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

ORIGINAL: FRENCH
25th August, 1972

PO/72/378

To: Permanent Representatives (Council)

From: Acting Secretary General

STATEMENTS MADE IN THE USSR AND IN EASTERN EUROPE
WITH REFERENCE TO EUROPEAN SECURITY

Attached is a Note by the Political Affairs Division summarising the more important statements which have been made in the USSR and Eastern Europe with reference to European Security. This Note covers the period from 1st February to 31st July, 1972 and updates the information contained in PO/72/157 of 7th March, 1972 and in the previous documents of this series.

(Signed) P. PANSÀ CEDRONIO

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I. OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUEES AND DECLARATIONS

1. Soviet-Swedish Communiqué(1)

The Communiqué issued after the visit by the Swedish Foreign Minister, Mr. Wickman, to the Soviet Union from 8th to 15th February, 1972, contained the following paragraph:

"The two sides declared their support for preparatory work to call a well-prepared all-European conference on security and co-operation, with the participation of all the states concerned, including the United States and Canada. They emphasised the desirability of accepting the proposal of the Government of Finland for preparations for the conference to be started in Helsinki on a multilateral basis. They expressed the hope that the preparations for the conference would be carried out in such a way as to enable the conference to be convened in the near future."

2. Mr. Kekkonen's informal visit to the Soviet Union

The statement issued after Mr. Kekkonen's informal visit to the Soviet Union from 25th to 27th February, 1972, included the following passage:

"During discussion of international problems, great attention was paid to the situation in Europe, and in particular to the question of convening an all-European conference on security and co-operation. The sides came out in favour of the conference being held soon, and consider it necessary for this purpose to begin multilateral consultations in Helsinki with the participation of all interested sides. They expressed the hope that the preparations for the conference will be carried out in such a way that it could take place in 1972."

3. Speech by Mr. Brezhnev at the 15th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions on 20th March, 1972(2)

In the course of his address to the 15th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions on 20th March, 1972, Mr. Brezhnev made the following comments:

"You know, comrades, that the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member States, which took place in Prague in January this year, was devoted to consideration of problems of Europe. Important decisions were adopted. Their essence lies in the active promotion of European security, imparting concrete contents to the idea of co-operation among European States and assisting practical settlement of existing European problems."

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- (1) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 26
(2) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 31

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Europe is, as it were, at the threshold of a new stage. Ideas of peace, security and development of broad multilateral co-operation are gaining recognition and support among a growing number of States. Peaceful initiatives of the socialist countries helped to create a situation where it is becoming possible to consider in a practical manner questions of security and co-operation in Europe. The solution of these questions is a task of great historic dimensions. The European working class, including the trade unions, are called upon to play an important rôle in this task.

As you know, we have proposed, in the interests of European security, the convening of a general European conference of States. There are probably no States in Europe which have not expressed themselves, in one form or another, in support of convening the conference on questions of security and co-operation. Canada is in agreement with this proposal. It follows from President Nixon's report to the American Congress that the USA also supports its convening. Now one must solve the question on the date for convening the conference and to determine jointly the main directions of its work. The socialist countries set out their proposals in this matter in the Declaration on Peace, Security and Co-operation in Europe which was adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member States in Prague."

4. "Public Opinion and European Security" (Pravda Article)(1)

On 12th April, 1972, Pravda published an article by Vitaly Shaposhnikov, a member of the Bureau of the Soviet Committee for European Security, entitled "Public Opinion and European Security".

5. Polish-Danish Communiqué(2)

The Communiqué issued at the close of the official visit made to Poland from 9th to 12th April, 1972 by the Danish Foreign Minister, Mr. Andersen, contained the following paragraphs:

"The two Ministers expressed their conviction that the convening of the European Conference on Security and Co-operation with the participation of all interested European States as well as the United States and Canada, would expedite the process of establishing a durable system of security to guarantee the peaceful development of all countries of the European Continent. Such a conference would also contribute to an all-round expansion of co-operation among European States. The Ministers pronounced in favour of convening the conference as soon as possible.

(1) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 35
(2) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 36

The two Ministers expressed full support for the proposal of the Government of Finland to hold as soon as possible multilateral consultations in Helsinki with a view to prepare the European Conference on Security and Co-operation.

The two Ministers stressed the importance of close and trustful co-operation among European countries to consolidate the atmosphere of peace and security in Europe. They agreed that such co-operation ought to be based on the principles of respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity, renunciation of the use or threat of force, non-interference into the internal affairs of other states, and peaceful settlement of conflicts."

6. Danish-Rumanian Communiqué(1)

The Communiqué issued after the official visit to Rumania from 12th to 16th April, 1972 by the Danish Foreign Minister, Mr. Andersen, states:

"The two sides made a thorough examination of the present day international situation and noted the existence of a wide similarity and identity of their points of view.

They reaffirmed their conviction that the development of normal, good neighbourly relations among states, based on the principles of international law - of national independence and sovereignty, equal rights, non-interference in the internal affairs and mutual advantage - represents the sine qua non condition for establishing a climate of peace, détente and international security in the world.

The sides declared themselves for the exclusion of force or threat to use force in the relations among states, for a peaceful solution of disputes and for the observance of the inalienable right of each and every people to freely and sovereignly decide its own future.

The two sides paid particular attention to the questions of European security and co-operation. They consider that at present there exists a favourable political climate for an early start of the multilateral preparation and the convening of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, with the direct and equal participation of all the states concerned. The parties expressed their determination to work for a multi-lateral meeting in Helsinki, as soon as possible, with the view to preparing the convening of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

(1) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 37

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The European Conference should contribute to the achievement of a system of commitments designed to govern the relations among the states of our continent, to guarantee the peaceful, free and independent development of each nation. At the same time, the Conference will stimulate the development of the economic, technical, scientific and cultural co-operation of the contacts between human beings. It will strengthen the mutual trust between countries and peoples on which a lasting peace in Europe must be based."

