
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE U.S.S.R.

**THE SOVIET UNION
AND THE QUESTION
OF THE UNITY OF GERMANY
AND OF THE GERMAN
PEACE TREATY**

Moscow 1952

5

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**EXCERPT FROM THE ORDER
OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR OF DEFENCE
OF THE U.S.S.R. J. V. STALIN**

February 23, 1942

No. 55

Moscow

Sometimes the foreign press publishes twaddle to the effect that the Red Army's aim is to exterminate the German people and to destroy the German State. This, of course, is a silly fable and stupid calumny against the Red Army. The Red Army has not and cannot have such idiotic aims. The Red Army's aim is to drive the German invaders from our country, and to clear our Soviet soil of the German fascist aggressors. It is highly probable that the war for the liberation of our Soviet soil will lead to the expulsion or destruction of Hitler's clique. We would welcome such an outcome. But it would be ludicrous to identify Hitler's clique with the German people, with the German State. The experience of history shows that Hitlers come and go, but the German people and the German State live on.

**J. V. STALIN'S TELEGRAM
OF GREETINGS TO THE PRESIDENT
OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC,
HERR WILHELM PIECK,
AND TO THE PRIME MINISTER
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE GERMAN
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC,
HERR OTTO GROTEWOHL**

Allow me to congratulate you and in your person the German people, on the creation of the German Democratic Republic and the election of the first to the Presidency and the second as Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic.

The formation of the German democratic peace-loving Republic is a turning point in the history of Europe. There can be no doubt that the existence of a peace-loving democratic Germany side by side with the existence of the peace-loving Soviet Union excludes the possibility of new wars in Europe, puts an end to bloodshed in Europe and makes impossible the enslaving of the European countries by the world imperialists.

The experience of the recent war showed that the biggest sacrifices in this war were borne by the German and Soviet peoples, that these two peoples possess the greatest potential in Europe for accomplishing great actions of world importance. If these two peoples display determination to fight for peace, straining their energies to the same extent as they did to wage war, peace in Europe may then be considered as secured.

Thus laying the foundation for a unified democratic and peace-loving Germany, you simultaneously perform a great deed for the whole of Europe, guaranteeing her lasting peace. You need not doubt that, in advancing along this road and promoting the cause of peace, you will find great sympathy and active support among all peoples of the world, including the American, British, French, Polish, Czechoslovak and Italian peoples, let alone the peace-loving Soviet people.

I wish you success on this new and glorious road.

May the unified, independent, democratic, peace-loving Germany live and prosper!

J. STALIN

October 13, 1949

**EXCERPT FROM THE DECISIONS
OF THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE**

**III
GERMANY**

The Allied armies are in occupation of the whole of Germany and the German people have begun to atone for the terrible crimes committed under the leadership of those whom, in the hour of their success, they openly approved and blindly obeyed.

Agreement has been reached at this Conference on the political and economic principles of a coordinated Allied policy toward defeated Germany during the period of Allied control.

The purpose of this agreement is to carry out the Crimea Declaration on Germany. German militarism and Nazism will be extirpated and the Allies will take in agreement together, now and in the future, the other measures necessary to assure that Germany never again will threaten her neighbours or the peace of the world.

It is not the intention of the Allies to destroy or enslave the German people. It is the intention of the Allies that the German people be given the opportunity to prepare for the eventual reconstruction of their life on a democratic and peaceful basis. If their own efforts are steadily directed to this end, it will be possible for them in due course to take their place among the free and peaceful peoples of the world.

The text of the agreement is as follows:

**THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES
TO GOVERN THE TREATMENT OF GERMANY
IN THE INITIAL CONTROL PERIOD**

A. Political Principles

1. In accordance with the Agreement on Control Machinery in Germany, supreme authority in Germany is exercised on instructions from their respective Governments, by the Commanders-in-Chief of the armed forces of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the French Republic, each in his own zone of occupation, and also jointly, in matters affecting Germany as a whole, in their capacity as members of the Control Council.

2. So far as is practicable, there shall be uniformity of treatment of the German population throughout Germany.

3. The purposes of the occupation of Germany by which the Control Council shall be guided are:

(i) The complete disarmament and demilitarization of Germany and the elimination or control of all German industry that could be used for military production. To these ends:

(a) All German land, naval and air forces, the S.S., S.A., S.D. and Gestapo, with all their organizations, staffs and institutions, including the General Staff, the Officers' Corps, Reserve Corps, military schools, war veterans' organizations and all other military and quasi-military organizations, together with their clubs and associations which serve to keep alive the military traditions in Germany, shall be completely and finally abolished in such manner as permanently to prevent the revival or reorganization of German militarism and Nazism.

(b) All arms, ammunition and implements of war, and all specialized facilities for their production shall be

held at the disposal of the Allies or destroyed. The maintenance and production of all aircraft and all arms, ammunition and implements of war shall be prevented.

(ii) To convince the German people that they have suffered a total military defeat and that they cannot escape responsibility for what they have brought upon themselves, since their own ruthless warfare and the fanatical Nazi resistance have destroyed German economy and made chaos and suffering inevitable.

(iii) To destroy the National Socialist Party and its affiliated and supervised organizations, to dissolve all Nazi institutions, to ensure that they are not revived in any form, and to prevent all Nazi and militarist activity or propaganda.

(iv) To prepare for the eventual reconstruction of German political life on a democratic basis and for eventual peaceful cooperation in international life by Germany.

4. All Nazi laws which provided the basis of the Hitler regime or established discrimination on grounds of race, creed, or political opinion shall be abolished. No such discriminations, whether legal, administrative or otherwise, shall be tolerated.

5. War criminals and those who have participated in planning or carrying out Nazi enterprises involving or resulting in atrocities or war crimes shall be arrested and brought to judgment. Nazi leaders, influential Nazi supporters and high officials of Nazi organizations and institutions and any other persons dangerous to the occupation or its objectives shall be arrested and interned.

6. All members of the Nazi Party who have been more than nominal participants in its activities and all other persons hostile to Allied purposes shall be removed from public and semi-public office, and from positions of responsibility in important private undertakings. Such persons shall be replaced by persons who, by their political and

moral qualities, are deemed capable of assisting in developing genuine democratic institutions in Germany.

7. German education shall be so controlled as completely to eliminate Nazi and militarist doctrines and to make possible the successful development of democratic ideas.

8. The judicial system will be reorganized in accordance with the principles of democracy, of justice under law, and of equal rights for all citizens without distinction of race, nationality or religion.

9. The administration of affairs in Germany should be directed towards the decentralization of the political structure and the development of local responsibility. To this end:

(i) Local self-government shall be restored throughout Germany on democratic principles and in particular through elective councils as rapidly as is consistent with military security and the purposes of military occupation.

(ii) All democratic political parties with rights of assembly and of public discussion shall be allowed and encouraged throughout Germany.

(iii) Representative and elective principles shall be introduced into regional, provincial and state (Land) administration as rapidly as may be justified by the successful application of these principles in local self-government.

(iv) For the time being no central German government shall be established. Notwithstanding this, however, certain essential central German administrative departments, headed by state secretaries, shall be established, particularly in the fields of finance, transport, communications, foreign trade and industry. Such departments will act under the direction of the Control Council.

10. Subject to the necessity for maintaining military security, freedom of speech, press and religion shall be permitted, and religious institutions shall be respected. Subject likewise to the maintenance of military security, the formation of free trade unions shall be permitted.

B. Economic Principles

11. In order to eliminate Germany's war potential, the production of arms, ammunition and implements of war as well as all types of aircraft and sea-going ships shall be prohibited and prevented. Production of metals, chemicals, machinery and other items that are directly necessary to a war economy shall be rigidly controlled and restricted to Germany's approved post-war peacetime needs to meet the objectives stated in Paragraph 15. Productive capacity not needed for permitted production shall be removed in accordance with the reparations recommended by the Allied Commission on Reparations and approved by the Governments concerned or if not removed shall be destroyed.

12. At the earliest practicable date, the German economy shall be decentralized for the purpose of eliminating the present excessive concentration of economic power as exemplified in particular by cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopolistic arrangements.

13. In organizing the German economy, primary emphasis shall be given to the development of agriculture and peaceful domestic industries.

14. During the period of occupation Germany shall be treated as a single economic unit. To this end common policies shall be established in regard to:

- (a) mining and industrial production and allocations;
- (b) agriculture, forestry and fishing;
- (c) wages, prices and rationing;
- (d) import and export programs for Germany as a whole;
- (e) currency and banking, central taxation and customs;
- (f) reparation and removal of industrial war potential;
- (g) transportation and communications.

In applying these policies account shall be taken, where appropriate, of varying local conditions.

15. Allied controls shall be imposed upon the German economy but only to the extent necessary:

(a) to carry out programs of industrial disarmament and demilitarization, of reparations, and of approved exports and imports;

(b) to assure the production and maintenance of goods and services required to meet the needs of the occupying forces and displaced persons in Germany and essential to maintain in Germany average living standards not exceeding the average of the standards of living of European countries (European countries means all European countries excluding the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics);

(c) to ensure in the manner determined by the Control Council the equitable distribution of essential commodities between the several zones so as to produce a balanced economy throughout Germany and reduce the need for imports;

(d) to control German industry and all economic and financial international transactions, including exports and imports, with the aim of preventing Germany from developing a war potential and of achieving the other objectives named herein;

(e) to control all German public or private scientific bodies, research and experimental institutions, laboratories, et cetera, connected with economic activities.

16. In the imposition and maintenance of economic controls established by the Control Council, German administrative machinery shall be created and the German authorities shall be required to the fullest extent practicable to proclaim and assume administration of such controls. Thus it should be brought home to the German people that the responsibility for the administration of such controls and any breakdown in these controls will rest with themselves. Any German controls which may run counter to the objectives of occupation will be prohibited.

17. Measures shall be promptly taken:

- a) to effect essential repair of transport;
- b) to enlarge coal production;
- c) maximize agricultural output; and

d) to effect emergency repair of housing and essential utilities.

18. Appropriate steps shall be taken by the Control Council to exercise control and the power of disposition over German-owned external assets not already under the control of United Nations which have taken part in the war against Germany.

19. Payment of reparations should leave enough resources to enable the German people to subsist without external assistance. In working out the economic plan of Germany the necessary means must be provided to pay for imports approved by the Control Council in Germany. The proceeds of exports from current production and stocks shall be available in the first place for payment for such imports.

The above clause will not apply to the equipment and products referred to in paragraphs 4 (a) and 4 (b) of the Reparations Agreement.

THE PROVISIONAL POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF GERMANY

*Statement by V. M. Molotov at the Fourth Session
of the Council of Foreign Ministers
March 22, 1947*

We have begun the examination of the question of the provisional organization of Germany. In this connection we shall have to deal with the state structure of Germany as well. Thus, in addition to other questions we are faced with a basic political problem—the problem of our attitude towards Germany, of our attitude towards the German people.

The Soviet people was attacked by Hitler Germany. It has lived through four extremely difficult years of war. A large part of U.S.S.R. territory came under enemy occupation, accompanied by the measureless brutality of the Hitlerite army, its violence against the peaceful population, enormous destruction and plunder of many millions of the Soviet people. Using all modern means of warfare, Hitler stopped at nothing in conducting his criminal war aimed at the annihilation of our people. It is also a known fact that the Soviet people met this assault by a crushing rebuff and mercilessly defeated the German invaders.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Government and the Soviet people as a whole, are not guided by a feeling of revenge in their attitude towards Germany and the German people. We do not identify the German people with Hitler Germany, though no one can exonerate the German people of responsibility for Germany's aggression.

