



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

200

+ Cor 13-3-72

1110 - BRUXELLES

41.00.40  
TEL. : 41.44.00  
41.44.90  
TELEX : 23-867

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

ORIGINAL: FRENCH  
7th March, 1972

PO/72/157

To: Permanent Representatives

From: 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 July, 1971 to 31st January, 1972 and updates the information contained in PO/71/380, dated 6th August, 1971, and in the previous documents of this series.

(Signed) Joseph M.A.H. LUNS

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

DECLASSIFIED/DECLASSIFIEE - PUBLIC DISCLOSED/MISE EN LECTURE PUBLIQUE

CONTENTS

<u>Item</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Page No.</u>
I.	<u>WARSAW PACT COMMUNIQUES</u>	
1.	Communiqué of the meeting of Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers (1st December, 1971).	4
2.	Communiqué and Declaration by the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee (26th January, 1972).	4
II.	<u>OTHER COMMUNIQUES AND DECLARATIONS</u>	
3.	Russo-German Communiqué.	5
4.	Polish-Yugoslav Communiqué.	5
5.	Soviet-Canadian Communiqué.	5 - 6
6.	Franco-Soviet Statement.	6
7.	Communiqué issued following Mr. Brezhnev's talks in the GDR.	6 - 7
8.	Canadian-Yugoslav Communiqué.	7
9.	Russo-German Communiqué.	7
10.	Soviet-Danish Communiqué.	8
11.	Soviet-Norwegian Communiqué.	8
12.	Mr. Brezhnev's speech of 7th December, 1971 at the Polish Communist Party Congress.	8 - 9
13.	"Pravda" article.	9
III.	<u>TALKS AT DIPLOMATIC LEVEL (USSR)</u>	
14.	Mr. Moro's visit to Moscow.	9 - 10
15.	Turkish-Soviet talks.	10
16.	Meeting in the Crimea between Chancellor Brandt and Mr. Brezhnev.	10
17.	Soviet moves with respect to the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin.	10
18.	Gromyko-Rogers talks.	11

PO/72/157

-3-

<u>Item</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Page No.</u>
III.	19. Talks between the Soviet and Danish Ambassadors.	11
	20. Soviet diplomatic activity in October 1971.	11 - 12
	21. Mr. Kosygin's visit to Canada.	12
	22. Mr. Brezhnev's visit to Paris.	12
	23. Deschamps-Dubinin talks.	12 - 13
	24. Conversation between a Russian and a Turkish diplomat.	13
	25. Thorn-Kozarev talks.	13
IV.	<u>COMMENTS BY THE USSR ON FORCE REDUCTIONS AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH A CSCE (26)</u>	13 - 15
V.	<u>VIEWS OF THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES</u>	
	27. Polish views.	15 - 18
	28. Czech views.	18 - 19
	29. East German views.	19
	30. Hungarian views.	19 - 20
	31. Rumanian views.	20 - 23
	32. Bulgarian views.	23 - 24
VI.	<u>YUGOSLAV VIEWS</u>	
	33. The Yugoslav position.	24 - 25
VII.	<u>ALBANIAN VIEWS</u>	
	34. The Albanian position.	26
VIII.	<u>PUBLIC OPINION (35 and 36)</u>	26 - 27

I. WARSAW PACT COMMUNIQUE1. Communiqué of the meeting of Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers (1st December, 1971)

A meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Pact countries was held in Warsaw on 30th November and 1st December, 1971. The Communiqué issued after this meeting appears in "Soviet and East European Documentation", No. 18.

This Communiqué, which makes no mention of mutual and balanced force reductions, gives the usual Warsaw Pact views with regard to a CSCE. In particular, it states that:

"The Ministers declared that their governments resolved to appoint their plenipotentiaries to take part in multilateral consultations with respective plenipotentiaries of other States to agree on matters pertaining to the preparation and organization of the conference, and they invite the governments of other interested States to do likewise. They proceed from the premise that the consultations should be carried in a way as to contribute to speeding up of the convocation of the European conference and providing for its successful work.

On the instruction of their governments, the Ministers appeal to the governments of all interested European States and to the Governments of the United States and Canada to enter without delay into practical preparations for the European Conference in order to ensure its convocation in 1972".

2. Communiqué and Declaration by the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee (26th January, 1972)

The Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee met in Prague on 24th and 25th January, 1972. The Communiqué and the "Declaration on Peace, Security and Co-operation in Europe" issued after this meeting appear in the 24th issue of "Soviet and East European Documentation". The signatories to the Declaration express the view that a CSCE could be convened in 1972 and suggest that, to this end, multilateral preparatory consultations be started in Helsinki as soon as possible with the participation of all the interested European states, the United States and Canada. They suggest a detailed Agenda for the Conference and also refer to the problem of force reductions.

PO/72/157

-5-

II. OTHER COMMUNIQUEES AND DECLARATIONS

3. Russo-German Communiqué(1)

The Communiqué issued following the meeting between Chancellor Brandt and Mr. Brezhnev in the Crimea from 16th to 18th September, 1971 included the following paragraph:

"Questions relating to the preparation of the European Security Conference were a major topic of discussion. The parties noted that developments in Europe were conducive to such a conference with the participation of the United States and Canada. It is the intention of the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany to consult shortly with each other and with their Allies, as well as with other European states, with a view to speeding up the holding of a European Security Conference."

