

Ex 2.4.6

D57

# GENEVA

## FOUR-POWER CONFERENCE

JULY 1955



Soviet Statements  
and Proposals

---

Directives to  
Foreign Ministers

Cover photograph shows (left to right): N. A. Bulganin, Mr. Eisenhower, M. Edgar Faure, and Sir Anthony Eden. Behind M. Faure can be seen Foreign Ministers, V. M. Molotov and Mr. Harold Macmillan.

## STATEMENT BY N. A. BULGANIN

*The following statement was made by N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and head of the Soviet government delegation, at the Geneva Conference of the heads of the governments of the four powers, on July 18, 1955:*

**M**R. CHAIRMAN,  
On behalf of the Soviet government I am pleased to greet the United States President, Mr. Dwight Eisenhower, the French Prime Minister, M. Edgar Faure, and the British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, and also the members of their delegations, and to express sincere wishes for the fruitful work of our conference. I am extremely satisfied at having this opportunity of establishing personal contact at the present conference with the heads of the governments of the United States, France and Britain.

The conference of the heads of the governments of the four powers, which has been convened in accordance with the wishes of all the parties concerned, is taking place at a time when a certain easing of tension in international relations has taken shape in the world and when more favourable conditions have appeared for the settlement of outstanding international issues.

What are the circumstances that have facilitated the easing of international tension?

In this connection we must note, in the first place, the ending of the bloodshed in Korea and of the hostilities in Indo-China, which was unquestionably a signal victory for the forces of peace.

We must further emphasise the major importance of such events as the conclusion of the State Treaty with Austria; the making normal of the relations between the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia, which has opened the way to the promotion of friendship and co-operation between the two countries; the successful Bandung Conference of the twenty-nine Asian and African countries; the visit to the Soviet Union of Mr. Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister, as a result of which friendly relations between the U.S.S.R. and India have become still stronger; and the proposals of the government of the Soviet Union to the government of the German Federal Republic with regard to the establishment of diplomatic, trade and cultural relations between the U.S.S.R. and the German Federal Republic.

Particular stress must also be laid on the importance for the easing of international tension of the Soviet government's proposals of May 10, this year, on the questions of the reduction of armaments, the banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons, and the removal of the threat of another war.

There exist, however, problems which divide us and which call for an urgent solution. The unsettled state of these problems is the reason why, in spite of a certain improvement, the international situation is on the whole still tense, and confidence among states, without which the nations cannot be assured of the morrow, has not yet been created.

It is a generally known fact that the so-called cold war is still continuing. Moreover, we cannot but admit that in recent years by no means everything has been done to use the existing opportunities for the improvement of relations between our countries, and that in the atmosphere of mistrust and strained relations, governments have taken steps that further worsened our relations.

All this obliges us, the statesmen of the four powers assembled here, to consider with all seriousness the situation that has developed and to do everything in our power to facilitate the creation of the necessary confidence in relations among states, both large and small.

We were pleased to hear the statement made here by President Eisenhower, namely:

The American people want to be friends with the Soviet people. There are no disputes between the American and Soviet peoples, neither are there any conflicts or commercial rivalries between them. Historically, our countries have always been at peace.

Furthermore, the President drew attention to the need to remove all the artificial barriers between the two peoples.

We fully agree with all this, inasmuch as the removal of these barriers would correspond both with the national interests of the Soviet and American peoples and with the interests of universal peace.

In the opinion of the Soviet government, the task facing the present conference is not to level charges against each other, but to seek ways and means of lessening international tension and of creating an atmosphere of confidence in relations among states.

The primary task confronting our conference is to find a way of

reaching suitable agreement on problems demanding a solution. The delegation of the Soviet Union has come to the present conference with the desire to find a solution to unsettled problems, through the concerted efforts of all those taking part in the conference, and for its part is ready to consider attentively the proposals of the other parties to the conference.

There is no doubt that it is precisely this that is expected of us by the peoples, whose eyes are today fixed on Geneva, on this conference. It is not accidental that many statesmen, taking into account the inflexible will of the peoples for peace, are advocating with increasing determination the settlement of outstanding issues, giving due consideration to the legitimate rights of all the parties concerned.