7. Turkish-Soviet Communiqué

The Communiqué issued at the end of Mr. Podgorny's official visit to Turkey from 11th to 17th April, 1972, states:

"The two sides examined the situation in Europe. They gave special attention to the questions connected with the preparation of a Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. They noted with satisfaction the efforts made to bring about a climate of confidence and understanding in Europe and expressed the hope that further progress would be made in this direction.

With regard to the preparation of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, they noted with appreciation the proposal by Finland that multilateral talks should be held in Helsinki. The purpose of these talks should be to determine the substantive issues to be placed on the Agenda, together with the procedural arrangements, and to decide where the Conference should be held and how it should be convened. Both sides expressed the hope that the preparatory work would go forward in such a way as to enable the Conference to be convened in the near future."(1)

8. Soviet-United States Communiqué(2)

The Communiqué issued after President Nixon's visit to Moscow from 22nd to 30th May, 1972, included the following paragraphs:

"The United States of America and the USSR are prepared to make appropriate contributions to the positive trends on the European Continent toward a genuine détente and the development of relations of peaceful co-operation among states in Europe on the basis of the principles of territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers, non-interference in internal affairs, sovereign equality, independence and renunciation of the use or threat of force.

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- (1) Unofficial translation
 - (2) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 43

The United States and the USSR are in accord that multilateral consultations looking toward a Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe could begin after the signature of the Final Quadripartite Protocol of the Agreement of 3rd September, 1971. The two governments agree that the Conference should be carefully prepared in order that it may concretely consider specific problems of security and co-operation and thus contribute to the progressive reduction of the underlying causes of tension in Europe. This Conference should be convened at a time to be agreed by the countries concerned, but without undue delay."

9. Soviet-Yugoslav Communiqué(1)

The Communiqué issued at the close of Marshall Tito's official visit to the Soviet Union from 5th to 10th June, 1972, states:

"Both sides noted the principled significance of the positive changes which are occurring in the European Continent and which are creating real prospects for the establishment of stable peace and good-neighbourly relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence between States.

The two sides are agreed that all the necessary conditions now exist for preparations without delay and on a multilateral basis, for the holding in the near future of an all-European conference of States on questions of security and co-operation, so that these questions may be examined and solved in the interests of all the peoples of Europe, of their free development, and of the cause of peace and progress.

The two sides expressed their support for the peaceful and constructive efforts by the European public, efforts which found their expression, among other things, in the conclusions and ideas of the Assembly of Public Forces for Security and Co-operation in Europe aimed at solving outstanding problems on the European Continent.

Taking into consideration the wishes and aspirations of European peoples, the two sides expressed their conviction that the reduction of armed forces and armaments, as well as other measures in this field, would be an important part of the process of building European security.

The two sides paid special attention to the need for continuing an active struggle for the consistent implementation, in the conduct of international relations, of the principle of peaceful co-existence of States irrespective of their social systems; for the renunciation of the use of force or the threat of force; and for the peaceful and constructive settlement of questions in dispute."

(1) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 46

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10. Mr. Gromyko's talks in Paris(1)

The "joint statement" issued on 15th June, 1972, after the talks between the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko, and President Pompidou, Mr. Chaban-Delmas and Mr. Schumann, contained the following passage:

"The two sides reaffirmed the overriding importance their governments attach to the convening of a Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe as soon as possible. They expressed the view that the multilateral consultations to pave the way for the Conference should begin in Helsinki in the near future. France and the Soviet Union will continue to exchange views on this question in the context of their consultations."(2)

11. Polish-Yugoslav Communiqué(3)

The Communiqué issued after Marshall Tito's official visit to Poland from 19th to 23rd June, 1972, contained the following passage:

"Both sides consider that favourable conditions have been created for immediate multilateral preparations for harmonizing the foundations, aims and work procedures of a Conference on European Co-operation and Security, which should be held in the near future. This Conference, the two sides believe, should create the basis for a permanent system of security which would ensure for all nations of Europe free development, peace and progress."

12. Polish-Norwegian Communiqué(4)

The Communiqué issued at the close of the official visit to Norway from 25th to 29th June, 1972 by the Polish Foreign Minister, Mr. Olszowski, states:

"Both Parties stressed the importance of close and trustful co-operation among European States with a view to consolidating peace and security in Europe. They emphasised the importance of all States, irrespective of their political and social systems, abiding consistently in their relations with other States by the principles of territorial integrity, inviolability of frontiers, respect for national sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, renunciation of the use or threat of force, and peaceful settlement of conflicts in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

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- (1) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 47
(2) Unofficial translation
(3) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 49
(4) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 50

The Ministers noted with satisfaction that in view of the present favourable political atmosphere in Europe, multilateral preparations of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe will be initiated in Helsinki this fall with the aim of convening the Conference as soon as possible. A well-prepared Conference could initiate the process of strengthening security in Europe and lead to further steps towards the development of many-sided co-operation between all interested States."

13. Soviet-Netherlands Communiqué(1)

The Communiqué issued after the Soviet Foreign Minister's visit to the Netherlands from 5th to 7th July, 1972 contained the following passage:

"In the course of the discussions, special attention was given to the problems connected with the preparation and convening of a Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Both sides consider that the multilateral preparations for such a Conference can be started in Helsinki in the near future."(2)

14. Soviet-Luxembourg Communiqué(3)

The Communiqué issued after the Soviet Foreign Minister's visit to Luxembourg from 7th to 9th July, 1972 included the following paragraphs:

"The two sides stated that they would work for the promotion on the European political scene of the following principles governing European security, peaceful co-operation and relations between states: territorial integrity and the inviolability of frontiers, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, sovereign equality and independence, renunciation of the use or threat of force.

The very real progress thus made opens up favourable prospects for the strengthening of co-operation and the development of trade between all the European countries, irrespective of their political systems.

The CSCE could represent an all-important step in this direction. The two sides consider that the multilateral preparations for this Conference can be started in Helsinki in the near future."(2)

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- (1) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 51
 - (2) Unofficial translation
 - (3) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 52

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15. Soviet-Belgian Communiqué(1)

The Communiqué issued after the Soviet Foreign Minister's official visit to Belgium from 9th to 12th July, 1972 contained the following paragraphs:

"In accordance with the United Nations Charter, Belgium and the USSR reiterated their determination to contribute to the strengthening of security and the development of co-operation in Europe, particularly on the basis of the following principles: the inviolability of existing frontiers, the equality, independence and sovereignty of states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and renunciation of the use or threat of force.