4. Polish-Yugoslav Communiqué(2)

The Communiqué issued following the visit to Yugoslavia from 21st to 24th October, 1971 by the Polish Prime Minister, Mr. Jaroszewicz, states:

"The two sides believe that speedy ratification of the above-mentioned agreements, as well as the holding of a Conference on European co-operation and security in which all European countries, and the United States and Canada, would take part and reach decisions on an equal footing, would represent a significant step along the road of developing comprehensive co-operation and establishing a system of European security....The two sides will exert active efforts, in all forms, bilateral and multilateral, to make the most efficient preparations possible to hold the Conference on European co-operation and security at the earliest possible date".

5. Soviet-Canadian Communiqué(3)

The Communiqué issued following the visit by the Head of the Soviet Government to Canada from 17th to 26th October, 1971 included the following paragraph:

"Welcoming these positive prospects, both sides declared themselves in favour of a properly prepared conference on security and co-operation in Europe

- 
- (1) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 5  
(unofficial translation);  
(2) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 15;  
(3) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 9.

with the participation of all European States, Canada and the USA. They expressed the hope that such a conference would contribute to the normalization and improvement of relations among all European states. They considered that multilateral consultations on this matter between all interested countries would be useful".

6. Franco-Soviet Statement(1)

The statement issued following the visit by Mr. Brezhnev to France between 25th and 30th October, 1971 included the following passages:

"Mr. Pompidou and Mr. Brezhnev re-affirmed the importance which they attach to a Conference on security and co-operation in Europe. They consider that the holding of such a Conference - the possibility of which has been brought closer by recent developments - at an early date would lead to a gradual change in relations between European states and that this in turn would put an end to the division of the European Continent into opposing blocs."

"Recalling their desire that multilateral preparations for the Conference should, with the agreement of the States concerned, start in Helsinki as soon as possible, Mr. Pompidou and Mr. Brezhnev expressed the view that this preliminary multilateral meeting should lead to agreement on an Agenda for the Conference, its procedural aspects the material arrangements and the date on which it would open."

"The two sides appreciate how important it is that the Conference should fully live up to public expectations and produce concrete results in the areas to be covered. They hope that enough headway will be made with the preparations to enable the Conference to be held in 1972".

7. Communiqué issued following Mr. Brezhnev's talks in the GDR(2)

The Communiqué issued following the talks between Mr. Brezhnev and the GDR leaders from 30th October to 1st November, 1971 states:

- 
- (1) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 11 (unofficial translation);
  - (2) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 14.

PO/72/157

-7-

"The participants in the meeting are unanimous that there exist at present all the conditions for convening a pan-European Conference on Security and Co-operation. They believe it necessary to start without delay and on a multilateral basis practical preparations for the conference which is called upon to play an important role in creating foundations for a lasting peace in Europe".

8. Canadian-Yugoslav Communiqué(1)

The Communiqué issued following Marshall Tito's official visit to Canada from 2nd to 7th November, 1971 contained the following paragraph:

"Welcoming these positive prospects, both sides looked forward to a properly prepared Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe with the participation of all European states, Canada and the USA. They expressed the hope that such a Conference would strengthen the security of Europe as a whole and would contribute to the normalization and improvement of relations among all European states on the basis of mutually agreed principles. They considered that multilateral consultations on this matter between all interested countries would be useful".

9. Russo-German Communiqué(2)

The Communiqué issued following the visit by the German Foreign Minister, Mr. Scheel, to Moscow from 25th to 30th November 1971 included the following passages:

It was emphasized that the situation developing in Europe is favourable for the convening of a Conference on Security and Co-operation in which the European states as well as the United States and Canada should participate. In the view of both sides, such a Conference can and must lead to concrete results in the strengthening of security and the development of peaceful co-operation in Europe. Both sides declared again that they would do everything in their power to ensure the success of such a conference. They felt that the multilateral preparations for the conference should begin as soon as possible with the agreement of the parties concerned".

- 
- (1) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 12;  
(2) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 19.

10. Soviet-Danish Communiqué(1)

The Communiqué issued following Mr. Brezhnev's visit to Denmark from 2nd to 5th December, 1971, included the following paragraph:

"The parties expressed their desire that a Conference on European Security and Co-operation between all the countries concerned, including the USA and Canada, might be held in the near future. Both sides hoped that the Political development in Europe would soon make it possible to initiate multilateral preparations in Helsinki for such a Conference. Both parties declared themselves willing to contribute to the holding of the Conference and to take part in the multilateral meetings and consultations referred to".

11. Soviet-Norwegian Communiqué(2)

The Communiqué issued following Mr. Brezhnev's visit to Norway from 5th to 7th December, 1971 contained the following passages:

"They confirmed their active support for the work of convoking a well-prepared Conference on European Security and Co-operation with the participation of all interested European states as well as the United States and Canada.

Both parties hope that multilateral preparations for this Conference can be started as soon as possible. They stated that advantage should be taken of the offer of the Finnish Government to hold these multilateral discussions in Helsinki. The wish was expressed that the Conference might if possible take place in 1972".

12. Mr. Brezhnev's speech of 7th December, 1971 at the Polish Communist Party Congress(3)

Speaking at the Sixth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party on 7th December, 1971, Mr. Brezhnev said, inter alia:

"The start is being laid for Europe's transition to a new historic phase which, we believe, will develop under the banner of peaceful co-existence and mutually advantageous co-operation.

- 
- (1) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 20;  
(2) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 21;  
(3) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 23.



PO/72/157

-9-

It is at this turning point that an all European Conference on questions of security and co-operation acquires special significance....

Incidentally, a regular session of the Council of the North Atlantic bloc will shortly be open in Brussels. The decisions of this session will show whether the NATO countries are really prepared to make their actions accord with the desire of **all** the European peoples for peace and whether they are prepared to respond to our call to advance towards an easing of international tensions and the consolidation of mutual trust and European security.

