

GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

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Dual DistributionREQUEST FOR THE INCLUSION OF AN ADDITIONAL
ITEM IN THE AGENDA OF THE SIXTH REGULAR SESSIONItem proposed by France by the United Kingdom and by the United States
of America

Note by the Secretary-General: The Secretary-General has the honour to communicate to the Members of the General Assembly the text of a letter dated 5 November 1951 which he has received from His Excellency the Right Honourable Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom. Identical letters have also been received from His Excellency Mr. Jean Chauvel, Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations, and from His Excellency the Honourable Mr. Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, United States of America.

Paris, 5 November 1951

I have the honour to inform your Excellency that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, in agreement with the United States and French Governments, wish to bring before the General Assembly of the United Nations the desire of the German Federal Chancellor that a neutral international commission under United Nations supervision should be appointed to investigate whether conditions throughout Germany make it possible to hold genuinely free elections there. Details of Dr. Adenauer's proposal and of the attitude adopted by His Majesty's Government towards this question are given in the attached memorandum.

The United Kingdom Delegation would be glad if the following item could be placed on the agenda for the forthcoming session of the General Assembly, under rule 15 of the rules of Procedure of the General Assembly as an additional item of an important and urgent character:

"Appointment of an impartial international commission under United Nations supervision to carry out a simultaneous investigation in the Federal Republic of Germany, in Berlin, and in the Soviet Zone of Germany in order to determine whether existing conditions there make it possible to hold genuinely free elections throughout these areas."

(Signed) Anthony EDEN

EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM

Since 1945 the United Kingdom, the United States and French Governments have consistently maintained and continue to maintain that Germany should be reunified as soon as this can be brought about on democratic lines which will ensure the reestablishment of a free Germany able to play her part in the peaceful association of free European nations. They have repeatedly made concrete proposals on this subject, notably at the Council of Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and France in May 1949, and in letters from their three High Commissioners to the Soviet Commander-in-Chief in Germany in May and October 1950. In those letters the three High Commissioners made it clear that an essential step towards the reunification of Germany was the holding of free elections under international supervision.

Likewise the German Federal Government have worked continuously for reunification and, in March and September 1950 and March 1951, made proposals for free elections in the whole of Germany.

The East German administration have on several occasions claimed that they support the reunification of Germany, and on 15 September last addressed an appeal to the German Federal Parliament for all-German consultations on the holding of elections throughout Germany and the hastening of a Peace Treaty. On 27 September the German Federal Government made a declaration approved by the Federal Assembly setting down detailed proposals for the reunification of Germany, including the holding of elections under international protection and control. The Declaration also stated that up to now general conditions in the Soviet Zone had been far removed from conditions which would permit a free expression of the will of the people. It therefore proposed that a neutral international commission under United Nations supervision should examine in the Soviet Zone and in the Federal Republic how far the holding of free elections was possible under prevailing conditions. On 4 October, the German Federal Chancellor sent a letter (text at appendix A) to the Chairman of the Allied High Commission in Germany in which he requested the three Governments concerned to place the matter before the United Nations. On 15 October the High Commission replied in a letter (text at appendix B) welcoming the Federal Government's initiative and stating that they would take action accordingly at the first suitable opportunity.

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As the High Commission have already stated in their letter to the German Federal Chancellor, His Majesty's Government consider that only by means of such impartial investigation can it be expeditiously and satisfactorily determined whether or not conditions exist in the Soviet Zone of Germany, as well as in Berlin and in the German Federal Republic, which would make it possible to hold free general elections.

In view of the purpose of the United Nations and the responsibilities of the General Assembly, as expressed in the Charter, His Majesty's Government consider that the Assembly is the appropriate body to establish such an impartial Commission and to nominate its members.

APPENDIX A

Letter from the Federal Chancellor to the
Chairman of the Allied High Commission,
Sir I. Kirkpatrick

Bonn, 4 October 1951

Mr. High Commissioner,

In its declarations of 22 March, 14 September 1950, and of 9 March 1951, the Federal Government proposed the holding of free, general, equal, secret and direct elections in the whole of Germany, for the purpose of electing a Constituent National Assembly. At the same time it laid down the indispensable pre-requisites for the carrying out of free elections. In my letter of 9 March 1951, addressed to the Chairman of the Allied High Commission, I had requested the Governments represented in the Allied High Commission, in the course of negotiations between the four occupation Powers on the subject of Germany, to obtain acceptance of the Federal Government's demands in respect of the legal and psychological preconditions for the holding of free elections.

