

2. The parties to the Treaty undertake to consult one another in the event of differences and disputes which might constitute a threat to the maintenance of peace in Europe.

3. This Treaty is of a provisional nature and shall remain in effect until it is replaced by a treaty for the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe.

Geneva Directive of the Heads of Government of the Four Powers to the Foreign Ministers, July 23, 1955¹

The Heads of Government of France, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., guided by the desire to contribute to the relaxation of international tension and to the consolidation of confidence between states, instruct their Foreign Ministers to continue the consideration of the following questions with regard to which an exchange of views has taken place at the Geneva Conference, and to propose effective means for their solution, taking account of the close link between the reunification of Germany and the problems of European security, and the fact that the successful settlement of each of these problems would serve the interests of consolidating peace.

1. European Security and Germany.

For the purpose of establishing European security with due regard to the legitimate interests of all nations and their inherent right to individual and collective self-defence, the Ministers are instructed to consider various proposals to this end, including the following: A security pact for Europe or for a part of Europe, including provisions for the assumption by member nations of an obligation not to resort to force and to deny assistance to an aggressor; limitation, control, and inspection in regard to armed forces and armaments; establishment between East and West of a zone in which the disposition of armed forces will be subject to mutual agreement; and also to consider other possible proposals pertaining to the solution of this problem.

The Heads of Government, recognizing their common responsibility for the settlement of the German question and the re-unification of Germany, have agreed that the settlement of the German question and the re-unification of Germany by means of free elections shall be carried out in conformity with the national interests of the German people and the interests of European security. The Foreign Ministers will make whatever arrangements they may consider desirable for the participation of, or for consultation with, other interested parties.

2. Disarmament

The Four Heads of Government,
Desirous of removing the threat of war and lessening the burden of armaments,

Convinced of the necessity, for secure peace and for the welfare of mankind, of achieving a system for the control and reduction of all armaments and armed forces under effective safeguards.

Recognizing that achievements in this field would release vast material resources to be devoted to the peaceful economic development of

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

nations, for raising their well-being, as well as for assistance to under-developed countries,

Agree:

(1) for the purposes to work together to develop an acceptable system for disarmament through the Sub-Committee of the United Nations Disarmament Commission;

(2) to instruct their representatives in the Sub-Committee in the discharge of their mandate from the United Nations to take account in their work of the views and proposals advanced by the Heads of Government at this Conference;

(3) to propose that the next meeting of the Sub-Committee be held on August 29, 1955, at New York;

(4) to instruct the Foreign Ministers to take note of the proceedings in the Disarmament Commission, to take account of the views and proposals advanced by the Heads of Government at this Conference and to consider whether the four Governments can take any further useful initiative in the field of disarmament.

3. Development of Contacts between East and West

The Foreign Ministers should by means of experts study measures, including those possible in organs and agencies of the United Nations, which could (a) bring about a progressive elimination of barriers which interfere with free communications and peaceful trade between people and (b) bring about such freer contacts and exchanges as are to the mutual advantage of the countries and peoples concerned.

4. The Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers will meet at Geneva during October to initiate their consideration of these questions and to determine the organisation of their work.

Communiqué on Negotiations Between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, September 13, 1955¹

From September 9 to 13 negotiations were held in Moscow between the Government delegation of the Soviet Union and the Government delegation of the German Federal Republic.

On the Soviet side there took part the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Marshal (Nikolai A.) Bulganin, head of the delegation; (Nikita S.) Khrushchev, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union; (Vyacheslav M.) Molotov, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union and Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union; (Michael G.) Pervukhin, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union; Ivan G. Kabanov, Minister of Foreign Trade; (Vladimir S.) Smynov, Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union.

On the Federal German Republic side the following took part in the talks: Federal Chancellor Dr. (Konrad) Adenauer, head of the delegation; Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal German Republic Dr. (Heinrich) von Brentano; State Secretary of Foreign Affairs (Professor Walter Hallstein; State Secretary of the Office of the Office of the Federal Chancellor Dr. (Hans) Glebke; Chairman

¹ Department of State files.