If they are prepared to do this, then the best way of proving it is, together with other European states, to start practical preparations for the all-European Conference which, we believe, can very well be convened in 1972".

13. Article in "Pravda"

The "Pravda" issue of 14th January, 1972 carried an article by an Austrian Professor on the advantages of Vienna as the venue for a Conference proper. However, commenting on this article during a recent visit to Helsinki, Professor Kozlov of Moscow University expressed the view that the Soviet Union had no special preference for Vienna, but simply regarded it as a possible alternative(1).

III. TALKS AT DIPLOMATIC LEVEL (USSR)

A. Mr. Moro's visit to Moscow(2)

14. The Italian Foreign Minister, Mr. Aldo Moro, paid an official visit to the USSR from 5th to 12th July, 1971. In the course of the talks which took place on this occasion, it became apparent that the Russians would prefer a pragmatic approach to the coming negotiations in order to prevent the creation of any inter-relationship between the issues to be discussed. After stressing the importance they attached to the Moscow and Warsaw Treaties, they made it plain that they wished to stabilise the political and geographical status quo in Europe. In this connection, they expressed hostility to any linkage between the ratification of these treaties and the solution of the Berlin problem, and warned against certain critical attitudes which had emerged in Europe and the United States. The Soviet Authorities expressed the conviction that the Berlin question could be settled provided that the parties

- 
- (1) Information provided in the Political Committee by the United States Delegation on 27th January, 1972;  
(2) Information given to the Council on 20th July, 1971.

concerned did not challenge either the de facto situation deriving from the Second World War or the status of the GDR. They expressed interest in a Conference, and took the view that, given the more favourable political climate in Europe, it could be held in the not-too-distant future. They approved the Finnish suggestions with regard to procedure, but expressed readiness to examine any other suggestions which might speed up the preparations.

B. Turkish Soviet talks(1)

15. During a visit to Moscow from 4th to 9th September, 1971 by the Deputy Secretary General for Political Affairs and the Director General of the Policy Planning Department of the Turkish Foreign Ministry, the Russians once again urged that preparations for a CSCE should begin without delay and rejected any suggestion of "pre-conditions".

C. Meeting in the Crimea between Chancellor Brandt and Mr. Brezhnev(2)

16. Chancellor Brandt met Mr. Brezhnev in the Crimea between 16th and 18th September, 1971. The talks provided an opportunity to go into the political and economic structures of the two systems; the subject of Russo-German relations was also discussed. As regards the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Russians seemed to wish that this should take place as soon as possible, although they did not insist on any particular date; they seemed, without specifically saying so, to have accepted the NATO pre-condition for multilateral preparations. They have no preconceived ideas about the form the Conference would take and are open to any suggestions. They would, however, like the Conference to be held in Helsinki.

D. Soviet moves with respect to the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin

17. These moves were dealt with in a Report by the Chairman of the Political Committee, which was circulated under reference C-M(71)57, dated 28th September, 1971. The Report concludes as follows:

"Although the Soviets have protested vigorously in the past about the Berlin "pre-condition" and no doubt continue to harbour objections to it in principle, they have nevertheless come to accept it as a fact of political life."

- 
- (1) Information given to the Senior Political Committee on 20th September, 1971;  
(2) Information given to the Council on 20th September, 1971.

PO/72/157

-11-

E. Gromyko-Rogers Talks(1)

18. At a luncheon given in his honour in New York on 24th September, 1971 by Secretary of State Rogers, Mr. Gromyko expressed a preference for a multilateral preparatory meeting, probably at Deputy Foreign Minister level, to discuss the Agenda and date of a Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the question of participation. He none the less showed interest in the Finnish proposal for multiple bilateral talks.

During talks at the Soviet Embassy on 30th September, 1971, Mr. Gromyko came out in favour of a "reverse linkage" between the Berlin agreement and the ratification of the Moscow Treaty.

F. Talks between the Soviet and Danish Ambassadors(2)

19. In the course of a conversation with the Danish Ambassador in Washington on 12th October, 1971, the Soviet Ambassador explained that his Government had no wish to establish a formal link between the ratification of the Moscow and Warsaw Treaties and the conclusion of the Berlin Agreement; however, since the parties to these agreements were not the same, it could not commit itself definitely on the agreement involving the "Big Four" without having an assurance that the other two agreements would be ratified by the FRG.

G. Soviet diplomatic activity in October, 1971(3)

20. Starting in mid-October, 1971, Soviet ambassadors began a series of approaches to the Foreign Ministers of most NATO countries. The gist of these approaches was substantially the same in every case, with only minor differences deriving from certain bilateral considerations. In Washington, Mr. Dobrynin handed his opposite number the text of the statement he had made orally, and this was circulated by the United States Delegation on 14th October, 1971.

The Soviet representative pointed out that the Eastern and Western positions vis-à-vis a Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe had grown considerably closer in a number of respects and that the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin had created a favourable climate in this connection; it was in the interest of all the parties concerned to continue their efforts to this end. The Soviet Union shared the views of the Finnish Government on the advisability of starting multilateral preparations for the Conference, and

- 
- (1) Letter from the United States Delegation, dated 8th October, 1971;
  - (2) Note circulated by the Danish Delegation on 14th October, 1971;
  - (3) Letters from the United States and Canadian Delegations, dated 14th October, 1971 and information provided in the Political Committee on 19th October, 1971.

suggested that preliminary talks should begin as soon as possible in Helsinki at the level of Deputy Foreign Ministers or Heads of Division.

