

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Approved For

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Department of State

TOP SECRET

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Action
SS

Control: 19492
Rec'd: MARCH 31, 1959
8:04 PM

Info

FROM: NEW YORK

TO: Secretary of State

EYES ONLY

NO: 840, MARCH 31, 6 PM

15

PRIORITY

EYES ONLY FOR HERTER FROM LODGE

I AM CLASSIFYING THIS EYES ONLY BECAUSE SYG APPEARS TO HAVE ESTABLISHED A GOOD FOOTING WITH KHRUSHCHEV WHICH MIGHT BE USEFUL TO US LATER AND IT WOULD BE DAMAGING TO THIS RELATIONSHIP IF ANY OF THE THINGS WHICH KHRUSHCHEV SAID WERE TO BOUNCE BACK.

PARAPHRASE OF MY CONVERSATION WITH HAMMARSKJOLD AND HIS CONVERSATION WITH KHRUSHCHEV FOLLOWS:

1. HAMMARSKJOLD: I HAD MORE THAN SEVEN HOURS WITH KHRUSHCHEV BUT UNLIKE SENATOR HUMPHREY, I HAVE NOT SAID ANYTHING TO ANYBODY ABOUT IT AND WILL NOT DO SO.
2. LODGE: SENATOR HUMPHREY HAS SUGGESTED THAT YOU TAKE PART IN THE SUMMIT MEETING.
3. HAMMARSKJOLD: WELL, WELL, WELL.
4. I HAD SAID BEFORE LEAVING NEW YORK THAT I WANTED TO RETURN TO NEW YORK VIA THE NORTH AND HOPED TO STOP IN MOSCOW FOR A FEW DAYS AROUND MARCH 24. ACTUALLY I VISITED RUSSIA MARCH 25 AND 26. IN THE TALK WHICH I HAD WITH KUZNETZOV IN MOSCOW I SAID I WOULD BE INTERESTED IN WHAT KHRUSHCHEV MEANT IN TALKING ABOUT BERLIN BY "RECOURSE TO THE UN"; WHAT THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE FOUR POWER TALKS WOULD BE TO THE UN INASMUCH AS THERE ARE SEVENTY-EIGHT OTHER MEMBER STATES WHO ARE INTERESTED; AND I WISHED IT UNDERSTOOD THAT I WOULD NOT DISCUSS SUBSTANCE.

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UNLESS "UNCLASSIFIED"
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5. IT WAS ARRANGED FOR ME TO SEE KHRUSHCHEV AT SOCHI. I GATHERED THAT HE HAD BEEN ORDERED TO TAKE A REST. HE WAS ON A DIET, APPEARED TO BE SOMEWHAT SUBDUED BUT IN GOOD PHYSICAL CONDITION. THE FLIGHT LASTED FROM EIGHT A.M. TO ONE P.M. WHICH WAS FOLLOWED BY A DRIVE OF ONE HOUR TO SOCHI AT WHICH TIME I HAD LUNCH ALONE. FROM THREE TO SIX I HAD A SERIOUS TALK WITH KHRUSHCHEV. FROM SIX TO EIGHT WE WALKED ON THE BEACH AND HE TOOK ME ROWING IN A VERY SMALL BOAT. FROM EIGHT TO ELEVEN THERE WAS SUPPER. MIKOYAN WAS PRESENT DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE VISIT.
6. KHRUSHCHEV TOOK UP MY DIFFERENT POINTS, SAYING: EVERYTHING I SAID WOULD HAVE TO BE HYPOTHETICAL. WHEN I MADE MY PUBLIC STATEMENT I DID NOT HAVE A DEFINITE IDEA IN MIND ABOUT THE UN. I THINK IT COULD PLAY A USEFUL ROLE BUT I DO NOT FAVOR A UN FORCE BECAUSE HOW WOULD ONE RECRUIT SUCH A FORCE?
7. HAMMARSKJOLD TO LODGE: NOTE THAT KHRUSHCHEV DID NOT OBJECT IN PRINCIPLE TO THE IDEA OF A FORCE. HE DOES NOT REJECT IT. HE MERELY IS PERPLEXED ABOUT HOW TO DO IT. I MYSELF THINK THE FORCE IS A RATHER CRAZY IDEA AND THAT KHRUSHCHEV IS RIGHT ABOUT THE IMPRACTICABILITY OF A UN FORCE UNDER THE UN FLAG. IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY EXPOSED. IT WOULD BE A WEAK VANGUARD POSITION FOR THE WEST.
8. HAMMARSKJOLD TO KHRUSHCHEV: I AGREE ON THE DIFFICULTIES OF CREATING SUCH A FORCE. I WOULD ALSO BE OPPOSED TO THE UN BEING IN BERLIN WITH EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY.
9. TO THIS KHRUSHCHEV SAID NOTHING.
10. HAMMARSKJOLD: I DO NOT BELIEVE IN A MILITARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE UN OR A CIVILIAN RESPONSIBILITY WHICH CONSISTS OF EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY. IN BETWEEN THESE TWO POSSIBILITIES THERE ARE MANY OTHER POSSIBILITIES.