In the Soviet Union there has always been contempt for the ideology of the German race theorists; this ideology was

regarded as worthy only of cannibals and not of civilized human beings. On the other hand, wholesale condemnation of the German people, or any other people for that matter, is regarded in the Soviet Union merely as one of the versions of the race theory.

Now that Hitlerism has been defeated and control over Germany rests in the hands of the Allied Powers, responsibility for Germany's further destiny lies, first and foremost, with these Powers. They are confronted with the task of helping the Germans who seek a new path to make Germany a peaceable democratic country and not to permit Germany's resurgence as an aggressive nation.

The Soviet Government does not take the view that everything necessary in this respect is being done.

It cannot be said that either the democratization or the demilitarization of Germany is now being implemented in full conformity with the decisions adopted by the Allies. We think, however, that the aim of converting Germany into a peaceful and democratic State which in time will hold a worthy place among peaceable nations, can be achieved only by following the path of genuine democratization of Germany together with implementing her demilitarization. Any other road can lead only to temporary, unstable success, but it cannot serve to attain our chief aim—that of averting the resurgence in the centre of Europe of a hotbed of extremely dangerous aggression in the form of a revived militaristic Germany.

There are plans to put an end to Germany as an independent State. Some of these plans approach this aim directly, others in a roundabout way. The Soviet Union does not share these plans for destroying Germany as an independent State and regards such schemes as historically groundless and not in accord with the interests of the peoples who are striving for a durable peace.

On Victory-over-Germany Day, May 9, 1945, Generalissimo Stalin addressed the people. In his address he said: "The Soviet Union is celebrating victory, though it does not

intend either to dismember or destroy Germany." That is the position of the U.S.S.R.

Germany cannot be destroyed as a State, nor can highly industrialized Germany be converted into a deindustrialized backward country. The pursuance of this policy not only runs counter to the interests of the rehabilitation of European and world economy, but would lead to a dislocation of Germany's political life, thus creating a threat to universal peace and tranquility.

There are all sorts of plans to dismember Germany: federalize Germany, separate Western Germany from the rest of German territory, etc. All of these schemes, in the final analysis, express the same aim of destroying Germany as an independent State. The realization of such plans is incompatible with the task of democratizing Germany and with the interests of universal peace and tranquility.

The motive usually advanced today in defence of the idea of federalizing Germany, is the need to weaken the German State. This is regarded as practically the only way of forestalling Germany's revival as an aggressive power. It is not, however, difficult to discern how unsound this position is.

It must be admitted that federalization will, of course, weaken Germany. This cannot be denied. Federalization will give the victorious Allies a temporary advantage. In the light of today's interests this advantage is obvious.

But if we regard the question from the point of view of tomorrow's interests, federalization presents a serious danger. If we consider not only tactical advantages for the immediate future, but look ahead, the policy of federalizing Germany is not justified by the interests of the democratic countries.

By adopting the principle of federalizing Germany, the Allies will undermine the faith of the German people in their policy. In that case the idea of a united Germany which, it appears, is dear to the German people, would become the possession of the German militarists, who seek

to re-establish Germany as a militaristic country that would dominate other nations. The proclamation of a policy of federalization by the Allies would result in the militarists assuming leadership of the movement for uniting Germany and they would try to win over the German people for their own purposes. As a result of this, the idea of revenge would crop up again, chauvinism, which finds such fertile soil in Germany, would flourish, and the conditions would be created for the appearance of new Bismarcks and even new Hitlers.

The history of Germany teaches us how dangerous it is to leave the idea of the unification of Germany in the hands of German militarists. Should the aspirations of the German people for a unified Germany once more become a tool in the hands of the German militarists, who are still very much alive, the Allied policy of reorganizing Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis will be doomed to failure.

Federalization can create also other difficulties for the Allied Powers in Germany.

In a federalized Germany there will be no Central German Government, capable of bearing the responsibility for the fulfilment by Germany of her obligations to the Allies. Yet, the Allies must not assume moral responsibility for everything that takes place in Germany. Appropriate responsibility should be borne by a German Government endowed with the necessary powers. The situation in this respect can be explained by citing the example of Japan. We know that Japan has its own Government, though supreme power rests with the Allied Occupation Authorities. We could cite other examples as well.

All this argues against the Allies imposing federalization on the German people. It will be a different matter if the German people themselves declare in favour of the federalization of Germany, if they decide this question by means of a free vote without outside pressure. In that event this should not be opposed by the Allied Powers, which should endeavour to strengthen their support among the German people, and

simultaneously to ensure the fulfilment by Germany of all her obligations to the Allies.

It is sometimes said that the principle of the federalization of Germany follows from the decisions of the Potsdam Conference on the decentralization of Germany's state administration. This reference, however, cannot be considered as founded on fact.

When in the summer of 1945 the Potsdam Conference decided that it was necessary to decentralize the political structure of Germany, it was dealing with a Germany that had just been liberated from Hitlerism and had not yet liquidated the centralized Hitler state administration, which had destroyed the Landtags and the autonomous authority of the Lands. Under those conditions the task was to re-establish the decentralized administration existing prior to the establishment of the Hitler regime, when there were Landtags and two all-German representative Chambers. The task then was to re-establish the democratic agencies of local self-government, to revive the activities of the democratic parties and, following that, to re-establish district and provincial administrations as well as the administrations of the Lands. The Potsdam Conference decisions contain no mention of the federalization of Germany. At the time this question was not even discussed.

Today the situation is altogether different. Elections to local self-government bodies have already been held throughout the whole of Germany, democratic parties, free trade unions and other democratic organizations have appeared and have begun activities. In many Lands elections to Landtags have been held. It is presumed that elections to the Landtags will soon be completed in all the Lands. In this respect the decisions of the Potsdam Conference have, on the whole, been successfully fulfilled.

The decisions of the Potsdam Conference provided, however, for the formation of several Central German Administrative Departments. In this respect, the decisions of the Potsdam Conference have remained unfulfilled, though

the need for setting up such Central German Departments has long been felt.

Further postponement in the establishment of these Central Departments hampers, first of all, the implementation of measures designed to achieve Germany's economic unity. The Soviet Government therefore considers that the establishment of these Central German Departments, as well as the introduction of measures preparatory to the establishment of a Provisional German Government, brook no delay. This is demanded by the necessity of carrying through the economic and political measures of the Allies correctly and on an all-German scale. It also meets the need to ensure that Germany fulfills her obligations to the Allies.

In accordance with the observations I have made, I submit for the consideration of the Council of Foreign Ministers the following proposals:

I

ON THE FORM AND SCOPE OF THE PROVISIONAL POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF GERMANY

The task of establishing a provisional political organization of Germany must be worked out on the basis of the following principles:

- a) Germany's political structure must have a democratic character and the organs of power must be established on the basis of democratic elections;
- b) The centralized Hitler state administration which destroyed the Landtags and the autonomous administration of the Lands must be abolished so that the decentralized administration that existed prior to the advent of the Hitler regime shall be re-established, with the revival of the Landtags and of two all-German Chambers;
- c) Such a Provisional German Government must be established that while guaranteeing Germany's political and economic unity, it can at the same time assume responsi-

bility for fulfilling Germany's obligations to the Allied States.

Proceeding from the above it is proposed:

1. As a first step towards forming a Provisional German Government, Central German Administrative Departments dealing with finance, industry, transport, communications and foreign trade shall be instituted in accordance with the Potsdam decision.
2. The Control Council shall be instructed to draw up a provisional democratic Constitution, enlisting for this work the democratic parties, free trade unions and other anti-Nazi organizations and representatives of the Lands.
3. Elections shall be held in accordance with the provisional German Constitution, after which a Provisional German Government shall be formed.
4. In accordance with the Potsdam Conference decisions the German Government is to be charged, as its basic tasks, with the eradication of the remnants of German militarism and fascism, the implementation of comprehensive democratization of Germany and the carrying out of measures designed to rehabilitate German economy, and also with the unconditional fulfilment of Germany's obligations to the Allied States.
5. The permanent Constitution of Germany shall be approved by the German people.

II

ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE GERMAN STATE

1. Germany shall be re-established as a single peaceable State—a democratic Republic with an all-German Parliament consisting of two Chambers and an all-German Government, the constitutional rights of Lands forming the German State to be guaranteed.
2. The President of the German Republic shall be elected by the Parliament.
3. An all-German Constitution adopted by the Parliament shall be in force throughout the whole territory of Germany.

In the several Lands, Land Constitutions adopted by the Landtags shall be in force.

4. The German Constitution, as well as the Land Constitutions, shall be based on democratic principles. They shall consolidate Germany's development as a democratic and peaceful State.

5. The all-German Constitution and the Land Constitutions shall guarantee the free formation and activity of all democratic parties, as well as of trade unions and other public democratic organizations and institutions.

6. The all-German Constitution and the Land Constitutions shall guarantee to all citizens of Germany, regardless of race, sex, language and creed, the democratic freedoms, including freedom of speech, press, religious worship, assembly and association.

7. The Parliament and the Landtags shall be elected on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot and under the system of proportional representation.

8. Local self-government agencies (district and communal councils) shall be elected on the same democratic principles as the Landtags.

THE FORM AND SCOPE OF THE PROVISIONAL POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF GERMANY

*Proposal of the U.S.S.R. Delegation at the Fourth Session
of the Council of Foreign Ministers
April 2, 1947.*

1. Germany's political structure must have a democratic character and the organs of power must be established on the basis of democratic elections, similar to what was provided for by the Constitution of Weimar, the rights and duties of the President being limited however to those exercised by the head of a constitutional state without independent executive authority.

2. As a first step toward forming a Provisional German Government, Central German Administrative Departments dealing with finance, industry, transport, communications and foreign trade shall be established in accordance with the Potsdam decisions.

THE GERMAN PEACE TREATY

*Statement by V. M. Molotov at the Fifth Session
of the Council of Foreign Ministers
November 26, 1947*

We have decided to consider six questions, which we have placed on our agenda. Among them are several questions relating to Germany, and also the Austrian treaty. These questions are not of equal importance. The Soviet delegation proposes that the first place on the agenda of our session should be assigned to the question regarding the preparation of the peace treaty with Germany. Since it would appear that there are objections to this, I shall give a more detailed statement of our reasons.

The Soviet Government considers that the preparation of a peace treaty with Germany cannot be postponed any longer. I need only point out that more than two and a half years have passed since the surrender of Germany, yet no move has been made in this matter.

We have spent a lot of time in preparing five peace treaties with Germany's former allies, and, all things considered, this work has in the end been successfully accomplished. The peace treaties with Italy, Roumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland have now come into force. The peoples of these countries now have before them prospects of peaceful development, which will not only meet the aspirations of these peoples, but will also promote the establishment of lasting peace in Europe.

The time has now come to decide the question of a peace settlement for Germany. No one will understand it if the Council of Ministers continues to defer a decision on this

question and relegates it to the category of secondary matters at our meetings.

At the same time we must solve the Austrian question too. This is also one of the tasks of the present session of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

We have decided to discuss at this session of the Council a number of questions relating to Germany. Among them are important questions of a current nature to which we must devote serious attention. But the basic question for Germany is that of the peace treaty. Up to the present it has been difficult to deal with this question, because the Council has been occupied with a number of other urgent matters. It would, on the other hand, now be inadmissible to shelve this question indefinitely.

The problem of the peace treaty with Germany is, as we all realize, the problem of the future of Germany, and is at the same time linked up with the problem of the full establishment of peace in Europe. It is not Germany only which needs this peace treaty. The treaty is needed by all the peoples of Europe, and not of Europe only. Can anyone deny that the peoples of Europe desire that lasting peace should finally be established throughout the whole of Europe? And this is quite understandable since there can be no world-wide peace unless peace is fully established in Europe.