H. Mr. Kosygin's visit to Canada(1)

21. The leader of the Soviet Government visited Canada from 17th to 26th October, 1971. Although during the talks which took place on this occasion, the Soviet side pressed for the multilateral preparatory phase to be started as soon as possible, it seemed to have placed the Conference itself at a second level of priority and to be more concerned with other issues. Mr. Kosygin listed the problems to be solved in the following order, which presumably reflects the importance he attaches to them: ratification of the Moscow and Warsaw Treaties, admission of the two German states to the United Nations and recognition of the GDR, final agreement on Berlin, beginning of discussions on MBFR and a CSCE. The Communiqué issued after these talks lists the problems in the sequence preferred by the Canadian Authorities, which thus carried at least tacit Soviet acceptance: conclusion of the intra-German negotiations, ratification of the Moscow and Warsaw Treaties, CSCE and MBFR.

I. Mr. Brezhnev's visit to Paris(2)

22. The same trend - which seems to be the essential feature of the new Soviet policy in this sphere - was apparent in the statement issued on 30th October, 1971 following Mr. Brezhnev's visit to France. Although no link was specifically established between the different steps to be taken the process leading to a Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was described as follows: ratification of the Moscow and Warsaw Treaties, normalization of the relations between the two Germanies and their admission to the United Nations, CSCE.

J. Deschamps-Dubin in talks(3)

23. When transmitting the NATO Communiqué to the Soviet Authorities, the Belgian Chargé d'Affaires had an exchange of views with the Head of the European Section of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Mr. Dubinin. The latter expressed disappointment at the contents of the Communiqué which, in his view did nothing concrete to bring the CSCE any nearer.

- 
- (1) Information given to the Senior Political Committee by the Canadian Delegation on 28th October, 1971;
  - (2) See text of Franco-Soviet statement in paragraph 6 above;
  - (3) Information given to the Senior Political Committee by the Belgian Delegation on 21st December, 1971.

PO/72/157

-13-

In particular, he felt that paragraph 10 contained nothing new since bilateral contacts had already been going on for some considerable time. As regards MBFR, this was a very complex question which the Russians did not wish to discuss in the framework of the Conference.

K. Conversation between a Russian and a Turkish Diplomat(1)

24. At a meeting between the First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Ankara and an official of the Turkish Foreign Ministry, the First Secretary made a number of remarks on the December Ministerial Communiqué. After asking for the clarification of certain passages - and especially what should be understood by "to initiate multilateral conversations/...as soon as possible" and enquiring whether the conclusion of the intra-German talks was a new pre-condition for a Conference - he said that his Government would prefer multilateral talks between Heads of Mission accredited in Helsinki, since the presence of Deputy Foreign Ministers would raise difficulties in connection with the representation of the two German states. He added that the Soviet Union did not propose to exclude categorically the question of force reductions from the Agenda for a CSCE but that it could be discussed by a body set up by the Conference.

L. Thorn-Kozarev Talks(2)

25. During a conversation with the Luxembourg Foreign Minister, the Soviet Ambassador, Mr. Kozarev, asked for the clarification of certain passages in the December Communiqué relating to the multilateral preparatory phase prior to a CSCE.

IV. COMMENTS BY THE USSR ON FORCE REDUCTIONS AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH A CSCE

26. These comments are summarised in POLADS(71)62; dated 1st September, 1971, PO/71/657, dated 1st December, 1971 and PO/72/4, dated 11th January, 1972. To facilitate reference, a list of the main exchanges of views on this subject is given below.

- (a) Talks on 9th July, 1971 in Moscow between the Norwegian Ambassador, Mr. Jacobsen, and the Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Kuznetsov (Information provided in the Political Committee on 20th July, 1971).

- 
- (1) Information given to the Political Committee by the Turkish Delegation on 10th January, 1972.  
(2) Information given to the Political Committee by the Luxembourg Delegation on 10th January, 1972.

- (b) Conversation on 28th July, 1971 in Moscow between the German Ambassador, Mr. Allardt, and the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko, (Letter from the German Delegation, dated 2nd August, 1971).
- (c) Conversation on 28th July, 1971 in Moscow between the United States Ambassador, Mr. Beam and Mr. Gromyko, (Information provided in the Political Committee on 10th August, 1971).
- (d) Conversation in Moscow between the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. Ford, and Mr. Lunkov, Head of the Second European Affairs Section of the Soviet Foreign Ministry (Information provided in Council on 19th August, 1971).
- (e) Conversation on 13th September, 1971 in Washington between Mr. Sokolov, First Secretary at the Soviet Embassy, and senior officials of the State Department (Letter from the United States Delegation, dated 15th September, 1971).
- (f) Conversation on 27th September, 1971 in Washington between Mr. Meshulayev, Third Secretary at the Soviet Embassy, and members of the Canadian Embassy (Letter from the Canadian Delegation, dated 30th September, 1971).
- (g) Conversations on 24th and 30th September, 1971 in New York between the Secretary of State, Mr. Rogers, and the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko. (Letter from the United States Delegation, dated 8th October, 1971).
- (h) Conversation on 12th October, 1971 in Washington between the Soviet and Danish Ambassadors. (Information provided in Council on 14th October, 1971).
- (i) Reactions of the Warsaw Pact countries on being notified of the decisions taken at the High-Level Meeting of the NATO Council on 5th and 6th October, 1971. (Letters from the Belgian Delegation, dated 19th, 21st and 28th October, 1971 and 24th November, 1971).
- (j) Talks in Ottawa on 18th October, 1971 between the Canadian Prime Minister and the Soviet Head of Government. (Letter from the Canadian Delegation, dated 21st October, 1971).

