

CONSEIL DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD  
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL

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N A T O C O N F I D E N T I A L

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INVITATION TO MBFR EXPLORATIONS

Note by the Chairman of the Political Committee  
at Senior Level

The Political Committee at Senior Level has drafted the attached alternative texts of a note to be transmitted by each Allied government directly concerned to certain Warsaw Pact governments in their capitals.

2. In addition, the Committee has discussed the following questions which arise in connection with the transmittal of invitations to MBFR explorations:

(a) Recipient Governments

The Committee believed that invitations should be transmitted to the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the GDR (by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany only) and Hungary. The Committee felt that, although Bulgaria and Romania should not receive invitations, the question of participation of these countries might be raised by the Soviet Union. It would, therefore, be advisable to be prepared with an agreed Alliance position for this contingency. Several delegations expressed as their tentative view that participation of these countries on a rotating basis could be envisaged, but this opinion was not universally shared.

(b) Communications by Governments of the Flank Countries

The delegations of Denmark, Greece, Italy, Norway and Turkey had no instructions yet as to how their governments might wish to indicate their interest in being represented at the explorations to the governments receiving the note. There was a consensus that a decision on this question should not delay the transmittal of the note.

(c) Soundings Prior to Transmittal

Opinion was divided in the Committee as to whether or not transmittal of the note should be preceded by soundings. Several delegations thought that

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prior soundings in Moscow might serve to elicit the Soviet Union's view on participation of other Warsaw Pact countries in the explorations; to enhance the acceptability of the invitations; and to impress upon the Soviet Union the importance Allied governments attach to beginning MBFR explorations on 31st January. Several other delegations thought that such soundings could, on the contrary, prejudice Soviet acceptance of Allied proposals.

(d) Timing of Transmittal

The Committee agreed that transmittal of the note was urgent. Views, however, were divided as to whether transmittal should await a favourable Soviet response to the US note of 27th October, or not.

(e) Publicity

The Committee agreed that the question of possible publicity with regard to the transmittal of the notes must be examined and that a common posture of Allied governments on this matter was highly desirable.

3. The Council is invited to approve the text of a note and to give consideration to the points set out in the preceding paragraph.

(Signed) Jörg KASTL

NATO,  
1110 Brussels.

INVITATION TO /CZECHOSLOVAKIA/ TO MBFR EXPLORATIONS

ALTERNATIVE A

1. Recognising the importance of the question of mutual and balanced force reductions in Central Europe, the Government of the United States proposes that exploratory talks on this subject begin on 31st January, 1973, in .....

2. Based on the fact that Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Poland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States maintain forces in Central Europe, the Government of the United States proposes that representatives of these countries participate in the exploratory talks with a view to discussing matters of procedure and organization, as well as matters of substance relevant to setting an Agenda for negotiations. /The fact that the aforementioned countries will participate in explorations is without prejudice to their inclusion in, or exclusion from, future agreements./

3. /The Government of the United States further proposes that representatives of Denmark, Greece, Italy, Norway and Turkey be present at these talks, on a rotating basis./ OR /Further, it is the view of the Government of the United States that representatives of Denmark, Greece, Italy, Norway and Turkey should be present at these talks, on a rotating basis./ A representative of Denmark or Norway and a representative of Greece, Italy, or Turkey would be present at these talks at any given time. In contrast to representatives from States with forces or territories in Central Europe, the representatives of these States would not participate directly in formal decisions reached in the talks, /the focus of which is Central Europe. These representatives/ /but/ would have the right to speak on issues of direct concern to them upon the invitation of one or more participants in the talks, and would also have the right to circulate papers.

4. The Government of the United States is making a similar proposal to Hungary, Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It understands that similar proposals will be made by Belgium, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom to the Governments of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Hungarian Peoples Republic, the Polish Peoples Republic, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany will convey a similar proposal to the German Democratic Republic. The Government of the United States further understands that the Governments of Denmark, Greece, Italy, Norway, and Turkey will indicate their interest in being represented at these talks.

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5. The Government of the United States wishes to make clear in this connection that its proposal for and participation in these talks does not affect the legal position that it has hitherto adopted in questions arising out of the special situation in Germany.

ALTERNATIVE B

1. Recognising the importance of the question of mutual and balanced force reductions in Central Europe, the Government of the United States proposes that exploratory talks on this subject begin on 31st January, 1973, in .....

2. The Government of the United States is making a similar proposal to the Governments of Hungary, Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Government of the United States understands that identical proposals are being made to those Governments and to the Government of Czechoslovakia by the Governments of Belgium, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom; and that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany will convey a similar proposal to the Government of the German Democratic Republic.

3. Further, it is the view of the Government of the United States that representatives of the Governments of Denmark, Greece, Italy, Norway and Turkey should be present at these talks, on a rotating basis. A representative of Denmark or Norway and a representative of Greece, Italy or Turkey will be present at the talks at any given time. In contrast to the representatives from States with forces or territories in Central Europe, the representatives of Denmark, Greece, Italy, Norway and Turkey would not participate directly in formal decisions reached in the talks but would have the right to speak on issues of direct concern to them upon the invitation of one or more participants in the talks and would also have the right to circulate papers. The Government of the United States further understands that the Governments of Denmark, Greece, Italy, Norway and Turkey will indicate their interest in being represented at these talks.

4. The Government of the United States wishes to make clear in this connection that its proposal for and participation in these talks does not affect the legal position that it has hitherto adopted in questions arising out of the special situation in Germany.