



ORGANISATION DU TRAITE DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD
NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

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NATO CONFIDENTIAL
PO/65/86

To: Permanent Representatives
From: Secretary General

EAST-WEST RELATIONS

On the adjournment of our discussion on East-West relations at our meeting on 10th February, I suggested that the discussion might be resumed in a fortnight's time. I also suggested that a paper might be prepared by the International Staff which would analyse the course taken by our discussions so far and serve as a basis for continuing the debate.

2. I now circulate at Annex a paper intended to serve these two purposes. This paper offers only a very summary outline of the first exchange of views which has so far taken place but I am sure that delegations will realise the great importance of bringing to the Council as much information as they may produce about their contacts with the Eastern countries and about the rationale of their policies towards the latter.

(Signed) Manlio BROSIO

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1. Although it was not possible in the time available for all Permanent Representatives to give their views, there seemed to be widespread acceptance of the analysis of Soviet positions and their implications for Allied policy set out in PO/65/56.

2. In particular, it seemed to be generally agreed that:

- (i) the fall of Khrushchev had not resulted in any major change in policy towards the West and that there seemed to be little "give" in Soviet positions;
- (ii) that it was desirable to intensify contacts with the countries of Eastern Europe - without, however, carrying the process to the point at which vital Western interests might be endangered, or at which the countries concerned, or the Soviet Union itself, might take fright at what might appear as an attempt to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and its clients or break up the Warsaw Pact;
- (iii) that contacts between East and West should be the subject of continuing exchanges of views and information in order that policies might be harmonised to the greatest extent possible and any attempts by the Soviet bloc to play one NATO power off against the other frustrated. While policies ought to be co-ordinated, the point was made that policies might be flexible within reasonable limits consistent with the general concept of the Alliance.

3. While the main conclusions of PO/65/56 were not in general disputed, a number of points were made in discussion. These included the following:

- (i) information was sought as to whether the reference in the Warsaw Pact communiqué to proposals put forward by members of the Soviet bloc constituted a final endorsement by the USSR of the Gomulka plan;
- (ii) it was suggested that to the three fundamental objectives of Soviet policy listed in paragraph 6 of PO/65/56, there might be added a fourth, namely, the weakening of the internal cohesion of NATO especially on the flanks; the exploitation of all possible sources of tension within the Alliance; and an attempt to exploit for propaganda purposes Eastern European fears of German rearmament;

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- (iii) the point was made that the Warsaw Pact meeting and communiqué may have been not so much a demonstration of the unity of the Soviet bloc (paragraph 5(1) of Part I of PO/65/56) as a real effort to strengthen that unity. The Soviet Union had scored a point by securing the attendance of Gheorghiu Dej, who had absented himself from such meetings for two years;
- (iv) it was suggested that the Communist offensive against the free world should be looked at as a whole in all its different aspects and in the whole world area. The apparent détente in East-West relations in Europe might appear less significant if viewed in conjunction with the intensification of the struggle in the uncommitted world;
- (v) it was pointed out that the assertion (in paragraph 6, Part I of PO/65/56) that Soviet policy was based on the maintenance of reasonably friendly relations and the development of economic and cultural contacts with the West did not apply to the German Federal Republic;
- (vi) with regard to the maintenance of the status quo and the division of Germany and Europe, it was suggested that the formula in paragraph 6, Part I of the paper did not go far enough. The Soviet aim was not merely to preserve the present state of affairs de facto but to secure political and legal acquiescence in it, to obtain de jure status for it, and, if possible, to improve on it from their point of view. It could not be said with any certainty that the Soviets in spite of the present lull had permanently abandoned their designs on West Berlin and Germany since Cuba.

4. In the course of discussion, a number of references were made to contacts between East and West which had not so far been listed in the documents before the Council. For convenience of reference, a list of East-West contacts, present and planned, and of negotiations and agreements on economic, technical and cultural matters has been drawn up and is appended to this paper.

5. Finally, though it was not mentioned in the discussion on 10th February, it is perhaps worth drawing the attention of the Council to an article in PRAVDA by its diplomatic commentator, Nicholas Polyanov, which appeared on 20th January. This made the point that agreement between Western and Eastern Europe was a perfectly plausible concept provided that the aftermath of the Second World War was cleared away and that Germany was definitely barred from access to nuclear weapons whether on an "Atlantic " or a European basis.