We are not inclined to minimising the difficulties that stand in the way of the settlement of these problems, including the outstanding issues of Europe and Asia. There are difficulties, and they are far from being small ones. But provided we have all come to the conference with the desire to find ways of overcoming difficulties, this will be a real guarantee of the success of the present conference. The Soviet government is of the opinion that the present conference of the heads of the governments of the four powers, who are meeting for the first time in the ten years since the war, may play a historic role, provided all of us manifest a genuine desire to achieve an easing of international tension and the establishment of confidence in the relations among states.

For its part, the Soviet government is ready to facilitate, jointly with the governments of the United States, Britain and France, the achievement of this noble aim.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is clear. We have upheld, and we continue to uphold peace among nations and peaceful co-existence among all states, irrespective of what the internal systems are in the different states, and irrespective of whether they are monarchist or republican, capitalist or socialist, since the question of the existing social and economic system in any state is the domestic affair of its own people.

Acknowledgement of this incontestable premise is of great importance for the successful solution of outstanding international problems.

People who are really anxious about the present situation, which is characterised by the arms drive and the appearance of

increasingly dangerous and devastating types of weapons of mass destruction that greatly intensify the threat of another war, with the incalculable sacrifices it would involve for the nations, cannot fail to express support for the demands to end the arms drive, to outlaw atomic weapons and to guarantee that atomic energy shall be used solely for peaceful purposes, for the benefit of mankind, and for the benefit of civilisation.

As for the Soviet Union, it has stood and continues to stand for broad international co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, the importance of which was emphasised by President Eisenhower in his well-known statement. This has been declared repeatedly by the Soviet government both in the United Nations Organisation and in the course of the Soviet-American talks on the question of atomic energy.

The Soviet government has decided to contribute to the international pool of atomic materials of the international atomic energy agency an appropriate quantity of fissionable materials, as soon as agreement is reached on the establishment of such an agency.

It must be noted in this connection that the Soviet Union deems right the establishment of the levels of the armed forces of the five powers which were proposed by the United States, Britain, France and Canada. It would be of the utmost importance if the present conference were to express itself in favour of an international agreement which would reflect our agreement to establish the level of the armed forces of the United States, the U.S.S.R. and China at one to one and a half million men for each of these powers, and at 650,000 men each for Britain and France, and to limit the level of the armed forces of all other states to 150,000 to 200,000 men.

I would like to stress once again that the Soviet government has accepted the proposal made by the three powers with regard to conventional armaments. We are now entitled to expect that these powers will take a step to ensure agreement on the question of the banning of atomic weapons, which would enable the entire question of disarmament to be placed on a realistic foundation.

In his speech, the French Prime Minister, M. Edgar Faure, made a suggestion concerning the need to cut budget appropriations for military needs, putting forward his arguments in favour of this. We consider that these considerations are of interest and worthy of careful examination.

Furthermore, in the opinion of the Soviet government, the four powers would make a good beginning if they were to agree, already at the present time, to demobilise their military contingents which are being withdrawn from Austrian territory as a result of the conclusion of the Austrian State Treaty, and correspondingly reduce the strength of their armed forces. The Soviet government has decided to take this step and urges the governments of the United States, France and Britain to follow suit.

There is no need to dwell at length on the importance of the question of European security and the maintenance of peace in Europe. The experience of history shows that the most bloody and devastating wars have occurred in Europe. This means that the maintenance of peace in Europe is of decisive importance for the maintenance of universal peace.

The Soviet government is convinced that the best way of maintaining peace and preventing fresh aggression in Europe is the organisation of a collective security system, including all the European states and the United States of America. The adoption of appropriate decisions to that end would improve the entire situation in Europe and would create normal conditions of life for the European nations. Instead of military groupings of certain European states directed against other European states, there should be established a system of security, based on the concerted efforts of all the states of Europe, the principles of which have been formulated in the well-known proposals of the Soviet government.