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11. KHRUSHCHEV: I DO NOT EXCLUDE A UN OBSERVER FUNCTION. I APPRECIATE YOUR PURELY EXPLORATORY APPROACH AND THE FACT THAT YOU ARE NOT DISCUSSING SUBSTANCE.

12. AS AN ASIDE HAMMARSKJOLD SAID TO ME: YOUR LETTER WAS VERY USEFUL TO ME THAT IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT KHRUSHCHEV DID NOT WANT THE UN IN THE ROLE OF MEDIATOR EITHER, AND THAT KHRUSHCHEV'S VIEWPOINT ON THIS WAS THE SAME AS THAT OF THE US.

13. HAMMARSKJOLD THEN SAID TO KHRUSHCHEV: BERLIN DEPENDS ON WEST GERMANY FOR ITS LIFE. IT IS THEREFORE VERY NATURAL FOR THE WEST TO FEEL A STRONG MORAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PEOPLE OF BERLIN. IT FOLLOWS FROM THE ABOVE THAT THE PROBLEM OF WEST GERMANY MUST LOOM VERY LARGE IN THE WESTERN MIND. I HOPE NOTHING WILL HAPPEN -- THAT THERE WILL BE NO FAIT ACCOMPLI -- WHICH WILL NARROW THE SCOPE OF THE COMING NEGOTIATIONS.

14. KHRUSHCHEV: I ASSURE YOU THERE WILL BE NO UNILATERAL ACTS UNTIL THE POSSIBILITIES OF NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEEN FULLY EXPLORED AND EXHAUSTED AND THEN -- AND ONLY AS A MATTER OF ULTIMA RATIO -- WILL THERE BE A PEACE TREATY WITH EAST GERMANY.

15. IN AN ASIDE TO ME HAMMARSKJOLD SAID IT WAS CLEAR TO HIM THAT KHRUSHCHEV'S BIG PROBLEM IS HIS RELATIONS WITH EAST GERMANY.

16. HAMMARSKJOLD TO KHRUSHCHEV: I NOTE WHAT YOU SAY AND I REPEAT IT.

17. KHRUSHCHEV THEN CONFIRMED IT.

18. KHRUSHCHEV CONTINUING: SUCH A TREATY WOULD ELIMINATE THE LEGAL BASIS FOR THE TROOPS IN BERLIN BUT IT SHOULD NOT AFFECT THE ADHERENCE OF WEST BERLIN TO THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM TO WHICH IT HAS ADAPTED ITSELF.

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19. IN AN ASIDE TO ME HAMMARSKJOLD SAID HE WAS UNABLE TO OBTAIN AN ELUCIDATION OF THIS STATEMENT, AND THAT IT "LEFT THE BERLIN SITUATION A BLANK". THERE WAS NO DOUBT IN HAMMARSKJOLD'S MIND THAT KHRUSHCHEV IS RUNNING THE WHOLE SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY SHOW HIMSELF.

20. KHRUSHCHEV: I FEEL VERY SORRY FOR DULLES. I ADMIRE HIS INTELLIGENCE, HIS WIDE KNOWLEDGE, HIS INTEGRITY AND HIS COURAGE. DULLES INVENTED BRINKMANSHIP BUT HE WOULD NEVER STEP OVER THE BRINK.

21. HAMMARSKJOLD: I AGREE. I HAVE BEEN SCARED ABOUT THE BRINK. I DON'T LIKE TO SEE YOU IN THE POSITION OF STEPPING OVER THE BRINK.

22. KHRUSHCHEV: ARE WE TO BE ENEMIES?

23. HAMMARSKJOLD: NO - I THINK YOU CAN TAKE A SINCERE JUDGMENT IN THE SPIRIT IN WHICH IT IS GIVEN.

24. THERE THEN ENSUED A LONG IDEOLOGICAL DEBATE ON THE AWARD OF THE NOBEL PRIZE TO PASTERNAK.

LODGE

SLS/21

TOP SECRET

SENDER WILL CHECK CLASSIFICATION TOP AND BOTTOM			
UNCLASSIFIED		CONFIDENTIAL	SECRET
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY OFFICIAL ROUTING SLIP			
TO	NAME AND ADDRESS	INITIALS	DATE
1	Mr. Amory	<i>Wh</i>	2 Apr 59
2	Mr. Kent <i>and</i> 		
3			
4			
5			
6			
	ACTION	DIRECT REPLY	PREPARE REPLY
	APPROVAL	DISPATCH	RECOMMENDATION
	COMMENT	FILE	RETURN
	CONCURRENCE	INFORMATION	SIGNATURE

Remarks:

Bob:

The DCI asked that you and Sherman Kent read the attached message from Ambassador Lodge. Please then return it to me so that I may show it to Dick Bissell after which it will be sent back to the Department in accordance with their request.

FOLD HERE TO RETURN TO SENDER

FROM	ADDRESS AND PHONE NO.	DATE
	Asst. to the DCI	2 April

MEMORANDUM FOR: General Cabell *etc*

The Director has read the attached cable and asked that after you have seen it, it be returned to me as you will note that the Department wants it back.

JSE
1 April 1959

(DATE)

FORM NO. 101 REPLACES FORM 10-101
1 AUG 54 WHICH MAY BE USED.

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