Both sides expressed the view that multilateral consultations should be started as soon as possible in Helsinki to pave the way for a Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. These consultations should lead to agreement on the content of the Agenda, the arrangements for convening the Conference and the procedure to be adopted."(2)

II. TALKS AT DIPLOMATIC LEVEL (USSR)

16. Talks between Mr. Black and Mr. Kozyrev(3)

On 26th January, 1972, Mr. Black, the Canadian Director-General for European Affairs, accompanied by the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. Ford, was received in Moscow by Mr. Kozyrev, the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, and Mr. Lunkov. Mr. Kozyrev noted that during Mr. Kosygin's visit to Canada agreement had already been reached on the usefulness of multi-lateral preparations for a CSCE. The Soviet Authorities were of the opinion that all the prerequisites had been met and that a date should now be fixed for the Conference itself and for the start of the preparatory talks. Mr. Kozyrev thought that Helsinki would be a perfectly suitable site for the Conference.

17. Comments by the Soviet Ambassador in London(4)

During an interview with senior Foreign Office officials on 28th January, 1972, the Soviet Ambassador in London made a number of comments on the Declaration issued two days earlier in Prague following a meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. He recalled the Soviet position on the preparatory phase of a CSCE which, in the USSR's view, should be fairly short and deal with the time, place, Agenda and method of work for the Conference. He made it clear

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- (1) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 53
 - (2) Unofficial translation
 - (3) Information provided by the Canadian Delegation on 7th February, 1972
 - (4) Letter from the United Kingdom Delegation dated 2nd February, 1972

that he considered all the principles set out in the Prague Declaration to be of equal status. However, he was evasive regarding the exchange of people. Lastly, he emphasised that the responsibilities of the permanent body to be set up should not be confined to co-operation.

18. Meeting between the First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy and a member of the State Department(1)

On 15th February, 1972, Mr. Sokolov, First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, was received at his own request by a member of the State Department. During this meeting, he expressed the hope that the Soviet Embassy and the State Department could maintain close bilateral contacts on a CSCE, prior to initial multilateral conversations, with the aim of developing common positions and identifying differences. He pressed for the adoption of an orderly and expeditious preparatory process as soon as the Final Quadripartite Protocol on Berlin had been signed and with no NATO Ministerial Meeting intervening. As for the Conference Agenda, Mr. Sokolov stated that the Warsaw Pact member countries were contemplating the conclusion of an agreement on the principles governing relations between states, including renunciation of the use of force and with particular reference to the inviolability of frontiers. With regard to freer movement, he envisaged CSCE agreement on general formulations enjoining States to enhance exchanges "to the extent possible". This agreement would then be developed on a bilateral basis. The Warsaw Pact saw the setting up of permanent machinery as a logical sequel to the Conference, but would not rule out the possibility of subsequent meetings at Ministerial level; in particular, the question of MBFR could be dealt with by this body or one of its sub-groups.

While recalling that the Prague Declaration referred to the question of disarmament in the context of a CSCE, Mr. Sokolov stressed that force reductions could not be the subject of negotiations during the Conference but should be dealt with by the permanent body set up by the latter.

19. Meeting in Washington between the First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy and the Political Counsellor of the Belgian Embassy(2)

Mr. Sokolov had a meeting with the Political Counsellor of the Belgian Embassy in Washington. He asked whether the bilateral talks with Finland should be confined to the practical arrangements for possible multilateral talks or whether substantive questions could be brought up. He explained that the use of the word "delegate" in the Prague Declaration was deliberately vague and that representation in Helsinki could

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- (1) Information supplied by the United States Delegation on 16th February, 1972
(2) Information provided by the Belgian Delegation on 29th February, 1972

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be at various levels "provided that each participant validly represents his Government". As he saw it, this problem could be discussed during bilateral talks with Finland with the aim of arriving at a general agreement. As regards economic and cultural co-operation, it would seem from what Mr. Sokolov said that the wording of the Prague Declaration is clearer than the ideas of its signatories. Mr. Sokolov reaffirmed the USSR's interest in a CSCE, the main purpose of which should be to satisfy the desire for détente of the peoples of Eastern Europe and to stabilise the European political situation while at the same time enabling the rival blocs to be done away with.

20. Comments by the First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Washington(1)

During a meeting with a United States official in Washington on 7th April, 1972, Mr. Sokolov stressed that the Prague Declaration was an expression of Warsaw Pact views in contrast to purely Soviet views. The emphasis was on a CSCE since this was a question on which a consensus was more likely. His Authorities believed that it was necessary to resolve political questions in Europe before addressing military issues; the Conference could deal with the principles governing the inviolability of frontiers and the renunciation of force, ecology and similar questions. This would bring about a climate conducive to the subsequent discussion of more difficult issues, such as force reductions.

21. Conversation between Mr. Sokolov and an official of the State Department(2)

In the course of a meeting on 16th May, 1972 with a member of the State Department in Washington, Mr. Sokolov expressed certain views which seem to be inconsistent with earlier Soviet arguments.

According to Mr. Sokolov, the Soviet Authorities still considered that MBFR should not be discussed at a CSCE but in the framework of a permanent body to be set up by the Conference. In place of the Brosio mission, he thought that multilateral discussions between the interested countries could be held simultaneously with the preparatory talks for the Conference. The CSCE would decide on the composition of the body that would deal with MBFR and might establish other machinery to handle the different aspects of military security.

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- (1) Information provided by the United States Delegation on 13th April, 1972
 - (2) Information provided by the United States Delegation on 23rd May, 1972

Mr. Sokolov also stressed that his Authorities opposed expanding a CSCE discussion of security issues to embrace military aspects of security since, in their view, this item should be confined to consideration of the principles governing relations between states and the renunciation of the use of force. The ratification of the Moscow Treaty had diminished the importance of the borders question and there should be little difficulty in reaching agreement, the aim being to obtain general agreement on the "recognition" of existing frontiers or their "inviolability". Mr. Sokolov expressed the fear that a discussion on freer movement would degenerate into a slanging match; it was hardly realistic to hope that it would lead to the calling into question of East European political systems.

