

**Note From the American Embassy to the Soviet Foreign Ministry,
on the Soviet-GDR Agreements, October 27, 1955**¹

The Embassy of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and, with reference to the Ministry's note of October 18, 1955, concerning the agreements concluded on September 20, 1955, between Marshal Bulganin and Mr. Grotewohl, has the honor to state the following views of the Government of the United States.

As the Government of the United States has already made clear in its note of October 3, 1955, these agreements can in no way be regarded as releasing the Soviet Government from its obligations under existing Four-Power Agreements, and in particular its responsibility for ensuring the normal functioning of communications between the different parts of Germany, including Berlin.

For its part, the United States Government cannot accept the allegation contained in the Ministry's note that, in treaties it has concluded with the Federal Government of Germany, it has violated the obligations it had assumed under quadripartite agreements.

**Western Proposal on German Reunification and European
Security, October 27, 1955**²

REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY AND SECURITY

At the Geneva Conference, the Heads of Government recognized, in their Directive to the Foreign Ministers, the common responsibility of the Four Powers for the reunification of Germany by means of free elections in conformity with the national interests of the German people and the interests of European security.

France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America have striven unceasingly for the reunification of Germany in freedom in order to promote real stability in Europe. Last year they put forward, in the Eden Plan, proposals which offer the German nation the means to recover its unity in accordance with the rights of peoples and liberty of the individual. They renew these proposals in the paper attached hereto.

Free elections leading to the formation of a single Government for the whole of Germany are the right way of ensuring full participation of the German people in the solution of the German problem, which the Soviet Government says it also desires. If agreement in principle is reached during the present Conference, it should be possible to settle without delay questions concerning the electoral law and the supervision of the elections, which could take place as early as 1956.

Without German unity, any system of European security would be an illusion. The division of Germany can only perpetuate friction and insecurity as well as grave injustice. France, the United Kingdom

¹ *Ibid.*, November 7, 1955, p. 734.

² *The Geneva Meeting of Foreign Ministers, October 27-November 16, 1955* (Department of State publication 6156), pp. 27-28. The proposal was submitted on October 27 by Foreign Minister Pinay on behalf of the American, British, and French delegations, but the discussion of it began on October 28, when the proposal was read out by Foreign Secretary Macmillan. The draft treaty of assurance (*infra*) and the Eden plan of January 29, 1954 (*supra*) were attached to the proposal.

and the United States of America are not prepared to enter into a system of European security which, as in the Soviet proposals put forward at Geneva, does not end the division of Germany.

At the Geneva Conference the Soviet Government expressed concern about the policy and associations of a reunified German Government. The Soviet Union appears to fear that a unified Germany, established by free elections and free to choose its associates in collective defence, would constitute a threat to the security of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The fact is that the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the Western European Union are strictly defensive organisations. Far from constituting a threat to peace, they contribute to the security not only of their members but of all states. This is evident from the various limitations and restrictions which the members of the Western European Union have assumed and from the restraint on individual action which the NATO system imposes on its members. If a reunified Germany elects to associate itself with these organisations, the inherent obligations of restraint and control would enhance rather than detract from Soviet security.

Nevertheless, to remove any possible grounds for Soviet refusal to reunify Germany promptly, France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America are prepared to take further steps to meet the concern expressed by the Soviet Government. They accordingly propose the conclusion of a treaty in the terms set forth below, concurrently with the conclusion of an agreement to reunify Germany under the Eden Plan. This treaty would comprise undertakings to refrain from the use of force and to withhold aid from an aggressor, provisions for the limitation and control of forces and armaments, and the obligation to react against aggression. The treaty would enter into force only in conjunction with the reunification of Germany. It would be carried out by stages. Its signature would be concurrent with the signature of the agreement on the Eden Plan. The final stage would become effective when a reunified Germany decides to enter NATO and the Western European Union.

France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America are convinced that these proposals could lead to an agreement satisfactory to both sides. If the Soviet Union's concern over immediate German reunification is primarily security, these proposals should constitute an acceptable basis for negotiations since they provide a system of controls in which the Soviet Union would directly participate, and reciprocal assurances from which the Soviet Union would directly benefit. Such a settlement, by creating confidence in an area vital for world security, would facilitate the solution of even wider problems.

***Western Outline of Terms of Treaty of Assurance on the Reunification of Germany, October 27, 1955*¹**

The treaty, which would be concluded concurrently with an agreement on the reunification of Germany under the Eden Plan, would cover the following subjects:

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.