

October 10, 1966

**Note of Conversation between Foreign Minister of
the Socialist Republic of Romania Corneliu Manescu
and Foreign Minister of the USSR A. A. Gromyko**

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Summary:

Following a Romanian delegation to the 21st Session of the UN General Assembly, the Romanian Foreign Minister summarizes discussions between the Romanian delegation and A. A. Gromyko, USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs.

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STRICT SECRET

NOTA DE CONVORBIRE

La 8 octombrie 1966, ministrul afacerilor externe al Republicii Socialiste Romania a avut o intrevedere, la cererea sa, cu A.A.Gromiko, ministrul afacerilor externe al U. R.S.S. La convorbire a participat Gh. Diaconescu, reprezentantul permanent al Romaniei la O.N.U. Au fost prezenti S.Celac, secretar III in M.A.E., si un interpret al Misiunii sovietice.

Convorbire a avut loc la Misiunea permanenta a U.R.S.S. la O.N.U. si a durat 45 de minute.

1. C.Manescu a facut o expunere asupra discutiilor avute in problema rezolutiei "Actiuni pe plan regional . . ." (informare preliminara facuta la consfatuirea ministrilor de externe ai tarilor socialiste din 1 octombrie a.c.) Din contactele avute cu unele tari coautoare ale rezolutiei s-a desprins interesul general fata de promovarea in continuare a acestei actiuni. Pe aceasta linie se inscriu intelegerea aceluiasi grup de initiativa de a lansa o rezolutie la UNESCO privind colaborarea

europena in domeniul cultural, precum si intilnirea de la Belgrad a parlamentarilor europeni.

In scopul realizarii unui schimb de pareri asupra căilor de promovare a principiilor rezolutiei s-a organizat o intilnire neoficiala a reprezentantilor tarilor coautoare, care a avut loc la 4 octombrie, la sediul O.N.U. La intilnire au fost reprezentate toate cele 9 state coautoare, dintre care 6 la nivel de ministru.

Discutiile, in cadrul carora au luat cuvintul toti reprezentantii, au aratat ca exista un interes proaspat fata de continuarea actiunii incepute anul trecut si au prilejuit avansarea unor idei si propuneri interesante, in general acceptabile, pentru colaborarea viitoare. Au fost formulate, desigur, si unele sugestii care necesita sa fie studiate cu atentie, pentru a nu se ajunge la o indepartare de la scopurile si ideile de baza ale rezolutiei. Tarile N.A.T.O. au mentionat eventualitatea colaborarii nu numai intre state, ci si intre aliantele militare existente ;s-a sugerat, de asemenea, posibilitatea participarii tarilor socialiste la unele actiuni ale Consiliului Europei si s-a avansat ideea elaborarii unui memorandum care sa inmanuncheze toate propunerile facute pentru insanatosirea situatiei in Europa.

In cadrul intilnirii s-a realizat un acord preliminar privind convocarea unei noi reuniuni la nivelul ministrilor de externe, in capitala uneia dintre tarile coautoare. S-a propus ca inainte de sfarsitul sesiunii O.N.U. sa mai aiba loc o intilnire la nivelul reprezentantilor permanenti.

Delegatia romana considera ca reuniunea coautorilor a fost o actiune utila si apreciaza pozitiv continutul discutiilor purtate.

A.Gromiko si-a exprimat satisfactia fata de rezultatele obtinute in promovarea rezolutiei initiate de Romania si a ura delegatiei romane succes deplin in actiunile sale viitoare in aceasta directie. Atitudinea partii sovietice fata de initiativa romana este cunoscuta, ea a sprijinit si va continua sa sprijine toate actiunile legate de aplicarea rezolutiei adoptate la sesiunea trecuta.

2. C. Manescu a informat despre intrevvederea avuta la 5 octombrie cu Dean Rusk, secretarul de stat al S.U.A.

In legatura cu relatiile bilaterale romano-americeane s-a relatat dorinta guvernului roman de a avea relatii normale cu S.U.A., pe baza de egalitate, respect si avantaj reciproc, subliniindu-se ca din vina partii romane situatia actuala a relatiilor este nesatisfacatoare. Piedicile ridicate si discriminariile practicate de partea americana in domeniul schimburilor economice au fost calificate drept o incercare de presiune, fara nici o sansa de reusita.

Interlocutorii americani au cautat sa explice greutatile pe care le intimpina guvernul S.U.A. din partea Congresului in problema liberalizarii comerului cu rasaritul. Ei au afirmat ca presedintele Johnson doreste in mod sincer sa se ajunga la o imbunatatire a relatiilor cu Uniunea Sovietica si celelalte tari socialiste si au dat de inteles ca realizarea practica a acestui deziderat este intrucitva afectata de atmosfera electorala in preajma alegerilor legislative din luna noiembrie a.c. si de perspectivele alegerilor prezidentiale din 1968.

