the secret session at which finally that was agreed to by the Soviet Union, including Mr. Khrushchev himself.

Now, if they want to suggest another method than the method they have already agreed to, it is I think primarily up to them to suggest the alternative and not up to us. We do not relinquish the agreement that we have merely in order to have what may be a kind of a wild goose chase looking for another method. We stand on the agreement that we have. If the Soviets have another method and say, "We don't want to have reunification by free elections but we are willing to have it some other way", we could of course listen to any proposal that they make. But it seems to me the primary responsibility to suggest an alternative rests upon the nation which wants to get out of its present agreement, which is an agreement to do it by means of free elections.

Q. Well, does that mean, Sir, that you do not consider their apparent qualified disposition toward confederation as a new alternative?

A. No, I do not. Quite to the contrary. Both the proposals for confederation and the proposal for a peace treaty with two Germanies are obviously designed not to bring about reunification but to perpetuate the partition, the division of Germany and to formalize it for an indefinite period of time. In other words, I consider them as proposals not for reunification but as proposals for permanent partition.

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Q. Mr. Secretary, you said that the confederation idea, as advanced by the Russians, is unacceptable. Would you consider the confederation idea as constituting an item of negotiation if it were under a different form and there were different safeguards leading to reunification?

A. Well, I said in answer to an earlier question that the word "confederation" covers a very wide variety of political relationships. It can be a relationship between two utterly dissimilar and unrelated areas which tends to perpetuate their division, perhaps only having a surface unity with respect to certain particular matters. Or you can have a confederation which is, in fact, of very considerable progress toward reunification. I said in a sense you can call the present Federal Republic of Germany a confederation. Now I don't like, as I said, to use the word particularly because it has become a word around which emotions revolve. But the matter of finding ways which, in fact, will promote reunification is a matter which, I think, can be and should be studied as resourcefully as possible.

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Statement by Secretary of State Dulles Before House Foreign Affairs Committee, January 28, 1959[1]

[Extract]

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* * * In 1944–45 there were agreements between the principal Western allies and the Soviet Union on the zones of occupation of

[1] Department of State press release 71, January 28, 1959.

Germany. Under those agreements the United States and the United Kingdom, at the close of hostilities, relinquished to Soviet occupancy very large parts of Germany on which their armies then stood. As a part of those same agreements they and France received the right to occupy West Berlin, then a mass of rubble, and to have access thereto.

That rubble has been transformed into a dynamic exhibit of what free men can do. As such, its contrast proves irksome and unsettling to the Communist rule of surrounding areas. So the Soviet Union annuls its agreements with us and calls on us to withdraw the small Western garrison which alone assures the confident independence of the brave people of West Berlin. That, according to the Soviet Union, would be a step toward "ending the cold war".

Another step, according to the Soviet Government, would be for us to accept abandonment of the Soviet agreement that German reunification is a responsibility of the four occupying powers and that Germany shall be reunified by free elections.

This was the principal substantive result of the "Summit" Conference of Heads of Government held at Geneva in July 1955. It was achieved only through the toughest negotiation. But finally the Soviet Government agreed that there was a "close link between the reunification of Germany and the problems of European security, and [on] the fact that the successful settlement of each of these problems would serve the interests of consolidating peace". Also the Heads of Government agreed on "recognizing their common responsibility for the settlement of the German question and the reunification of Germany". They also agreed on "the reunification of Germany by means of free elections".

The Soviet Union seems now to have concluded that it is not to its interest that there should be a reunification of Germany, and that two Germanies should be perpetuated. Also it has decided that it wants to slough off its share of the agreed "common responsibility" for the German question and for German reunification and to abdicate in favor of its creature, the so-called German Democratic Republic.

The Soviet Union argues that if we will acquiesce in this tearing up of the Summit accord and accept different arrangements more favorable to it, that would be another good step toward "ending the cold war".

And so it goes. Never yet has the Soviet Union made any proposal designated to promote ending the "cold war" except on terms that, it calculated, would help International Communism to win the "cold war".

There is, I know, always the temptation to grasp at a form of words which might seem to end the continuing strains, the burdens, the risks, to which we are now subjected. But the Soviet proposals constitute not remedies but drugs which would numb us to the real danger which will then become greater than ever.

Let me make perfectly clear that we are fully alive to the grave hazards in the present situation. Every reasonable and decent effort must be made to avoid needless provocations, to find a *modus vivendi*, and to reduce the danger of a war which under present conditions would involve a large measure of worldwide annihilation. We have, I think, shown that we believe in such efforts.

We made the Korean Armistice which ended the hostilities in Korea.

We participated in the Geneva Conference of 1954 which brought to an end the hostilities in Indochina.

We have sought, and still seek in our Warsaw talks with the Chinese Communists, to assure that in the Taiwan area force should not be relied upon by either side to bring about the reunification of China. And the Government of the Republic of China last October declared principal reliance on peaceful means, and not the use of force, for restoring freedom to the people on the mainland.

We have joined with the Soviet Union in concluding the Austrian State Treaty which liberated Austria.

We have made, a year ago, an agreement for cultural and scientific exchanges with the Soviet Union.

We have met with the Soviet Union at the Summit and indicated a readiness to do so again. But the Soviet Union broke off the negotiations for such a meeting last June when it was made clear we would feel free to talk about some subjects that they disliked.

We are negotiating in good faith for a controlled discontinuance of the testing of nuclear weapons.

We have indicated our readiness to discuss the interrelated problems of Berlin, German reunification, and European security. But so far the Soviet Union insists that we shall only talk about a change in the status of West Berlin—not East Berlin—and about a peace treaty which would be made with the two Germanies and perpetuate the partition of Germany.

The principles of our policy were first announced in 1947. That policy is based, first of all, on our hope of achieving a just peace and on firmness in opposing aggression. Ever since that time the American people and their successive governments have stood by these basic purposes steadfastly and firmly in spite of every kind of provocation.

I assure you that we are as alert and vigilant in seeking every reasonable avenue to achieving a better understanding with those who are hostile to us as we are alert and vigilant in maintaining the kind of strength that will convince them of the folly of aggression.

As President Eisenhower has repeatedly said, there is nothing that we will not do at any time at any place which holds a reasonable prospect of promoting a just peace. But it would be reckless to be intimidated, or lured, into measures which far from ending the present danger would merely increase it.

Note from the American Embassy to the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Protesting Detention of a United States Army Convoy, February 4, 1959 [1]

The Government of the United States of America draws the urgent attention of the Soviet Government to the unwarranted and inadmissible refusal by Soviet authorities of normal transit through the Marienborn Autobahn checkpoint to four two-and-a-half ton trucks and five United States Army personnel charged with their operation.

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[1] Department of State press release 90, February 4, 1959.