With regard to procedure, the Russians were aware of the sensitivity of the GDR recognition issue and agreed that delegations to the Conference should be led by local Heads of Mission assisted by experts. Mr. Sokolov stressed the importance of arriving at a consensus, if possible throughout the negotiations and, at all events, on the declarations issued by the Conference. He said that UN-type voting arrangements should be avoided and referred briefly to the rôle the Finnish Chairman could play in the event of a deadlock. The Soviet Authorities had a marked preference for a single Ministerial session, which should be carefully prepared.

22. Meeting in Moscow between the Norwegian Minister for Foreign Trade and Mr. Gromyko(1)

During his visit to the Soviet Union on 18th May, 1972, the Norwegian Minister for Foreign Trade had a meeting with Mr. Gromyko. The latter said that his Government attached great importance to the discussion of economic problems at a CSCE and added that the situation in Vietnam should not affect diplomatic developments in Europe.

23. Conversation between a member of the Belgian Embassy and a Soviet Diplomat serving in Washington(2)

During a recent conversation between a member of the Belgian Embassy and a Soviet diplomat serving in Washington, the latter stressed the importance of the principles adopted by the United States and the USSR at the end of their summit meeting; he added that these principles should be placed on the CSCE Agenda as a means of governing relations between states. He intimated that the Soviet Union would prefer them to be embodied in an international treaty. He considered that the other proposed items for a Conference Agenda should not be spelt out in too much detail as this would make it more difficult to achieve a consensus among the participating countries.

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- (1) Information provided by the Norwegian Delegation on 23rd May, 1972
 - (2) Information provided by the Belgian Delegation on 26th June, 1972

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24. Conversation between the Soviet Foreign Minister and the United Kingdom Ambassador in Moscow(1)

The United Kingdom Ambassador in Moscow saw the Soviet Foreign Minister on 29th June, 1972. The main subject covered by their conversation was the CSCE. Mr. Gromyko recalled that the Soviet view on the Conference Agenda was that it should deal both with problems of security and with those of economic, scientific, technological and cultural co-operation. It could also discuss the creation of a permanent body, which should be consultative and not supra-national, but the Soviet Government had no special interest in this. Mr. Gromyko stressed the importance of the inviolability of frontiers and the renunciation of force. He considered that the obligations in this respect should be formulated as strongly and precisely as possible and be binding on countries: governments should not be content with resolutions of a purely propaganda nature.

Mr. Gromyko expressed the wish that a "preparatory conference" should be convened as soon as possible. He also thought that after the first Conference the participants might wish to call another, perhaps after a year or two, since it was unlikely that all European problems could be solved at the first attempt. As to procedure, the Soviet Government was thinking in terms of a meeting of Foreign Ministers, to be followed by a series of commissions or working groups to work out draft documents, which would be finally approved at a summit meeting.

25. Meeting between Mr. Sokolov and a State Department Officer(2)

Mr. Sokolov recently had an exchange of views with a State Department officer in Washington on the subject of a CSCE. He said that the Soviet leaders would prefer to restrict participation to the 34 states which had been recipients of the initial Finnish memorandum, plus Finland. While the Soviet Union was prepared to consider Albanian participation, it would be opposed to that of China, since this would have a disruptive influence on the discussions. Similarly, it was against the participation of the Maghreb states or other non-European states on the Mediterranean littoral.

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- (1) Information provided by the United Kingdom Delegation on 4th July, 1972
(2) Information provided by the United States Delegation on 11th July, 1972

It seems from what Mr. Sokolov said that the Soviet Authorities' attitude on procedure is changing. They can accept a Finnish Chairman of the CSCE and the naming of individuals from other neutral countries to chair different commissions. The Russian Ambassador in Helsinki would head the Soviet Delegation at the multilateral preparatory talks, but Mr. Sokolov was not yet certain of the intentions of other Warsaw Pact members in this respect. He agreed with the State Department officer that early establishment of commissions might be complicated by the substantive issues that could be raised in developing their terms of reference. The Soviet Government was thinking in terms of a lengthy preparatory phase, perhaps culminating in a meeting of Foreign Ministers to resolve outstanding issues, to be followed by the Conference itself at Heads of State level.

Mr. Sokolov confirmed the report in an article by Arnaud de Borchgrave in the July 10th issue of "Newsweek" regarding Moscow's interest in seeking a "Charter for Peace in Europe" at a CSCE. Such a proposal would entail difficulties for certain countries, such as the United States, because of their constitutional provisions. Mr. Sokolov said that his Authorities had envisaged such a treaty with a view to defining the principles governing relations between states and addressing the question of frontiers. However, he expressed appreciation of the difficulties the treaty might entail.

Mr. Sokolov stressed that it would be difficult for his Authorities to take a decision on the inclusion of stabilisation measures in a Declaration on principles without more complete knowledge of the extent of such measures; he also expressed interest in the MBFR studies and the possibility of Allied proposals in this field.

III. COMMENTS BY THE USSR ON FORCE REDUCTIONS AND THEIR
RELATIONSHIP WITH A CSCE

26. These comments are summarised in document PO/72/198, dated 22nd March, 1972, and in a document currently being prepared, which will be issued in August. For ease of reference, a list of the main exchanges of views on this subject is given below.

- (a) Conversations in Moscow on 26th January, 1972 between Mr. Black, the Director-General for European Affairs at the Canadian Foreign Ministry, and high-ranking Soviet officials (information provided by the Canadian Delegation on 7th February, 1972).

