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INTRODUCTION

Foreign policy and its resultant crises were foremost in the minds of Soviet government officials during the early 1960s. Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev focused heavily on the issue of increasing the strength and international position of the USSR, particularly in Europe and the newly independent countries of the old colonial empires. Supported by A. I. Mikoyan and Marshal Zhukov, Khrushchev solidified his control over the fortunes of the Soviet people throughout the late 1950s and into the early 1960s. During this time, Khrushchev encouraged exchanges with the West and supported the idea of peaceful coexistence; gone was the old Soviet belief that war was inevitable between countries with different political systems.

Khrushchev and the Soviet government at this time were not lacking in contradictions. Support of the peaceful coexistence doctrine and support of “national liberation movements” aimed at toppling established governments were both prevalent in the early 1960s. While Khrushchev was aware of the destructiveness of nuclear weapons, he nevertheless supported their production over conventional weaponry and refused to seriously negotiate a worldwide ban on the testing of new weapons. Following the pattern of Soviet foreign policy since 1917, the “eyes” of the USSR were on Central Europe, particularly Germany. Throughout his tenure, Khrushchev supported and/or bullied Eastern Europe—East Germany and the Berlin situation prevailed as the most important European issue during this time. Khrushchev’s contradictions and vacillating beliefs were bound to affect East-West relations, particularly U.S.–Soviet relations. The high points and low points in his tenure at the Soviet helm seemed to always involve the United States.

U.S.–Soviet Relations

Although Democrats had criticized Republican handling of foreign affairs, they found no easy path of their own through the jungle of world politics in the opening years of the 1960s. Following the caretaker secretary of state, Christian Herter, the Kennedy-selected Dean Rusk tried to impress upon both the Soviet rival and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) allies, in speeches and diplomatic notes, that the American government was now in more vigorous hands. The United States continued to oppose the extension of Soviet power by granting aid to those nations willing to resist Communist threats and blandishments and by strengthening the defensive alliances and
bases around the periphery of the Communist bloc. The USSR and the United States both professed a desire to ease tensions and to negotiate disarmament and nuclear test ban treaties, resolve the Berlin and Germany problem, and increase the acceptance of peaceful coexistence. They failed to agree except on minor issues, and the alarming nuclear arms race continued, culminating in the Cuban missile crisis.

Following the “era of good feeling,” when Soviet Premier Khrushchev visited the United States in 1959, the stage was set for a potentially successful summit in Paris in May 1960. But the optimism surrounding the belief that the Paris summit would solve the Berlin and East Germany situation proved unfounded. Khrushchev in a number of exhortations maintained the Soviet desire to sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany, whose government would have jurisdiction over Berlin. U.S. and Allied statements continued to defend rights in Berlin and advocate the strengthening of NATO, including West Germany. But the Paris summit was further undermined by the Soviet shooting down of a U-2 spy plane piloted by Francis Gary Powers. After various excuses from the U.S. government and Soviet condemnation of the incident, President Eisenhower accepted full responsibility for the spying with the statement that it was necessary in order to prevent “another Pearl Harbor.” The Soviet government continued to severely denounce these “aggressive acts.” Khrushchev threatened those countries allowing the United States access in order to spy on the USSR, but Eisenhower countered by increasing military aid to U.S. allies worldwide.

Such was the atmosphere at the time the Paris summit was scheduled to open. Khrushchev’s double-talk, on the one hand confessing his desire for world peace and on the other demonstrating his unwillingness to compromise, led to the failure of the summit. The rising temper of the Soviet government was apparent in Khrushchev’s bitter address to the United Nations (UN) in September. His condemnation of the United States reached its climax with his declaration that he would have “nothing to do with President Eisenhower as long as he was president.” Khrushchev’s display at the UN, accentuated by his bashing of one of his shoes on the podium, gave warning to the world that the USSR was closing the missile gap with the United States. The Eisenhower administration’s efforts to solve the issues of Berlin and Germany and to reduce tensions in Europe ended in failure. These issues would once again rise to the forefront and become major concerns of the newly elected President John F. Kennedy.

In early 1961, President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev moved rapidly to reopen the high-level direct dialogue begun under Eisenhower and to repair the damage done to U.S.–Soviet relations by the U-2 incident. In January 1961, Khrushchev offered to release the two U.S. airmen detained by Soviet authorities since their aircraft was downed in July 1960. Kennedy was asked in return to ensure that the United States would not resume
overflights of Soviet territory and to indicate his interest in improved U.S.–Soviet relations. Secretary of State Dean Rusk counseled his staff, however, not to “encourage the thinking that a new dawn is rising in relations with the Soviet Union.”