Of course, the question of the peace settlement with Germany is not a simple matter, and in the course of considering this question, differences of one kind or another will arise between us. But postponing the question will in no way simplify the situation.

We know that in the post-war period, differences of opinion on various questions of international importance have been emerging between the Soviet Union and the democratic countries friendly to her, on the one side, and the United States of America and certain Western European States, on the other. In this respect there is a great difference between the situation which prevailed during the war and that which has obtained since the war ended. How are

these existing differences to be explained? On what are they based?

During the Second World War Great Britain, the United States of America, the Soviet Union and other democratic States formed a coalition against Hitler, and jointly fought a war of liberation against the camp of the fascist states which were striving for world domination and for the establishment of the fascist system throughout the world. This struggle united them, and made it possible for many complicated international problems to be solved. I need only refer to such events as the Conferences of the Three Allied Powers at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam; the notable decisions there taken form an important contribution to the history of nations.

The situation changed after the Second World War, when it became clear that the former members of the anti-fascist coalition had different aims in the matter of building up the post-war world.

It then became clear also that some countries were striving to establish a *democratic* peace—a peace founded on the equal rights of nations and on recognition of the sovereignty of States both great and small. Such a peace makes it possible to develop peaceful collaboration between States, even though their social systems and ideologies are different. The establishment of a democratic peace means also that the defeated countries too have a right to free democratic development, and to the full restitution of their independence.

It then became clear, at the same time, that other countries were striving to establish not a democratic but an *imperialistic* peace, which implies the domination of certain strong Powers over other peoples, great and small, in disregard of their rights and national sovereignty. It is not difficult to understand that the establishment of an imperialistic peace will inevitably lead to countries being divided into two categories: the dominant Powers, on the one hand, and the subject and enslaved States, on the other. This in

turn will lead to new international conflicts and wars, which are fraught with the danger of a third world war.

The attempt to establish an imperialistic peace was, of course, bound to be resisted by many democratic States. I will not deny that the Soviet Union takes its stand entirely on the side of those who are trying to establish a democratic peace and who are fighting against the attempt to impose an imperialistic peace on the world. An imperialistic peace cannot be lasting. A lasting peace can only be one based on democratic principles.

This shows where the root of the disagreement between the Allies of yesterday lies.

The same applies also to the question of the German peace settlement.

The peace treaty with Germany must settle Germany's future for a long time to come. The question naturally arises: will this treaty be founded on the principles of a democratic peace, or an imperialistic peace?

The Soviet Union, which is giving effect to the Lenin-Stalin peace policy, considers that the answer to this question is clear. There can only be one answer: the peace treaty with Germany must be based on the principles of a democratic peace, and must promote the economic recovery of Germany and her future re-establishment as an independent democratic State. In a word, the peace treaty with Germany must be based on the principles which underlay the decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences of the Allied Powers on the question of Germany. On the basis of those decisions we must ensure the demilitarization and democratization of Germany, and, at the same time, ensure the fulfilment by Germany of her obligations towards the other countries which were victims of hitlerite aggression. If framed on this basis the peace treaty will enable Germany herself, after overcoming her present temporary difficulties, to set her feet firmly on the path of economic recovery, and will enable her to become a democratic and peace-loving country. The Four Powers, which control

present-day Germany, bear the main responsibility for the proper settlement of these problems which are of great importance to the peoples of the whole world.

There is, of course, also another plan for Germany which is aimed at preventing her economic recovery for fear that Germany may become a competitor on the European and world markets. This is the plan implicit in a policy aimed at weakening Germany economically and destroying her as a single state, though this may not be openly stated. In this case, an effort will be made to exploit Germany by those Powers which need a particular area of Germany as a base for the development, primarily, of war industry, and which need the reactionary forces of Germany as a support for a policy, which is aimed at dominating the democratic countries of Europe, and is directed against the growth of democracy in the European countries liberated from fascism. Clearly, this policy also aims at establishing an imperialistic peace in this case also. From the standpoint of the interests of democracy and peace in Europe, this is a dangerous plan. Such a plan, directed against the re-establishment of Germany as a single democratic state, and against the vital interests of the German people, can be of assistance only to the German reactionaries and advocates of revenge, who are ready to champion the idea of unifying Germany and to exploit it for purposes of revenge in the hope of re-establishing an aggressive and imperialistic Germany.

There should be no support for such a plan for Germany in the democratic countries. Still less should there be support in the democratic countries for a plan which would mean an attempt to use a particular area of Germany, as a military or war-industrial base for future military adventures in Europe, or as a support for reactionary forces in Europe against the progressive democratic forces in Germany and other European countries. Only the advocates of an imperialistic peace can support the realization of such a plan for Germany, which, however, is bound to be resisted

by many democratic countries. Naturally, the Soviet Union, which has steadfastly defended, and will continue to defend, the cause of the re-establishment of a democratic peace in Europe and beyond, will also consistently oppose this plan for Germany.

In preparing the peace treaty with Germany we will, first, have to decide two fundamental questions. The preparation of the peace treaty with Germany will be successful if correct decisions are taken, firstly, on the question of forming an all-German democratic government, and, secondly, on the question of the future peace conference for the discussion of that treaty. Of course, there are other questions connected with the preparation of the peace treaty. But the two principal questions mentioned above will be of decisive importance.

We have a basis also for the solution of these questions.

The Potsdam Conference, when setting up the Council of Foreign Ministers, plainly stated that "the Council shall be utilized for the preparation of a peace settlement for Germany, a corresponding document to be accepted by the Government of Germany when a government adequate for the purpose is established." This decision of the Potsdam Conference must be implemented. The question of forming an all-German democratic government cannot be any longer deferred. Such delay is prejudicial not only to the German people but also to the other European nations interested in the speediest possible establishment of a lasting peace throughout Europe.

As regards the Peace Conference, we should now come to an agreement regarding its composition. Last year, at the New York session of the Council of Foreign Ministers, we unanimously agreed which countries should be asked to join in preliminary consultations on the preparation of the peace treaty with Germany. It was decided then that, in addition to the Five Great Powers, the Allied States which are neighbours of Germany, as well as the other Allied States which participated with their armed forces in the

war against Germany should be invited to take part in the consultations. Proposals have since been put forward which are in complete contradiction with the proposals adopted by the Council of Foreign Ministers in New York. If we do not wish to go back on our agreement, we should stick to this New York decision. It would not be difficult then to decide who should take part in the consultations on the preparation of the peace treaty, and to decide the question of the composition of the Peace Conference itself.

All the other questions relating to the preparation of the peace treaty could be settled without much delay, if a decision were reached on the two principal questions above. Unless they are decided it will be impossible to complete the preparation of the peace treaty with Germany.

Everything I have said has been said, firstly, in order to show the importance of the decision we took yesterday—to discuss the preparation of the peace treaty with Germany—and, secondly, to draw the Council's attention to the principal questions which arise in that connection. In view of the importance of the problem, the Soviet delegation urges that it be discussed before all the other questions relating to Germany.

I would recall that, as long ago as April 1946, the Government of the United States pressed for the speediest possible preparation of a peace treaty with Germany. The British and French delegations also associated themselves with this proposal.

At that time, however, it was impossible to do this, since general attention was concentrated on the preparation of the first five peace treaties. But now, at the end of 1947, we are fully able to devote our undivided attention to the preparation of the peace treaty with Germany, without further postponing under any pretext this important question.

The Soviet Government considers that the preparation of the peace treaty with Germany should be expedited, and proposes that this question should be given priority over

other questions on the agenda of the present session of the Council. We do so because we consider that it is not only the Soviet Union which is interested in expediting the restoration of peace throughout Europe. This is certainly a matter of interest to the other peoples of Europe, and not of Europe alone.

All this gives me grounds for hoping that our proposals will be supported by the other delegations also.

THE PREPARATION OF A PEACE TREATY WITH GERMANY

*Proposal of the U.S.S.R. Delegation at the Fifth Session
of the Council of Foreign Ministers
November 27, 1947*

Two and a half years have passed since the capitulation of Germany and the end of the war in Europe. More than two years have passed since Japan surrendered and the Second World War ended.

Nevertheless, no start has been made so far on the preparation either of the peace treaty with Germany, or the peace treaty with Japan. Yet there can be no lasting and world-wide peace without having a peace settlement both for Germany and Japan.

In the light of the joint decisions previously adopted by our Governments the Council of Foreign Ministers should consider it to be a matter of urgency, so far as Europe is concerned, to begin the preparation of the German peace treaty, and, in doing so, to consider both questions relating to the procedure for the preparation of the peace treaty with Germany, and the fundamental problems of the peace treaty itself.

The U.S.S.R. Delegation proposes that the Council of Foreign Ministers should, in the first instance, consider the following fundamental questions, relating to the preparation of the peace treaty with Germany:

- (a) Establishment of a democratic government for the whole of Germany;
- (b) Peace Conference for examining the Draft German Peace Treaty;
- (c) Basic directives for the framing of the peace treaty.

In this connection the Soviet Delegation makes the following proposals:

1. To recognize the urgency of forming a democratic government for the whole of Germany in accordance with the decisions of the Potsdam Conference.
2. To decide that at the Peace Conference Germany shall be given an opportunity to express her opinion in regard to the peace treaty.
3. The peace treaty shall be signed by the German Government and submitted by it for ratification to the German Parliament.
4. The Peace Conference shall consist of representatives of the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, the United States of America, France, China, and of representatives of the Allied States which are neighbours of Germany, and also of representatives of the Allied States which participated with their armed forces in the common struggle against Germany, namely: Albania, Australia, Belgium, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Greece, India, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of South Africa and Yugoslavia.
5. To base the peace treaty with Germany on the decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences.

**THE PREPARATION OF A PEACE TREATY
WITH GERMANY**

*Proposal of the U.S.S.R. Delegation at the Fifth Session
of the Council of Foreign Ministers
November 27, 1947*

Paragraph 1 of the Soviet Delegation's proposal of 27th November, 1947* should be amended by the addition of the following sentence:

"The Council of Foreign Ministers considers the proposals for the formation of a government for particular zones of Germany to be incorrect, as this is at variance with the views of the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and France on the necessity of setting up a government for the whole of Germany which should represent Germany as a single democratic State."

* See preceding document, p. 34.

**PROPOSAL OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT
THAT THE FOUR POWERS WITHIN A PERIOD
OF TWO MONTHS SUBMIT DRAFTS TO SERVE
AS THE BASIS OF A PEACE TREATY
WITH GERMANY**

*Excerpt From Comrade V. M. Molotov's Statement
at the Fifth Session of the Council of Foreign Ministers
December 3, 1947*

The Soviet Government proposes that the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain, France and the U.S.S.R. within a period of two months submit to the Council of Foreign Ministers drafts to serve as the basis of a peace treaty with Germany, each Government, of course, doing so in the manner it deems proper. Should this proposal be adopted the Soviet Government undertakes within the period of two months to submit to the Council of Foreign Ministers a draft of the Essentials of a Peace Treaty With Germany.

**THE SETTING UP OF AN ADVISORY COUNCIL
IN BERLIN**

*Proposal of the U.S.S.R. Delegation at the Fifth Session
of the Council of Foreign Ministers
December 15, 1947*

Recognizing that the absence of an all-German representative body, to express the opinion of the democratic public of the whole of Germany, and not only that of any particular zone or separate Land, has an adverse effect on the fulfilling of the tasks of reorganizing the political and economic life of Germany on a democratic and peaceful footing, the Council of Foreign Ministers consider it imperative that a German Consultative Council be formed in Berlin.