In problema vietnameza, americanii continua sa persiste pe vechea lor pozitie negativa, cautind sa prezinte propunerile din discursul rostit de A. Goldberg la O.N.U. drept un gest de bunavointa care ar reclama o reactie echivalenta din partea Vietnamului. In acelasi timp, interlocutorii americani au cerut cu insistenta sugestii cu privire la modul in care ar urma sa procedeze pentru a incepe procesul de glementarii conflictului vietnamez.

Din partea romana a fost reafirmata pozitia cunoscuta a Romaniei de condamnare a agresiunii S.U.A. si de sprijinire a luptei poporului vietnamez. S-a subliniat vointa hotarita a poporului vietnamez de a lupta pina la capat pentru apararea independentei si suveranitatii patriei sale si desertaciunea oricaror speculatii pe tema diversitatelor existente in cadrul sistemului socialist. Toate statele socialiste vor continua sa acorde intr-o masura crescinda ajutorul lor Vietnamului.

A.Gromiko a multumit pentru informatiile primite. Delegatia sovietica a avut, de asemenea, unele contacte cu reprezentantii guvernului american, in cadrul carora s-a discutat si despre problema vietnameza. Mentionind ca in aceasta problema "aparut cu totii pozitia tovarasilor vietnamezi", A.Gromiko a spus ca in discutiiile cu americanii el a declarat deschis ca Uniunea Sovietica iel va spori ajutorul destinat intaririi capacitatii de aparare a R.D.Vietnam.

In prezent guvernul american incearca sa acrediteze ideea ca promoveaza o politica mai flexibila fata de caile de solutionare a razboiului din Vietnam, insa nu exista inca vreo dovada concreta in acest sens. Delegatia sovietica nu considera ca a aparut vreun element nou in pozitia americana. Exista totusi unele informatii potrivit carora la Washington ar avea loc o ampla actiune de reconsiderare a pozitiei S.U.A. fata de conflictul vietnamez si fata de problema noului seminar al armelor nucleare. Viitorul va arata daca aceasta actiune va produce ceva pozitiv.

Ministrul sovietic a informat ca in dupa-amiaza aceleiasi zile se va deplasa la Washington unde va avea intrevederi cu presedintele Johnson si cu secretarul de stat Dean Rusk. Intrucit imediat dupa aceste intilniri Gromiko va trebui sa plece la Moscova, conducerile partidului si de stat din tarile fratesti vor fi probabil informate asupra continutului discutiilor in mod direct, in capitalele respective.

3. A.Gromiko a aratat ca delegatia sovietica a avut recent discutii cu ministrii de externe ai R.A.U., Irakului si Algeriei, precum si cu presedintele Adunarii generale in legatura cu intentia unui grup de tari neangajate de a veni la O.N.U. cu o declaratie in problema vietnameza. Discutiile s-au dovedit utile, ministrii respectivi exprimandu-si dezacordul fata de aceasta initiativa. Aceeasi atitudine o manifesta presedintele Pazhwak si chiar secretarul general U Thant care initial inclina sa sprijine ideea unei asemenea declaratii. Situatiile este in prezent mai buna din punctul de vedere al tarilor socialiste.

apare tot mai clar ca initiativa nealinatilor privind emiterea unei declaratii in problema vietnameza este lipsita de perspectiva si are sanse reduse sa se materializeze.

C.Manescu a adaugat ca, din informatiile de care dispune delegatia romana, reiese ca initiativa tarilor neangajate ar proveni de fapt din partea delegatiei cambodgiene. Fiind intrebat asupra acestei "initiative", ministrul de externe cambodgian a afirmat intr-o discutie recenta ca nu are cunostinta de atitudinea nord-vietnameza fata de ideea declaratiei preconizate. Parerea delegatiei romane este ca intreaga actiune, care nu tine seama de fondul problemei si de pozitii tovarasilor vietnamezi, este total neindicata. Ea este, in acelasi timp, inselatoare si poate deveni nociva. Prin urmare, ea nu trebuie sa fie tratata cu usurinta, fiind necesare actiuni eficiente pentru a o combatte inca de la inceput si a nu o lasa sa se materializeze.