U.S. policymakers conducted a general review of Soviet affairs at a White House meeting on February 11. There was agreement that Khrushchev wanted a period of calm in foreign affairs to gain time to make economic progress at home. He was not likely to bring to a boil the simmering Berlin issue but might do so if there was a breakdown of negotiations on disarmament or a flare-up in a trouble spot such as Laos. But Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko told Secretary Rusk in March that the status of West Berlin was an issue that “brooks no delay.” Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson met with Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Vasilii Kuznetsov and found the depth of Soviet suspicions “incredible.” In particular, Khrushchev alleged that the United States was stalling on arms limitation talks in order to build up its military capability.

While U.S. policymakers focused on potential flash points around the world in U.S.–Soviet relations, they also sought to make progress on bilateral issues. In several memoranda sent during February, Secretary Rusk briefed the president on the latest efforts to expand exchanges, negotiate an air transport agreement, and eliminate the ban on the importation of Soviet crab meat, the latter an action that Rusk encouraged to give “tangible demonstration” of the U.S. desire to improve relations with the Soviets. But in conversations with Soviet leaders, both Rusk and Ambassador Thompson observed that strictly bilateral issues were less important and relatively simple compared to the difficult U.S.–Soviet problems involving relationships with other countries.

Discussion of a proposed informal meeting between Kennedy and Khrushchev dated from the beginning of the Kennedy administration. Kennedy broached the issue with Khrushchev in February, and Khrushchev indicated an inclination to accept. In early May, Ambassador Thompson urged the president to carry through with the meeting to further his policy of recognizing the basic conflict of interest between the two powers but endeavoring to avoid or minimize a military confrontation. Analysts in the State Department and the embassy in Moscow believed that Khrushchev wanted the meeting to be a relatively pleasant one that would end on a note of accord and promote an atmosphere of détente.

Khrushchev, however, tested Kennedy at the Vienna summit in June 1961, trying to exert pressure on the new American president and to secure concessions from him. Khrushchev told Kennedy that the Soviet Union would alone sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in December and that the Western rights of access to Berlin would expire if the United States refused an interim agreement that would last six months and
culminate in the withdrawal of Western forces from West Berlin. Kennedy replied that if the United States were to accept a loss of its rights of access to Berlin, no one would have any confidence in U.S. commitments and pledges. The two leaders also clashed over wars of liberation, Taiwan, and a nuclear test ban, with Khrushchev charging that test ban controls proposed by the United States would prejudice Soviet military security. In retrospect, the summit was viewed as significant for its agreement on Laos.

Discord at the Vienna summit intensified the fierce ideological struggle between the two nations. Secretary Rusk and U.S. Information Agency Director Edward R. Murrow suggested to Kennedy that the phrase “peaceful world community” be used as a countertheme to the Soviet Union’s “peaceful coexistence.” Rusk told the State Department’s Policy Planning Council that Khrushchev’s January 6 speech to Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) intellectuals gave the United States ample ammunition to convince world audiences that the Sino-Soviet bloc had declared war on the United States and practically everyone else. At the same time, U.S. policymakers looked for measures to avoid a war erupting by mischance over Berlin or elsewhere.

The tension over Berlin continued to mount throughout the summer of 1961. Khrushchev’s son-in-law, A. I. Adzhubei, called on Kennedy at the White House in late June and again in November, and Ambassador Mikhail Menshikov had a meeting in September. Both men found Kennedy firm on maintaining the U.S. position in Berlin. The crisis deepened when, on August 13, 1961, the GDR prevented its citizens from entering West Berlin and started to erect what became the “Berlin Wall,” making the division of Berlin into two separate cities virtually complete.

President Kennedy decided that the Berlin crisis ruled out the signing of the bilateral air agreement that U.S. and Soviet delegations had negotiated during July and August 1961, and he told Indonesian President Achmed Sukarno in September that if the Soviets signed a separate peace treaty with the GDR resulting in interference with access to Germany, “then we could have a war before Christmas.” Unexpectedly, Khrushchev lifted his deadline for a separate German peace treaty in the midst of the CPSU’s twenty-second Congress in October 1961. But the State Department’s assessment of the twenty-second Congress gave notice that the USSR’s determination to achieve its objectives remained “undiluted,” and “the West must anticipate a continuous application of pressure on sensitive issues and, particularly, must prepare for an increased communist drive in the underdeveloped areas.”

