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762a.00/12-1354

PA 660.62a

PRIORITY

(Security Classification)

FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

FROM : US HICOG BONN

1261

DESP. NO.

TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON

December 15, 1954

DATE

REF :

D128413

13 For Dept.	ACTION EDN-9	DEPT. DE/R-2	IN 011-6	P-1	S/S-2	G-1	S/P-1	C-1	4/OP-1
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SUBJECT: Conversation with Dr. Otto Brautigam, Chief of Eastern Division in Foreign Ministry.

There is enclosed a memorandum of conversation held on December 9th with Dr. Otto Brautigam, Chief of the Eastern Division of the Federal Republic Foreign Ministry, covering several subjects in the field of Eastern relations. A reported expression of Chancellor Adenauer's views on diplomatic relations with the Soviet bloc countries, which is included under the topic of German Relations with the Soviet Bloc in the attached memorandum, may be of particular interest.

E. O'Shaughnessy
Elin O'Shaughnessy, Director,
Office of Political Affairs.

Enclosure (As Stated)

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Page 1 of
Encl. No. 1
Desp. No. 1261
From HICOG BONN

CONFIDENTIAL

(Classification)

Page _____ of
Desp. No. _____
From _____

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

Dr. Otto Brautigam, Chief of the Eastern Division in the Foreign Ministry

D. E. Boster, Office of Political Affairs, HICOG

During a conversation with Dr. Brautigam on December 9, the following subjects were discussed:

Big-Power Talks and Moscow Security Conference

Dr. Brautigam said he had been delighted with the text of the Western note of November 29 on the subject of a conference on German reunification and other security matters. He said the Ministry was circularizing its missions to the effect that the five points at the conclusion of this note represented the Federal Republic's "program" with regard to this area of foreign policy. He said that the Chancellor might be making a foreign policy speech before Christmas and that he, Brautigam, was trying to see to it that a passage was inserted in this speech also emphasizing that these five points represented the Federal Republic's "program".

He said that the Moscow security conference had gone about as he had expected, and that nothing had happened that was likely to cause the West any difficulty. When I noted that the West German press had not shown much excitement about the results of the conference, he agreed and pointed out that there was general recognition in Germany that the Soviet bloc already maintained enormous military establishments in the various countries, that these were under the central control of Moscow, and that any results of the Moscow conference would merely be paper changes. He doubted, further more, that Moscow would be inclined to effect much of a build-up in existing satellite armies, at least in East Germany, out of fear for their reliability. He said that in the case of East Germany Moscow would simply be training an army for eventual use by the West in case of war, and that the Soviet leaders knew this as well as any one.

German Relations with the Soviet Bloc

During a discussion of the Federal Republic's relations with the Chinese Nationalist Government on Formosa (which is reported in a separate despatch, Bonn's D-1250 of December 10, 1954,) the question arose of whether Dr. Brautigam thought there was any prospect of any move by the Federal Republic with regard to the establishment of relations with Communist China. He indicated his own view that he thought the Federal Republic should proceed very slowly in this field (a view which he has expressed previously in relation to the Soviet bloc countries). He said, however, that some people had the idea that it would be easier to establish relations with Communist China than with some of the other Communist states because there were no complications over territorial disputes. He then said that he had been told that the Chancellor had expressed the view that (a) the Western nations would not ratify the Paris agreements; (b) there

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 2 of
Encl. No. 1
Disp. No. 1281
From HICOG BONN

CONFIDENTIAL

(Classification)

Page _____ of
Disp. No. _____
From _____

would probably be big-power talks sometime next year growing out of the current exchange of notes; (c) that this conference would fail since the Soviets had shown no disposition thus far to make any concessions which would enable the conference to make progress; but that (d) the way would then be open, whether the conference was a success or not, for the Federal Republic to establish relations with all the Soviet bloc countries. (Since this is not a direct quotation of the Chancellor's views, this statement should be regarded with reserve.) Asked if this statement was supposed to include Communist China among the Soviet Bloc countries, Dr. Brautigam said he did not know but did not think so; that Communist China posed a problem almost separate from the other states of the Communist bloc.

Radio Free Europe and American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism

Dr. Brautigam mentioned a visit he had made to Munich the previous week, during which he had visited RFE's facilities there. He seemed to have been very favorably impressed by the efficiency of the RFE operation. I told him of my own high regard for RFE and the American Committee and asked if he foresaw any difficulties for their operations after West German sovereignty had come into effect. He said he knew of none.

Possible use of Eastern European Emigres in German Army

(Mr. William Griffiths, political adviser to RFE, had told me recently of a conversation between an RFE official and Gerhard von Mende, Chief of the Bureau for Foreign Refugees, in which von Mende had said that some thought was being given in the Government to the use of selected representatives from the Eastern European emigration in the West German Army, perhaps in the training program.) Without referring to my source, I told Dr. Brautigam that I had heard a rumor to the effect of the above and said that this was a subject I would be interested in if there was anything he could tell me about it. He said he knew of no such planning or thinking and that he was very skeptical that any consideration would be given to a project of this kind.

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