There are difficulties, of course, in the way of setting up such a system; for one thing, the fact that those taking part in the present talks are bound by military commitments to other states. For that reason, the Soviet government believes that, in order to achieve agreement, the process of establishing a system of collective security in Europe could be divided into two stages.

In the first stage, the states which are parties to the treaty would not be freed from the commitments they have undertaken under existing treaties and agreements, but they would be in duty bound not to employ armed force and to settle any disputes that might arise between them by peaceful means.

It might also be agreed that before agreement was reached on armaments reduction and the prohibition of atomic weapons, and also on the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories

of the European countries, the parties to the treaty would pledge themselves not to take any further steps that would lead to an increase in their armed forces on the territory of other states in Europe under treaties and agreements concluded earlier.

In the second stage, these states would assume in full the treaty commitments connected with the setting up of a system of collective security in Europe; simultaneously, the North Atlantic Treaty, the Paris agreements and the Warsaw Treaty would become completely inoperative, and the groupings of states created on the basis of them would be eliminated, their place being taken by a general European system of collective security. In his statement, Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden has spoken of the need for agreement among our countries on security in Europe. This is very important. It is exactly what the Soviet Union is striving for.

This step by the Soviet government is fresh evidence of its desire to help to find a solution to the task of creating truly effective security in Europe.

The Soviet government feels that our objective should be to see that no foreign troops remain on the territory of the European countries.

The withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of the European countries and the restoration in this respect of the situation existing before the Second World War would in itself be of major importance in strengthening peace, would radically improve the situation in Europe, and would remove one of the main, if not the main, sources of distrust in relations among states that exists at the present time.

The importance of this step can be seen still more clearly if it is considered in connection with the task of reducing armaments and prohibiting atomic weapons. The removal of foreign troops from the territory of the European states would do much to help to achieve agreement on the reduction of conventional armaments of the European states, and not only of the European states, and also on the question of prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons.

It goes without saying that, in putting forward such considerations, the Soviet Union does not demand any special conditions for itself, although history has shown that the Soviet Union has more reason to be concerned about its western frontiers than certain other states. It is common knowledge that more than once when our country has been attacked, the aggressor has paved the way for this through territories located west of the Soviet frontiers.

*We should like to know the attitude of the governments of the United States, Britain and France to the arguments of the Soviet government which I have put forward, both concerning armaments reduction and the prohibition of atomic weapons, and the question of establishing a collective security system in Europe and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of the European states.*

Naturally, achieving the necessary agreement on one or another of these questions, each of which is of great importance to the future of the world, may require time, even if we do agree on the basis for their solution. In view of this, and also in view of the fact that the states represented at the present conference have assumed definite commitments under treaties and agreements with other countries, the question arises of the steps that should be taken in order that before the necessary agreement is reached, the efforts of the four powers may be directed towards reducing tension in relations among countries and thus creating conditions suitable for the settlement of outstanding problems, including disarmament and the creation of collective security in Europe. This would also include a solution of the German question, which has been and remains of major importance for European security.

In putting forward its programme for disarmament and the creation of a system of European security, the Soviet government proceeds from the fact that the easing of tension in international relations and the establishment of an effective security system in Europe would to a great extent facilitate the solution of the German problem and would create the necessary premises for uniting Germany on peaceful and democratic foundations.

The Soviet government has been and remains a supporter of Germany's unification in accordance with the national interests of the German people and the interests of European security. The unification of Germany as a peaceloving, democratic state would be of tremendous importance, both to the future of peace in Europe and to the German nation itself, to whom war has more than once brought severe losses and destruction. It would give the German people broad opportunities to develop Germany's peaceful economy and culture and to raise the living standards of the population.

It must be admitted that at the present time the chief barrier to Germany's unification is the remilitarisation of Western Germany and its inclusion in the military groupings of the Western powers.

Here there should be an exchange of opinions, remembering that a solution of the German problem must be found, even if under present conditions we do not succeed immediately in coming to agreement on Germany's reunification. In that case, the task must be solved step by step.