Despite the tensions over Berlin, the two countries took several steps toward improving bilateral relations in early 1962. U.S. and Soviet officials had met on several occasions during 1961 to discuss a new and expanded exchanges agreement to cover 1962 through 1963. Negotiations began in earnest in January 1962. The Soviet delegation sought increased scientific
and industrial exchanges while the U.S. delegation wanted more exchanges in the educational and informational fields. Expanded trade, including the export of U.S. grain, was explored. The new agreement was signed on March 8. That same month talks began with the Soviet government on cooperation in space exploration. In April, Secretary Rusk recommended to Kennedy that travel restrictions on Soviet visitors to the United States, in effect since 1952, be lifted, and Kennedy approved the change. But U.S.–Soviet efforts to arrange a television show in March, at which each leader would appear on film, came to naught when the Soviets cancelled the plan following the president’s announcement of the resumption of nuclear testing in the atmosphere.

President Kennedy’s March 1962 decision to resume atmospheric testing followed a similar decision by the Soviets the previous August and reflected the failure of disarmament talks in Geneva to make significant headway. In a May 1962 estimate, the intelligence community charged that Soviet agitation for disarmament was, and would continue to be, aimed “at political exploitation and the imposition of restraints upon their opponents rather than at agreements on terms which the West would find acceptable.” Moreover, the Soviets would “almost certainly continue to resist the inspection features of Western test ban proposals.” Khrushchev confirmed this suspicion a few days later, during the informal and friendly visit with Khrushchev and his family by the president’s press secretary, Pierre Salinger, and presidential adviser, Theodore Sorensen, that the Soviet Union would never tolerate inspection posts on its territory.

The U.S. intelligence community’s May estimate was no more sanguine about Berlin, stating that it was highly unlikely that during the next few years the Soviets would come to regard Berlin as an issue to be settled by a compromise that stopped short of incorporating the western half of the city into East Germany. Following a two-hour discussion with Khrushchev in July, however, Ambassador Thompson reported that he was more convinced than ever that at least Khruschev did not intend to push the Berlin question to the point of a real risk of war. Much would depend upon the attitude of Khrushchev’s colleagues and allies as well as upon how the United States handled the issue. Policy makers on both sides welcomed the signing of a settlement over Laos in Geneva on July 23, 1962.

Concern about the USSR’s motives in Cuba escalated during the summer of 1962 and presaged a major crisis. Director of Central Intelligence John McCone warned at an August meeting that Moscow would not let the Castro regime fail and, to prevent its failure, would install medium-range ballistic missiles in Cuba. At an advisory meeting in Secretary Rusk’s office on August 21, McCone reported new information on the accelerated Soviet supply of aid to Cuba and the possible construction of missile sites that provoked “general agreement that the situation was critical.” When U.S.
reconnaissance aircraft confirmed the existence of Soviet offensive missile sites on the island in mid-October, the most dangerous U.S.–Soviet confrontation during the cold war ensued.

The resolution of the Cuban missile crisis prompted an extended reassessment of Soviet foreign policy and long-term U.S.–Soviet relations. Rusk confided to British Ambassador David Ormsby-Gore in November that “we just don’t know what they will do”; while the Soviets might undertake a crash program to build up their nuclear strength, they might also become more serious about disarmament. Central Intelligence Agency analysts thought Moscow would choose one path or the other, but State Department analysts contended that, as in the past, the Soviets would pursue both paths, building up their arms while pursuing their objectives through negotiation. Neither group expected a decisive change in the nature of the contest between the two countries. Kennedy nonetheless told Khrushchev’s close associate Anastas Mikoyan in November 1962 that Moscow should “abandon the belief that it is its job to kindle revolutionary fires all over the world,” and ambassador-at-large Chester Bowles made a similar point to Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin. In early 1963, U.S. intelligence and diplomatic officials remained wary of how Khrushchev would respond to his setback in Cuba.

Sources:


SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, 1960–1966

The U.S. State Department Central Files are the definitive source of American diplomatic reporting on political, military, social, and economic developments throughout the world in the twentieth century. Surpassing the scope of the State Department’s Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS) series, the Central Files for a country provide the researcher extensive coverage of all political, military, social, and economic matters relating to that particular country and/or world event.

The publication of the State Department Central Files for 1960–1966 offers unique opportunities for undergraduate and graduate research. These vast, invaluable, and recently released internal records for most countries are available for a crucial period in U.S. and world history. Each part of the 1960–1966 series will contain a wide range of primary materials: special reports and observations on political and military affairs; studies and statistics on socioeconomic matters; interviews and minutes of meetings with U.S. and foreign government officials and leaders; legal and claims documentation; full texts of important letters and cables sent and received by U.S. diplomats and embassy personnel; reports, news clippings, and translations from journals and newspapers; and countless high-level/head of state government documents, including speeches, memoranda, official reports, aide-memoiré, and transcripts of political meetings and assemblies.