**DECLARATION ON THE DECISIONS
OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE
ON GERMANY**

*Adopted by the Foreign Ministers of the U.S.S.R.,
Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia,
Poland, Roumania and Hungary at a Conference
in Warsaw, on June 24, 1948*

On June 7, a communiqué was issued in connection with the conclusion of the London conference of the three Powers—the U.S.A., Great Britain and France—on the German question. The communiqué outlines the decisions adopted at this secret conference with respect to Germany on major political and economic questions, as well as on the question of altering Germany's western borders. However, reports which have appeared in the press indicate that certain other decisions were taken at the conference of which the communiqué makes no mention.

The London conference was convened in violation of the Potsdam Agreement, which stipulated that questions affecting Germany are to be decided by the Four Powers—the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., Great Britain and France—and which entrusted the examination of these questions to the Council of Foreign Ministers, composed of representatives of these Powers. Nor can the fact be ignored that the Benelux countries (Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg) were invited to this separate conference of the three Powers, although such states as Poland and Czechoslovakia, which border on Germany, as well as other directly interested countries, were not represented at the conference.

The convening of the London separate conference on the German question indicates that its sponsors, the Govern-

ments of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France, have made it their object to eliminate the Council of Foreign Ministers established by the Potsdam Conference, as well as the Four-Power control machinery in Germany instituted earlier by agreement of the Four Powers. This violation of earlier agreements on the German question between the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and France, as well as the violation of the obligation to consult with interested countries, is being committed in the sight of all, and is leading to the disruption of the Potsdam Agreement to demilitarize and democratically reconstruct Germany with a view to preventing a recrudescence of German aggression.

These violations of the existing agreements on Germany affect the vital interests not only of the Four Powers occupying Germany and of the states which were the victims of German aggression, but also the interests of all European countries which are anxious to secure firm and lasting peace in Europe.

As is generally known, the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements were aimed at the disarmament of Germany and the elimination of her war industry, at destroying the very foundations of German militarism and preventing the re-emergence of Germany as an aggressive power, and, hence, at transforming Germany into a peaceable and democratic State. Furthermore, the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements obligated Germany to pay reparations, and thereby compensate, at least in part, for the damage caused to the countries which suffered from German aggression.

But the decisions of the London conference of three Powers and Benelux pursue different objectives. These decisions discard the task of demilitarizing and democratically reconstructing Germany and converting her into a peaceable and democratic State, and make no mention whatsoever of Germany's reparations obligations. The London decisions are designed, not to avert a repetition of German aggression, but to transform the western part of Germany, and particularly the heavy industry of the Ruhr, into an instru-

ment for the rebuilding of Germany's war potential, to be used for the furtherance of the strategical aims of the United States and Great Britain. It stands to reason that such a plan cannot but create favourable conditions for a recrudescence of German aggression.

At the same time, the London conference decisions reveal the true significance of the "Western military alliance" recently formed by the Governments of Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg under the aegis of the United States. Even more frankly than the "Western military alliance" composed of the aforesaid five states, the London conference, in which the U.S.A. also participated, set itself aims quite different from the prevention of a repetition of German aggression. Recognizing that it was impossible to involve all Germany in the strategical plans of the U.S.A. and Great Britain, the London conference aimed at making the Western zones of Germany the basis of these plans, by severing these zones from the rest of Germany.

1. The decisions of the London conference are designed to consummate the division and dismemberment of Germany. Renouncing even the verbal recognition of the political and economic unity of Germany earlier professed by the Governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France, the London conference made preparations for the establishment of a government for the western part of Germany, which has been severed, by the separate actions of the aforementioned Powers, from the rest of the country. For this purpose the convening of a hand-picked Constituent Assembly is envisaged, composed of representatives of the Lands in the British, American and French zones of occupation, which is to ensure the setting up in the western part of Germany of a puppet government consisting of German elements who meet with the favour of the occupation authorities in the Western zones and who are connected by close ties with the American and British capitalist monopolies, but who are not connected with the German people and are inimical to its

democratic aspirations. This means that the U.S.A., Great Britain and France have compacted to split and dismember Germany politically and economically, and to establish in the Western zones a separate government which is to oppose the legitimate demand of the German people for the unity and democratic reconstruction of Germany.

In addition to the above-mentioned measures for the political division and dismemberment of Germany, the Governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France are now implementing new measures for the economic division and dismemberment of Germany. Immediately after the conclusion of the London conference, the Governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France began to carry out a separate currency reform in the Western zones of Germany, proclaimed on June 18, although the aforesaid communiqué made no mention of the decisions taken by the London conference on this score. The separate currency reform was carried out in the Western zones of Germany notwithstanding the obvious necessity for a single currency reform for the whole of Germany to be carried out by agreement between the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., Great Britain and France, as the Soviet Government has proposed.

Instead of the hitherto existing single currency system, with one mark for the whole of Germany, as originally established by agreement between the Four Powers, the Governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France have, by separate action, carried out a currency reform and established a special mark for the western part of Germany. From the point of view of economic relations, this erects a wall between the western part of Germany and the rest of the country, and creates numerous new obstacles to the repair of the economic disruption and to Germany's economic recovery. The entire currency reform in the Western zones of Germany is designed to benefit the big property owners, and especially those German monopolies which are closely connected with the American and British capitalist monopolies, and this threatens a growth of unemployment and

deterioration of the material conditions of the working people in Western Germany, and will create new difficulties in economic relations with other countries.

Such are the inevitable consequences of the London conference, whose decisions make for the consummation of the economic and political division and dismemberment of Germany.

2. The policy of splitting and dismembering Germany is frustrating the conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany, without which it is impossible to put an end to the protracted state of war and to the occupation regime in Europe. It is not fortuitous that in the communiqué of the London conference not a word is said of the peace treaty with Germany and the question of preparing the peace treaty is not even touched upon.

The decisions of the London conference of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France, with the participation of Benelux, confirm that the Governments of these Powers and the German circles closely connected with them are not interested in the speedy conclusion of the German peace treaty, nor in the early withdrawal of the occupation forces from Germany.

Instead of a peace settlement for the whole of Germany, the Governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France have prepared the way for a so-called occupation statute for the Western zones of Germany, at which the London communiqué hints in deliberately vague terms. Whereas the interests of all peace-loving nations demand the speedy conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany, which would terminate the occupation regime in that country and return the German people to conditions of peaceful and democratic development, the Governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France do not want to permit the speedy conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany and are endeavouring to impose their "occupation statute" on the Western zones of Germany, in order arbitrarily to prolong the occupation of Germany and to make the German people bear the burden of the occupation expenses for many years to come. This pol-

icy of the American, British and French authorities, which makes for the enthrallment of the German population and the postponement of the peace settlement in Europe, is incompatible with the task of reconstructing Germany into a peaceful and democratic state, it is likewise incompatible with the desire of the peoples for the speedy establishment of democratic peace in Europe.

3. The decisions of the London conference regarding the political structure of the Western zones of Germany are imbued with an anti-democratic spirit. The entire work of convening the so-called Constituent Assembly and framing a German Constitution is entrusted to the three military governors and the Prime Ministers of the Lands in the Western zones of occupation. Democratic parties, trade unions and other democratic organizations representing the interests of the German people are to be allowed no share whatever in this work.

The peace and security of the nations of Europe demand the liquidation of the Nazi centralized administration of Germany—which abolished the Landtags and the autonomous governments of the Lands—and the restoration of the decentralized administration which existed before the Hitler regime, the re-establishment of the Landtags and a two-chamber Parliament for all Germany. This will ensure the unity of Germany and the reformation of the German State on peaceful and democratic lines, provided the democratic organizations are allowed freedom of activity.

The decisions of the London conference aim in an entirely different direction.

On the pretext of preventing the resurgence of a centralized Reich, the London conference would throw Germany back to the past and force upon the German people a federal form of state, in which the chief power is assigned to the separate Lands while the general government of the state is limited to minor functions, although this runs counter to the modern trend of development of democratic states.

The aim of the Anglo-French-American plan is to dis-

member Germany, which leads to the destruction of the independent state of Germany. The implementation of this plan for the federalization (dismemberment) of Germany entrusts the championship of the unification of Germany to the German chauvinists and revanchists, who are out to restore Germany as a militarist country dominating over other nations. The result will be that the idea of revenge will raise its head, chauvinism, for which there is a favourable soil in Germany, will gather strength, and the conditions will be created for the emergence of new Bismarcks and even of new Hitlers. If the urge of the German people for a united Germany again becomes a weapon in the hands of the German chauvinists and militarists, who have already received plenty of encouragement from the occupation authorities in the Western zones of Germany, this will inevitably lead to a repetition of German aggression, with the direst consequences for the peoples of Europe, including the people of Germany. This compels the peace-loving nations to take more effective measures to combat the instigators of a new war.

4. The policy of the occupying powers in the Western zones of Germany encourages the German revisionist elements. The latter are campaigning against the agreements concluded at the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences regarding the democratic reconstruction and demilitarization of Germany and her obligation to compensate for damage caused by German aggression, and against the decisions regarding the settlement of German populations, whom they are endeavouring to utilize for purposes hostile to neighbouring states.

In particular, the German revisionist elements are campaigning against the Polish-German frontier on the Oder and the Western Neisse, which is an inviolable frontier—a frontier of peace.

The London conference ignored the revisionist campaign, thereby encouraging the aggressive trends in German reactionary circles. Under these circumstances, the

adoption of measures against all or any revisionist activity is a cardinal condition for the fortification of the peace and security of the peoples of Europe.

5. The decisions of the London three-Power conference subordinate the economy of Western Germany to the aims of the United States and Great Britain, making it dependent on the implementation of the so-called Marshall plan in Europe. This means that the industry and other branches of the economy of Western Germany will be fettered to the plans of the American, as well as the British, capitalist monopolies, which are endeavouring to bring the entire economic life of the Western zones of Germany under their sway, and are not in the least interested in the real recovery and progress of Germany's peace industry, which they regard as a competitor.

The aim of this expansionist policy is still further to increase the dependence of the Marshall plan countries on the American and British monopolies.

The recovery and development of Germany's peace industry, far from being inimical to the interests of other nations, would help to promote the economic recovery of Europe. The German people must be given wide opportunity to rehabilitate and develop their peace industry, agriculture, transport and foreign trade, for otherwise Germany cannot exist and cannot discharge her reparations obligations toward the countries which suffered from German aggression. Furthermore, Four-Power control must be retained for a definite period, so as to prevent the revival of Germany's war industry and of German militarism. The inclusion of the economy of the Western zones of Germany in the Marshall plan implies the inclusion of this part of Germany in the process of the division of Europe, in accordance with the Marshall plan, into two camps: the European states which have accepted the Marshall plan and, as a consequence, have come under the control of the United States, on the one hand, and, on the other, the European countries, to which belong the U.S.S.R. and the people's democratic re-

publics, which refuse to consent to foreign interference in their domestic affairs.

Thus the London conference not only consummates the plan for the division and dismemberment of Germany; it at the same time, in accordance with the Marshall plan, still further widens the split of the countries of Europe into two opposite camps. Obviously, this policy has nothing in common with the true interests of the peoples of Europe, with Europe's economic recovery. It stands to reason that this policy of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France places the economy of the Western zones of Germany in an intolerable state of subordination to the expansionist plans of foreign capital, which is not in the least concerned for the interests of a democratic Germany.

6. The London conference adopted a special decision on the Ruhr. It has been decided to set up a special agency, composed of representatives of the Powers which participated in the London conference to control the allocation of Ruhr coal, coke and steel; this agency, however, is not to exercise control over the production of coal, coke or steel, which ensures the perpetuation of the dominating position of the American and British financial and industrial monopolies in the Ruhr industries.

