



UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY



Distr.  
GENERAL

A/4504  
23 September 1960  
ENGLISH  
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/GERMAN

Fifteenth session

Letter dated 20 September 1960 from the Minister for Foreign  
Affairs of Czechoslovakia, addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to request that the enclosed letter of  
H.E. Mr. Otto Grotewohl, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the  
German Democratic Republic of 9 September 1960 as well as the memorandum of the  
German Democratic Republic be issued as a United Nations document and distributed  
to all Member States of the United Nations.

(Signed) Václav DAVID  
Minister for Foreign Affairs of the  
Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

Copy

Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld,  
Secretary-General,  
United Nations Headquarters,  
New York

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you on behalf of the Government of the German Democratic Republic a memorandum concerning general and complete disarmament of both German States, and I venture to request that you submit this memorandum to the fifteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations for consideration. The Government of the German Democratic Republic is firmly convinced that general and complete disarmament is a matter which affects all States and nations. The future of the German people is inseparably linked with the safeguarding of peace. A world war has twice in the past originated on German soil, so that all States and nations have a direct interest in preventing once and for all, by general and complete disarmament of both German States, a repetition of past events.

In view of the fact that the principles of the Potsdam Agreement guaranteeing the establishment of a peace-loving German State were put into effect only in one part of Germany - the territory of the German Democratic Republic - and in view of the fundamentally different attitude of the Governments of the two German States to the question of disarmament, the Government of the German Democratic Republic deems it essential that it should be given an opportunity to put forward through its representatives its views on general and complete disarmament in Germany during the deliberations of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

I therefore take the liberty of requesting you to use your good offices so that the Government of the German Democratic Republic may receive an invitation to this effect.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) Otto GROTEWOHL

Berlin, 9 September 1960

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Memorandum

from the Government of the German Democratic Republic to the  
fifteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations  
on the question of disarmament

The solution of the problem of disarmament is the most important task facing all nations and Governments at the present time. It would eliminate the possibility of new wars and would ensure peace for all time.

Two world wars have originated on German soil. This imposes on the German people and on the Governments of both German States the obligation to make very special efforts to strengthen peace and prevent war. The Potsdam Agreement concluded between the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom and France pledges those countries to eradicate militarism and revanchism, so that the peace of other nations may never again be threatened by Germany.

The Government of the German Democratic Republic proceeds on the assumption that an appropriate contribution by both German States must inevitably involve an immediate start with general and complete disarmament in Germany.

The complete militarization and atomic rearmament now being undertaken in Western Germany makes disarmament measures in Germany an urgent necessity. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany grossly violates the principles laid down by the States which were members of the anti-Hitler coalition at the end of the Second World War for the establishment of a new demilitarized and peace-loving Germany. Western Germany refuses to accept the consequences of the Second World War. It makes territorial claims against many countries of Europe and rejects the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The former Hitler generals who now have again taken up command in Western Germany have drawn up a memorandum in which they submit a programme of comprehensive rearmament for Western Germany. The memorandum demands compulsory military service for the entire male population fit for active service, unrestricted rearmament of the armed forces with nuclear and rocket weapons as well as with the latest types of jet aircraft, a powerful navy without any tonnage or armament restriction, and finally the establishment of military outposts and the deployment of their communications in NATO countries far beyond the frontiers of the Federal Republic of Germany. The generals' memorandum, which was drawn up and issued in complete agreement with the West German Government, is a proof of the latter's atomic and rocket war-mindedness. This rearmament policy is accompanied by steadily growing agitation on the part of the revanchist organizations in Western Germany; and the

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fact that the ministers of the West German Government are the spokesmen at every inflammatory manifestation of any size makes it clear that revanchism has been raised to the status of official State policy in Western Germany. Yet atomic rearmament and revanchism are diametrically opposed not only to the Potsdam Agreement and the United Nations Charter, but also to the unconditional surrender agreement signed by the Supreme Command of Hitler's Wehrmacht to which the generals who are now members of the General Staff of the Federal Republic also belonged.

The wholesale rearmament measures of the Federal Government and the more and more violent warmongering campaigns have created in Western Germany a potential hotbed of war which may prove highly dangerous. It is a threat not only to the peace of the German people but to the peace of the nations of Europe and of the entire world.

In the interest of maintaining peace it is therefore imperative that disarmament measures be undertaken in Germany as soon as possible. This would help to establish the neutrality of both German States and thus prevent wars from breaking out in Europe. General and complete disarmament would in a very special sense be in the national interests of the German people. The mere initiation of practical measures of disarmament would remove the major obstacle which now stands in the way of a rapprochement between the two German States in regard to their reunification.

The focal point of interest at the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly will be the proposal submitted by the Soviet Union for discussion and solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament. Prompted by the desire to contribute in a constructive way to the realization of general disarmament and bearing in mind its grave responsibility for peace and the interests of the German people, the Government of the German Democratic Republic submits to the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly the following proposals for the carrying out, in progressive stages, of general and complete disarmament in both German States:

A. General and complete disarmament of both German States to be carried out in three stages  
State I (1960-61)

- I. Both German States shall give a solemn pledge, in accordance with international law and deposited in the form of a declaration with the

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Secretary-General of the United Nations, that they renounce the use of force against each other and against other States.