In addition, access to these records will stimulate new insights into the evolution of American foreign policy toward both allies and adversaries and into the shaping of the policies of these countries toward the United States as well. Of even greater importance for the study of individual countries is the comprehensive manner in which the Central Files illuminate the internal affairs of foreign countries. There are thousands of pages arranged topically and chronologically on crucial subjects: political parties, unrest and revolution, human rights, government administration, fiscal and monetary issues, labor, housing, police and crime, public health and works, national defense, military equipment and supplies, foreign policy making, wars and alliances, education, religion, culture, trade, industry, and natural resources. On these subjects and more, the Central Files offer authoritative, in-depth, and timely documentation and analysis that cannot be matched.
This convenient microform edition can be used by scholars throughout the world. Easy and immediate access to these records will provide many new insights into how pivotal nations have shaped their policies toward the United States and other nations. Of even greater importance, the records illuminate the internal conditions of these nations in exhaustive detail by reproducing thousands of pages on political, governmental, and military affairs as well as economic and social issues. It is this kind of documentation—official, in-depth, and on crucial topics—that makes the State Department’s Central Files essential for research.
SOURCE NOTE

Microfilmed from the holdings of the National Archives, College Park, MD, Record Group 59: Records of the Department of State, Central Decimal Files, decimal numbers 661 (foreign affairs) and 611.61 (U.S.–USSR foreign affairs) for the period 1960–January 1963. In addition, decimal number 611.61B (U.S.–Ukraine) has been included. All available original documents have been microfilmed. The documents reproduced in this publication are among the records of the U.S. Department of State in the custody of the National Archives of the United States. No copyright is claimed in these official records.
From 1910 to 1963 the Department of State used a decimal classification system to organize its Central Files. This system assembled and arranged individual documents according to their subject, with each subject having a specific decimal code. The decimal system from 1950 to January 1963 consists of ten primary classifications numbered 0 through 9, each covering a broad subject area.

CLASS 0: Miscellaneous.

CLASS 1: Administration of the United States Government.

CLASS 2: Protection of Interests (Persons and Property).

CLASS 3: International Conferences, Congresses, Meetings, and Organizations.

CLASS 4: International Trade and Commerce. Trade Relations. Customs Administration.


CLASS 7: Internal Political and National Defense Affairs.

CLASS 8: Internal Economic, Industrial, and Social Affairs.

For this section of the U.S. State Department Central Files, UPA has microfilmed the documents contained in Class 6. Within this class, each subject is defined by a decimal file number. The decimal file number is followed by a slant mark (/). The number after the slant mark (/) refers to the date on which the document was generated. Documents within each decimal file number are arranged in chronological order. The entire decimal file number is stamped on the right side of the first page of every document.

In this publication, records classified 661 deal with the foreign policy of the USSR and its political relations with other nations. Due to the State Department’s arrangement of these records, countries assigned numbers below 61 will not be found in this file. [Several misfiled documents from country numbers 51h, 51k, 51s, and 60e have been included.] UPA has included files dealing with the political relations between the United States (country number 11) and the USSR in this publication, however. In order to find the political relations between the USSR and countries other than the United States that have a lower number than 61, the researcher should check the CLASS 6 records for that country. These records can either be found at the National Archives, College Park, Maryland, or, for many countries, in microform publications that UPA has made available to libraries.

In a small number of instances, documents were assigned erroneous or incomplete decimal numbers. UPA has included, in brackets, corrected decimal entries. In addition, misfiled decimal number documents have also been included in brackets.

CLASS 6. Example, 661.62A/1-2062

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Document Date—</td>
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</table>

661.62A/1-2062 indicates a document dated August 20, 1962, relating to the bilateral relations between the USSR (61) and West Germany (62A).
611.61/12-260 indicates a document dated January 2, 1960, relating to the bilateral relations between the United States of America (11) and the USSR (61).

Note: For the convenience of the researcher, wherever the pages represented by a specific classification number total more than one hundred, a breakdown of the material by month and year is provided. When applicable, major subjects have been included with the month and year breakdown.
NUMERICAL LIST OF COUNTRY NUMBERS