Thus, instead of making the coal and steel trusts and cartels of the Ruhr the property of the German people, on which the Soviet Union and the other participants in this conference insist, the Governments of the U.S.A. and Great Britain are actually retaining the heavy industry of the Ruhr in their own hands, without allowing any share of control over production to France or the U.S.S.R., or any influence to the German democratic organizations. This facilitates the possibility of a deal between the American and British monopolies, on the one hand, and the German coal and steel magnates of the Ruhr, on the other, thus creating the possibility for the rebuilding of Germany's war potential and the creation of a base for new German aggression.

It will be easily seen that such a policy is absolutely incompatible with the interests of peace, with the interests of the German people and the other peoples of Europe. Only if the heavy industry of the Ruhr is turned over to the German people and control over the production and allocation of the products of Ruhr industry is established for a certain period by the Four Powers—the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., Great Britain and France—which together can ensure the development of the Ruhr industry exclusively for peaceful purposes, will it be possible to solve the Ruhr problem in the interest of the peace and security of the peoples of Europe.

7. From all that has been said it will be seen that the London decisions are a gross violation of the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements concerning the unity of Germany, the demilitarization, denazification and democratization of Germany, the destruction of her war potential, and the elimination of conditions which might facilitate a recrudescence of German aggression.

In view of this, it must be admitted that the assertion of the London communiqué that the London decisions should facilitate eventual agreement among the Four Powers on the question of Germany is absolutely unfounded. This is obvious if only from the fact that the London decisions completely contradict the earlier decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences, violating both the agreement to establish Four-Power control machinery for Germany, and the agreement that the German question shall be examined in the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers. The London three-Power separate conference, with the participation of Benelux, and the London separate decisions of these Powers not only fail to facilitate agreement between the Four Powers on the German question but undermine the confidence of nations in international agreements in which the U.S.A. and Great Britain participate. Surely, violation of international agreements cannot create confidence in their violators.

In view of the aforesaid, we refuse to regard the decisions of the London conference as having lawful validity or moral authority.

8. In conformity with the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements on the question of Germany, the Governments of the U.S.S.R., Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Roumania and Hungary consider it urgent and essential to settle, first and foremost, the following questions:

First, the adoption of measures, by agreement between Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., France and the U.S.A., which will guarantee the completion of the demilitarization of Germany.

Second, the establishment, for a definite period, of control by the Four Powers—Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., France and the U.S.A.—over the heavy industry of the Ruhr, with a view to developing the peace industries of the Ruhr and preventing the rebuilding of Germany's war potential.

Third, the formation, by agreement between the Governments of Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., France and the U.S.A., of a provisional democratic and peaceable all-German government, composed of representatives of German democratic parties and organizations, with the purpose of creating a guarantee against the repetition of German aggression.

Fourth, conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany in conformity with the Potsdam decisions, and the withdrawal from Germany of the occupation forces of all the Powers within a year after the conclusion of the peace treaty.

Fifth, the drawing up of measures to ensure the discharge by Germany of her reparations obligations toward the countries which suffered from German aggression.

**THE UNITY OF GERMANY AND THE CONDITIONS
FOR ITS ACHIEVEMENT**

*Proposal of the U.S.S.R.
Delegation at the Sixth Session
of the Council of Foreign Ministers
May 25, 1949*

1. In order to ensure the economic and political Unity of Germany:

- a) The activity of the Control Council to be re-established on its former basis as the organ representing supreme authority in Germany;
- b) The Interallied Kommandatura of Berlin to be re-established for the coordination of measures concerning the administration of the whole city of Berlin and for ensuring the normal life of Berlin as a whole.

2. Considering, at the same time, that the realization of the economic and political Unity of Germany is impossible without the creation of a single Central German Organ whose competence would extend to all questions of economic and state organization affecting Germany as a whole, it is essential:

- a) to create, on the basis of the German economic bodies at present existing in the Eastern and Western zones, an all-German State Council as an economic and administrative centre of Germany with

the functions of government in matters of economic and state organization mentioned above, the supreme authority of the Control Council being maintained;

- b) to re-establish the "Magistrat" of Berlin.

The question of the date of election to the Berlin "Magistrat" to be referred to the Interallied Kommandatura of Berlin for consideration.

**THE PREPARATION
OF A GERMAN PEACE TREATY**

*Proposal of the U.S.S.R.
Delegation at the Sixth Session
of the Council of Foreign Ministers
June 10, 1949*

The U.S.S.R. Delegation proposes that the following resolution be adopted:

1. Within a period of three months, the Governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain, France and the U.S.S.R. shall present the Drafts of a Peace Treaty with Germany to the Council of Foreign Ministers.

2. The Draft Peace Treaty with Germany shall provide for the withdrawal of Occupation Forces of all the Powers from Germany within a year from the conclusion of the Peace Treaty;

3. The consideration of the procedure for preparing the Peace Treaty shall be concluded at the current Session of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

**NOTE OF U.S.S.R. GOVERNMENT TO GOVERNMENTS
OF U.S.A., GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE
OF OCTOBER 1, 1949, IN CONNECTION WITH
THE FORMATION OF THE SEPARATE
BONN GOVERNMENT**

In connection with the formation in Bonn on September 20 of this year of a separate government for the American, British and French zones of occupation of Germany, the Soviet Government deems it necessary to state the following:

The formation of a separate government for the Western zones of Germany cannot be qualified otherwise than as completion of the policy of splitting Germany which has been pursued by the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and France during the past few years, in violation of the Potsdam Agreement under which these States, jointly with the Soviet Union, assumed the obligation of treating Germany as one single whole and of facilitating her transformation into a democratic and peace-loving State.

By creating a separate government for Western Germany, the three Powers have thereby also violated the decisions adopted in June of this year at the Paris session of the Foreign Ministers' Council, according to which the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, France and the U.S.S.R. undertook to continue their efforts to achieve the restoration of the economic and political unity of Germany.

This step of the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France constitutes a violation not only of obligations they assumed as regards the preservation of the

unity of Germany but also of obligations concerning the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, inasmuch as the formation of a separate West German State leads to impermissible delay in the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, contrary to the decisions of the Potsdam Conference.

The Soviet Government regards as completely groundless the attempts of the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and France to justify their actions in the creation of a separate government in Bonn as being in the interests of the German population. The facts show that attempts of this nature are without grounds, inasmuch as it is known to all that no one even asked the opinion of the German people on this question, and inasmuch as it is also known that all their measures for the creation of a separate government in Western Germany, including also the so-called "Bonn Constitution," were carried out by the occupation authorities of the three Powers, relying solely on a narrow group of specially hand-picked old reactionary politicians of Western Germany, closely linked with foreign financial circles and dependent on these circles.

The "Bonn Constitution" was drawn up under the direct pressure of the occupation authorities of the Western Powers who, in essence, dictated its main provisions. In doing so a federative system was imposed on the German people with which the majority of the German people is not in agreement. The "Bonn Constitution" not only does not contain any provisions whatever which would restrict the dominating role of the German monopolies and Junkerdom, which were the inspirers and organizers of German aggression and served as the mainstay of the Hitlerite regime, but even frees their hands for further anti-democratic activity.

Characteristic of the "Bonn Constitution" also is the existence of Article 24 in which it is directly pointed out that the West German State can "delegate its sovereign powers to inter-State agencies" and give "consent to restricting its sovereign rights," which clearly converts this puppet "State" into an obedient tool of the Western occupation

authorities in the realization of their aggressive plans in Europe.

In reality the "Bonn Constitution" is merely an appendage of the so-called "Occupation Statute," prescribed for Western Germany by the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and France. The attempt of the three Powers to make it appear that the purpose of this Occupation Statute is to "enable the German people to exercise democratic self-government," as was stated in the communiqué on the Washington negotiations in April of this year, is in complete contradiction to the basic provisions of this Statute.

As is known, under this Statute the major functions of the state administration are the monopoly of the occupation authorities, while the German people in actual fact are omitted from any sort of participation in the carrying out of these functions, not to mention the fact that the introduction of the Occupation Statute is an expression of the policy directed towards thwarting the conclusion of the German peace treaty and an impermissible prolongation of the occupation regime in Germany.

It follows from all this that the formation of the Bonn separate government is incompatible with the decisions of the Potsdam Conference and is a gross violation of these decisions, which are based on the necessity to maintain the unity of Germany on democratic and peace-loving principles. At the same time, it is perfectly obvious that the formation of this separate government is only another and, moreover, far-reaching manifestation of that same policy of splitting Germany which, in violation of decisions of the Potsdam Conference, has been pursued by the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and France during the past three years.

As far back as December 1946, the Governments of the United States of America and Britain concluded an agreement on the fusion of the two zones, thereby grossly violating the agreement of the Four Powers on joint control over

Germany. At that time attempts were made to justify these splitting actions by economic considerations, with references that the fusion of the American and British occupation zones would not allegedly lead to the dismemberment of Germany, nor to thwarting the policy towards Germany earlier agreed upon among the Four Powers.

In reality this act of the Governments of the United States and Great Britain marked the beginning of an open turn in the policy of these States—from the Potsdam Agreement on the unity of Germany to the policy of splitting Germany.

During 1947, further measures were put through in the American and British zones of occupation of Germany directed towards deepening the splitting and dismemberment of Germany, which found expression in particular in the decision of the Anglo-American occupation authorities on the separation of the Ruhr Region from Germany, and the removal of the Ruhr from the control of the Four Powers and its transfer to the control of the United States of America and Great Britain, as well as in separate Anglo-American measures which amounted in actual fact to abandoning the Potsdam decisions on the democratic reconstruction and demilitarization of Germany.

At the London conferences in 1948, the three Powers, with the participation of the Benelux countries, adopted a decision on the implementation of fresh measures for the splitting of Germany. These measures were expressed in the carrying out of a separate currency reform in the Western zones of Germany and in the Western sectors of Berlin, as well as in open preparations for the creation of a government for the Western zones of Germany.

The policy of the splitting and dismemberment of Germany had its culmination in the decisions adopted at the conference of representatives of the United States of America, Great Britain and France in Washington in April, 1949—on the "Occupation Statute" for Western Germany, which has been made the basis of the "Bonn Constitution,"

and also on the formation of a so-called "international authority" for the Ruhr, and in the conclusion of a special agreement on tripartite Anglo-French-American control over Western Germany, which is definitely aimed at the destruction of the basic agreement between the U.S.S.R., the United States of America, Great Britain and France on the quadripartite control machinery in Germany.

Throughout the whole of the past period beginning with 1946, the Soviet Government called the attention of the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and France to the impermissibility of violations of the Potsdam Agreement on the unity of Germany, and to the impermissibility of thwarting the decisions of the Four Powers on the democratic reconstruction and demilitarization of Germany which formed the basis of all joint decisions of the Four Powers on the policy towards Germany. In this connection the Soviet Government pointed to the disastrous consequences of the policy of the three Western Powers of splitting Germany and restoring the dominating position of reactionary, militaristic and revanchist elements in Western Germany, which in the past had been the mainstay of German militarism and the hitlerite regime and which had again raised their heads immediately after the formation of the West German State. Such a policy on the part of the three Powers can be explained only by the fact that it gives expression to the endeavours of certain imperialist circles to utilize Western Germany as a bridgehead for the realization of the aggressive plans of these circles, which transforms Western Germany into a new centre of disturbance in Europe.