A

RECENT EAST-WEST CONTACTS ON THE POLITICAL LEVEL

1. Mr. Rapacki's visit to London (December 1964)
2. Visit of a Soviet Parliamentary Delegation, headed by Mr. Grishin, to Athens (15th December, 1964)
3. Mr. Rapacki's visit to Rome (23rd January, 1965)
4. Visits of the Czechoslovakian, Bulgarian, Yugoslavian, Rumanian and Hungarian Foreign Ministers to Paris (December 1964 - January 1965)
5. Visit of a Soviet Parliamentary Delegation, headed by Mr. Podgorny, to Turkey (4th to 14th January, 1965)
6. United States-Soviet conversations (Mr. Rusk and Mr. Gromyko, Mr. Foster and Mr. Tsarapkin) (December 1964 - February 1965)
7. Visit of the Greek Premier and Foreign Minister to Belgrade (February 1965)

B

PLANNED EAST-WEST CONTACTS ON THE POLITICAL LEVEL

1. Mr. Rapacki's visit to Brussels (in reply to the visit of Mr. Spaak to Warsaw)(planned for February 1965)
 2. Mr. Gromyko's visit to London (in return of Mr. Butler's visit)(planned for 16th to 20th March, 1965)
- Visit of Mr. Kosygin to London (Spring 1965)
- Visit of Bulgarian Deputy Prime Minister Todorov to the United Kingdom (16th to 21st February, 1965)
- Visit to the United Kingdom of the Hungarian Foreign Minister (30th June to 5th July, 1965)
- Visit of the United Kingdom Foreign Secretary to Yugoslavia (18th to 22nd April, 1965)
- Visit of the United Kingdom Foreign Secretary to Poland (September 1965)

3. Visit of the Norwegian Prime Minister to Moscow (Spring 1965)
 Visit of the Norwegian Minister of Education to Poland (soon)
4. Meeting of the French, Soviet, United Kingdom and United States Foreign Ministers in Vienna (15th May, 1965)
5. Visit of Mr. Gromyko to the Netherlands (in return of Mr. Luns visit)(Spring 1965)
6. Visit of Danish Prime Minister to Moscow (no dates yet arranged)
7. Possible exchange of visits between President Johnson and the Soviet leaders (not yet decided)

C

RECENT NEGOTIATIONS AND AGREEMENTS BETWEEN MEMBERS OF NATO AND EASTERN COUNTRIES ON CULTURAL, ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL MATTERS

I

Agreements Concluded

United States-Soviet Civil Air Agreements - (initialled 1961) - now awaiting signature and implementation.

United States-Soviet Consular Convention - (signed 1st June, 1964) - now awaiting ratification by the United States Senate.

United States-Soviet agreement on exchange of information on de-salting of the sea (November 1964)

United States-Soviet agreement on fishing activities in area south of Alaska (December 1964)

United States-Rumanian arrangement on cultural and other exchanges (December 1964)

United States-Soviet agreement on the catch of King crab in the Bering Sea (5th February, 1965)

II

Negotiations Underway

United Kingdom-Soviet negotiations on a Consular agreement

United Kingdom-Soviet negotiations on a cultural agreement

United Kingdom-Soviet negotiations on post-1939 claims
(mainly Baltic)

United States-Soviet informal talks on telegraphic exchange
of seismic data

United States-Soviet arrangements on exchange of
meteorological data

Annual review of United States-Soviet cultural exchange
agreement (signed 22nd February, 1964)

United States-Rumanian talks on Consular convention

United States-Rumanian talks on an Export-Import Bank
guarantee for the construction of industrial plants in Rumania

United States-Polish talks on a Consular convention

United States-Polish talks on a programme of cultural exchanges

United States-Hungarian talks on various bilateral problems,
including financial claims, Consular problems and cultural
exchanges.

III

Planned Initiatives

United States exploring ways to increase peaceful trade with
the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

United States-Soviet conversations on several other scientific
fields (Soviet experts invited to talk on Aleutian experiments, etc.)

Visit to United States of Chairman of the Polish State Planning
Committee to discuss bilateral economic topics (Spring 1965)

United States expectations for discussing soon bilateral
problems with Bulgaria

Possible conclusion of an agreement on economic and other
matters with Czechoslovakia, including financial claims.