers in Bonn discussed matter relating to Article III, peaceful uses and "spin-off" with Ramisch of FRG Foreign Ministry's Disarmament Section.

February 8-9, 1967. Foreign Minister Brandt visited Washington and discussed NPT with Secretaries Rusk and McNamara, covering European unity, safeguards, industrial espionage and nuclear blackmail.

February ⁹ 11, 1967. ACDA Director Foster and Egon Bahr of FRG Foreign Ministry discussed "spin-off" and safeguards article of NPT.

February 17, 1967. US Embassy officers in Bonn discussed with press chief of FRG Scientific Research Ministry Feb 9 article in Die Welt concerning German scientists' recommendations to FRG concerning NPT.

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February 20, 1967. US Charge' in Bonn called on State Secretary ^{SCHVETZ} ~~Schulte~~ and discussed safeguards and peaceful uses issues and tabling of NPT draft at ENDC.

February 21, 1967. Kratzer of AEC visited FRG Foreign office and discussed Art III with Pretsch (Director A-E Bureau) and others.

February 21, 1967. Ambassador McGhee and FRG Science Minister ^{Schulze} ~~Sto~~ Tenberg have general discussion of NPT.

February 22, 1967. In Washington, Minister von Lilienfeld presented FRG questions and objections related to NPT to Mr. Fisher.

February 22, 1967. Ambassador Cleveland and Ambassador Grewe discuss NPT in general.

February 22, 1967. Ambassador McGhee called on Chancellor Kiesinger, discussed NPT, left copy of preamble plus oral note with draft summary interpretations.

- 1966

January 20, 1966. In Washington, Ambassador Knappstein and Mr. Foster discussed draft Articles I and II of NPT.

January 19, 1966. In Washington Second Secretary Alexy discussed with ACDA officer (Kranich) changes in Arts I, II and III which US intended to make in our draft NPT after opening of ENDC.

February 4, 1966. Ambassador McGhee and FRG Minister Schroeder discussed NPT and Pres. speech of 1/27/66 to ENDC.

February 7, 1966. Lahn (FonOff Disarmament Affairs) responded to US request for FonOff's view on revisions to US draft NPT.

✓ February 12, 1966. Letter from President to Erhard , explaining proposed amendments to US treaty draft.

✓ February 25, 1966. Letter from Erhard to President, express^d doubts that amendments would exclude European option.

✓ March 2, 1966. Letter from President to Erhard , reassured on points raised in Erhard 's letter.

March 11, 1966. ACDA officer (Kranich) discussed with von Staden of FRG Embassy our proposed revision in NPT draft, referring to President's letter to Chancellor Erhard on this subject.

March 18, 1966. Letter from Erhard transmitted to President via H. Knappstein. Thanked Pres. Johnson for his

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"prompt reply" of March 2, 1966, in which he discussed Erhard's misgivings about amendments to ^{U.S.} ~~the~~ draft of NPT, ^{and} ~~but~~ wanted further clarification.

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March 23, 1966. DCM of US Embassy Bonn received from State Secretary ^{CAR} ~~Car~~stens FRG note on disarmament.

✓ March 26, 1966. Letter from President to Erhard, ^{gave} ~~gives~~ further reassurance re amendments tabled ENDC March 22. /

April 5, 1966. In Washington, Ambassador Knappstein and Under-Secretary Ball discussed NATO nuclear sharing.

April 13, 1966. In Washington, Dr. Barzel, Amb. Knappstein and Mr. Fisher discussed Soviet and FRG attitudes toward NPT.

April 21, 1966. In Geneva, Mr. Foster and Amb. Schneppenkoetter discussed German attitudes toward NPT.

May 6, 1966. In Geneva, Mr. Foster met with Amb. Schnippenkoetter and discussed status of ENDC negotiations of NPT.

June 22, 1966. In Geneva, Mr. Foster and Amb. Schnippenkoetter discussed prospects for NPT at new session of ENDC.

July 1, 1966. In Bonn, Mr. Foster and Amb. Schnippenkoetter discussed NPT negotiations, particularly as they related to NATO nuclear arrangements and vertical disarmament.