For its part, the Soviet Government has waged a tireless struggle against the splitting of Germany, insisting, in conformity with the decisions of the Potsdam Conference, on the setting up of all-German economic agencies as the first step in the formation of an all-German democratic government. More than two years ago, the Soviet Government proposed to the Governments of the United States,

Great Britain and France to begin taking measures necessary for the setting up of a government of democratic Germany and also to begin drafting a German peace treaty. However, the Governments of the three Western Powers rejected these proposals of the Soviet Union, continued to pursue their policy of deepening the splitting of Germany, which led to thwarting the conclusion of a peace treaty and to protracting the occupation of Germany for a long period, not allowing the possibility of establishing a stable peace in Europe.

Finally, at the Paris session of the Foreign Ministers' Council in June of this year, the Governments of the three Western Powers again refused to accept the proposal of the Soviet Union for the formation of an all-German State Council on the basis of German economic agencies already existing in the Eastern and Western zones, as an economic and administrative centre with governmental functions which would have been a first step in the formation of an all-German democratic government. The Governments of the three Western Powers refused also to accept the Soviet Union's proposal on the preparation of a German peace treaty and on the withdrawal of occupation troops from Germany within one year after the conclusion of the peace treaty.

Thus, throughout the past few years, the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and France have not only not fulfilled the obligations they assumed under the Potsdam Agreement, but in direct violation of these obligations have pursued a policy of splitting Germany and of delaying in every way the conclusion of a German peace treaty, breaking the joint agreements of the Four Powers on the democratic reconstruction and demilitarization of Germany, now consummating this anti-democratic policy by the formation of a separate West German Government, which has been put into the hands of yesterday's servitors of the Hitler regime.

The Soviet Government deems it necessary to draw attention to the extremely serious responsibility which rests

with the Government of the United States of America in connection with the policy in Germany pursued by the United States of America jointly with Great Britain and France, which has led to the formation in Bonn of an anti-national separate government that adopts a hostile attitude to the decisions of the Potsdam Conference on the democratic reconstruction and demilitarization of Germany and towards the obligations imposed upon Germany, an attitude incompatible with the interests of the peace-loving peoples of Europe.

At the same time, the Soviet Government deems it necessary to state that inasmuch as the above-mentioned separate government has been formed at Bonn, a new situation has now been created which in Germany at the present time renders of particularly great importance the fulfilment of the tasks for the restoration of the unity of Germany as a democratic and peace-loving State and for ensuring the fulfilment by Germany of the obligations imposed on her by the Potsdam Agreement of the Four Powers.

The Government of the U.S.S.R. is handing Notes of analogous content also to the Governments of Great Britain and France.

**STATEMENT BY CHIEF
OF THE SOVIET MILITARY ADMINISTRATION
IN GERMANY, ARMY GENERAL V. I. CHUIKOV,
IN CONNECTION WITH THE DECISIONS
OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE'S COUNCIL
TO PUT INTO OPERATION THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
AND THE FORMATION IN BERLIN
OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
OF THE GERMAN
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC**

October 10, 1949

The Soviet Government has instructed me to make the following statement in connection with the decisions adopted on October 7, 1949, by the German People's Council on putting into operation the Constitution of the German Democratic Republic and on the establishment in Berlin of a Provisional Government of the German Democratic Republic.

On October 1 the Soviet Government sent to the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France a Note stating the position of the Soviet Union in relation to the situation which has now arisen in Germany in connection with the formation on September 20 of this year of a separate government in the city of Bonn (western part of Germany). At the same time the Soviet Government declared that the formation of the Bonn separate government is a gross violation of the Potsdam decisions, according to which the Governments of the U.S.S.R., the United States, Great Britain and France assumed the obligation to con-

sider Germany as one whole and to contribute towards its transformation into a democratic and peace-loving State, and also the obligation to conclude a peace treaty with Germany.

In compliance with the Potsdam and other joint decisions of the Four Powers, the Soviet Government has invariably endeavoured to prevent the splitting of Germany, directing its efforts towards the fulfilment of these decisions, towards the accomplishment of the democratization and demilitarization of Germany and towards ensuring the fulfilment by Germany of the obligations placed upon her by the Potsdam Agreement of the Four Powers.

It should be clear to all that the accomplishment of the democratization and demilitarization of Germany, based on the active participation of all democratic forces of the German people, is essential in order to prevent the restoration of Germany as an aggressive State, which meets the interests of all peace-loving peoples of Europe and which corresponds to the interests of the German people itself. It is obvious that a situation in which even a part of Germany should fall into the hands of yesterday's inspirers of the Hitler regime is incompatible with the tasks of democratizing and demilitarizing Germany. It is universally evident that these people make no secret of their hostile attitude to neighbouring countries and to democratic Germany itself, and that they are imbued with open revanchist yearnings, being today, in the western part of Germany, the direct instrument of aggressive foreign circles.

The Soviet Government is confident that the German people will find ways for the restoration of the unity of Germany, which is at present violated, and will achieve the unity of the German State on a democratic and peaceful basis. The partition of Germany cannot continue for long, inasmuch as this situation is in contradiction to the deepest aspirations of the German people.

A whole series of obstacles are placed in the way to the restoration of Germany's unity. For instance, who does

not understand that the puppet "government" set up in Bonn cannot help to restore a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany? On the contrary, the formation of the Bonn government is intended only to deepen the split of Germany.

Under such conditions one cannot help but recognize as legitimate the striving of German democratic circles to take into their own hands the restoration of the unity of Germany and bring about the renaissance of the country on democratic and peace-loving principles. Precisely in this respect does the Soviet Government see the essence of the decisions of the German People's Council on putting into operation the Constitution of the German Democratic Republic and on the formation, in Berlin, of a Provisional Government of the German Democratic Republic.

Moreover, the Soviet Government takes note of the fact that the Provisional Government will abide by the decisions of the Potsdam Conference and will fulfil the obligations arising out of decisions jointly adopted by the Four Powers.

In connection with the above-mentioned decisions of the German People's Council, the Soviet Government has decided to transfer to the Provisional Government of the German Democratic Republic the functions of administration which hitherto belonged to the Soviet Military Administration.

In the place of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany, a Soviet Control Commission will be established charged with exercising control over the fulfilment of the Potsdam and other joint decisions of the Four Powers in respect to Germany.

**THE PRAGUE STATEMENT
OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE U.S.S.R.,
ALBANIA, BULGARIA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA,
POLAND, ROUMANIA, HUNGARY AND THE GERMAN
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF OCTOBER 22, 1950,
ON THE DECISIONS OF THE NEW YORK
THREE-POWER CONFERENCE
ON THE REMILITARIZATION
OF WESTERN GERMANY**

On September 19 of this year a communiqué was published on the secret conference of the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Great Britain and France held in New York, which adopted a number of new separatist decisions on the German question.

The communiqué points out the intentions of the Governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France to raise the question of terminating the state of war with Germany, and at the same time the communiqué confirms the preservation of the "Occupation Statute" imposed upon Western Germany.

The communiqué says further that the previous decisions on prohibited and limited German industries will be reviewed, and no reservations are made concerning the impermissibility of restoring German war industry.

It is clear at the same time from the communiqué that the principal question at the conference of the three Ministers was the question of the re-creation of the German Army, the question of the remilitarization of Western Germany.

From the enumeration of these principal points of the communiqué it is already evident that the New York separate decisions of the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and France on the German question are another gross violation of the obligations which these Governments assumed under the Potsdam Agreement, that they contain a threat to peace in Europe and are contrary to the interests of all peace-loving peoples, including the national interests of the German people.

1. The statement of the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and France concerning their intention of raising the question of "terminating the state of war with Germany" is hypocritical through and through and has nothing in common with the necessity, which has long ago come to a head, for completing a peace settlement for Germany, a settlement without which the restoration of the unity of the German State has also become impossible. Speaking of the termination of the state of war with Germany, the communiqué stresses that this "will not affect the rights and status of the three Powers in Germany" who have reserved for themselves, under the Occupation Statute, unlimited power regarding Western Germany. Thus the three Governments again assert the inviolability of the "Occupation Statute," the validity of which they want to prolong for an indefinitely long period in order to prolong their rule in Western Germany as long as possible.

Even more. The communiqué says that the three occupying Powers "will increase and reinforce their forces in Germany." It is known from the published reports that in this connection the occupation expenditures of Western Germany are being almost doubled, which will considerably augment the tax burden. There is no need to prove that the decision of the three Governments concerning a new increase in the number of occupation troops in Western Germany has been evoked by nothing else but the ever-growing aggressive aspirations of these Powers, in Europe.

Now it is clear that the false phrases about the so-called "termination" of the state of war with Germany are merely a screen to conceal the policy of the Powers who head the aggressive North Atlantic Alliance. These Powers want to untie their hands so that they may use Western Germany, its manpower and material resources in their imperialist interests for the realization of their strategic plans, behind which are the aspirations of the U.S.A. ruling circles for world supremacy. On the pretext of terminating the state of war with Germany they strive to create the conditions for the open inclusion of Western Germany in the aggressive grouping of the so-called North Atlantic Alliance and to transform Western Germany completely into an instrument of their aggressive military strategic plans in Europe.

It is also evident that the question of terminating the state of war with Germany has been dragged in in order to delay as long as possible *the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany*, and thus to postpone the unification of Germany, too. It is not fortuitous that the lengthy New York communiqué says nothing either of a peace treaty for Germany or of the preparation of such a treaty. Yet as far back as five years ago the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France assumed the obligation under the Potsdam Decision to prepare a peace treaty with Germany, the fulfilment of which obligation they are now evading on all kinds of pretexts. This shows how far the policy of the United States of America, Great Britain and France has departed from the Potsdam Agreement of the Four Powers. This also shows that the present policy of the United States of America, Great Britain and France, grossly violating the Potsdam Agreement, directly runs counter to the interests of all peace-loving peoples of Europe.

2. The communiqué says that "the Foreign Ministers have also agreed that a review of the prohibited and limited industries agreement shall be undertaken in the light of the developing relationship with the Federal Republic," that is, with Western Germany. At the same time not a single word

is said about prohibiting the restoration of war industry as required by the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements, as well as by the subsequent agreements of the United States of America, Great Britain, France and the U.S.S.R. Even more. The communiqué says that for war purposes steel production is permitted outside of the established limits.

Thus in the communiqué of the three Ministers the ban on German war industry, regarding which firm decisions of the Four Powers were unanimously adopted, is in fact lifted. The true meaning of the New York communiqué is that now the heavy industry of the Ruhr is openly being adjusted to meet the Western Powers' military strategic war tasks. By their New York communiqué the three Powers have opened the gates wide for the restoration of the war industrial potential of Western Germany, which in its time served as the main bulwark of German imperialism and hitlerite aggression. All this shows how grossly and unceremoniously today the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and France trample underfoot the joint decisions of the Four Powers, adopted with the participation of the Soviet Union, which were directed towards the prohibition of German war industry and towards the prevention of a rebirth of German militarism, and which were met with enormous satisfaction by the peace-loving peoples of Europe and the whole world.

The attempts to establish super-monopolist concerns of the coal and metallurgical industries of Western Germany and France with the participation of several other European States serve the same purposes of the re-creation of the war industrial potential of Western Germany and adjusting Western Germany's economy to the plans of the Anglo-American military bloc. These attempts of the Western German and French capitalist monopolies, which are being made at the dictation of the United States Government and which rely on the most reactionary groupings in Western Germany, carry within them a serious danger of the revival of aggressive German forces and, naturally, encounter de-

termined resistance on the part of democratic circles in France, Western Germany and other European countries.

