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27 January 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD:

SUBJECT: Meeting with General R. GEHLEN
Berg am Starnbergersee
20 January 1971

1. The End of the History Project

I met GEHLEN at his home at Berg; at his suggestion we drove to his office in Farchach, several kilometers out of Berg. GEHLEN will close this office at the end of this month; his contractual arrangement with the Fed Rep has been terminated on 31 December 1970. He had met with WESSEL on the previous day, turned in his completed history and informed WESSEL that he was bringing out (in the next months) a book on the history of the BND.

The familiar figure of Frau KUNZE, GEHLEN's personal secretary for thirty years, appeared as we arrived at the isolated farmhouse where GEHLEN and BOHLEN have been at work for two years. Two younger secretaries were working at typewriters.

2. The Conspiracy to Undermine German Society

If there is one central theme that has dominated GEHLEN's thinking for the past twenty years it is the Moscow-controlled effort to subvert German society. The central figure has been HEINEMAN, the present President of the Federal Republic. Herbert WEHNER has figured prominently in the cast of characters although there was a period in the late Sixties when GEHLEN and WEHNER developed a close relationship. During the Grand Coalition period GEHLEN concluded that WEHNER, whatever his past, was reformed. Now he is portrayed as the "master brain" behind the conspiracy. HEINEMAN, Helena WESSEL and GEREKE continue in the main cast of characters.

Once more GEHLEN ran through the evidence. He again cited the report given him informally by MI-6 describing the arrest of HEINEMAN in Vienna during the Four Power occupation; HEINEMAN had been arrested emerging from a Soviet intelligence facility carrying a large sum of money in a small bag. HEINEMAN was linked, in GEHLEN's opinion, with the Volksbund fuer Frieden and Freiheit, the BONIN

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affair and the whole episode of Die Nationale Zeitung in Munich. At one point GEHLEN had gone to HEINZMAN and told him that his personal secretary in the Ministry was the former secretary of Max Reimann, the German communist leader; she disappeared from this post.

Returning to the subject of Herbert WEHNER, GEHLEN recalled his failure over the years to get access to the record of the Swedish process against WEHNER in the post-war years. GEHLEN said that a writer named FREDERICK has just brought out a book titled "In Zwielficht Seiner Zeit" which suggests to GEHLEN that this author has had access to the Swedish files. A new wrinkle to the GEHLEN biographic sketch on WEHNER is that he is married to the first or second wife of SED leader ULBRICHT.

GEHLEN raised the much publicized Willi BRANDT contact with the Italian Communist Party through GACUTSI (phonetic), a member of the ICP. GEHLEN believes that some of the groundwork for BRANDT's Ostpolitik was done in this ICP channel.

GEHLEN digressed to talk about the trends within Germany. He believes that the SPD is engaged in a systematic effort to alter the social structure of Germany, gradually developing a new class struggle. The motto for the radical wing of the SPD will be "Mitbestimmung und Mitbesitz." GEHLEN's final word on WEHNER is that he continues his efforts to move NOLLAU into a controlling position in the BND.

3. The Spiegel Article on the BND

GEHLEN said that he understood my response on the Spiegel article and did not disagree with me. GEHLEN said that Horst EIMKE had stimulated the Spiegel effort as part of his effort to end the "mythos von Fremde Herre Ost" and to advance the concept of his "transparent modern intelligence service." GEHLEN said that the draft he sent to me has been considerably altered; he had a copy of the most recent draft on his desk which he found "more acceptable." I avoided expressing further interest.

4. "Der Dienst"

I told GEHLEN that I had heard that he had revised his publishing plans and now planned to bring out a modest political blockbuster. GEHLEN said this was an overstatement although he hoped the book would have political impact and popular appeal. I asked GEHLEN if he had written it himself or employed a

professional ghostwriter. I questioned whether his rhetoric on the "Red Menace" would have much popular impact. GEHLEN laughed and said that there would be no polemics and that he had used some professional talent in writing the present version.

"Der Dienst" will have ten chapters and about 400 pages. The first chapter will discuss the origin of "Der Dienst" in Fremde Herre Ost. The second chapter will be material covering the period from 1945 to 1956 when the BND was legally created as an instrument of the government. Along about chapter four or five he will get to the "Panne" of the Fifties and early Sixties. In response to my question he said that he will not ignore the FELFE case.

Much of the book will be an analysis of Soviet strategy and techniques, amply illustrated by live examples out of the history of the past quarter century.

GEHLEN assured me that "Der Dienst" will not be an attack on the present German SPD government. He added that "Der Dienst" would, to the discerning and sophisticated reader, indirectly challenge the wisdom of current German policy.

I asked GEHLEN if we were in any way clearing "Der Dienst" with authorities of the Federal Republic; he replied that he had informed WESSEL that he was writing a book. WESSEL had expressed no interest in reviewing the text prior to publication; GEHLEN planned no other action. I said that we also would prefer to exercise no claim to prior clearance; we would, I said, like to have an advance copy.

"Der Dienst" will be published in German first. He may let the Springer Verlag handle the international editions. He is still in contact with Canfield in London and, through him, Allen Dulles' book agent in the U.S., GEHLEN has made no commitment in this channel.

5. Justus Duerrwanger

GEHLEN noted that his daughter and her husband were still in Paris; that Justus had only 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ years until retirement and would, given the current inflexibility of Fed Rep policy on retirement, presumably retire on schedule. There followed an exchange on the SDECE and its leaders of the past decade which was not of interest. The Duerrwangers are currently building a home in Berg; GEHLEN is providing on-the-ground technical supervision.

6. A Man who has not "Stacked Arms"

My reaction to this conversation with GEHLEN is a mixture of sorrow and admiration. He is a man who has found it utterly

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impossible to disengage from the politics of the BND, Germany, Europe and the world. He is as much caught up in the politics of Europe as he was twenty years ago. There is no discernible alteration of his view of the world as it existed twenty years ago. Much of our conversation was an almost verbatim reply of our last conversation. There is, however, no evidence of senility. He is simply a stubborn old man who believes he has got it right. Characteristically, GEHLEN said that the income from "Der Dienst" will be used to either aid those who have suffered economically as a result of collaboration with GEHLEN or to finance the "few operations that I am continuing on my own."

7. Herr ZITZEWITZ

GEHLEN said that ZITZEWITZ is an international entrepreneur, arms dealer and intelligence operator who has never accepted pay from the BND but has rendered many services. The Fed Rep, GEHLEN said, had ordered the BND to terminate all connections with persons who dealt in illicit arms traffic. For a variety of reasons Herr ZITZEWITZ was planning to move his residence to France or Spain. □

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8. Eric WALDMAN

GEHLEN very early asked me if I had seen WALDMAN. I said I had not but was in touch with him by mail. Also, I had copies of many of his articles and speeches of the past year on the subject of the "Red Menace" in Germany. GEHLEN said that he thought WALDMAN's credentials had gotten him unique access to many German circles, including the SED-Westbuero, with which he had spent much time. GEHLEN had Frau KUNZE make a copy of WALDMAN's latest article on the political situation in Germany. (I left it with □ he will forward.)

As I took my leave to drive through darkness and driving sleet back to Munich I had the feeling that this might be the last business conversation with GEHLEN--that time had finally overtaken this warrior of the Cold War. How history will judge him is not now clear; certainly he will not be judged as a man who had doubts or equivocated.

/s/ James H. Critchfield

James H. Critchfield
SAC/DDP

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