I feel it necessary also to touch on several other questions.

The Soviet government is of the opinion that the member states of the North Atlantic Treaty and the Paris agreements, on the one hand, and the member states of the Warsaw Treaty, on the other, might undertake mutual obligations not to employ armed force against each other. It goes without saying that such obligations would not infringe on the inviolable right of the states, provided for by Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, of individual and collective self-defence in case of armed attack.

Furthermore, they might give a pledge to hold consultations among themselves in the event of disagreements or disputes arising that might threaten peace in Europe.

The Soviet government would like to call the attention of the governments of France, Britain and the United States to the following important question, which is becoming more and more urgent:

It is well known that lately the tendency towards following a policy of neutrality, a policy of not participating in military blocs and coalitions, is becoming more and more pronounced in certain countries. Experience teaches us that some states which have pursued a neutral policy in time of war have ensured security for their peoples and have played a positive role. That is shown by the experience of the Second World War as well, though the neutrality of certain countries was not beyond reproach.

The Soviet government believes that if states desirous of pursuing a policy of neutrality, of not participating in military groupings, as long as these groupings exist, were to raise the question of guarantees for their security and territorial inviolability, the great powers should comply with these wishes. At any rate, as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it is willing to be a party to such guarantees, as it has stated, for example, in relation to Austria.

The question of the countries of Eastern Europe, the people's democracies, has been brought up here. To put this question at the present conference is to drive us towards interference in the internal affairs of these countries.

It is a well-known fact that the people's democratic regime in those countries was established by the peoples themselves, by their own free will. What is more, no one has given us the right to examine the situation in those countries.

Hence, there is no reason to discuss this question at our conference.

The question has also been raised here of so-called "world communism". It is well known, however, that this conference was called to discuss problems connected with the relations among states and not to discuss the activities of the political parties in various countries or the relations between these parties. Proceeding from this, we feel that it is out of place to raise that question at this conference of the heads of government.

The Soviet government has time and time again stated its attitude towards the question of the need to settle the problems of Asia and the Far East. For one thing, it has called the attention of the states concerned to the grave situation that has developed in the Taiwan area, which has become a dangerous source of complications in the Far East. The settlement of the situation in Asia and the Far East, including the Taiwan area, by recognising China's indisputable right to that island, would be of great importance in improving the entire international situation.

In this connection, I feel it necessary to remind you of the well-known desire of the government of the People's Republic of China to settle the Taiwan question by means of direct talks between the United States and the People's Republic of China.

It is also necessary to note the importance of the question of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The present situation, in which the Chiang Kai-shek representative still sits in that organisation while the great People's Republic of China is deprived of the opportunity of taking its place there, is not only abnormal, it is impermissible. This injustice must be righted, and the sooner the better.

The Soviet government considers that, in its efforts to improve relations among states, the conference of the four powers should pay attention to the question of strengthening economic relations among states, and for one thing, to the question of extending trade. The present situation, in which a number of states have introduced various kinds of artificial restrictions that have resulted in the disruption of long-standing economic and trade ties among many countries of the world, is a serious obstacle to reducing inter-

national tension. These restrictions, which are usually found when the economy of states is subordinated to the interests of war preparations, can in no way be justified, if one is guided by the desire to settle outstanding international problems and to put an end to the cold war. We call attention to this, not because the economy of the Soviet Union cannot get along without the restoration of normal economic and trade relations with states, which have been disrupted through no fault of our own. We mention it because in this sphere there are important possibilities for laying the basis for normal, friendly relations among countries, which would yield favourable results in raising the living standards of the peoples, reducing international tension, and strengthening confidence among states.

We have always supported the wide development of international contact and co-operation in the sphere of culture and science, and have always supported the removal of obstacles that interfere with relations among nations. We are convinced that the wide development of international cultural and scientific co-operation would contribute to achieving the same objective of reducing tension in relations among states and establishing the necessary confidence among them.

Such are the most important questions which the Soviet government feels should be examined at our conference and the considerations which it has wished to put forward concerning those questions at the beginning of our work.