Such a policy of the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and France is in glaring contradiction to the basic principles of the Potsdam Agreement, the aim of which is the restoration of Germany as a peace-loving democratic State based upon *the revival and further development of Germany's peace industry*, agriculture and other branches of German economy. This policy of the three Powers is directed towards switching the development of German economy on to the lines of preparing a new war in Europe instead of giving the German people all the necessary opportunities for the development of peace economy, for healing the wounds of war, for rebuilding towns and improving the material conditions of life of the working people, on which the Soviet Union invariably insists.

3. As has been said above, the principal question discussed at the New York Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the United States of America, Great Britain and France was the question of re-creating the German Army, although in the text of the communiqué everything has been done to camouflage this question. According to the communiqué the three Ministers agreed "to permit the establishment of mobile police formations" in addition to the police units existing in Western Germany and, besides, have made provision for "German participation in an integrated force," i.e., in fact this is a provision for the creation of a German Army, although the same communiqué contains the hypocritical statement that "the re-creation of a German National Army would not serve the best interests of Germany or Europe."

According to published data there are 456,000 persons in German and foreign military formations in the Western zones of Germany and the Western sectors of Berlin, including "displaced persons," and in various police units, and most of them are former soldiers and officers of the hitlerite army. The arming of these units and formations, their organizational structure and army training, the train-

ing of officer personnel for them in special schools, their participation in military manoeuvres together with the occupation troops of the Western Powers, proves that these formations and units are in fact army formations. These formations have tank and artillery detachments. Despite this, the communiqué of the three Ministers speaks of permission to establish new "mobile police formations" which allegedly correspond to "the exigencies of the present situation." From this it is evident that the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and France are striving to expand considerably the number of police formations in Western Germany, which in fact represent a regular German Army.

The communiqué, however, shows that now the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and France do not want to limit themselves to police formations alone but have already openly raised the question of "German participation in an integrated force." Although the communiqué says that this question is at the present time "the subject of study," the obvious purpose of this mode of expression is only to prepare public opinion for decisions on the re-creation of the German Army adopted by the three Governments. It is no longer a secret that the services of the hitlerite generals such as Halder, Guderian, Manteuffel and others are enlisted in the work of restoring the German Army. From the communiqué it is evident that the aim of this is to place the Western German Army, which is now being revived, at the service of the Anglo-American bloc and its aggressive plans.

In such a situation it is not surprising that the Governments of the three Western Powers have set the task of removing the former limitations regarding German war industry, which the Western German capitalist monopolies have been stubbornly seeking. Only yesterday the peoples of France, Great Britain and the United States of America waged a sanguinary struggle against hitlerite aggression, against German imperialism—yet today the ruling circles

of these countries are with their own hands restoring the Western German Army, releasing condemned war criminals, restoring the war industrial potential of Western Germany, reviving Western German imperialism.

This means that the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and France have completely rejected those decisions of the Four Powers in which were expressed the aim of *liquidating German imperialism* as well as the aim of *reviving Germany as a peace-loving, democratic State* and which expressed the great principles of strengthening peace all over the world.

This means that the Governments of the three Western Powers have gone over to a policy of aggression which is incompatible with the interests of peace in Europe, incompatible with the interests of the peace-loving peoples all over the world.

4. As is known, the London separate three-Power conference on the German question in 1948 already adopted decisions which completely flung aside the tasks of the demilitarization and democratization of Germany and set itself the aim of transforming Western Germany into an instrument of the Anglo-American aggressive bloc. Already then a statement of the Foreign Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Roumania and Hungary, adopted at the conference in Warsaw concerning the London three-Power conference on the German question, exposed the aggressive and anti-democratic character of the splitting policy of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France regarding Germany.

At present the Governments of the U.S.S.R., Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Roumania, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic consider it their duty to state that the proposals and the general appraisal of the policy of the three Powers regarding Germany advanced in the Warsaw statement have been fully confirmed. Now everyone sees that the present policy of the United States of America, Great Britain and France not only breaks com-

pletely with the obligations which the Governments of these countries assumed regarding the formation of a united, democratic, peace-loving German State, but also creates the threat of new aggression, of new military adventures in Europe.

In view of the above, the Governments of the U.S.S.R., Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Roumania, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic declare that the separate decisions of the New York conference of the three Powers have no legal force or international authority. All responsibility for unlawful actions directed towards the frustration of a peace treaty with Germany and towards remilitarizing Western Germany rests with the Governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France.

Guided by the interests of maintaining peace and security in Europe, and also taking into consideration the lawful desire of the German people for the speediest possible completion of a peace settlement for Germany, the Governments of the U.S.S.R., Albania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Poland, Roumania, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic regard as urgent:

First: The publication by the Governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union of a statement that they will not permit the remilitarization of Germany, nor permit it to be drawn into any kind of aggressive plans, and that they will unswervingly carry out the Potsdam Agreement on ensuring the conditions for the formation of a united, peace-loving, democratic German State.

Second: The removal of all restrictions in the path of the development of German peace economy and the prevention of the restoration of German war potential.

Third: The conclusion without delay of a peace treaty with Germany with the restoration of the unity of the German State in accordance with the Potsdam Agreement, and with the provision that the occupation troops of all Powers be withdrawn from Germany within one year after the conclusion of the peace treaty.

Fourth: The creation of an All-German Constituent Council, on a parity basis, consisting of representatives of Eastern and Western Germany, which is to prepare the formation of a provisional democratic peace-loving all-German sovereign government and to submit corresponding proposals for joint approval by the Governments of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., Great Britain and France and which, until the formation of an all-German government, is to be drawn into consultations on the working out of the peace treaty. Under certain circumstances a direct questioning of the German people regarding this proposal may be carried out.

On their part, the Governments of the U.S.S.R., Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Roumania, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic will do everything possible in order to facilitate the solution of these urgent tasks in the interests of strengthening peace and international security.

**THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S NOTE
TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE THREE POWERS
OF DECEMBER 30, 1950**

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. acknowledges receipt of the French Government's Note of December 22, which was a reply to the Soviet Government's Note of November 3 this year on the question of convoking the Council of Foreign Ministers, and on behalf of the Soviet Government has the honour of stating the following:

1. In its Note of November 3 the Soviet Government proposed that the Council of Foreign Ministers of France, the United States of America, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. be convoked to consider the question of the fulfilment of the Potsdam Conference decisions concerning the demilitarization of Germany.

In making such a proposal the Soviet Government proceeded from the necessity of holding not merely a conference of the four Ministers for the sole purpose of consultations on one question or another, but from the necessity of convoking precisely the Council of Foreign Ministers to consider questions within the competence of the Council of Foreign Ministers in the given composition. At the same time the Soviet Government deemed it necessary to discuss first and foremost the question concerning the demilitarization of Germany as the question most acute for Europe. While still believing that the question of the demilitarization of Germany is the most important in the matter of ensuring international peace and security and affects the vital interests of the peoples of Europe, primarily the peoples which suffered from Hitlerite aggression, the Soviet Government

agrees to discuss also other questions concerning Germany, which conforms to the position of the Soviet Government put forward in the Note of November 3 and to the Prague Statement of Eight Countries.

The Soviet Government does not object to the proposal for the convocation of a preliminary conference of the representatives of France, the United States of America, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R., in order that this conference should work out the agenda of the session of the Foreign Ministers Council. It stands to reason that the tasks of such a preliminary discussion will not include the examination of questions which are to be considered at the conference of the Four Foreign Ministers itself.

As for the place where the conference is to be held, the Soviet Government suggests that such a preliminary conference take place not in New York but in Moscow, Paris or London, in view of the fact that the holding of such a conference in one of the aforesaid capitals will undoubtedly be of practical convenience for the majority of its participants.

2. The assertion of the French Government that the proposals put forward in the Prague Statement cannot serve as a basis for the positive solution of the German problem evokes natural surprise inasmuch as this assertion was made before the aforesaid proposals were considered by the Four Powers. And the assertions of the French Note alleging that these proposals were rejected by the majority of the German people are, to say the least, unsubstantiated and do not correspond to the real situation. In any case it is not difficult to see that the proposals of the Prague Conference met with deep sympathy among broad circles of the German population, including the population of Western Germany, too.

As for the remark in the French Government's Note on the High Commissioners' letters to the Chairman of the Soviet Control Commission concerning the question of holding all-German elections, letters which are merely an eva-

sion of a question of great importance to the German people, this question was the subject of repeated discussions between the Governments of the Four Powers, and the Soviet Union's position in this question is well known.

3. From published data it is clear that the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and France are creating a regular German Army in Western Germany, forming not some kind of police detachments, as was officially stated by the Foreign Ministers of the three Western Powers, but entire divisions. It is also known that of late the representatives of the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and France have been conducting negotiations with the Adenauer Government concerning the number of German divisions being formed and their armaments, even including tanks and heavy artillery, and concerning the incorporation of these divisions in the so-called "integrated armed forces." The attempts to mask these measures by references to the necessity of strengthening the security of the United States, Great Britain, France and other States of Europe are obviously groundless inasmuch as no one has menaced these States and no one menaces them. All the more groundless are the attempts in the French Government's Note to justify the plans for the remilitarization of Western Germany by references to alleged rearming taking place in Eastern Germany. Everything concerning this in the French Government's Note is invented from beginning to end and in no way corresponds to the facts. In the Soviet Government's Note of October 19, it was already pointed out that such statements of the Governments of the three Powers are absolutely groundless.

4. The French Government's Note of December 22 gives grounds for believing that it agrees with the Soviet Government's proposal regarding joint consideration by the Four Powers of the question of the demilitarization of Germany. The Soviet Government attaches much importance to this inasmuch as implementation of the demilitarization of Germany is not only provided for by the Potsdam Agree-

ment between the United States of America, the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and France, but also remains the most important condition for ensuring peace and security in Europe, also corresponding to the national interests of the German people themselves.

Meanwhile, the whole world knows that of late precisely the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France have been taking all measures to recreate a regular German Army and to restore the war industry in Western Germany, and that they are already conducting official negotiations concerning these questions with the Adenauer Government, which reflects the desire of certain aggressive circles to confront the peoples of Europe with accomplished facts.

There is no need to prove that such actions of the Governments of France, the United States and Great Britain clearly contradict their obligations regarding the necessity of demilitarizing Germany, and that they cannot but create serious difficulties in settling those questions which should be considered by the Foreign Ministers Council, the convocation of which is for some reason delayed more and more.

Analogous Notes were sent to the Governments of Great Britain and the United States of America.

**THE U.S.S.R.'S PROPOSALS
FOR THE AGENDA OF THE CONFERENCE
OF FOREIGN VICE-MINISTERS
OF THE U.S.S.R., U.S.A.,
FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN**

March 5, 1951

1. Fulfilment by the Four Powers of the Potsdam Agreement regarding the demilitarization of Germany and prevention of the remilitarization of Germany.
2. Acceleration of the conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany and in accordance with this the withdrawal of the occupation forces.
3. Improvement of the situation in Europe and proceeding immediately to the reduction of the armed forces of the Four Powers—the U.S.S.R., the United States, the United Kingdom and France.

**REPLY BY THE CHAIRMAN
OF THE SOVIET CONTROL COMMISSION
IN GERMANY, ARMY GENERAL V. I. CHUIKOV,
TO QUESTION PUT BY A CORRESPONDENT
OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
NEWS AGENCY**

BERLIN, September 20, 1951 (TASS). The correspondent of the news agency of the German Democratic Republic (ADN) put a question to Comrade V. I. Chuikov, Chairman of the Soviet Control Commission, concerning the proposal of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic to the Bonn Parliament for the convocation of an All-German Conference.

The correspondent's question and General Chuikov's answer follow.