2. Both German States shall agree to suspend all rearmament. They undertake, once the strength of their respective armed forces and equipment has been declared, to leave them thus and not to undertake any further reinforcement.
3. Both German States shall renounce atomic armaments. They undertake not to produce nuclear or rocket weapons of any kind or to participate in such production in other States, or to acquire or accept such weapons and not to participate in nuclear weapons tests carried out by other States. The establishment of further foreign atomic weapon bases shall be discontinued forthwith.
4. Both German States undertake not to produce any chemical or biological weapons or to participate in their production in other States; not to acquire or accept such weapons, or to participate in testing such weapons in other States.
5. Both German States shall prohibit within their respective territories all forms of war propaganda or propaganda in support of territorial demands against other States.
6. A Peace Treaty shall be concluded with both German States, and West Berlin shall become a demilitarized Free City. For this purpose the Powers of the anti-Hitler coalition shall convene a peace conference to be attended by representatives of both German States.

#### Stage II (1962)

1. Both German States shall reduce their military forces and armaments, and the war material thus released shall be destroyed or utilized for peaceful purposes. Military expenditure shall be cut. The places where the remaining armed forces are to be stationed shall be agreed upon.
2. Both German States shall renounce compulsory military service. The law enacted in Western Germany for the introduction of compulsory military service shall be repealed.
3. On the basis of the Peace Treaty which will have been concluded in the meantime, the four Powers signatories to the Potsdam Agreement shall enter into agreement with both German States on the withdrawal of all foreign troops and on the dismantling of all their bases and stores. In this way, the last vestige of the Second World War will have been

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removed and the essential conditions will have been created for the realization of the right of the German nation to self-determination.

4. All rocket weapons in the possession of German military forces shall be destroyed.

#### Stage III (1963-64)

1. The military forces of both German States shall be definitely disbanded and weapons, ammunition and military equipment of all kinds shall be completely destroyed or utilized for peaceful purposes.
2. For the maintenance of public order within the country, both German States shall keep police forces, the numbers, equipment and deployment of such forces to be determined by agreement.
3. Production for military purposes in both German States shall cease. Factories and enterprises engaged in such production shall be converted to production for peaceful purposes.
4. In both German States, all military institutions shall be disbanded (all relevant Ministries, General Staffs, military academies, mobilization authorities, etc.).
5. Both German States shall cease to belong to NATO and the Warsaw Treaty respectively, thus freeing Germany from commitments to military blocs. Both States shall declare their neutrality, which shall be guaranteed by the major Powers of the anti-Hitler coalition or by the United Nations.

#### B. Utilization of resources made available as a result of general and complete disarmament.

Both German States shall use the resources made available by general and complete disarmament for housing construction, expansion of social services, increasing of pensions and for scientific and cultural purposes as well as for the provision of assistance to economically under-developed countries.

#### C. Control measures

In order to ensure that the proposed measures are carried out, a control organ shall be established which shall be composed, on a parity basis, of representatives of the People's Assembly of the German Democratic Republic and representatives of the West German Bundestag, as well as representatives of trade unions and other democratic organizations of the masses, such as women's associations and youth groups.

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The control organ shall begin to operate as soon as agreement has been reached between the two German States or a decision to that effect has been adopted by the United Nations. This organ shall be vested with full powers to supervise the disarmament operation in both German States in accordance with the steps envisaged at the different stages.

D. General and complete disarmament

Both German States undertake, on the conclusion of an international agreement on general and complete disarmament, to accede to that agreement and to assume all obligations ensuing thereunder.

The overwhelming majority of the German people would welcome a resolution by the United Nations General Assembly on general and complete disarmament, with special disarmament provisions for Germany, as a significant and decisive move to safeguard peace through peaceful coexistence, and one which would at the same time open up the way to Germany for democratic and peaceful reunification. While the reunification of Germany is a matter for the German people itself and for both its States, a prerequisite for reunification is disarmament and the conclusion of a Peace Treaty with both German States.

With the conclusion of a Peace Treaty and the withdrawal of all foreign troops envisaged at the second stage, the main conditions would be created for the recognition of the right of the German people as a whole to self-determination.

The Government of the German Democratic Republic is confident that in submitting its proposal for general and complete disarmament in both German States, it is acting in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Government of the German Democratic Republic is confident that the fifteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations will pronounce itself once again emphatically in favour of general and complete disarmament. It expresses the hope that the General Assembly will give careful scrutiny to the proposals submitted by the Government of the German Democratic Republic for general and complete disarmament of both German States and will take account of them in a resolution on the subject at its forthcoming session.

The Government of the German Democratic Republic is convinced that support for its proposal by the United Nations is not only in the interests of the German people, but is a matter of vital interest to all other States and would help to rule out the possibility of another outbreak of war in the heart of Europe for all time.

The Council of Ministers  
of the German Democratic Republic

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