We have heard the statements of the heads of the governments of the United States, France and Britain. Many important questions were raised in these statements. We must exchange opinions on these questions in order to discover the basis for the necessary agreement on them. Among the questions raised are some which require additional study. There are others on which we hold differing viewpoints, but that, in our opinion, should not prevent the work of our conference from being successful.

For its part the Soviet government will do everything in its power in order that the present conference may justify the hopes of the peoples, who are yearning for a peaceful, tranquil life.

# BASIC PRINCIPLES OF AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN EXISTING GROUPINGS OF STATES IN EUROPE

## *Soviet Delegation's Proposal*

**G**UIDED by the desire to strengthen peace and recognising the need to assist by every means in easing international tension and promoting confidence among states,

The governments of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, France and the United Kingdom have agreed that the interests of maintaining peace in Europe would be furthered by the conclusion of an agreement between the states of the North Atlantic Pact and the Western European Union, on the one side, and the states of the Warsaw Treaty, on the other. This agreement could be based on the following principles:

1. The states that are signatories of the North Atlantic Treaty and the Paris agreements, on the one side, and the states that are signatories of the Warsaw Treaty, on the other, undertake not to use armed force against one another. This undertaking should not prejudice the right of states to individual or collective self-defence, provided for in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter in the event of an armed attack.

2. The parties to this agreement undertake to hold mutual consultations in the event of disagreements and disputes arising among them which might threaten the maintenance of peace in Europe.

3. This agreement shall be provisional and shall remain in force until replaced by another agreement on the organisation of a system of collective security in Europe.

## STATEMENT BY N. A. BULGANIN AT FINAL MEETING

*At the final meeting of the Geneva Conference of the heads of the governments of the four powers on July 23, Premier N. A. Bulganin, head of the U.S.S.R. delegation, made the following statement:*

**M**R. CHAIRMAN, it is beyond doubt that the meeting of the heads of the governments of France, Britain, the United States of America and the Soviet Union in Geneva will be of constructive value for easing the tension in relations between states and for establishing the necessary confidence among them. In the first place, this will be facilitated by the personal contact established in Geneva between the leading statesmen of the four powers. We have come to know one another better here and have exchanged opinions on a number of most important international problems. Notwithstanding the fact that our viewpoints on some questions have not coincided, there prevailed throughout the conference an atmosphere of sincerity and a desire among the participants to reach mutual understanding.

The Geneva Conference has attracted the attention of the peoples of the whole world and strengthened their determination to ease international tension, to end the "cold war". We hope that all this will yet play a constructive role and help to achieve the lofty purpose of securing a firm and lasting peace.

The delegation of the Soviet Union came to the Geneva Conference with the good intention of assisting in the organisation of the practical work for the solution, in the first place, of such fundamental international problems as the organisation of collective security in Europe and disarmament. These problems are of decisive importance for the strengthening of world peace in the existing situation.

A most important question facing the Geneva Conference has been that of European security. The Soviet government believes that the interests of peace would be furthered by the organisation of a collective security system in Europe embracing all the European states and the United States of America. The new proposals on this question which we have submitted to the Geneva Conference, are based on the realisation that in the existing conditions—when

two mutually opposed groupings of states have been created in Europe—it is necessary in the first place to direct the relations between the states belonging to these groupings into the channels of normal peaceful co-operation and of the peaceful settlement of disputes between them. The Soviet proposals contain no provision for the dissolution of the North Atlantic bloc, the Western European Union and the Warsaw Treaty organisation in this first stage in the organisation of the general European security system. In time, in the second stage, when success will have been achieved in easing the tension in Europe and in establishing confidence among states, these groupings could be dissolved and replaced by a collective security system in Europe.

Together with this, the Soviet delegation has proposed that, pending the organisation of a collective security system in Europe, the states belonging to the existing groupings in Europe should conclude an agreement giving a mutual undertaking to refrain from using force and to settle disputes by peaceful means.