- (b) Talks on 28th January, 1972 in London between the Soviet Ambassador and Senior Foreign and Commonwealth Office officials (information provided by the United Kingdom Delegation on 1st February, 1972).
- (c) Conversation in Moscow on 1st February, 1972 between a member of the United States Embassy and an official of the International Organizations Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry (information provided by the United States Delegation on 3rd February, 1972).
- (d) Talks in Washington on 4th February, 1972 between the Soviet Ambassador, Mr. Dobrynin, and Secretary of State Rogers (information provided by the United States Delegation on 9th February, 1972).
- (e) Comments by Soviet Embassy officials in Bucharest on 7th and 8th February, 1972 (information provided by the United States Delegation on 10th February, 1972).
- (f) Conversation in Moscow on 8th February, 1972 between the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. Ford, and the Soviet Foreign Minister (letter from the Canadian Delegation dated 9th February, 1972).
- (g) Conversation in Washington on 8th February, 1972 between Mr. Sokolov, First Secretary at the Soviet Embassy, and a member of the Canadian Embassy (letter from the Canadian Delegation dated 9th February, 1972).
- (h) Conversation in Washington on 15th February, 1972 between Mr. Sokolov, First Secretary at the Soviet Embassy, and a member of the State Department (information provided by the United States Delegation on 16th February, 1972).
- (i) Conversation in Washington on 29th February, 1972 between Mr. Sokolov, First Secretary at the Soviet Embassy, and the Political Counsellor of the Belgian Embassy (information provided by the Belgian Delegation on 29th February, 1972).
- (j) Talks in Moscow in February 1972 between a member of the German Embassy and Mr. Proektor, of the Soviet Institute for World Economy and International Relations (information provided by the German Delegation on 30th March, 1972).
- (k) Comments made on 7th April, 1972 by Mr. Sokolov, First Secretary at the Soviet Embassy in Washington (information provided by the United States Delegation on 13th April, 1972).

- (l) Conversation in Washington on 16th May, 1972 between Mr. Sokolov, First Secretary at the Soviet Embassy, and a State Department official (information provided by the United States Delegation on 23rd May, 1972).
- (m) Conversation in Moscow on 29th June, 1972 between the United Kingdom Ambassador and Mr. Gromyko (information provided by the United Kingdom Delegation on 4th July, 1972).
- (n) Talks in Washington between Mr. Sokolov, First Secretary at the Soviet Embassy, and a State Department official (information provided by the United States Delegation on 11th July, 1972).
- (o) Conversation between the Greek and Soviet Ambassadors in Prague on the subject of MBFR (information provided by the Greek Delegation on 11th July, 1972).

IV. VIEWS OF THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES(1)

27. Polish Views

(a) Comments on force reductions by an unnamed Polish official (information provided by the United States Delegation on 7th February, 1972).

(b) Conversation on 8th February, 1972 between Mr. Stoltenberg, Under-Secretary of State in the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, and the Polish Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Czyrek. According to Mr. Czyrek, the Prague Declaration contained certain new elements regarding a CSCE, and particularly the idea that the CSCE should adopt an instrument which would commit states instead of simply a non-binding document of a declaratory character. He repeated the Polish proposal that the multilateral preparatory phase of the Conference should be initiated at once through talks at regional level. The date for the opening of multilateral talks in Helsinki should be set as soon as possible and there should be great flexibility regarding the level of representation in the talks. He also referred in fairly general terms to the permanent body to be set up by the Conference (information provided by the Norwegian Delegation on 10th February, 1972).

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- (1) The parts of these exchanges of view relating to force reductions are summarised in PO/72/198 and in the document currently being prepared, which will be issued in August.

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(c) Conversation on 11th February, 1972 between the United States Ambassador in Warsaw, Mr. Stoessel, and the Polish Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Willmann. The latter urged that the multilateral preparatory talks for a CSCE should begin as soon as possible. He also explained certain passages in the Prague Declaration: the reference to "artificial barriers" applied strictly to trade problems, and particularly **Common Market practices**; as regards the freer exchange of persons, which was covered in the Prague Declaration under the heading "mutually profitable relations among States", Mr. Willmann claimed that the visa requirements of most Western states for visitors from the East were more restrictive than Polish requirements for Western visitors. Lastly, he said that the national representatives at the multilateral preparatory talks should be treated as completely equal in rights, without discrimination (information provided by the United States Delegation on 15th February, 1972).

(d) Comments on the Prague Declaration by a Polish Foreign Ministry official, who drew attention to certain new features in the list of principles governing relations between states (particularly the inviolability of frontiers as an element of the principle of territorial integrity and the new definition of peaceful co-existence, which now encompassed general co-operation). He emphasised that these principles would also apply to relations between states belonging to the same system but did not explain to what extent this would affect the "Brezhnev Doctrine". In the view of the Warsaw Pact, the permanent body for security and co-operation in Europe should regard itself not only as a centre for information, documentation and technical questions but also, in the long run, as an instrument for consultations designed to harmonise ideas; it would also be a suitable forum for the study of force reductions in Europe. The Eastern side did not envisage the creation of an institutional link between this "new Europe" and the United Nations - apparently in order to prevent China from exercising any influence on the European question (information provided by the German Delegation on 15th February, 1972).

(e) Conversation between Assistant Secretary Hillenbrand and the new Polish Ambassador in Washington (letter from the United States Delegation dated 18th February, 1972).

(f) Comments made in Copenhagen on 9th and 10th February, 1972 by Mr. Czyrek, Polish Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, stressing the importance of the Prague Declaration and the fundamental principles for peaceful co-operation and co-existence set out therein (letter from the Danish Delegation dated 21st February, 1972).

(g) Talks in Warsaw between the Canadian Ambassador, the new Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Spasowski, and the Adviser on European Security matters to the Polish Foreign Minister, Mr. Ketrzynski. According to the Polish officials, the Prague Declaration fully reflected the Polish views on a CSCE and Rumania was the only Warsaw Pact member to have advanced slightly different arguments. The preparation of the Conference could comprise bilateral, and then multilateral, talks, with a "bilateral-multilateral" stage in between (information provided by the Canadian Delegation on 24th February, 1972).

(h) Conversation on CSCE matters between a Polish diplomat and a United States official, from which it emerged that the primary Polish aims will be a declaration on the inviolability of frontiers and trade concessions from the EEC (information provided by the United States Delegation on 29th February, 1972).

