

EXCERPTS FROM KHRUSHCHEV'S STATEMENTS ON GERMANY

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EXCERPTS FROM KHRUSHCHEV'S STATEMENTS ON GERMANY

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EXCERPTS FROM KHRUSHCHEV'S STATEMENTS ON GERMANY

I. BERLIN PROPOSALS

1. 10 Nov 58
Moscow Speech
(Pravda)

"Time to Renounce Vestiges of Occupation Regime..."

"The time has evidently come," declared comrade N. S. Khrushchev at a Soviet-Polish friendship meeting, "for the powers, signatories to the Potsdam agreement, to renounce the vestiges of the occupation regime in Berlin and thus to create the conditions for a normal situation in the capital of the GDR. The Soviet Union in its part, will transfer the functions in Berlin, which are still exercised by Soviet agencies, to the sovereign GDR. I think that this would be right."

"Let the United States, France and Great Britain form their own relations with the GDR and come to an agreement with her themselves if they are interested in certain questions connected with Berlin."

2. 27 Nov 58
Khrushchev Press
Conference in
Moscow

"Necessary to Conclude Peace with Germany..."

Khrushchev today gave a press conference during which he answered numerous questions from Soviet and foreign correspondents.

The Pravda correspondent asked Khrushchev why the problem of liquidating the occupation regime in Berlin had been raised by the Soviet government at this particular moment, and what aims it was pursuing with this step.

Khrushchev replied: The peoples are extremely alarmed about the tense relations prevailing between the big powers today. We have taken many steps to ease tension, to attain peaceful coexistence and bring about a situation in which not only are

2. 27 Nov 58
Khrushchev Press
Conference (Cont'd)

there no wars but no conflicts between the big powers either. To this end it is necessary in the first place to conclude peace with Germany. Enough time has elapsed--13 years.

But there are two states on German territory, the GDR and the Federal German Republic, states with different social-economic systems. In West Berlin an occupation regime is in force. Berlin is divided. It is self-evident that this anomalous position must be liquidated.

The division of Berlin would only be justified if one of the parties were harboring aggressive designs. Berlin [is being] transformed into a festering sore of war. A failure to liquidate it could lead to sorrowful consequences. We have decided to liquidate this sore, and in this way make a contribution to the establishment of friendly relations between the states who waged a common struggle against Hitlerite Germany. All those in favor of coexistence and the cessation of the cold war will support the Soviet proposal. Those, on the other hand, who would like to turn the cold into a hot war, will undoubtedly be aggrieved. But there are not many such people.

Khrushchev underlined that, although the present conditions in Berlin were not normal, the USSR wanted to eliminate them in a normal way through negotiations. Naturally, he added, this applies if the other side does not resort to provocations and does not take undesirable steps.

Noting that Berlin is the capital of the GDR the AFP correspondent asked: Why was it suggested to make West Berlin a free city?

Khrushchev said: Berlin as a whole belongs to the GDR; this follows logically from the Potsdam agreement. If we put forward such suggestions now, however, many would not be able to understand them correctly.

2. 27 Nov 58
Khrushchev Press
Conference (Cont'd)

Different systems exist on the territory of Berlin. We want to approach the problem realistically. That is why we consider that under the present circumstances the best thing is to create a free city so that the people who entertain no sympathies for socialism could live under capitalism.

For its part, the USSR promises to load the West Berlin enterprises with orders and supply food better than it has been supplied until now. Naturally, all this should be done on a commercial basis. I do not believe, Khrushchev said, that anyone doubts the USSR's possibilities. These measures will lead to a rise in the living standard and employment of the population of West Berlin.

The correspondent of the Hungarian radio asked what would the USSR do should the Western powers reject its proposals? This of course would be undesirable, Khrushchev said, but that would not stop us. We would go ahead with the proposals outlined in our notes. We do not have any other way out, Khrushchev stressed. Under the Potsdam agreements it is not permitted to arm Germany, yet West Germany is rearming. We have protested time and again, but the Western powers took no notice of this. Naturally, we are forced to act in the same way.

Berlin belongs to the GDR, the Monde correspondent said. Does that mean that, at a certain stage, there will come a proposal to abolish the free city?

Our proposal Khrushchev replied, does not mean temporary recognition. Of course, there is nothing eternal in the world. Life changes, but we will stick to our proposals until the population of the free city brings this question up itself.

2. 27 Nov 58
Khrushchev Press
Conference (Cont'd)

The New York Times correspondent pointed out that the note said that if the United States comes out against the Soviet proposals, then the four powers will have nothing more to talk about on Berlin. He asked whether that meant that should the United States reject the Soviet proposals then the USSR would not consider any other proposals.

Of course, Khrushchev replied, if the United States flatly turns down our proposals, then there will be nothing to discuss. But if it is a question of remarks, amendments, additions, then we are prepared to discuss them and even consider it absolutely essential. That is why we are giving six months time to weigh everything and think things over.