The exchange of views on the question of European security has shown that all those taking part in the conference tried to find an agreed solution for this important problem. We hope that still greater success will result from the further consideration of this problem.

On the question of disarmament the Soviet government, as long ago as May 10, before the Geneva Conference, submitted concrete proposals for the reduction of armaments, the prohibition of atomic weapons and the removal of the threat of another war. At the Geneva Conference we have proposed that the agreement already reached on questions where our positions have become completely identical or have become much closer, be recorded. This applies, in the first place, to the establishment of the levels of armaments for states, the prohibition of atomic weapons and the need for a system of effective international control. The discussion on the question of disarmament has shown that all those taking part in the conference are also in favour of seeking an agreed decision for this important problem, which is of decisive importance for the security of the nations.

It should be noted in this connection that during the discussion on the question of disarmament, those taking part in the conference have made proposals which will undoubtedly be taken into account in the future discussion of this problem and will help to achieve the necessary agreement between us.

The Soviet government has declared that during the further examination of this problem it will make every effort to find a solution to this problem which will be in accordance with the aspirations of the peoples.

We have had an exchange of views on the German question. It has brought out different approaches to this question. Speaking of the reunification of Germany, the delegations of the United States of America, Britain and France based their statements on the idea that Western Germany, remilitarised under the Paris agreements, and subsequently a united Germany, should be included in the North Atlantic grouping and the military Western European Union.

Consistently working for the restoration of Germany's national unity, the Soviet government even before the Paris agreements were ratified, drew attention to the fact that the entry into force of these agreements would create difficult conditions for negotiations on the German question and would render a discussion on the unification of Germany useless.

The Soviet government considers that in solving the German problem it is necessary to take account of the facts.

The war in Europe ended ten years ago. Two Germanies have taken shape since then—the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic—each with its own economic and social system. Furthermore, under the Paris agreements the German Federal Republic has taken to the course of remilitarisation and has been integrated in the military groupings of the western powers. As for the German Democratic Republic, the conclusion of the Paris agreements has prompted its decision to join the Warsaw Treaty organisation.

It is clear that in the circumstances it is impossible to raise the question of a mechanical fusion of the two parts of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic, because that would be an unrealistic approach to this problem.

The Soviet Union has been, and still is, an ardent supporter of the unification of Germany as a peaceloving and democratic state. We are profoundly convinced that the German problem must not be discussed without representatives of the German Democratic Republic and of the German Federal Republic.

The only real way towards the unification of Germany in the

situation obtaining in Europe lies through the combined efforts of the four powers and of the German people for a relaxation of the tension in Europe, for the establishment of confidence among the states.

And the achievement of this aim would be facilitated best of all by the organisation of a collective security system in Europe, with the two parts of Germany co-operating on an equal footing, pending the unification of Germany. Since this would help to strengthen peace in Europe and would create obstacles to the restoration of German militarism, the barriers now impeding Germany's unification would in time be removed.

Furthermore, for the unification of Germany, from the point of view of her internal conditions, it is most essential to bring closer together the two parts of Germany—the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic.

The Soviet delegation regrets that proper attention has not been paid at our conference to the problems of Asia and the Far East. Yet such questions as the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, the normalisation of the situation in the Taiwan area on the basis of recognition of the indisputable rights of the Chinese people, the implementation of the Geneva agreements on Indo-China, and others, will brook no delay. We cannot get away from these problems; they will have to be settled in the interests of the peace and security of Asia and the Far East, in the interests of world peace.

The Geneva Conference has opened the way for the joint consideration and settlement of urgent international problems in the future. We have also taken an important decision on the need to promote contact between East and West and to develop and further economic and cultural relations between our states.

We have thus laid the foundations for greater co-operation between our countries. For its part, the Soviet government is prepared to do everything to facilitate this co-operation. It hopes that the other states represented at this conference will adopt the same course, which is in the interests of the peoples of our countries and in the interests of world peace.

We all recognise the importance of the decisions taken here. They represent the beginning of a new stage in the relations between our countries. They will help to strengthen confidence

between us, between our peoples. These decisions will be of constructive value for other countries as well and for advancing the cause of world peace.