(i) Talks with Mr. Willmann in The Hague from 21st to 24th February, 1972, in the course of which clarifications were given concerning the Polish ideas on a CSCE and MBFR. Mr. Willmann felt that there were objections to EEC participation in a CSCE since, from a legal point of view, only states could take part. Poland nevertheless recognised the EEC as an economic reality. However, the process of European integration carried with it the risk that Moscow would contemplate similar reforms within COMECON (letter from the Netherlands Delegation dated 1st March, 1972).

(j) Comments by a Polish Foreign Ministry official on the question of force reductions (information provided by the German Delegation on 6th March, 1972).

(k) Approaches made by the Political Counsellor of the Polish Embassy in Helsinki to his opposite numbers in other embassies and to Finnish Foreign Ministry officials requesting them to examine the problems connected with a CSCE (information provided on 30th March and 4th April, 1972).

(l) Conversation between a member of the German Trade Mission in Helsinki and the Counsellor of the Polish Embassy, Mr. Skovronski, on the Polish views regarding multilateral preparations for a CSCE. According to the Italian Embassy in Helsinki, however, the views expressed by Mr. Skovronski should be considered as his own rather than his Government's (information provided by the German and Italian Delegations on 2nd May, 1972).

(m) Talks during the visit to Poland by Mr. Andersen, the Danish Foreign Minister, from 9th to 12th April, 1972 (letter from the Danish Delegation dated 5th May, 1972).

(n) Discussions held during the visit to Poland in the first week of May by the Belgian Roving Ambassador, Mr. Forthomme. The Poles stressed the importance of the passages in the Prague Declaration referring to the desirability of a "system of commitments" guaranteeing security in Europe. The first Conference should set up a permanent body modelled on existing international and regional organizations and on the United Nations Charter. This body would provide the basis on which a security system could gradually be built up; it would have the dual task of helping to implement the resolutions adopted at the Conference and of preparing for subsequent conferences. It could also be used as a negotiating forum for the various European problems, including those relating to security (letter from the Belgian Delegation dated 17th May, 1972).

(o) Conversation on 23rd May, 1972 between a Netherlands Embassy official in Helsinki and the Counsellor of the Polish Embassy, Mr. Skovronski, on the prospects for discussing MBFR problems as a result of the signing of the SALT Agreement (letter from the Netherlands Delegation dated 7th June, 1972).

(p) Talks between German and Polish officials on the preparation of a CSCE (information provided by the German Delegation on 13th June, 1972).

(q) Political consultations on 6th and 7th June, 1972 between the Polish Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Czyrek, and the Director of Political Affairs at the French Foreign Ministry. The part of the discussions devoted to the CSCE revealed no new elements in the Polish attitude to the Conference. Mr. Czyrek merely said that the preparatory phase of the Conference should get underway as soon as possible in Helsinki and that no attempt should be made to turn it into a "pre-conference" or "a substitute for a Conference". On procedure, he was receptive to the French idea of having three groups of experts to deal with substantive issues. He accepted the suggestion that exchanges of ideas and people should be developed, provided that the concept of "freer movement" did not give rise to abuses, or even attempts at "ideological diversion". He did not reiterate the Polish proposal that the two countries should take joint action in this connection with a view to a CSCE. However, he expressed the hope that "bold initiatives" would enable the Conference to improve on the results already obtained through bilateral exchanges (information provided by the French Delegation on 26th June, 1972).

(r) Comments by the Polish Ambassador in Ottawa on the Bonn Communiqué (information provided by the Canadian Delegation on 26th June, 1972).

(s) Talks with the Polish Foreign Minister, Mr. Olszowski, during his visit to Norway from 25th to 29th June, 1972. As the Poles see it, the purpose of the multilateral preparations by Heads of Missions should be to decide the time, place, level of representation, procedures and Agenda for the Conference. These preparations should not, however, be allowed to become a substitute for the Conference itself. "Initial talks" on force reductions should not be a precondition for the start of the multilateral preparations. The Polish Government hoped that the CSCE would lead to the establishment of a "system of obligations" between states - without the present alliances being disbanded at this stage; a lessening of the negative effects of the economic groupings; broader co-operation in the fields of environment and health; the development of cultural relations and the establishment of permanent machinery for European security and co-operation (information provided by the Norwegian Delegation on 4th July, 1972).

(t) Talks with the Polish Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Czyrek, during his visit to Turkey from 29th June to 2nd July. Mr. Czyrek repeated the views expressed by his Minister in Norway (information provided by the Turkish Delegation on 18th July, 1972).

(u) Talks in Helsinki on "freer movement" between a member of the United Kingdom Embassy and Mr. Skovronski, Counsellor of the Polish Embassy, (information provided by the United Kingdom Delegation on 25th July, 1972).

28. Czech views

(a) Discussion of the Prague Declaration between the Czechoslovak Ambassador in London and the Permanent Under-Secretary in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office on 31st January, 1972 (information provided by the United Kingdom Delegation on 8th February, 1972).

(b) Conversation between the Canadian Assistant Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs and the Czechoslovak Ambassador in Ottawa, highlighting the importance Prague attaches to the borders issue (information provided on 20th April, 1972).

(c) Talks from 21st to 23rd March, 1972 at the Belgian Foreign Ministry between a Czechoslovak delegation headed by the Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Ruzek, and a Belgian delegation led by the Director-General for Political Affairs, Viscount Davignon. The Czechoslovak side drew special attention to the passage in the Prague Declaration regarding the principles governing relations between states (letter from the Belgian Delegation dated 2nd May, 1972).

(d) Approach to the German Authorities by a representative of the Czechoslovak Trade Mission in Bonn, who requested information on the results of the NATO Ministerial meeting. The Czechoslovak official seemed very interested in obtaining details

of the different positions adopted within the Alliance on CSCE and MBFR (information provided by the German Delegation on 20th June, 1972).

29. Hungarian views

(a) Exchange of views on 6th and 7th March, 1972 between the Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Nagy, and the Director of Political Affairs in the German Foreign Ministry. It emerged from this discussion that Hungary is extremely interested in a Conference (information provided by the German Delegation on 13th March, 1972).

