

without the deliberate approval of the Soviet Government, and it is an action squarely in opposition to the efforts being made by the United States and other nations to create a stable and lasting peace.

Representatives of the Soviet Government have, on numerous occasions, spoken of the Soviet Government's desire for peace. Such verbal protestations, however, can hardly be expected to receive credence among the free peoples of the world when the Soviet Government is simultaneously creating a military force of considerable size and strength in Germany in violation of its solemn international commitments. By this and other like actions the Soviet Government has destroyed world confidence in the sincerity of its promises and has created throughout the world widespread doubt as to its pacific intentions. If the Soviet Government wishes to restore in some measure international confidence in its alleged attachment to peace, it cannot fail to dissolve immediately the militarized units which it has set up in Eastern Germany.

Letter from the United States Commandant in Berlin to the Chairman of the Soviet Control Commission, on Free Elections, May 25, 1950¹

U.S. NOTE TO SOVIET UNION

DEAR GENERAL CHUIKOV: Throughout the five year period during which our two governments have participated in the occupation of Germany, repeated efforts have been made to effect the political and economic unity of the country. The matter was recently reviewed again by the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, France, and the United States at London. Their conclusions on the matter of German unification and the manner in which it might be accomplished are attached. (See Annex A.) This document has been transmitted to the Chancellor of the German Federal Republic.

You will note that the Ministers agreed that the formation of an all-German Government on the basis of the principles set forth in their statement would prepare the way for a peace settlement with Germany. In this connection, you will also have noted that in the public communique released by the Ministers on May 14, it was stated that the Western Powers did not contemplate the conclusion of a separate peace treaty with the Federal Republic: one consideration in the formulation of this conclusion was that the Western Powers believe that a separate peace treaty with one or more zones of occupation connotes acceptance of a concept of a more permanent partition of Germany. The Western Powers do not wish to associate themselves with any such concept.

You will also note that the Ministers endorsed the resolution of the Federal Republic under date of March 22, which invited all-German elections to a National Constituent Assembly under conditions found to be acceptable to my government. A copy of the text of this resolu-

¹ *Ibid.*, June 5, 1950, pp. 884-885. The letter was sent by Major General Maxwell D. Taylor on behalf of the American High Commissioner; the British and French High Commissioners sent similar letters. For the texts of the declaration of March 22, 1950 by the German Federal Republic and the declaration of May 14, 1950 by the Western Foreign Ministers, enclosed with this letter, see *supra*. General Chuikov did not reply to the letter.

tion is attached (see Annex B), and I direct your attention especially to paragraph 1 thereof, which suggests that the four occupation powers should assume the responsibility of framing an electoral law under which all-German elections might be conducted.

My government would be prepared for me to share in the responsibility of framing an electoral law under which all-German elections, pointing toward the formation of an all-German Government in conformity with the principles set forth in the attached statement of the Foreign Ministers, could be held.

Should your government declare its acceptance of these principles and be willing to share such responsibility, it is the belief of my government that any discussions on the subject should be conducted via the following principles:

1. Conversations would initially be undertaken at the level of the four Commissioners for the limited purpose of drafting an electoral law to implement the Federal Republic's proposal of free all-German elections for a National Constituent Assembly. The proposal to limit discussions to the framing of an electoral law proceeds from a belief that it is unrealistic to discuss or arrange the desired peace settlement until it is established that a unified German Government, freely elected, can be brought into being.

2. If agreement is reached on an electoral law, the way would be clear for the drafting by the elected representatives of the German people of a constitution for all Germany, within the framework of the principles set forth in the attached statement of the Foreign Ministers, and for the emergency of an all-German Government.

3. A basis would thus be laid for the establishment of a four power commission which should exercise its reserved powers in such a way as to permit the German Government to function effectively.

I would welcome your views on this subject.

In view of the vital interest of the German people in the unification of their country, I feel it appropriate to make a copy of this letter available to the press and will do so after it has reached you.

Letter from the American High Commissioner (McCloy) to the Chairman of the Soviet Control Commission (Chuikov), on Free Elections, October 10, 1950¹

1. In my letter of May 25, 1950, I requested you to transmit to your government the proposals agreed on by the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Great Britain and France for a procedure which would permit the holding of free democratic and secret elections throughout Germany and would lead to the establishment of a freely elected and democratic government for all of Germany. I have not yet received an answer to this letter.

2. I enclose the text of a letter addressed to the Allied High Commission by the Federal Chancellor, inviting attention to a resolution,

¹ Office of the United States High Commissioner for Germany, *Documents on German Unity*, vol. I, p. 157. The Soviet Chairman never replied to this letter.