PO/72/157

-15-

- (k) Approach to the Soviet Foreign Minister by the Belgian Ambassador in Moscow on 20th and 25th October, 1971. (Letters from the Belgian Delegation, dated 21st and 26th October, 1971).
- (l) Conversation in Brussels on 17th November, 1971 between the Belgian Foreign Minister and the Soviet Ambassador in connection with the absence of a Soviet reaction to Mr. Brosio's mandate. (Letter from the Belgian Delegation, dated 19th November, 1971).
- (m) Conversation in Washington on 18th November, 1971 between the Secretary of State, Mr. Rogers, and the Soviet Ambassador, Mr. Dobrynin. (Letter from the United States Delegation, dated 20th November, 1971).
- (n) Comments by comparatively high-level Soviet officials on MBFR. (Letter from the United States Delegation, dated 25th November 1971).
- (o) Conversation in Moscow between the Belgian Ambassador, Mr. Deschamps, and the Head of the European Division of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. (Letter from the Belgian Delegation, dated 16th December, 1971).
- (p) Conversation in Warsaw on 29th November between the Canadian and Soviet Ambassadors. (Information provided in the Political Committee by the Canadian Delegation on 30th November, 1971).
- (q) Conversation in Ankara in December 1971 between the First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy and an official of the Turkish Foreign Ministry. (Information provided in the Political Committee by the Luxembourg Delegation on 10th January, 1971).
- (r) Conversation in Moscow between a member of the United States Embassy and an official of the International Organizations Division of the Foreign Ministry. (Note circulated by the United States Delegation on 3rd February, 1972)

V. VIEWS OF THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES(1)

27. Polish views

- (a) Talks in Warsaw between the Canadian Ambassador and the Polish Foreign Minister. (Information provided in the Political Committee by the Canadian Delegation on 14th September, 1971).

---

(1) The parts of these talks relating to force reductions are summarised in POLADS(71)62, PO/71/657 and PO/72/4.



- (b) Talks in Warsaw between the Turkish Ambassador and the Polish Foreign Minister, in the course of which the latter expressed the view that following the agreement on Berlin the door was now open both for the preparation of a CSCE and for the ratification of the Moscow and Warsaw Treaties and the accession of the two German states to the United Nations. (Information given to the Political Committee by the Turkish Delegation on 28th September, 1971).
- (c) Speech by the Polish Deputy Foreign Minister to the United Nations General Assembly on the subject of European security. (Text submitted by the Belgian Delegation on 19th October, 1971)(1).
- (d) Talks in Bonn on 25th and 26th October, 1971 between the Polish Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Willmann, and the Head of the Political Division of the German Foreign Ministry, in the course of which the former called for the multilateralisation of preparations for the CSCE. (Information given to the Senior Political Committee by the German Delegation on 2nd November, 1971).
- (e) Talks in Warsaw on 4th November, 1971 between the Norwegian Ambassador and the Polish Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Willmann, who expressed agreement with the French position on a CSCE but appeared sceptical about a possible preparatory meeting at the level of Foreign Ministers; he also stressed that early elections might be held in Finland and that this would delay the multilateral stage of the preparations. (Information given to the Political Committee by the Norwegian Delegation on 16th November, 1971).
- (f) Talks in Warsaw on 6th November, 1971 between the United States Ambassador and the Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Winiewicz, who seemed to think that the CSCE could be held as early as the second half of 1972. (Information given to the Political Committee by the United States Delegation on 16th November, 1971).
- (g) Talks in Rome on 9th and 10th November, 1971 between the Italian leaders and the Polish Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Willmann, who appeared optimistic about the prospects for détente in

---

(1) Soviet and East European Documentation, No. 8.



PO/72/157

-17-

Europe, accepted the EEC as a fact and stressed the need to normalise relations between the two Germanies. (Information given to the Political Committee by the Italian Delegation on 20th November, 1971).

- (h) Talks in Warsaw on 24th November, 1971 between the United States Ambassador and the Polish Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Winiewicz, on the subject of MBFR. (Information provided in the Political Committee by the United States Delegation on 30th November, 1971).
- (i) Comments by a Polish Embassy diplomat in Washington on the subject of MBFR. (Letter from the United States Delegation dated 24th November, 1971).
- (j) Conversation between a First Secretary of the Polish Embassy in Ankara and members of the Turkish Foreign Ministry. (Information given to the Political Committee by the Turkish Delegation on 30th November, 1971).
- (k) Talks in Warsaw between Mr. Eralp, Secretary General of the Turkish Foreign Ministry, and the Polish Foreign Minister. In connection with the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the latter stressed the need for a realistic approach. While advocating co-operation in the field of economic, cultural and tourist exchanges, the Poles seem more reserved with regard to the freer movement of people, information and ideas. As to procedure, they are in favour of a series of conferences, with the creation of a permanent body and the establishment of three committees to deal with economic, security, general policy and disarmament problems.
- (m) Talks in Warsaw on 15th December, 1971 between the Belgian Ambassador and the Polish Foreign Minister when the Ministerial Communiqué was transmitted to the Polish Authorities. Mr. Jedrychowsky stressed that disarmament problems should be examined in another forum, since they were so complex that they might hinder the progress at the Conference. (Letter from the Belgian Delegation dated 29th December, 1971).
- (n) Talks in Brussels between the Polish Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Willmann, and the Belgian leaders, in the course of which it emerged that the Poles are in favour of a permanent body being established at the CSCE. As regards multilateral talks, they fear that should Heads of Mission accredited in Helsinki

be asked to carry out this task, this would run counter to the principle that states should participate on an equal footing. (Information provided in the Political Committee by the Belgian Delegation on 10th January, 1972).