(b) Talks on 16th and 17th March, 1972 at the Belgian Foreign Ministry between a Hungarian Delegation headed by the Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Nagy, and a Belgian Delegation led by the Director-General for Political Affairs, Viscount Davignon. The Hungarian view is that participation in a CSCE should not be extended to take in non-European countries other than the United States and Canada. As to the Agenda, it was too early to say whether commitments relating to the principles governing relations between states should be embodied in a treaty or a declaration; with regard to co-operation, the Conference should confine itself to laying down broad political guidelines; a permanent body, whose terms of reference would be determined by the Conference, should be established; the movement of people and ideas could possibly be examined - Hungary pursued a liberal policy in this respect - provided that this question was approached in a constructive way and was not used to foster subversion. Discussion of MBFR would overburden or even bog down the Conference, but the CSCE's credibility would be reduced if it did not deal with certain military aspects of security. The Hungarian Authorities wanted the multilateral preparatory talks to start as soon as possible so as to find out whether there was enough common ground between the future participants (letter from the Belgian Delegation dated 2nd May, 1972).

(c) Talks with the Deputy Foreign Minister of Hungary, Mr. Puja, during his visit to Norway from 10th to 12th April, 1972. Hungary was not opposed to the discussion of freer movement of persons at a CSCE provided that economic co-operation remained the pivotal issue. If the NATO countries insisted on discussing the military aspects of security at a CSCE this could jeopardise agreement on an Agenda. Hungary did not wish to discuss unrelated questions such as the Middle East or the situation in the Mediterranean, nor to expand the number of participants (information provided by the Norwegian Delegation on 26th April, 1972).

(d) Talks during the visit to London from 8th to 12th May, 1972 by Mr. Puja, the Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister. Mr. Puja's views in London were very similar to those he had expressed during his visit to Norway (information provided by the United Kingdom Delegation on 16th May, 1972).

(e) Talks between the Norwegian Ambassador in Budapest and the Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister, during which the latter commented on the NATO Ministerial Communiqué and urged that the preparatory phase of a CSCE should not be too prolonged (information provided by the Norwegian Delegation on 20th June, 1972).

30. Rumanian views

(a) Talks in Bucharest from 15th to 19th December, 1971 during the visit by the Luxembourg Foreign Minister, Mr. Thorn. The Rumanian view is that a CSCE should be convened as soon as possible and that all states should participate on an independent basis since security was not a matter for political or military blocs. In the course of his talks with Mr. Maurer, Mr. Thorn noted thinly-veiled Rumanian criticisms of Soviet policy and a tendency to praise the people of the United States, who had shown that they were capable of making their Government modify its policies (information provided by the Luxembourg Delegation on 8th February, 1972).

(b) Joint decision on 1st February, 1972 by the Executive Board of the Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers regarding what Rumania considers should be the aims of a CSCE (information provided by the German Delegation on 22nd February, 1972).

(c) Talks between the Rumanian Foreign Minister, Mr. Macovescu, and Mr. Frank and Mr. von Braun, German State Secretaries. Rumania wished to see the gradual removal of the rival blocs without, however, leaving a vacuum. It was to avoid this eventuality that Rumania was in favour of a CSCE. During the preparatory phase, participants should be represented by Deputy Foreign Ministers, although they should retain some scope for choice. The term "representatives" had been used in the Prague documents to meet Western objections in this connection (information provided by the German Delegation on 29th February, 1972).

(d) Talks during the visit to Rumania from 12th to 15th April, 1972 by Mr. Andersen, the Danish Foreign Minister. In the Rumanian view, the Conference should not be a bloc-to-bloc negotiation nor lead to a pact between the two blocs; its purpose should be to obtain joint commitment from all participants not to use force (letter from the Danish Delegation dated 5th May, 1972).

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(e) Talks with the Rumanian Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Makovescu, during his visit to Paris from 18th to 20th April, 1972. Mr. Makovescu recalled that the Rumanians had fallen in with the Finnish view that the multilateral negotiations should be held at the level of Heads of Mission accredited in Helsinki, assisted by experts, provided that all the participants agreed. The Agenda should be that suggested in the Prague Declaration and a discussion on MBFR would only complicate things. At all events, Rumania attached overriding importance to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries (information provided by the French Delegation on 3rd May, 1972).

(f) Talks between the Canadian Ambassador in Belgrade (also accredited in Bucharest) and senior Rumanian officials. It emerged from these talks that Rumania is satisfied with the Bonn Communiqué, which will enable the preparations for a CSCE to get underway. It also considers that the Mediterranean countries should be consulted at a later stage in the Conference (information provided by the Canadian Delegation on 13th June, 1972).

31. Bulgarian views

(a) Conversation in Sofia between the Netherlands Ambassador and the new Bulgarian Foreign Minister who said that, in his opinion, the Western desire to discuss "freer movement" was tantamount to a new precondition (information provided by the Netherlands Delegation on 15th February, 1972).

(b) Comments on the Prague Declaration by Ambassador Mintshev, Head of the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry's Planning Staff. The principles set out in the Declaration applied to relations between states regardless of whether or not they belonged to one and the same system. The term "artificial barrier" referred essentially to trade, and especially to the restrictive practices of the Common Market. As regards freer movement, the CSCE was linked up with the hope of a more intensive exchange of spiritual and cultural assets, but the Socialist countries had to be protected from the harmful influences of Western civilization. The various states participation in the multilateral preparatory talks on an equal basis in no way affected their sovereign right to determine the rank of their representatives themselves. The permanent body to be created to ensure continuity between the CSCE meetings should also have executive and control functions (information provided by the German Delegation on 21st February, 1972).

(c) Talks held during the visit to Sofia from 13th to 16th June, 1972 by Mr. Vigeveno, the Netherlands Ambassador-at-Large. While conceding that a CSCE should be well-prepared, the Bulgarians said that the preparations should not last longer than was strictly necessary to enable the Conference to start early in 1973. Bulgaria subscribed to the principles set out in the Prague Declaration as applying to all states. The Western views on "freer movement" could be considered under the heading "Economic, Cultural and Political Co-operation". A permanent body should be established by the Conference to implement its decisions and prepare future meetings (information provided by the Netherlands Delegation on 26th June, 1972).