July 2, 1966. Conversations between Foster, ~~with~~ von Hassel and Schroder; Foster indicated little likelihood of change in US legislation; von Hassel hinted FRG may give up "hardware solution".

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July 5, 1966. In letter from Erhard to President, FRG supported NPT but stated MLF option must be kept open.

July 7, 1966. FRG Secretary Alexy and Assistant Director De Palma discussed President's reference to need for "compromise in language" for NPT.

July 22, 1966. Secretary Rusk and Ambassador Knappstein discussed non-proliferation.

July 22, 1966. FRG Second Secretary Alexy and ACDA officers discussed US intentions regarding NPT negotiations.

August 8, 1966. Counselor von Staden of FRG Embassy and ACDA officers discussed current status US-Soviet NPT negotiations particularly regarding Art I.

August 10, 1966. Under-Secretary of State and FRG Charge Georg von Lilienfeld discussed FRG interest in nuclear sharing.

August 16, 1966. Mr. Fisher and Amb. Schnippenkoetter discussed ENDC status and prospects.

August 26, 1966. Ambassador McGhee and State Secretary ^{CAR} ~~B~~stens discussed nuclear sharing, MLF.

September 7, 1966. ACDA official (Kranich) and Mr. von Staden of FRG Embassy discussed non-proliferation, particularly option for nuclear sharing.

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September 19, 1966. ACDA Assistant Director De Palma and Mr. von Staden of FRG Embassy discussed non-proliferation, particularly nuclear option.

September 25, 1966. In conversation with Chancellor Erhard, Secretary Rusk reviewed session of September 24 with Gromyko, indicated no progress made.

September 26, 1966. In Washington, Chancellor Erhard, Foreign Minister Schroeder met with Secretaries Rusk and McNamara and discussed NATO nuclear sharing and nuclear policy.

September 30, 1966. ACDA official (Kranich) and FRG Embassy Secretary Alexy discussed Soviet resolution on non-proliferation at 21st UNGA.

October 3, 1966. USUN DelOff and Brunner (FRGMission UN) discussed Soviet non-proliferation resolution.

October 5, 1966. Dep of State officer (Garthoff) and Mr. von Staden of FRG Embassy discussed nuclear sharing, non-proliferation and nuclear safeguards.

October 11, 1966. Minister Lilienfeld and Amb. Thompson discussed status of NPT negotiations in light of talks between Gromyko and the President, particularly nuclear option question.

October 12, 1966. ACDA officer (Kranich) and Mr. Alexy, Second Secretary of FRG Embassy, discussed non-proliferation.

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October 19, 1966. At UN, Foster privately briefed von Braun on US-Soviet NPT discussions prior to briefing UN representatives of NATO nations on this subject.

October 19, 1966. Second Secretary Alexy of FRG Embassy and ACDA officer (Kranich) discussed Netherland's proposal for amending US draft NPT.

October 20, 1966. Knapstein/Katzenbach conversation: Katzenbach said there was nothing new since President-Gromyko meeting, that we are limited by our own law which Congress is not remotely thinking of changing and that there will be no agreement without consultation with allies.

October 21, 1966. Dept of State officer and von Staden of FRG Embassy discussed Soviet non-proliferation UN resolution.

October 26, 1966. Foster/Schnippenkoetter conversation on NATO nuclear force and co-ownership of nuclear warheads.

October 26, 1966. Ambassador Knapstein discussed current status of NPT with the Acting Secretary in Washington.

October 28, 1966. US Embassy officer and State Secretary ^{City} ~~Stens~~ discussed status of NPT and MLF.

November 18, 1966. Secretary Alexy of FRG Embassy and ACDA Acting Assistant Director Gleysteen discussed NPT; Alexy told there have been further US-Soviet talks but no new developments.

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November 30, 1966. In Washington ACDA officer (Kranich) discussed with Secy Alexy of FRG Embassy UPI report that UK and US collaborating on new NPT draft; told him there no substance to story.

