

They wish in the first place to emphasize that these agreements cannot affect the obligations or responsibilities of the Soviet Union under agreements and arrangements between the Three Powers and the Soviet Union on the subject of Germany and Berlin. The Soviet Union remains responsible for the carrying out of these obligations.

Secondly, the three Foreign Ministers reaffirm that the Federal Republic of Germany is the only German Government freely and legitimately constituted and therefore entitled to speak for Germany as the representative of the German people in international affairs. These three governments do not recognize the East German regime nor the existence of a state in the Soviet zone.

Finally, as regards a statement which has recently appeared in the Soviet press on the frontiers of Germany, the three Foreign Ministers reaffirm the repeatedly expressed position of their Governments that the final determination of the frontiers of Germany must await a peace settlement for the whole of Germany.

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***Note from the American Embassy to the Soviet Foreign Ministry,  
on the Soviet-GDR Agreements, October 3, 1955*<sup>1</sup>**

The Government of the United States of America, in agreement with the Governments of the United Kingdom and France, wishes to make known its position with regard to the agreements concluded at Moscow on the 20th of September 1955 between Marshal Bulganin and Mr. Grotewohl, as published in the press.

The three Governments declare that these agreements cannot affect in any respect or in any way the obligations or responsibilities of the U.S.S.R. under agreements and arrangements on the subject of Germany, including Berlin, previously concluded between France, the United States, the United Kingdom and the U.S.S.R.

The three Governments consider that the U.S.S.R. remains bound by the engagements which it has assumed vis-a-vis the Three Powers concerning Germany, and that, in particular, the letters exchanged between Mr. Zorin and Mr. Bolz on the 20th of September 1955 cannot have the effect of discharging the U.S.S.R. from the responsibilities which it has assumed in matters concerning transportation and communications between the different parts of Germany, including Berlin.

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***Note from the Soviet Foreign Ministry to the American Embassy,  
on the Soviet-GDR Agreements, October 18, 1955*<sup>2</sup>**

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics presents its compliments to the Embassy of the United States of America and in connection with the latter's note of October 3 has the honor to state the following:

On September 20 of this year the Government of the Soviet Union and the Government of the German Democratic Republic concluded "A Treaty on Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Re-

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, October 17, 1955, p. 616. The British and French Embassies delivered similar notes on the same day. For the text of the Soviet reply of October 18, see *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, November 7, 1955, pp. 734-735. For the text of the American reply of October 27, see *infra*.

publics and the German Democratic Republic," which after ratification by the Parliaments of both countries has come into force. According to the treaty, relations between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic are settled on a basis of full equality, mutual respect of sovereignty, and non interference in internal affairs. The treaty provides for the cooperation of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic in the interests of guaranteeing peace and security in Europe, and the reestablishment of the unity of Germany on a peace-loving and democratic basis.

In concluding the treaty with the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Government at the same time made the decision on the abolition of the function of the High Commissioner of the U.S.S.R. in Germany, and also on the termination of the validity on territory of the German Democratic Republic of laws, directives, and decrees of the former Control Council in Germany issued by the occupying powers in the course of exercising rights of occupation of Germany.

At the same time, considering the actual situation which has come about at the present time, when on the territory of Germany there exist two independent sovereign states, the Soviet Union established diplomatic relations with the German Federal Republic. Thus, the Soviet Union has at the present time diplomatic relations with both states existing on the territory of Germany.

The Government of the United States of America has diplomatic relations with one German state—the German Federal Republic—with which it has concluded well-known treaties in violation of the obligations which it assumed under the four-power decisions in relation to Germany. Absence of normal relations of the United States of America with the other part of Germany—with the German Democratic Republic—cannot, naturally, serve as an obstacle to the proper regulation of relations between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic.

In signing the treaty on the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the German Democratic Republic, the parties proceeded from the premise that the German Democratic Republic exercises its jurisdiction on territory under its sovereignty, which, of course, also applies to communications on that territory.

As for control over the movement between the German Federal Republic and West Berlin of military personnel and freight of garrisons of the U.S.A., Great Britain, and France, quartered in West Berlin, in negotiations between the Governments of the U.S.S.R. and the German Democratic Republic, it was stipulated that this control would henceforth be carried out by the command of the Soviet military forces in Germany temporarily until the achievement of a suitable agreement.

It is self-understood that, in concluding the above-mentioned treaty, the Governments of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic took into consideration the obligations which both have under existing international agreements relating to Germany as a whole.

In connection with the foregoing, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. has the honor to send the Embassy for its information texts of the "Treaty on Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Democratic Republic" and documents connected therewith.