- (o) Talks in Luxembourg in mid-December 1971 between the Polish Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Willmann, and the Luxembourg leaders. In the Polish Government's view, the purpose of multilateral consultations would be to fix the time and place of the CSCE and establish which countries would be participating on a basis of equality. Under no circumstances should the consultations exceed this aim and take the place of the Conference proper. Countries should be represented by delegates of similar ranks and, in this connection, the designation of Heads of Mission accredited in Helsinki would raise some difficulties. As regards the EEC, the Polish Government cannot agree to the participation in the Conference of organizations rather than countries. (Information provided in the Political Committee by the Luxembourg Delegation on 1st February, 1972).

28. Czech views

- (a) Address to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva by the Czech Representative, Mr. Vejvoda, giving his country's views on MBFR and the CSCE. (Information provided in the Political Committee by the Canadian Delegation on 14th September, 1971).
- (b) Talks held in Prague from 11th to 13th November, 1971 between the Netherlands Ambassador at large, Mr. Vigeveno, and the Czech Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Ruzek, who outlined his Government's views on a new European settlement, based on a reduction of the military factor in inter-state relations and an all-encompassing inter-European co-operation, it being understood that to make progress in these two areas there would be a need for the full participation of the GDR. In his view, the link established between the final conclusion of the Berlin agreement and the ratification of the Moscow and Warsaw Treaties was political rather than legal. On freer movement, he said that these contacts must in no circumstances be used as a cover for hostile activities directed against the integrity of states.

However, a senior official expressed somewhat different views in this connection, drawing attention to the fact that the Warsaw Pact countries had entered into obligations vis-à-vis one another, which implied certain limitation on the sovereignty of each individual member country. (Information provided in the Political Committee by the Netherlands Delegation on 16th and 30th November, 1971).

- (c) Talks held in Prague from 29th November to 2nd December, 1971 between the Secretary General of the Turkish Foreign Ministry, Mr. Eralp, and Mr. Ruzek and Mr. Marko, the Czech Deputy Foreign Minister and Foreign Minister respectively. The last-mentioned officials urged that the GDR should be invited to take part in the CSCE on an equal footing; this would imply its de facto recognition by the other countries represented at the Conference. The basic aim of the Conference should be to achieve a rapprochement between the countries of Europe and put a stop to all subversive and deterrent activities. (Information provided in the Political Committee by the Turkish Delegation on 4th December, 1971).
- (d) Conversation in Prague on 16th December, 1971 between the Belgian Ambassador and the Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Ruzek, when the NATO Communiqué was transmitted to the Czech Authorities; Czechoslovakia, on the whole, appeared satisfied with the Communiqué, taking the view that a further step had been taken towards a Conference. (Letter from the Belgian Delegation, dated 29th December, 1971).

29. East German views

- (a) GDR Memorandum on UN Membership and Establishment of Diplomatic Relations (POLADS(71)68).

(30) Hungarian views

- (a) Talks held from 26th to 30th July in Budapest between the Danish Minister for Cultural Affairs and the Hungarian Foreign Minister; the latter expressed the view that the Lisbon Communiqué marked a step backwards insofar as the Berlin "precondition" was concerned, when compared with the wording used in the previous Communiqué; consequently, preparations for a CSCE should not take the form of bilateral consultations. He announced his Government's intention to start talks with Finland and possibly Denmark for this purpose. (Letter from the Danish Delegation, dated 6th August, 1971).

- (b) Talks held on 8th and 9th September, 1971 in Budapest between the Hungarian and French Foreign Ministers, in the course of which the former made only very general statements on the CSCE. (Information provided in Council by the French Delegation on 21st September, 1971).
- (c) Talks held on 11th and 12th September, 1971 between the Austrian and Hungarian Foreign Ministers, in the course of which the Hungarians gave the impression that they were primarily interested in trade and in the co-operation aspect of a Conference. (Information provided in the Political Committee by the United Kingdom Delegation on 21st September, 1971).
- (d) Conversation in Budapest, when the December Ministerial Communiqué was transmitted to the Hungarian Authorities, between the Belgian Ambassador and Mr. Bartha, Head of the European Section of the Foreign Ministry; the latter expressed satisfaction with the Communiqué which, in his view, represented a step towards the CSCE. The military aspects of security could not be ignored at the Conference, but concurrent discussions should take place on MBFR owing to the technical complexity of the problem. (Letter from the Belgian Delegation, dated 25th January, 1972).
31. Rumanian views
- (a) Conversation held on 1st September, 1971 in Bucharest between a senior German official and the Head of the European Section of the Rumanian Foreign Ministry, in the course of which it emerged that, in the very near future, there might be a Rumanian initiative on a CSCE. (Information provided in the Political Committee by the German Delegation on 7th September, 1971).
- (b) Visit to Bucharest by a group of Belgian Parliamentarians, who appear to have got the impression from their talks with Mr. Maurer's entourage that Rumania was now less interested in a CSCE and that it would like China to participate, at least as an observer. (Information provided in the Political Committee by the Belgian and Italian Delegations on 7th September, 1971).
- (c) Meeting on 13th October, 1971 in New York between the United States Secretary of State and the Rumanian Foreign Minister, in the course of which the latter stated that all the conditions had now been fulfilled.

for a CSCE, in which all the European countries, the United States and Canada should take part. The Conference should discuss respect for borders, non-interference in internal affairs, the abolition of the concept of limited sovereignty and the renunciation of the use or threat of force. With regard to the relationship between the CSCE and MBFR, he expressed the view that the Soviet Government was thinking in terms of two separate Conferences which should take place more or less simultaneously. (Information provided in the Political Committee by the United States Delegation on 19th October, 1971).