4. In legatura cu ocuparea postului de membru nepermanent al Consiliului de Securitate pe locul eliberat de Iordania, A.Gromiko a spus ca principalii concurenti sint in prezent India si Siria. Nici una dintre aceste tari nu pare dispusa in prezent sa renunte la candidatura, ceea ce pune tarile socialiste intr-o situatie delicata, deoarece in cazul unei confruntari s-ar putea ca ele sa nu voteze unitar, din cauza angajamentelor diferite asumate anterior.

C.Manescu a aratat ca, potrivit practicii urmate si in trecut Romania nu s-a angajat dinainte sa sprijine pe vreunul dintre candidati recomandindu-le sa ajunga, in masura posibilitatilor, la o intelegere. In situatia actuala, o luare de pozitie categorica in favoarea unuia sau altuia dintre candidati apare prematura. Ar fi mai indicat sa se astepte evolutia evenimentelor, urmind ca hotarirea definitiva sa se ia doar in cazul in care situatia se va fi cristalizat.

A.Gromiko s-a declarat de acord cu acest mod de a proceda care este, desigur, cel mai nimerit, mai ales in asemenea situatii. El a spus ca, pacate, insa, delegatia sovietica este legata prin promisiunea de a sprijini India, pe care a dat-o mai demult, inca inainte de prezentarea celorlalte candidaturi.

5. Referindu-se la problema presedintiei celei de-a XXII-a sesiuni a Adunarii generale, C.Manescu a aratat ca, in urma acordului realizat la consfatuirea tarilor socialiste din 1 octombrie a.c., pe baza practicii stabilite la O.N.U., in viitorul apropiat urmasii se efectueze operatiunile tehnice legate de depunerea candidaturii maniei. Intrucit Romania candideaza in calitate de reprezentant din partea statelor Europei rasaritene este necesar sa se obtina si acordul celorlalte tari din zona - Albania si Iugoslavia. C.Manescu a aratat din contactele preliminare avute cu delegatiile respective se poate deduce atitudinea in general favorabila a acestor tari fata de candidatura Romaniei. In cazul asigurarii sprijinului din partea tuturor statelor Europei rasaritene, delegatia romana va fi in masura sa efectueze masurile tehnice necesare in cursul saptaminii viitoare.

A.Gromiko s-a declarat de acord cu masurile prevazute pentru lansarea oficiala a candidaturii. El a spus ca nu va fi in masura sa discute cu albanezii in aceasta problema, deoarece "cu ei nu avem un limbaj comun", dar a promis ca va discuta cu reprezentantii iugoslavii.

La sfirsitul convorbirii, A.Gromiko a reafirmat sprijinul dat de U.R.S.S. fata de candidatura Romaniei la presedintia celei de-a XXII-a sesiuni, anuntind ca delegatia sovietica are instructiuni similare in acest sens, in conformitate cu intelegerea stabilita la consfatuirea din 1 octombrie. De altfel, in contactele avute pina acum reprezentantii sovietici au actionat in directia sprijinirii candidaturii romanesti.

12 octombrie 1966

10 ex.

C. Manescu

Note of Conversation

October 8, 1966

On October 8, 1966, the foreign minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania had an interview, at his request, with A. A. Gromyko, the foreign minister of the USSR. Gh. Diaconescu, Romania's permanent representative to the UN participated. Also present was S. Celac, third secretary of the M.F.A. and an interpreter from the Soviet mission.

The conversation took place at the permanent mission of the USSR to the UN and lasted 45 minutes.

1. C. Manescu made a presentation of the discussions regarding the "Regional Action Plans..." resolution (a preliminary briefing made to the gathering of foreign ministers of the socialist countries on October 1 of this year). From the contacts with some countries co-authoring the resolution there is a clear general interest towards continued promotion of this action. Along this line there is the agreement of the same group on an initiative to launch a resolution at UNESCO regarding European collaboration in the cultural domain, as well as the meeting in Belgrade of European parliamentarians.

With the aim of realizing an exchange of views regarding the ways of promoting the principles of the resolution an unofficial meeting of representatives of the co-authoring countries was organized and took place on October 4 at the UN.

Representatives of all of the 9 co-authoring states were present, of which 6 were represented at the ministerial level.

The discussions, within which all representatives took the floor, showed a fresh interest towards the continuation of the actions begun last year and witnessed the advance of some interesting and generally acceptable ideas and proposals for future collaboration. There were, of course, also some suggestions formulated that necessitate attentive study, so that they do not stray too far from the aims and ideas at the basis of the resolution. The NATO countries mentioned the eventual collaboration not only between states, but also between the existing military alliances; suggested, likewise, was the possibility of the participation of the socialist countries in some actions of the Council of Europe and the idea of elaborating a memorandum to gather together all of the proposals made for improving the situation in Europe was advanced.