00 THE WORLD (Universe)
01 Outer Space (Aerosphere)
01a Moon
02 Antarctic
03 Arctic
10 THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE
11 United States
11a Hawaii (Ocean or Kuré Islands and Palmyra Island)
11b U.S. Possessions in the Pacific Ocean
11c Puerto Rico
11d Guam
11e American Samoa (Tutuila, Manua Islands, etc.)
11f Canal Zone (Panama Canal Zone), Perido, Naos, Culebra, and Flamenco Islands
11g Virgin Islands of the U.S. (St. Croix, St. John, and St. Thomas)
11h Wake Island
12 Mexico
13 CENTRAL AMERICA
14 Guatemala
15 Honduras
16 El Salvador
17 Nicaragua
18 Costa Rica
19 Panama
20 SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA (South of the Rio Grande River)
21 Colombia
22 Ecuador (Galapagos Islands)
23 Peru
24 Bolivia
25 Chile
31 Venezuela
32 Brazil
33 Uruguay
34 Paraguay
35 Argentina
36 WEST INDIAN REPUBLICS
37 Cuba, including Isle of Pines
38 Haiti
39 Dominican Republic
40 EUROPE
40a Ireland (Eire) (Irish Free State)
40b Iceland
41 Great Britain, United Kingdom
41a Northern Ireland
41b British possessions in the Western Hemisphere (except Canada)
41c British Honduras
41d British Guiana
41e British West Indies (includes 41f–41j)
41f The West Indies (Federation of British Colonies in the Caribbean)
41g Bahamas
41h Bermuda
41j Virgin Islands
41r Falkland Islands
41s South Orkney Islands (South Georgia, South Orkneys, and South Sandwich Islands)
41t South Shetland Islands
42 Canada (including Newfoundland and Labrador)
43 Australia
44 New Zealand (Cook Islands, Kermad Islands, and Union Islands [Tokela])
45 British Territories in Africa
45a Union of South Africa (Cape of Good Hope, Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal)
45b British South Africa (45c–45f)
45c Rhodesia (Mashonaland, Matabeleland, and Nyasaland Federation)
45d Basutoland
45e Bechuanaland
45f Swaziland
45g British West Africa
45h Nigeria (including that portion of the Cameroons under British Protectorate)
45j Ghana (see 79)
45m Sierra Leone
Gambia
British East Africa
Kenya Colony
Uganda
Zanzibar
Somaliland (protectorate)
Sudan
British Southwest Africa (formerly German Southwest Africa)
British territories in Asia
Andaman and Nicobar Islands
Laccadive Islands
Aden Colony and Protectorate (Hadhramaut, Kamaran, Perim, Socotra, Abdul Quiri, and Kuria Muria Islands)
Bahrein Islands
Ceylon
Singapore (Christmas Island in the Indian Ocean)
Hong Kong
British Borneo (North Borneo, Brunei, and Sarawak)
Republic of the Maldive Islands
Fiji
Papua (formerly British New Guinea)
Pacific Islands, including Tonga (Friendly), Cocos (Isla de Cocos), Labuan, Solomon, Pitcairn, Gilbert Islands, Ellice Islands, and British interest in Christmas Island, Phoenix, and Keeling Islands
British territories in Mediterranean
Gibraltar
Malta
Cyprus
St. Helena and dependencies (Diego Alvarez, Gough, Inaccessible, and Nightingale Islands)
Tristan da Cunha
Ascension Island
Seychelles
Mauritius
Poland (including Danzig)
Czechoslovakia
WESTERN CONTINENTAL EUROPE
Luxembourg
Monaco
Andorra
San Marino
Liechtenstein
Free Territory of Trieste (FTT)
51 France (including Corsica)
51a St. Pierre and Miquelon
51b Martinique
51c Guadeloupe and dependencies (Marie Galante, Les Saintes, Desirade, St. Barthelemy and St. Martin) (French West Indies, collectively)
51d French Guiana (Cayenne) Inini
51e French colonies in America
51f French India
51g Indochina
51h Cambodia
51i Laos
51k Vietnam
51m New Caledonia and dependencies (Isle of Pines, Loyalty Islands, Huon Islands, Chesterfield Islands, Wallis Archipelago)
51n Society Islands (Tahiti, Moorea-Morea; Leeward Island-Iles Sous-le-Vent)
51p Lesser groups (Tuamotu-Tumotu or Low Archipelago; Gambier Archipelago; Marquesas; Tubuai Archipelago-Austral Islands)
51r New Hebrides
51s Algeria
51t French West Africa and the Sahara (Senegal, French Guinea, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, French Sudan, Upper Senegal, and the Niger; Mauritania and Dakar), Togo
51u French Equatorial Africa (French Congo) (Gabun-Gabon; Middle Congo-Moyen Congo; Ubanga Shari-Oubanguí Chari; and Chad-Tchad; Brazzaville); Cameroun
51v French Somali Coast and dependencies (Somali Coast); Djibouti, Issa-Somalis; Dankali, Adaels, Ouemas, and Debenehs
51w Madagascar
51x Other African Islands (Mayotte, Comoro, Reunion, Amsterdam, St. Paul Marion, Crozet, and Kerguelen)
51y French possessions and protectorates in Oceania and Eastern Pacific (Australasia and Oceania)
52 Spain
52a Canary Islands
52b Spanish possessions in Africa
52c Rio de Oro and Adrar (Western Sahara)
52d Rio Muni and Cape San Juan (Spanish Guinea)
52e Fernando Po, Annobon, Corisco, and Eloíbe Islands
52f Tetuan and Ceuta; Gomera, Alhucemas, Melilla
52g Balearic Islands
53 Portugal
53a Madeira
53b Azores
53c Mozambique
53d Portuguese India (Goa, Damao, Diu)
53e Macao (Macau)
53f Timor
53g Cape Verde Islands (Santo Antão, São Nicolau, São Vicente, Fogo, Santiago, Boa Vista, Sal Santa, Luzia, Branco, Raso, Maio, Brava, Rei, and Rombo)
53h Portuguese Guinea (Guinea Coast), Bijagoz Islands, and Bolama Island
53k São Thomé (São Tomé) and Principe
53m Ladana and Cabinda