- (d) Reports from Bucharest that the Rumanians appear to be seeking support for the idea of inviting China to attend a CSCE. (Information provided in the Senior Political Committee by the Belgian Delegation on 11th November, 1971).
- (e) Talks held in Ankara from 3rd to 7th November, 1971 between the Rumanian Foreign Minister and the Turkish leaders, in the course of which the Rumanians reiterated their views on a CSCE, expressed hostility to bloc-to-bloc negotiations on the grounds that the small countries, too, had to have their say and recommended the winding up of the two Alliances. (Information provided in the Political Committee by the Turkish Delegation on 16th November, 1971).
- (f) Talks in Bucharest during the first half of November between the Italian Vice-Premier, Mr. de Martino, and the Rumanian leaders. The latter pointed out that the balance of forces system in its present form could guarantee only the security of one bloc vis-à-vis the other, but not that of individual countries vis-à-vis the bloc to which they belonged. The CSCE should under no circumstances have the effect of ratifying the status quo, and all the European states concerned should participate on an equal footing. The Rumanians seem to hope that the Conference will lead to a system of legal commitments between European countries guaranteeing the inviolability of each individual state. (Information given to the Political Committee on 30th November, 1971 by the Italian Delegation).
- (g) Series of approaches by Rumanian Ambassadors to the Foreign Ministries of most NATO countries to explain their Government's views on a CSCE. Rumania attaches the greatest importance to such a Conference, and considers that its main purpose should be to establish

a system of specific commitments, freely accepted by all the countries concerned and coupled with concrete measures offering everyone the same guarantee against aggression. In the Rumanian view, current political developments, and in particular the favourable climate produced by the Berlin agreement, make it possible to start the multilateral preparatory stage forthwith by convening a Conference in Helsinki at the level of the Deputy Foreign Ministers of all the states concerned. These officials should take part both in the preliminary talks and in the Conference proper on an equal footing and setting aside all considerations of bloc membership. In addition to questions of security and co-operation, the Conference should consider the best procedure for dealing with MBFR, detailed studies on which should be pursued by an ad hoc body or in any other appropriate forum. (Information given to the Council on 25th and 26th November, 1971, to the Political Committee on 30th November, 1971 and Memorandum circulated by the German Delegation on 2nd December, 1971).

- (h) Talks held in Bucharest from 15th to 19th December, 1971 between the Foreign Ministers of Luxembourg and Rumania. Mr. Manescu recalled that Rumania would like a CSCE to be held as soon as possible and that it hoped that the Conference would lead to the renunciation of the use or threat of force and give rise to legal commitments guaranteeing security. The Rumanian Government, which was opposed in principle to pre-conditions and to "reverse linkages", nevertheless believed that the Russians had been right to take a stand on Berlin. The time had now come to move on to the multilateral phase of preparations. Mr. Manescu stressed that all countries (including Canada and the United States) should participate in the Conference in an individual capacity and setting aside all considerations of bloc membership. While agreeing that NATO probably safeguarded its members against the Warsaw Pact, and even against certain of their partners in the Alliance, he said that Rumania could not support a bloc policy. (Information given to the Political Committee by the Luxembourg Representative on 8th February, 1972).
- (i) Information provided by a senior Rumanian official on 14th January, 1972, with respect to the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Consultative Committee scheduled for the end of January, which was to discuss mainly the CSCE. He felt that the ratification of the Moscow-

and Warsaw Treaties being now a certainty, a start should be made on multilateral preparations for the Conference. Also, according to various rumours, Poland and Hungary are about to propose the partial withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed on their territory, and Rumania would support that proposal. (Note circulated by the French Delegation on 18th January, 1972).

32. Bulgarian Views

- (a) Talks held at Sofia on 10th and 11th September, 1971 between the Bulgarian and French Foreign Ministers. On the Bulgarian side, these gave rise to only very general statements on the CSCE. (Information provided in the Council by the French Delegation on 21st September, 1971).
- (b) Approach by the Bulgarian Ambassador to the Director General for Political Affairs of the Netherlands Foreign Ministry at the Hague on 21st October, 1971, with a view to hastening preparations for a CSCE. (Information given to the Political Committee by the Netherlands Delegation on 26th October, 1971).
- (c) Talks in Rome on 22nd and 23rd November, 1971 between the Bulgarian Foreign Minister, Mr. Bashev, and Italian leaders. On the Bulgarian side, emphasis was placed on the need to put an end to the military blocs and replace them by a co-operation and security system, the foundation for which would be laid by a CSCE, which should be held before the end of 1972. While the main purpose of the Conference was political, the economic and cultural aspects were also of great importance. Mr. Bashev also expressed himself in favour of preparatory consultations at the level of Ambassadors in Helsinki with a view to reaching agreement on an Agenda, the procedural issues and the practical arrangements for convening the Conference; he added that Bulgaria would prefer a series of Conferences to a single meeting. (Information submitted to the Political Committee by the Italian Delegation on 30th November, 1971).
- (d) Talks in Budapest from 23rd to 27th November, 1971, between the Bulgarian Prime Minister, Mr. Stanko Todorov, and the Hungarian leaders during which emphasis was laid on the importance of peace and security in the Balkans. (Information provided by the Italian Delegation on 24th January, 1972).