(d) Comments by a Bulgarian official on the Bonn Communiqué and a CSCE, as reported by the German Diplomatic Mission in Sofia. The multilateral preparatory phase should begin as soon as possible in Helsinki so that the Conference itself could be convened next spring. The preparatory talks should not be allowed to go on for too long, nor should they anticipate on the tasks of the Conference by devoting undue time to controversial points; the rules for representation at the multilateral preparations should be fairly flexible. The Bulgarian Authorities attached the utmost importance to the establishment by the CSCE of a permanent body which would lay the foundation for a system of collective security (information provided by the German Delegation on 23rd June, 1972).

(e) Conversation between a Foreign Office official and the Bulgarian Chargé d'Affaires in London, from which it emerged that Bulgaria is mainly interested in the economic and technical aspects of a CSCE and is especially concerned about Western discrimination against imports from Eastern Europe (information provided by the United Kingdom Delegation on 4th July, 1972).

V. YUGOSLAV VIEWS

32. The Yugoslav position was outlined in the course of the following talks:

(a) Talks in Belgrade from 24th to 26th January, 1972 between the Belgian Roving Ambassador, Mr. Forthomme, and Ambassador Nincic, the Special Adviser to the Yugoslav Foreign Minister. Yugoslavia wishes to see an end to the division of Europe into rival "blocs" and favours a Conference which would pave the way for a "permanent form of co-operation" between states and a "legally-based system of European security". Pending the start of multilateral preparatory talks at Heads of Mission level in Helsinki, Yugoslavia recommends that bilateral discussions should be held in Finland. It had expressed hesitation about the desirability of certain non-European countries, such as those of the Maghreb, taking part. It will

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fall in with the majority as to where the Conference should be held and considers that 1973 would be a realistic date for its convening. While the multilateral preparatory phase should not be allowed to develop into a "pre-conference", it should nevertheless comprise a review of the substantive issues to be dealt with at the Conference. As regards the Agenda, provision should be made for drawing up a document, to be made as legally binding as possible, on the principles that should govern relations between the European states, irrespective of their political and social systems and of the alliances to which they belong. With respect to military aspects, the Conference should deal with "collateral measures" and force reductions, since otherwise its significance would be seriously curtailed. Finally, as regards the possible follow-up to a CSCE, Belgrade is at present thinking only in terms of establishing temporary ad hoc bodies which might subsequently become permanent in the light of developments (letter from the Belgian Delegation dated 3rd March, 1972).

(b) Comments on the Prague Declaration by the Yugoslav Acting Deputy Foreign Minister (letter from the Canadian Delegation dated 16th February, 1972).

(c) Views expressed in Bonn on 24th and 25th February, 1972 by Mr. Badurina, Disarmament Adviser to the Yugoslav Foreign Minister, regarding disarmament and force reductions (information provided by the German Delegation on 1st March, 1972).

(d) Talks in Belgrade on 23rd and 24th March, 1972 between German State Secretary, Mr. Frank, and the Yugoslav Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Petric (information provided on 29th March, 1972).

(e) Talks in The Hague on 11th and 12th April between Netherlands and Yugoslav officials, during which the latter handed over a document giving their Government's views on the preparation of a CSCE (information provided by the Netherlands Delegation on 26th April, 1972).

(f) Meeting between the Yugoslav Ambassador in Ankara and the Director of Political Affairs at the Turkish Foreign Ministry, in the course of which a memorandum was submitted giving the Yugoslav Government's views on the preparation of a CSCE (information provided by the Turkish Delegation on 2nd May, 1972).

(g) Conversation between a member of the State Department and the Minister - Counsellor of the Yugoslav Embassy in Washington, who stated his Government's position on the preparation of a CSCE. Yugoslavia would try to secure the discussion of minority rights in Eastern Europe - particularly in the Balkans - and the examination of problems connected with emigration and the status of foreign labour; it also wanted support for its efforts to develop tourism and international transport (information provided by the United States Delegation on 16th May, 1972).

VI. PUBLIC OPINION

33. The Soviet Committee for European Security, which was set up to mobilise public opinion under the chairmanship of Mr. Shitikov, Chairman of the Council of the Union of the Supreme Soviet publishes a news-sheet and assists in organizing various international meetings and symposia.

34. Problems connected with European security were discussed at a scientific congress which met in Moscow on 24th and 25th January, 1972(1); an international symposium on economic, scientific and technical co-operation took place in Moscow from 15th to 17th February, 1972(2); a plan to establish an international committee of journalists was announced in Prague on 10th January last(3); a Conference of Communist agrarian parties in Sofia ended on 12th May, 1972 with an appeal for European security(4).

35. An "Assembly of Representatives of Public Opinion for European Security and Co-operation" was held in Brussels from 2nd to 5th June, 1972. The organizers themselves concede that the results of this venture bore no proportion to the efforts they had exerted to make it a success(5). The text of the "Solemn Declaration" adopted at the meeting will be found in No. 45 of the series "Soviet and East European Documentation".

36. In addition, the Soviet Authorities are showing great interest in a number of international conferences planned for 1972, at which questions of European security and co-operation will be discussed. In conjunction with their Warsaw Pact Allies, they are pursuing a well-organized campaign designed to ensure that the discussions and resolutions at those meetings will follow the Soviet line as closely as possible.

37. Professor Svestka, Rector of Charles University in Prague and Chairman of the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security, sent a message early in April 1972 to all European universities and higher educational establishments urging them to support the cause of a Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and inviting them to attend an international gathering to be held in Prague next autumn(6).

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- (1) Note by the German Delegation (14th February, 1972)
 - (2) Notes by the Italian Delegation (22nd February, 1972) and the United States Delegation (29th February, 1972)
 - (3) Information provided by the United States Delegation on 8th February, 1972
 - (4) Information provided by the United States Delegation on 16th May, 1972
 - (5) Discussion in the Political Committee on 20th June, 1972
 - (6) Letter from the French Delegation dated 14th April, 1972