Question: What is the attitude of the Soviet Control Commission in Germany towards the proposal of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic to the Bundestag for the convocation of representatives of the German Democratic Republic and Western Germany to discuss the following two questions:

1. On the holding of Germany-wide free elections to a National Assembly with a view to establishing a united, democratic, peace-loving Germany.
2. On expediting the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

Answer: I regard this proposal of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic as an expression of the lawful desire of the people's chosen representatives to set up a united, democratic, peace-loving Germany and to en-

sure lasting peace and an independent existence for Germany.

There is no doubt that the questions of restoring the unity of Germany and of ensuring lasting peace and independence are a matter of concern for all the German people.

Our opinion is that the German people and the organs elected by them are in the right to take the cause of the restoration of the unity of Germany on democratic and peaceful principles into their own hands, and that they are also in the right to voice their opinion concerning the necessity to expedite the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. This right of the German people follows directly from the decisions of the Potsdam Conference. The existing split of Germany cannot and should not continue much longer. This split can be eliminated by the exertions of the German people themselves, who enjoy the support of the other peace-loving peoples.

The proposal of the People's Chamber for the convocation of an All-German Conference on holding Germany-wide free elections to a National Assembly with a view to establishing a united, democratic, peace-loving Germany, and also the exceptionally wide response to this proposal on the part of the population of both Eastern and Western Germany, reflects the growth of the national consciousness of the growing democratic forces in Germany.

As regards the second proposal of the People's Chamber, envisaging that an All-German Conference of representatives of Eastern and Western Germany give expression to the demand for expediting the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, there is no doubt that this proposal is also just, and that joint actions of the representatives of Eastern and Western Germany on this question could greatly contribute to the peaceful settlement of the German problem and to the preparation and signing of a peace treaty with Germany.

It should be taken into consideration that the Powers which are occupying Western Germany, and are now trying

to replace the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany by hollow declarations on the so-called "termination of the state of war" cannot but take into account the opinion of the German people, who have on their side incontestable right as well as the support of the peace-loving peoples.

The Soviet Government is known to have been and to be in favour of the restoration of the unity of Germany on democratic and peaceful principles and also in favour of speeding up the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, with the subsequent withdrawal of all occupation troops from Germany.

You need not doubt, therefore, that any efforts which will be made in this direction by the representatives of both Eastern and Western Germany will meet with the most active and absolutely disinterested support of the Soviet Union.

**SPEECH BY A. Y. VYSHINSKY AT THE PLENARY
MEETING OF THE SIXTH SESSION
OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

November 13, 1951

The General Committee has adopted a decision recommending the General Assembly to include in the agenda a point on Germany proposed by Great Britain, United States and France. This point speaks of the establishment of an international commission to be under the direction of the United Nations to carry out an investigation in Western Germany, in Berlin and in the German Democratic Republic for the purpose of ascertaining whether the situation prevailing in these districts permits of elections under conditions of complete freedom.

In the General Committee the delegation of the Soviet Union opposed the inclusion of this point in the agenda. Examining the explanatory memorandum attached to this proposal, one cannot help immediately noting the artificial and far-fetched nature of such a proposal, in spite of the attempts made to cover this up with all sorts of pious phrases. The plea of the three Western powers in their explanatory memorandum that they are striving to unite Germany and that this will be promoted by the establishment of the proposed international commission to investigate the conditions for all-German elections is totally unconvincing and unsupported. Numerous facts could be adduced to prove that the object of the entire policy of the three Western Powers in relation to Germany is to perpetuate the splitting of Germany which they began several years ago and which

they are consistently and persistently continuing to the detriment of the interests of the German people, to the detriment of the interests of strengthening the peace and security of all nations.

As regards the last few years, for example, it would be enough to recall the "Schuman plan" and the "Pleven plan," the aim of which, as everybody knows, is to perpetuate the division of Germany and can have nothing in common with the aim of uniting Germany in any way, still less on a basis of peace and democracy. I will not deal with all these facts because they concern the substance of the question, and the Chairman has warned us that we must keep within the limits of procedure, i.e., we must not deal with the substance of the question. But I cannot refrain from pointing to this, because the explanatory memorandum presented by the three delegations—United States, Great Britain and France—urges, as the grounds for setting up an international commission for investigating the conditions for conducting all-German elections, their desire to achieve such an important object as the unification of the whole of Germany. I want to prove in this brief statement of mine that these powers have no such desire, that they are not guilty of such a desire.

This is not the first time we meet with attempts to inveigle the United Nations into an examination of the German question. Such an attempt was made in 1948, right here in Paris, during the third session of the General Assembly, when the United States, Great Britain and France tried to drag their proposal on the German question through the Security Council in violation of the lawful procedure established for examining the German question by the agreement on Germany between the Four Powers—the U.S.A., Great Britain, France and the U.S.S.R.—and by the Charter of the United Nations. At that time this attempt ended in a fiasco, in spite of all the efforts made to interpret the corresponding articles of the Charter in a way favourable for the position of the U.S.A., Great Britain and

France, and totally to misinterpret the obvious meaning of Article 107 of the Charter which decides this matter.

Let me remind you that Article 107 very definitely defines the limits of the competency of the United Nations and does not permit the latter's interference in questions connected with actions undertaken, or sanctioned, as a result of the Second World War by the governments which bear responsibility for such actions, insofar as they concern any state which during the Second World War was an enemy of any of the states that signed this Charter. Article 107 plainly says that under no circumstances does the Charter deprive such actions of legal force, nor does it hinder such actions. Hence, the inclusion of the German question in any form in the agenda of the General Assembly would be an obvious and gross violation of Article 107 of the Charter and, consequently, a violation of the obligations undertaken in an international treaty, and such is the Charter.

The Soviet delegation insisted that it is necessary to abide by international agreements, which, incidentally, Mr. Eden spoke about here yesterday, and judging from his speech he makes respect for international agreements the cornerstone of all actions in international affairs. We said this long ago, we insisted upon this long ago, we demanded this long ago, and we continue to demand it today. We hope that there will be no divergence between the British delegation's words and its deeds. If there is no such divergence, how can the British delegation take the stand it did in the General Committee on the question of setting up an international commission for the investigation of Germany? How can it support such a proposal when it obviously contradicts Article 107 of the Charter which we have already spoken about? How can it ignore this Article, how can it violate the obligations this Article imposes upon all the signatories to the United Nations Charter? To this it must be added that the stand taken by the British delegation, as well as by the U.S.A. and French delegation, would

be a violation of the obligations undertaken in the Potsdam Agreement by the British Government, and also by the American and French Governments.

To demand respect for international agreements, and that means for our Charter, and at the same time to violate international agreements, in this case the Charter of the United Nations, and Article 107 in particular, shows that deeds diverge from words and depreciates those words.

The Potsdam Agreement established a definite procedure for examining all questions concerning Germany; the Potsdam Agreement set up a special body for the purpose of examining such questions—the Council of Foreign Ministers. And when, in 1948, an attempt was made to bring the German question before the Security Council over the head of the Council of Ministers, and in violation of the Potsdam Agreement, nothing came of it. As we know, after time had been wasted at several meetings of the Security Council, which began to discuss this question, the three Western Powers—the U.S.A., Great Britain and France—were nevertheless compelled to adopt the only lawful method of discussing this question, namely, to convene a meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in May 1949 to examine the German question.

It must be said, moreover, that new circumstances have arisen since then. I will deal with the very latest of these. I will remind you of the appeal of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic to the Bonn Federal Parliament of September 15 this year. In this appeal, the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic proposed that an All-German Conference of representatives of the German Democratic Republic and of Western Germany be convened for the purpose of discussing two questions: the holding of all-German free elections to a National Assembly for the purpose of creating a united, democratic, peaceful Germany, and the speeding up of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. The resolution that was at the same time adopted by the People's Chamber stated

that this must be preceded by a conference of Germans with the object of securing agreement between Eastern and Western Germany, and that free democratic elections to a German National Assembly will help to accelerate the formation of a united, democratic and peaceful Germany. The People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic declared that such elections must be held under equal conditions all over Germany, that all citizens must be guaranteed and ensured of freedom and equality of the person, and all democratic parties and organizations of equal freedom for activity, that the democratic parties and organizations must have the right to put up their own list of candidates and to put up joint tickets and conclude election blocs at their own discretion.

When, on September 27, after a lapse of two weeks, the Bonn Government came out with its declaration containing 14 points, constituting the terms on which it would accept the appeal of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic, the People's Chamber replied that the majority of the proposals made by the Federal Parliament concerning the conditions of conducting all-German elections were acceptable.

At the special session of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic held on November 2, Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl again expressed the desire of the Germans in Eastern and Western Germany to take the most resolute measures to heal the disastrous split of Germany and to put a stop to the remilitarization of Western Germany, in order that the Germans in the East and in the West may take the path of progress, the path to the brighter future when no nation on earth will ever again be subject to danger as a result of Germany's aggressive strivings. The government of the German Democratic Republic proposed that a German election law be drafted at an all-German conference and expressed willingness to submit a preliminary draft of such a law. The People's Chamber then and there empowered the government of the German Dem-

ocratic Republic to set up a commission to draft a law providing for the conduct of free elections to a German National Assembly, having in view that such a law could serve as a basis for the drafting of an election law at the all-German conference.

Is it not obvious that such a decision could have been a big step towards the unification of Germany had it been accepted by the Bonn Government and by the three Western Occupational Powers? Is it not also obvious that an election law can certainly solve the problem of the conditions under which the elections are to be held and ensure really free general elections in Germany, bearing in mind that this election law is to be endorsed at an all-German conference of representatives of Eastern and Western Germany?

Why then, I ask, why then, will every impartial, objective and honest person ask, is it necessary under these circumstances to set up some sort of an international commission to investigate the conditions for an election in Germany? We are profoundly convinced that this can, nay more, should be done very successfully by the Germans of Eastern and Western Germany themselves. It is quite impossible to understand the grounds for this attitude of suspicion towards the German people and towards the initiative of the German Democratic Republic, which wants to have an all-German election, to unite Germany, and to hasten conclusion of a peace treaty, the importance of which there is no need to deal with here.

The proposal to set up some sort of an international commission to investigate Germany can be made only by those who are seeking a pretext for postponing the unification of Germany, the first step towards which must be an all-German election for the purpose of setting up an all-German National Assembly, which will establish the really genuine unity of a peaceful, independent, democratic Germany.

A proposal to set up some sort of an international commission to investigate Germany can be made only by those

who fail to understand the simple fact that Germany must not be regarded as an uncultured, rightless and backward colony where there are no political parties, and where there have never been parliamentary elections. It must not be forgotten that for over a century Germany lived under a parliamentary regime, with universal suffrage and organized political parties. Therefore, it would be an insult to the German nation to present to it demands that are usually presented to backward countries like Tunis or Morocco.

The Soviet Government supports the proposal of the German democratic forces to unite Germany by means of an all-German election to a National Assembly with the object of forming a united, democratic peaceful Germany. The Soviet Government also supports the proposal to speed up the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, to be followed by the withdrawal of all occupational troops, concerning which the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France prefer to say nothing. The only correct way to settle the German question is the way proposed by the German Democratic Republic. As regards investigating whether the conditions exist for conducting free elections all over Germany, that can best be done by the Germans themselves through a commission of representatives of Eastern and Western Germany, under the control of the Four Powers which are in occupation of Germany if the Germans themselves deem this necessary.

In view of the foregoing, the U.S.S.R. delegation objects to the inclusion in the agenda of the question of setting up an international commission for the investigation of Germany and calls upon the General Assembly to reject the proposal to this effect submitted by the General Committee as being contrary to the Charter of the United Nations. The U.S.S.R. delegation will vote against this proposal.

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