- (e) Talks between members of the Bulgarian and United States Foreign Ministries which indicated that the Bulgarians were interested in a CSCE but were not yet ready to discuss MBFR. (Information given to the Political Committee by the United States Delegation on 30th November, 1971).
- (f) Approach made on 6th December, 1971 by the Bulgarian Ambassador to the Netherlands Foreign Ministry at The Hague to explain his Government's views on preparations for a CSCE. In particular, he urged that "plenipotentiaries" should be appointed for this purpose. (Information given to the Political Committee by the Netherlands Delegation on 21st December, 1971).
- (g) Conversation in Sofia between the Belgian Ambassador and the First Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Grigorov, when the NATO Communiqué was officially transmitted to the Bulgarian Authorities. Mr. Grigorov reiterated Bulgaria's position, and particularly its opposition to the inclusion of MBFR in the Agenda of a CSCE. (Letter from the Belgian Delegation, dated 25th January, 1972).

VI. YUGOSLAV VIEWS

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

- (a) Talks between the Norwegian Under-Secretary of State and the Yugoslav Deputy Foreign Minister. (Information provided in the Political Committee by the Norwegian Delegation on 14th September, 1971).
- (b) Talks held from 8th to 10th September, 1971, in Belgrade between the Greek Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Palamas, and the Yugoslav Foreign Minister. (Information supplied to the Council by the Greek Delegation on 22nd September, 1971).
- (c) Talks in Belgrade between the Luxembourg Foreign Minister, Marshal Tito and Mr. Vratusa during the Grand Duke's visit to Yugoslavia. (Information supplied to the Political Committee by the Luxembourg Delegation on 26th October, 1971).
- (d) Talks in London on 7th and 8th November, 1971 between Marshal Tito and the United Kingdom Prime Minister; the two leaders agreed that the Conference



PO/72/157

-25-

required careful preparation and that Europe could not afford to take the risk of a failure. (Information provided in the Council by the United Kingdom Delegation on 17th November, 1971).

- (e) Talks in Belgrade on 14th and 15th December, 1971 between a senior official of the German Foreign Ministry and the Adviser to the Yugoslav Foreign Minister, Ambassador Nincic. In the framework of its non-alignment policy, Yugoslavia was favourably disposed to a CSCE as a means of putting an end to the division of the European Continent into two blocs. As regards the Agenda, it felt that the accent should be placed on the formulation of principles governing relations between States, but that disarmament and MBFR problems should not be overlooked, even if the technical aspects could be left to a special body. As for procedure, multilateral consultations could begin at once in Helsinki; these should start at Heads of Mission level and gradually be transformed into meetings of experts. Yugoslavia intended to enter into bilateral contacts with the Finnish Government very soon. (Note circulated by the German Delegation on 23rd December, 1971).
- (f) Article of 12th January, 1972 by the Head of the Diplomatic Section of the Tanjug Agency indicating the Yugoslav Government's determination to participate in the preparations for a CSCE. (Information supplied to the Political Committee by the United States Delegation on 18th November, 1971).
- (g) Talks in Belgrade on 18th January, 1972 between the Canadian Ambassador and Ambassador Nincic, who outlined his Government's views on the CSCE after the bilateral contacts it has already had with a number of European countries. He was optimistic about the chances of starting preparatory technical discussions at the end of 1972 at the level of Ambassadors accredited in Helsinki so that a Conference of Foreign Ministers might be held early in 1973. Yugoslavia had been approached by some North African countries - and especially Tunisia - who would like to take part in the Conference, but Belgrade considered that it would be unwise to re-open the question of participation. It appeared from Polish sources that the East European countries could not agree to discuss freer movement, even although in principle they might believe some progress in this area was desirable. (Note by the Canadian Delegation circulated on 25th January, 1972).

VII. ALBANIAN VIEWS

34. The following information has been received on the Albanian position:

- (a) Report from the Italian Delegation regarding recent hints by high-ranking Albanian officials to the effect that their country might take a more flexible attitude on the CSCE if China were not excluded. (Information given to the Political Committee on 7th September, 1971).
- (b) Talks between the Italian and Albanian Ambassadors in Bucharest indicating that Albania was still not showing any interest in a CSCE. (Information submitted to the Political Committee by the Italian Delegation on 28th September, 1971).

VIII. PUBLIC OPINION

35. With a view to mobilising public opinion, and at the instigation of Moscow, national committees for European security have been set up in several European capitals. During the past six months, a number of delegations have reported to the Political Committee on bodies of this type set up in the Communist countries.

On 6th July, 1971, the United States Delegation circulated a paper on the establishment in Moscow, on 8th June, 1971, of a Soviet Committee for European Security and, on 11th January, 1972, the German Delegation provided an analysis of the structure and aims of this Committee.

On 16th July, 1971, the German Delegation circulated a paper on the national committees for European security established in other Warsaw Pact countries.

On 17th August, 1971, the German and United States Delegations reported on similar committees operating in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria respectively.

On 28th September, 1971, the Netherlands Delegation informed the Political Committee of the setting up of a Polish Committee for European Security.

On 29th October, 1971, the German Delegation circulated a Note on the creation of a similar committee in Hungary.

36. The Soviet Committee for European Security publishes a newsletter, the first issue of which came out at the end of November, 1971. It is helping to arrange international

PO/72/157

-27-

meetings and symposia in preparation for the Peoples' Assembly on Security and Co-operation in Europe to be held in Brussels from 2nd to 5th June, 1972.

In this connection, a Consultative Conference on European Security was held from 11th to 13th January, 1972 in Brussels, a scientific Congress in Moscow on 24th and 27th January discussed problems connected with European security(1) and an international symposium on economic, scientific and technical co-operation was held in Moscow from 15th to 17th February. Plans to set up an international committee of journalists for security and co-operation in Europe were announced in Prague on 10th January, 1972(2).

- 
- (1) Novosti Agency, 28th January, 1972.  
(2) Information supplied to the Political Committee by the United States Delegation on 8th February, 1972.