53n Angola (Portuguese West Africa), Congo, Loanda, Benguella, Mossamedes, Huilla, and Lunda
53p Portuguese East Africa
54 Switzerland
55 Belgium
55a Belgian Congo (Belgin Kongo)
56 Netherlands
56a Surinam (Netherlands Guiana)
56b Netherlands Antilles (formerly Netherlands West Indies) (Curaçao, Bonaire, Aruba, St. Martin, St. Eustatius, Saba)
56c Miscellaneous Islands (Riau-Lingga Archipelago, Bangka-Banca; Billiton, Molucca, Timor Archipelago, Bai and Lombok, Netherlands New Guinea, or Western New Guinea)
56d Indonesia
56f Sumatra
57 Norway
57a Scandinavia (57, 58, 59, 60e)
57b Spitsbergen (Spitzbergen)
57c Lapland (Parts of 57, 58, 60e, 61)
58 Sweden
59 Denmark
59a Greenland
59b Faeroe (Faroe) or Sheep Islands
60 EASTERN CONTINENTAL EUROPE (including Balkans, 67, 68, 69, 81, and European part of 82)
60a Baltic States
60b Esthonia
60c Latvia
60d Lithuania
60e Finland (Aland Islands)
61 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
61a Bessarabia
61b Ukraine
61c Sakhalin Island (Russian portion)
62 Germany
62a Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) (Saar)
62b Russian Zone (East Germany)
62c Polish Administration
63 Austria
64 Hungary
65 Italy
65a Vatican City
66 Rumania (Roumania)
67 Albania
68 Yugoslavia
69 Bulgaria
70 AFRICA (For Belgian possessions, see 55a) (For British possessions, see 45) (For French possessions, see 51s etc.)
70a Mediterranean countries (General)
70b Republic of Guinea (see 79)
71 Morocco
72 Tunisia
73 Tripoli (Libya or Libia), Barca, Misurata, Benghazi, Derna, Cyrenaica
74 Egypt (see 86b)
75 Ethiopia (Hamara, Galla, and Harar)
75a Eritrea
76 Liberia
77 Trust Territory of Somaliland
78 Tanganyika Territory (Ruanda-Urundi), formerly German East Africa
79 West African states (includes 45j and 70b)
80 NEAR EAST
81 Greece
81a Crete
81b Samos
82 Turkey
83 Syria (see 86b)
83a Lebanon (Levant States)
84 Palestine
84a Israel
85 Jordan (Hashemite Jordan Kingdom) (formerly Trans-Jordan)
86 Arabia (Arab League) (United Arab states, includes 86b and 86h)
86a Saudia Arabia (Kingdom of Hejas and Nejd)
86b United Arab Republic (includes 74 and 83)
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<td>86e</td>
<td>Muscat and Oman</td>
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<td>86f</td>
<td>Qatar</td>
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<td>86g</td>
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<td>Iraq (Mesopotamia)</td>
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<td>89</td>
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<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>FAR EAST (including all of Asia)</td>
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<td>90a</td>
<td>Bhutan</td>
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<td>90b</td>
<td>Burma</td>
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<td>90c</td>
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<td>93b</td>
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<td>94a</td>
<td>Formosa (Taiwan)</td>
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<td>94b</td>
<td>Sakhalin Island (Japanese portion)</td>
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<td>94c</td>
<td>Ryukyu Islands (Okinawa), Nampo Islands (Bonin, Volcano, and Marcus)</td>
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<td>95</td>
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<td>95b</td>
<td>South Korea</td>
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<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Philippine Republic</td>
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<td>97</td>
<td>Malaya (Federation of Malaya comprises the states Pahang, Perak, Negri Sembilan, Selangor, Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu, and the settlements Malacca and Penang) (includes Province of Wellesley)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Republic of Indonesia (Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Pacific Islands (Mandated), New Guinea, Bismarck Archipelago, Solomon Islands (Bougainville, Baku), Marshall Islands, Nauru, Caroline Islands, Pelew (Palau) Islands, Marianna Islands (Ladrone Islands), Samoa (Samoan Islands, Western Samoa), Savaii, Upolu</td>
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**ACRONYM LIST**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
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<tr>
<td>AID</td>
<td>U.S. Agency for International Development</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| CEMA    | Council for Mutual Economic Assistance  
         | (also known as COMECON) |
| CENTO   | Central Treaty Organization |
| CPSU    | Communist Party of the Soviet Union |
| NATO    | North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| POWs    | Prisoners of War |
| PRC     | People’s Republic of China |
| UAR     | United Arab Republic |
| UN      | United Nations |
| UNECA   | United Nations Economic Commission for  
         | Africa |
| U.S.    | United States |
| USSR    | Union of Soviet Socialist Republics |
| U-2     | Lockheed-built high altitude spy plane |
REEL INDEX

