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February 17, 1972

National Security Study Memorandum 146

TO: The Secretary of State  
SUBJECT: US Policy Toward the GDR

The President has directed that a study be prepared on US interests and policies with respect to the German Democratic Republic.

This study should examine the relevant issues in the context of:

- (a) Four Power responsibilities for Germany;
- (b) our position in Berlin;
- (c) our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany;
- (d) the development of the FRG's relationship with the GDR;
- (e) our relations with other East European countries;
- (f) the attitudes of our allies and third countries.

The study should consider US policy options over the next few years, including timing of possible US actions. Each option should include a full discussion of probable implications for US interests. Attention should also be given to the implications of possible GDR participation in international organizations and conferences such as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

The President has directed that the study should be undertaken by the NSC Interdepartmental Group for Europe and should be completed by March 30, 1972, for consideration by the NSC Senior Review Group and, subsequently, by the NSC.



Henry A. Kissinger

cc: The Secretary of Treasury  
The Secretary of Defense  
The Secretary of Commerce  
The Director of Central Intelligence

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