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LETTER DATED 25 NOVEMBER 1960 FROM THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Under cover of his letter of 11 October 1960, the Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations had distributed as a United Nations document a statement containing a number of allegations about the Federal Republic of Germany and its allies, including France, the United Kingdom and the United States. This document does nothing more than repeat those charges, frequently refuted, which have been disseminated in the press of the USSR and of certain countries of Eastern Europe. It tends to suggest that there exists a Government other than that of the Federal Republic of Germany entitled to speak as the representative of the German people in international affairs. To the extent that the Soviet assertions might still find credence, it seems useful to recall briefly the facts of the situation.

Germany is divided because the USSR, ever since the defeat of Hitler, has done everything possible to establish a Communist regime in the Eastern Zone. The political parties have had to group themselves into a bloc directed and controlled by the Communist party. At no time have the inhabitants of the Eastern Zone been able freely to express their opinion about the régime which was imposed on them. Under these circumstances such elections as have been held have been travesties. They have been designed to confirm a situation established and maintained by military, economic and political pressure.

France, the United Kingdom and the United States have frequently proposed the re-establishment of normal conditions in all Germany by the only possible means, the manifestation of the will of the people. None of the proposals based on this idea has been accepted by the Government of the USSR.

Most recently, in 1959, the three Western Powers made an offer to the Soviet Government to facilitate the re-establishment of German unity in phases on the basis of self-determination, while at the same time putting into effect measures designed to ensure security in central and eastern Europe. These proposals have been rejected by the Government of the USSR.

If the danger which threatens the peace were that which the Soviet Government is denouncing, it would have been easy for the latter to prevent or remove this danger by accepting discussion on the basis of the proposals which have been presented to it and which permit, in a few stages, the signing of a peace treaty with a freely elected German Government. The fact that the Government of the USSR refuses to envisage any negotiation on such a basis is more revealing than all the protestations or accusations contained in the statement of 10 October.

The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom has in this respect said all that was necessary in his speech in the general debate on 29 September. It seems appropriate also to recall certain other observations made by Mr. Macmillan at that time, for example, that the USSR has armed East Germany while condemning the Federal Republic of Germany for rearming, that the rejection of the East German régime by the population is evidenced by the flight of two and a half million persons over the past twelve years and the continuation of this flight, and that the Soviet authorities, who have talked much about the right of self-determination for the peoples of other areas, would do better to explain why they have consistently refused this right to the people of Germany.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany undertook on 3 October 1954 to observe the principles of international law as embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. It undertook not to use force in its policy either with respect to the reunification of the country or to its borders. It undertook not to produce on its territory atomic, biological and chemical weapons, as well as a number of other weapons. These undertakings are controlled by the armaments control agency of the Western European Union.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany participates, with many other nations, in a common defence organization whose spirit and structure make it impossible for any of its members to commit an act of aggression. Finally, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is supported by a public opinion

which has demonstrated on numerous occasions in the past ten years that it desires security, stability and peace above all.

The present situation of a divided Germany is a matter of concern and regret. Lacking popular support and legitimacy, the authorities imposed on East Germany seek to be acknowledged as the Government of a so-called State. By such a course, they will, however, succeed only in prolonging or in heightening the crisis which Europe has known since the end of the war. This crisis can only be brought to an end by a solution which respects the principles of freedom, tolerance and self-determination.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter circulated as a document of the General Assembly.

(Signed) James J. WADSWORTH