Reel 1

Frame File Subject

Political and Other International Relations; Bilateral Treaties—USSR

661.00 Political Relations between the USSR and Other Countries
0001 January 1960
  Soviet international affairs; Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; peaceful coexistence campaign; foreign policy.

0037 February 1960
  Peaceful coexistence campaign; Soviet–Free World relations; Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; Gronchi-Khrushchev talks; political, economic, and military situation.

0100 March 1960
  Foreign policy; Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; Nikita Khrushchev’s tour of Central and Southeast Asia; anticommunist propaganda; protest of U.S. congressional brochure, The Crimes of Khrushchev; Soviet interference in the internal affairs of other countries; Soviet–Free World relations; Nikita Khrushchev’s position on nuclear arms ban.

0132 April 1960
  Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; Soviet international affairs; Communist Party tactics; PRC on Soviet foreign policy.

0161 May 1960

0169 June 1960
  Khrushchev on foreign policy; Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; international situation; Soviet–Free World relations; U-2 incident; Sino-Soviet relations.
0217 July 1960
  Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; Czech attack on left-wing sectarianism and dogmatism; intelligence reports on USSR for Brazilian government; Nikita Khrushchev’s policies; Soviet colonialism; U-2 incident.

0261 August 1960
  Nuclear war effects and the Bucharest conference; Canadian government statements on Soviet intention; Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; U-2 incident; Iraq; U.S. views on Soviet behavior and policies.

0314 September 1960
  International situation; Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; USSR-PRC dispute; U.S. analysis of Soviet policies; East Germany and Berlin.

0364 October 1960
  Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; views on thermonuclear war; Eastern Europe; peaceful coexistence campaign; international situation.

0400 November 1960
  Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; Soviet position in the UN; international situation.

0426 December 1960
  Peaceful coexistence policy; Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; international situation; Yugoslavia; PRC; Eastern Europe; Moscow Declaration; Sino-Soviet relations; nonexport of counterrevolution concept.

0466 January 1961
  Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; Karl Marx’s anti-Russian ideas controversy; Laos.

0490 February 1961
  Moscow Conference; Sino-Soviet relations; Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; Erich Fromm and Soviet and Chinese communism; limited war in Soviet policy; Russian diplomacy.

0552 March 1961
  World War II Estonian war criminals; Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; foreign policy.

0578 April 1961
  Thompson-Khrushchev meeting; Congo crisis; Soviet attacks on the UN; Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; West German–Soviet relations.

