

4. Khrushchev's "I'll raise you one" reply to Kennedy-Macmillan letter looked like propaganda.¹³ So has Soviet press treatment since then. *Pravda* coupled publication of exchange of letters with long article same day charging Western bad faith in disarmament questions.

5. Moreover general Soviet approach (18-Nation Summit, etc.) contrasts with serious diplomatic technique used hitherto by Soviet Government on relatively few occasions when they have genuinely sought, and in the end achieved, meaningful substantive agreements with West on major international issues – e.g. weeks or months of patient backstage diplomatic conversations which led to agreement on Trieste, on ending Berlin blockade in 1949, on withdrawal from Austria, etc.

6. Moreover Soviet Government presumably realize that genuine agreement on such sensitive and delicate question as disarmament would be facilitated by measures to reduce tension and increase mutual confidence, in other areas of international dispute. There has been no repeat no real sign of such efforts to reduce tension and reach settlements on e.g. Berlin question (except that sense of urgency has been significantly reduced in past months). Recent Soviet press attacks on USA about Cuba, Vietnam, and other questions have been very tough in tone. So have comments on Germany, for example Polyanov's article in yesterday's *Izvestia*, contained following sentence in conclusion: "If, on the other hand, Washington and its partners are thinking of trying their luck with a test of strength, and if they dare to violate sovereignty of DDR, they should know in advance that there can be only [one] response – and that this will be fast and annihilating."

7. Recent Soviet attempts to limit Western use of air corridors to West Berlin, and particularly last Saturday's tough note to three Western Powers asserting right of DDR to control use of this air space, has been somewhat ominous and not repeat not calculated to reduce tension.¹⁴

8. Lack of evidence thus far that Soviet side is approaching Geneva Disarmament Meeting with intention to lay aside propaganda and seek serious agreements in calm atmosphere naturally would not repeat not preclude possibility of dramatic or glamorous Soviet proposals and initiatives in this field. Presumably Soviet leaders must have had some proposals in mind which Khrushchev would put forward were he at start of conference, and which would at least look dramatic and appealing. Even if Khrushchev does not repeat not go himself at start such proposals may be made. One possibility may be revived and perhaps revised zonal proposal along lines of earlier Rapacki Plan.¹⁵ There may be proposals for atom[ic]-free zones, etc. Soviet Government has already on various occasions indicated interest in various proposals along these lines, as well as in non-aggression pacts between blocs, etc. Western side will presumably be ready for proposals along these lines.

¹³ Voir/See *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963*, Vol. VI (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1996), documents 31, 32.

¹⁴ Parce que l'Union soviétique a continué d'utiliser les corridors aériens à l'exclusion de tous les autres, le 15 février, les trois grandes puissances occidentales ont envoyé une note de protestation au ministère soviétique des Affaires étrangères. Pour prendre connaissance du texte de cette note et de la réponse soviétique, voir *American Foreign Policy, Current Documents, 1962* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1966), pp. 687-689.

Because the Soviet Union continued using the air corridors to the exclusion of all others, on February 15 the three Western powers sent a protest to the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs. For text of this note and the Soviet reply, see *American Foreign Policy, Current Documents, 1962* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1966), pp. 687-689.

¹⁵ Voir/See James R. Ozinga, *The Rapacki Plan: The 1957 Proposal to Denuclearize Central Europe, and an Analysis of Its Rejection* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 1989).