The deepest yearning of all peoples is the yearning for peace. The Soviet government will make the necessary efforts to achieve the practical implementation of our decisions, which are intended to ease international tension and strengthen world peace. This calls for patient and loyal consideration of the questions that we still have to consider and settle. But if we all act in the same spirit of co-operation which has been displayed here, at Geneva, that will be a sure guarantee that the lofty aim of maintaining peace will be achieved and that the peoples will not look to the future with anxiety.

## DIRECTIVES BY THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OF THE FOUR POWERS TO THE FOREIGN MINISTERS

**T**HE heads of government of France, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., and the United States, guided by the desire to contribute to the relaxation of international tension and to the consolidation of confidence between states, instruct their Foreign Ministers to continue the consideration of the following questions with regard to which an exchange of views has taken place at the Geneva Conference, and to propose effective means for their solution, taking account of the close link between the reunification of Germany and the problem of European security and the fact that the successful settlement of each of these problems would serve the interests of consolidating peace:

### 1. EUROPEAN SECURITY AND GERMANY

For the purpose of establishing European security with due regard to the legitimate interests of all nations and their inherent right to individual and collective self-defence, the Ministers are

instructed to consider various proposals to this end, including the following:

A security pact for Europe or for a part of Europe, including provision for the assumption by member nations of an obligation not to resort to force and to deny assistance to an aggressor;

Limitation, control, and inspection in regard to armed forces and armaments;

Establishment between East and West of a zone in which the disposition of armed forces will be subject to mutual agreement;

And also to consider other possible proposals pertaining to the solution of this problem.

The heads of government, recognising their common responsibility for the settlement of the German question and the reunification of Germany, have agreed that the settlement of the German question and the reunification of Germany by means of free elections shall be carried out in conformity with the national interests of the German people and the interests of European security. The Foreign Ministers will make whatever arrangements they may consider desirable for the participation of, or for consultation with other interested parties.

## 2. DISARMAMENT

The four heads of government,

Desirous of removing the threat of war and lessening the burden of armaments,

Convinced of the necessity, for secure peace, and for the welfare of mankind, of achieving a system for the control and reduction of all armaments and armed forces under effective safeguards,

Recognising that achievements in this field would release vast material resources to be devoted to the peaceful economic development of nations, for raising their well-being, as well as for assistance to under-developed countries,

## **AGREE:**

(i) For these purposes to work together to develop an acceptable system for disarmament through the sub-committee of the United Nations Disarmament Commission;

(ii) To instruct their representatives in the sub-committee in the discharge of their mandate from the United Nations to take account in their work of the views and proposals advanced by the heads of government at this conference;

(iii) To propose that the next meeting of the sub-committee be held on August 29, 1955, at New York;

(iv) To instruct the Foreign Ministers to take note of the proceedings in the Disarmament Commission, to take account of the views and proposals advanced by the heads of government at this conference, and to consider whether the four governments can take any further useful initiative in the field of disarmament.

### **3. DEVELOPMENT OF CONTACTS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST**

The Foreign Ministers should, by means of experts, study measures—including those possible in organs and agencies of the United Nations—which could

(a) Bring about a progressive elimination of barriers which interfere with free communications and peaceful trade between peoples, and

(b) Bring about such free contacts and exchanges as are to the mutual advantage of the countries and peoples concerned.

4. The Foreign Ministers of the four powers will meet at Geneva during October to initiate their consideration of these questions and to determine the organisation of their work.

**Collection Number: AD1812**

**RECORDS RELATING TO THE 'TREASON TRIAL' (REGINA vs F. ADAMS AND OTHERS ON CHARGE OF HIGH TREASON, ETC.), 1956 1961**

**TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961**

***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:- Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand*

*Location:- Johannesburg*

*©2012*

***LEGAL NOTICES:***

**Copyright Notice:** All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

**Disclaimer and Terms of Use:** Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of the collection records and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is part of a private collection deposited with Historical Papers at The University of the Witwatersrand.