0599 May 1961
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| 0608  |      | June 1961  
       |       | Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; Karl Mommer on East-West relations. |
| 0622  |      | July 1961 |
| 0631  |      | August 1961  
       |       | Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; Soviet nuclear war threats; Berlin crisis; Soviet–U.S. relations. |
| 0662  |      | September 1961  
       |       | Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; nuclear testing; domestic and international problems; Soviet terrorism; Berlin policy; Reynaud-Khrushchev talks; Soviet international situation; joint Soviet bloc military exercises; Moscow Declaration. |
| 0739  |      | October 1961  
       |       | Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; Background Information on the Soviet Union in International Relations; Second International Congress of League of Liberty; Soviet political warfare. |
| 0768  |      | November 1961  
       |       | Background Information on the Soviet Union in International Relations; Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; 22nd CPSU Congress; peaceful coexistence policy. |
| 0787  |      | December 1961  
       |       | Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; Berlin policy; Background Information on the Soviet Union in International Relations; Finland. |
| 0803  |      | January 1962  
       |       | Neutral or nonaligned nations; Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; position on local war; Nikita Khrushchev’s power position; peaceful coexistence policy; foreign policy. |
| 0830  |      | February 1962  
       |       | Peaceful coexistence policy; Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; Soviet colonialism. |
| 0851  |      | March 1962  
       |       | Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; Vladimir Bakaric on 22nd CPSU Congress; Soviet imperialism and colonialism; Henri Langlais on international communism; peaceful coexistence policy. |
| 0882  |      | April 1962  
       |       | Soviet imperialism and colonialism; peaceful coexistence policy; Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions. |
May 1962
Foreign and domestic policies; leadership changes; Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; Background Information on the Soviet Union in International Relations; foreign policy; peaceful coexistence policy; Khrushchev on Soviet-Bulgarian relations.

June 1962
Nikita Khrushchev on Soviet-Bulgarian relations; Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions.

July 1962
Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; foreign policy.

August 1962
Soviet intentions toward Berlin.

September 1962
Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions.

October 1962
Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; alleged secret treaties between the USSR and Mexico, Brazil, and Chile.

November 1962
Soviet populace on Cuban adventures; Soviet Cuban policy; leadership and Communist bloc; Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; CPSU; international situation.

December 1962
National Party Congresses; Soviet policy and the Cuban missile crisis.

January 1963
Watch Committee of the United States Intelligence Board; Soviet intentions; commentary on intra-Communist bloc problems; Soviet position on Berlin; international situation.

Political and Other International Relations;
Bilateral Treaties—USSR cont.

Political Relations between the USSR and Other Countries:
Peace; Friendship; Alliance; Non-Aggression—Arbitration; Conciliation

Political Relations between the USSR and Other Countries:
Peace; Friendship; Alliance; Non-Aggression—Arbitration; Conciliation: Limitation of Arms
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| 0162  |      | July 1960 |
| 0165  |      | August 1960 |
| 0167  |      | October 1960 |
| 0168  |      | November 1960  
Soviet propaganda campaign; Konrad Adenauer and détente with USSR. |
| 0174  |      | January 1961  
Adenauer-Brandt talks on Soviet relations; disarmament, German peace treaty issue, and opposition to West Germany in NATO; Berlin. |
| 0193  |      | February 1961  
Soviet military attaché exchange; German peace treaty issue; Berlin. |
| 0205  |      | March 1961  
Balance of payments issue; West German peace treaty issue; repatriation of German nationals in the USSR. |
| 0212  |      | April 1961  
German peace treaty issue; Soviet embassy staff; Soviet policy toward Germany. |
| 0219  |      | May 1961 |
| 0222  |      | June 1961 |
| 0224  |      | August 1961  
Berlin situation. |
| 0229  |      | November 1961  
Berlin situation |
| 0244  |      | December 1961 |
| 0245  |      | January 1962  
Berlin situation; West German–Soviet relations; Willy Brandt; Thompson-Gromyko talks. |
| 0322  |      | February 1962  
Konrad Adenauer on Nikita Khrushchev. |
| 0354  |      | March 1962  
Franz Josef Strauss on West German foreign policy. |
<p>| 0361  |      | April 1962 |
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<td>Khrushchev–Willy Brandt meeting proposal; Berlin question; West German coalition government; West German–USSR trade.</td>
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<td>Political Relations between the USSR and West Germany: Peace; Friendship—Limitation of Arms</td>
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<td>661.62A41</td>
<td>Political Relations between the USSR and West Germany: Economic Treaties and Agreements—Trade Agreements, Treaties, and Conventions</td>
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March 1960

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December 1960
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May 1961
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June 1961
East German peace treaty.

July 1961

August 1961
Soviet–East German peace treaty; Soviet–East German construction of the Berlin Wall.

September 1961

October 1961
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November 1961

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January 1962
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February 1962
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[0764 October 1960]

[0766 November 1960
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[0801 January 1961
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[0803 March 1961]

[0804 August 1961
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[0805 January 1962
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April 1960
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June 1960
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October 1960
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November 1960
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December 1960
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February 1962
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0076 August 1962
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0112 November 1962
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0170 December 1962
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0238 January 1963
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0111 September 1960
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0135 October 1960
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0208 November 1960
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0214 December 1960
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0303 January 1961
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0376 February 1961
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0511 March 1961
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0676 April 1961
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0707 May 1961
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0207 April 1962
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0424 June 1962
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0438 August 1962
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0527 September 1962
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0582 October 1962
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0742 November 1962
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0837 December 1962
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