The Federal Government now repeats the proposal and requests the Governments of the four occupation Powers to give the German people the earliest opportunity, through elections carried out under international supervision, to elect a constituent and legislative National Assembly for the area of the four occupation Zones and Berlin, which will also form a Government and watch over its activities. The Federal Government will shortly be in a position to transmit to the Allied High Commission an electoral procedure for all-German elections, which will allow the holding of free elections. The Government Declaration of 27 September 1951 already contains the essentials of the electoral procedure.

The Federal Government feels obliged to do all in its power to make sure that the prerequisites for the holding of all-German elections, proposed by it, are, in fact, established. Before the eyes of the whole world this can only be done by a neutral international commission -- under United Nations supervision -- carrying out investigations in the Soviet Zone and in the Federal Republic to establish to what extent prevailing circumstances allow the holding of free elections. The Federal Government requests that such an international investigation be carried out immediately for the territory of the Federal Republic and would ask the Governments represented in the Allied High Commission to propose the establishment of such a commission to the United Nations as soon as possible. The Federal Government will in every way facilitate the work of such a commission and will in particular allow it access to all Federal and Land administrative authorities as well as to all official files and documents which it may require to see in order to discharge its mandate.

(Signed) ADENAUER.

APPENDIX B

Reply of the Allied High Commission to
Dr. Adenauer's letter of 4 October

Your letter 202/04 II 11375/51 of 4 October was transmitted to the three Governments represented on the Allied High Commission and has been considered by them.

In your letter you repeated the proposals made by the Federal Government on 22 March and 14 September 1950, and on 9 March 1951, for the holding of free, general, equal, secret and direct elections in the whole of Germany. You also requested the Governments of the four occupation Powers to give the German people the earliest opportunity to elect, under international supervision and under the legal and psychological conditions specified in the various proposals of the Federal Government, a constituent and legislative National Assembly. The three Governments, who have always supported and continue to support the unification of Germany as soon as it can take place along democratic lines ensuring the creation of a free Germany able to play her part in the peaceful association of free European nations, now renew their support for the idea of elections under the safeguarding conditions which have been specified as necessary to protect the individual and national liberties of the German people. They refer among other things to the letters sent by the British, French and United States High Commissioners in Germany on 26 May 1950, and on 10 October 1950, to General Chuikov, to the statements issued by the British, French and United States Foreign Ministers in London on 14 May 1950, and in New York on 19 September 1950, and to the proposals made by the British, French and United States Deputies at the Paris Four Powers Conference on 5 March 1951.

In your recent letter you have made an additional proposal. You wrote:

"The Federal Government feels obliged to do all in its power to make sure that the prerequisites for the holding of all-German elections, proposed by it, are, in fact, established. Before the eyes of the whole world this can only be done by a neutral international commission -- under United Nations supervision -- carrying out investigations in the Soviet Zone and in the Federal Republic to establish to what extent prevailing circumstances allow the holding of free elections. The Federal Government requests that such an international investigation be carried out immediately for the territory of the Federal Republic and would ask the Governments represented in the Allied High Commission to propose the establishment of such a commission to the United Nations as soon as possible. The Federal Government will in every way facilitate the work of such a commission and will in particular allow it access to all Federal and Land administrative authorities as well as to all official files and documents which it may require to see in order to discharge its mandate."

The three Governments warmly welcome the constructive initiative which you have taken in making the proposal for a United Nations commission to investigate the extent to which prevailing circumstances allow the holding of free elections in the Federal Republic and in the Soviet Zone of Germany. They have not failed to

note the desire of the Federal Government that such an enquiry take place immediately in its territory. The three Governments desire to inform you that they will, at the first suitable opportunity, put your views before the United Nations and will propose that the United Nations undertake an investigation over the whole area of Germany as is suggested in your letter. They consider that only by such means can it be expeditiously and satisfactorily determined whether or not conditions exist in the entire area of Germany which would make it possible to consider as a practical matter the holding of general elections.

15 October, 1951.
