

The Federal Government would appreciate a clear statement by the Government of the U.S.S.R. that it does not intend to restrict the freedom of decision of a freely elected all-German people's representation in fundamental questions affecting the internal order of the German people.

14) The Federal Government is convinced that free elections throughout Germany, whatever their outcome, should have only one aim, viz., to unite the German people and not to divide them. The formation of a new system of government must therefore not be allowed to lead to the political persecution of supporters of the old system in any part of Germany. That is why the Federal Government is of the opinion that measures should be taken to insure that, after the reunification of Germany, nobody should be legally prosecuted or discriminated against in any other way merely on account of his former activity for the authorities or a political organization in either part of Germany.

15) The Federal Government would appreciate a reply from the Government of the U.S.S.R. to the questions broached in the foregoing. It would consider it useful if in this way an exchange of views were initiated which would promote agreement of the Four Powers on reunification.

Anybody postponing indefinitely the solution of the problem of German reunification is incurring a heavy responsibility not only to the German people, whose only reaction to their deprivation of the recognized right to reunification is bitter disappointment; rather does this problem affect peace, easing of tension, and security in the whole of Europe—in fact, in the world. By no means least worthy of mention is the fact that its solution is in the fullest interest of the Russian people itself. It cannot be desirable in the long run to the Soviet Union, either, for the entire German people to regard Soviet policy toward Germany as continual interference in internal German affairs. The establishment of normal neighborly relations between the German and Russian peoples is dictated by the interests of both nations. As long as almost seventy million people in the heart of the European continent have the feeling that the Soviet Union is arbitrarily refusing, in the face of every international law, reunification and free self-determination within a national order of their own choosing, the establishment of genuinely normal relations between the two peoples will be impossible.

Note from the Department of State to the German Embassy, on German Reunification and European Security, October 9, 1956¹

The Government of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the Federal Government's note of September 2, 1956,² which enclosed a copy of the memorandum addressed to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the question of the reunification of Germany.³

¹ Department of State press release 531, October 10, 1956. A copy of this note was transmitted to the Soviet Government on October 10, 1956 (*infra*).

² *Supra*.

³ *Supra*.

The Government of the United States fully shares the Federal Government's view that it is incumbent upon the four powers to fulfill the task undertaken by them in the directive issued by the Heads of Government at Geneva in July 1955 for the reunification of Germany by means of free elections carried out in conformity with the national interests of the German people and the interests of European security. This is a task which, as the note of the Federal Government points out, cannot be adequately fulfilled "by mere assent to the principle of reunification, without any agreements being reached regarding practical ways and means of realizing it."

The achievement of German reunification in freedom is a fundamental goal of United States policy. Together with the governments of France and the United Kingdom, the Government of the United States put forward proposals at the Geneva meeting of Foreign Ministers in 1955 for the reunification of Germany by free elections and for a treaty of assurance giving the Soviet Union far-reaching security safeguards when Germany was reunified. So far, however, the Soviet Government has refused to discuss these proposals. The Government of the United States nevertheless continues to hope that the Soviet Government will fulfill its responsibilities in accordance with the agreement reached by the Heads of Government. For its part, the Government of the United States will not cease to pursue its efforts to achieve the reunification of Germany, the continued division of which constitutes a grave injustice to the German people and makes impossible the establishment of a basis for lasting peace and security in Europe.

To this end, the Government of the United States welcomes the initiative taken by the Federal Government and shares the desire set forth in the latter's memorandum that it may lead to an exchange of views which might promote agreement among the Four Powers on reunification, as well as on a sound system of European security, which can be achieved only if Germany is reunited.

In transmitting to the Soviet Government a copy of its reply to the note of the Federal Government, the Government of the United States is conveying the hope that the Soviet Government will respond to the initiative of the Federal Government in such a way that the Four Powers may be able to give effect to the agreement made at Geneva to achieve the reunification of Germany by means of free elections.

Note from the American Embassy to the Soviet Foreign Ministry, on German Reunification and European Security, October 10, 1956¹

The Government of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and has the honor to refer to the memorandum which was addressed to the Soviet Government on the second of September by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and of which a copy was sent to the Government of the United States. The Government of the United States now has the honor to transmit to the Soviet Government

¹ Department of State press release 531, October 10, 1956. The United Kingdom and France sent identical notes on the same day.