Within the framework of the meeting a preliminary accord was reached regarding the convocation of a new reunion at the level of foreign ministers, in the capital of one of the co-authoring countries. It was proposed that before the end of the current UN session to hold a meeting at the level of permanent representatives.

The Romanian delegation considers that the reunion of the co-authors was a useful action and positively appreciates the content of the discussions.

A. Gromyko expressed satisfaction with the results obtained in the promotion of the resolution initiated by Romania and wished the Romanian delegation complete success in its future actions in this direction. The attitude of the Soviet side towards the Romanian initiative is known, it has supported and continues to support all of the actions connected with the application of the resolutions adopted at the last session.

2. C. Manescu briefed [the Soviet Foreign Minister] on the October 5 interview with U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

Regarding bilateral Romanian-American relations the desire of the Romanian government to have normal relations with the U.S.A. on the basis of equality, mutual respect and mutual advantage was reaffirmed, and it was underscored that the Romanians were not to blame for the current situation of unsatisfactory relations. The obstacles raised and the discriminations practiced by the American side in the domain of economic exchanges were qualified as an attempt to exert pressure with no chance of success.

The American interlocutors sought to explain the difficulties that the U.S. government meets from Congress regarding the liberalization of commerce with the east. They affirmed that President Johnson sincerely desires to achieve an improvement of relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states and they gave to

understand that the practical realization of this desideratum is affected by the electoral campaign leading up to the legislative elections in the month of November this year and of the perspectives for the 1968 Presidential elections.

On the Vietnamese issue, the Americans continue to persist in their old negative position, seeking to present the proposals in the speech delivered by A. Goldberg at the UN as a gesture of goodwill that calls for an equivalent reaction from Vietnam. At the same time, the Americans interlocutors have insistently requested suggestions with regard to the manner in which they should proceed in order to begin the process of resolving the Vietnamese conflict.

The Romanian side reaffirmed its known position condemning the aggression of the U.S.A. and supporting the struggle of the Vietnamese people. It underscored the decisive will of the Vietnamese people to fight to the bitter end or order to defend the independence and sovereignty of their fatherland and the futility of any speculation on the theme of existing divergences within the socialist system. All of the socialist states accord assistance to Vietnam and will continue to do so in increasing quantities.

A. Gromyko expressed thanks for the information received.

The Soviet delegation had, likewise, some contacts with the American governmental representatives, within which they discussed the Vietnamese problem. Mentioning that on this issue "they all defended the position of the Vietnamese comrades," A. Gromyko said that in discussions with the Americans he openly declared that the Soviet Union will increase its assistance for strengthening the defense capacity of the D. R. Vietnam.

At present the American government tries to accredit the idea that it promotes a more flexible policy towards ways of resolving the war in Vietnam, however there is no concrete proof in this sense. The Soviet delegation does not consider that anything new has appeared in the American position. There is nonetheless some information according to which, in Washington, an ample action of reconsidering the U.S. position towards the Vietnamese conflict and towards the issue of nuclear weapons nonproliferation is underway. The future will show if this action produces something positive.

The Soviet minister informed us that in the afternoon of the same day he would depart for Washington where he would have an interview with President Johnson and Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Since Gromyko must leave for Moscow immediately after this meeting, the party and state leaderships of the fraternal countries will probably be informed about their content directly, in the respective capitals.

3. A. Gromyko explained that the Soviet delegation had recent discussions with the foreign ministers of the U.A.R., Iraq and Algeria, as well as with the president of the UN General Assembly in connection with the intention of a group of non-aligned countries to come to the UN with a declaration on the Vietnamese problem. The discussions proved useful, the respective ministers expressing their disaccord towards this initiative. The same attitude is manifested by President Pazhwak and even by Secretary General U Thant, [who was] initially inclined to support the idea of such declarations. The situation at present is better from the point of view of the socialist countries since it appears more and more clearly that the initiative of the non-aligned states regarding the emission of a declaration on the Vietnamese problem lacks any perspective and minimal chance of materializing.

C. Manescu added that, from the information the Romanian delegation possesses, it emerges that the initiative of the non-aligned countries originated in fact from the Cambodian delegation. On questioning about this "initiative," the Cambodian foreign minister affirmed in a recent discussion that he does not know the attitude of the North Vietnamese toward the idea of the projected declaration. The opinion of the Romanian delegation is that the entire action, which did not take into account the basis of the problem or the position of the Vietnamese comrades, is completely inappropriate. It is, at the same time, misleading and could become deleterious. As a result, it should not be treated lightly, and efficient actions are necessary to combat it from the start and to not let it materialize.

[...]