December 1, 1966. US comments on FRG note on nuclear proliferation delivered orally, FRG official responded orally.

December 7, 1966. ACDA officer (Kranich) discussed current NPT negotiations, particularly as concerns Article One, with Second Secretary Alexy of FRG Embassy.

December 7, 1966. Knappstein/Katzenbach conversation concerning allied consultations and changes in draft language.

December 14, 1966. Brandt/Rusk conversation regrading European clause in NPT.

December 17, 1966. Ambassador McGhee and Minister Strauss discussed MLF and option of European nuclear force.

December 20, 1966. McGhee/Brandt conversation; Article I language given to Brandt and exploratory talking points made.

December 21, 1966. Kiesinger/McGhee conversation regarding European option.

December 29, 1966. Rusk/Knappstein conversation regarding Germany's fears, nailing Russians down to interpretation of NPT text, meeting of US/German experts; assurances on European succession, existing arrangements, and NATO consultations. Knappstein given informal memorandum.

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January 7, 1965. Secretary Rusk's conversation with Ambassador Knapstein on the future of the MLF.

January 14, 1965. Secretary Rusk's letter to Foreign Minister Schroeder on MLF; responded to by letter from Foreign Minister Schroeder to the Secretary, delivered February 18, 1965.

January 15, 1965. US Ambassador discussed NATO nuclear organization with Chancellor Erhard.

February 25, 1965. US Dept of State official and Colonel Winterhazer, a senior planner in German MOD, discussed ownership of nuclear weapons by Germany.

April 22, 1965. FRG comments on December 8, 1964, US views of British ANF proposals.

July 21, 1965. ACDA official called in FRG Embassy officer concerning UK draft non-proliferation treaty.

August 10, 1965. ACDA officials and Berndt von Staden of FRG Embassy discussed NPT, safeguards and ENDC.

September 3, 1965. Under Secretary Ball discussed NATO nuclear sharing and Geneva NPT discussions in conversation with State Secretary Carstens in Bonn.

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September 8, 1965. FRG Counselor von Staden and ACDA officers discussed FRG attitude toward Fanfani proposal on non-proliferation.

September 15, 1965. Ambassador McGhee discussed with State Secretary Carstens nuclear matters latter to raise on visit to Soviet Union.

September 21, 1965. Second Secretary Alexy of FRG Embassy and ACDA officer discussed Soviet and FRG attitudes toward NPT.

September 28, 1965. FRG Counselor von Staden and ACDA officer (De Palma) discussed probable course of non-proliferation at 20th GA in light of results of ENDC.

October 15, 1965. Ambassador Cleveland and Grewe discussed non-proliferation, particularly and US and Soviet draft NPT treaties in NAC.

October 20, 1965. Counselor von Staden of FRG Embassy and Director of Dept's RPM discussed FRG attitude toward nuclear sharing as related to NPT.

October 22, 1965. Ambassador Knappstein and Assistant Secretary Leddy discussed recent developments in US thinking regarding nuclear sharing.

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October 25, 1965. Ambassador Schnippenkoetter and ACDA Assistant Director Beam discussed NPT, particularly Soviet motives at ENDC.

October 26, 1965. Ambassador Schnippenkoetter and Assistant Director Alexander discussed "spin-off" and peaceful applications.

November 1965, First week. Assistant Secretary Franz Krapf of FRG Foreign Office discussed nuclear sharing with Under Secretary in Washington.

November 2, 1965. Mr. Foster and Ambassador Schnippenkoetter discussed non-aligned resolution on NPT, particularly regarding "loopholes".

November 16, 1965. US Ambassador, calling on Foreign Minister Schroeder, discussed NATO nuclear sharing.

November 16, 1965. Ambassador Cleveland and FRG officials discussed MLF, NPT and Special Committee.

December 20-21, 1965. Secretaries McNamara, Rusk, Fowler and Erhard discussed nuclear sharing and non-proliferation.

December 20-21, 1965. President Johnson and Chancellor Erhard discussed nuclear sharing and non-proliferation.