3. 9 Mar 59
East Berlin Rally
(New York Times)

"Would Not Mind Big Four or Neutral Troops
in West Berlin..."

Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev of the Soviet Union suggested today that West Berlin might be garrisoned by Big Four or neutral troops if it became a free city.

The Soviet leader, speaking at an indoor rally in East Berlin, said the United Nations might participate in guaranteeing the free-city status of West Berlin proposed by Moscow.

"We would not mind even if United States, British, French and Soviet troops or some neutral countries maintained minimum forces in West Berlin," Mr. Khrushchev said.

The Soviet Premier represented his apparent retreat from his previous demand for demilitarization of West Berlin as a concession to "show how we are ready to keep the peace."

3. 9 Mar 59
East Berlin Rally
(New York Times)
(Cont'd)

Mr. Khrushchev's speech, his seventh since his arrival in East Germany five days ago, sought to allay Western alarm about the implications of Soviet demands on West Berlin.

Even though West Berlin really belongs to the territory of East Germany, he said, the Soviet Union proposes the free city solution because "incorporation of West Berlin would mean a painful break in the social order it has built up."

He said there was no basis for Western fears that West Berlin would be insecure in its new status. Guarantees of its integrity are available and neither German state would be allowed to exercise any influence on West Berlin's affairs, he said.

"The United States says it won't give an inch," Mr. Khrushchev said. "There is no questions of giving an inch. The only change we propose is to remove a center of unrest and tension in the middle of Europe.

"The only difference could be that West Berlin became part of the German Democratic Republic," he went on. "But this difficulty has not arisen because the G.D.R. has formally pronounced in favor of a free-city solution and will guarantee its unhindered connections with the outside world."

Mr. Khrushchev conceded that there was not much trust between East and West. But the international situation will not get better while the middle of Europe remains in an explosive state without peaceful relationships, he said.

With President Eisenhower evidently in mind, Mr. Khrushchev accused Western statesmen of offering to go anywhere in the world to discuss anything in the interest of peace, but pulling back when concrete proposals were made.

3. 9 Mar 59
East Berlin Rally
(New York Times)
(Cont'd)
- "They say they want peace," he went on.
"But the smallest incident could unleash war. We want to overcome this situation. We want a settlement that heads off war."
4. 10 Mar 59
Khrushchev Press Conference in East Germany (New York Times)
- "Soviet Union Guaranteeing Power for Free City..."
- "I reached agreement in all things with leaders of the German Democratic Republic," Mr. Khrushchev told 900 guests at a Soviet Embassy reception tonight. "Between us there are no differences of opinion, not a trace of a difference...."
- Mr. Khrushchev told reporters that he had proposed the Soviet Union as one of the guaranteeing powers for a free city of West Berlin because his country had the right as one of the victors of World War II.
- "We did not sip coffee during the war but shed our blood," he said....
5. 19 Mar 59
Khrushchev Press Conference in Moscow (Reuters)
- "Ultimatum is Misinterpretation of Soviet Position..."
- Schewe, Correspondent of the West German newspaper Die Welt: President Eisenhower in his television speech on March 16 expressed agreement to a summit conference in the summer of 1959. Is the Soviet Government willing to postpone any concrete political actions in connection with the Berlin question prior to such a summit conference?
- N. S. Khrushchev: Posing such a question, you, Mr. Journalist, are obviously influenced by the propaganda which deliberately distorts our position and alleges that we have presented an ultimatum in our notes and fixed the date of expiry of such an ultimatum. This is a misinterpretation of our position. We submitted a proposal for the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the liquidation of the occupation regime in West Berlin.

5. 19 Mar 59
Khrushchev Press
Conference in Moscow
(Reuters) (Cont'd)

Fourteen years have already elapsed since the end of hostilities and these problems have not yet been solved, though we repeatedly made specific proposals aimed at their settlement. In such conditions we could not but fix a certain period adequate to reach a proper solution. For we know from past experience we might have to wait one or two years for a reply from our Western partners. That is, I tell you frankly, why we carefully took everything into consideration and drew the conclusion that six months were adequate. If nine months are needed to bring to the world a child, we think that the question of West Berlin can be settled in six months.

But since the cable which contained our proposal for the normalization of the situation in Berlin was sent on Nov. 27, 1958 the six months period expires on May 27, this year. But this is not an ultimatum, it is an approximate date. If we solved this problem not in 6 months but in 1 or 2 months, and it could really be solved in 1 month, everyone would sincerely welcome this. If it is believed that this problem is intricate and cannot be solved in 6 months, but can be solved, say, in 7 months, we will not object. Such is the truth.

In this question many distortions are made and intentions are attributed to us which we do not have. We declared unambiguously that if the Western powers refused to conclude a peace treaty with Germany, that is, with both German states, we would enter into negotiations with the GDR.

The Western powers proposed a foreign ministers meeting. We informed them of our stand on this question and are now waiting for their reply. According to information available to us and obviously available to you, the Western powers intend to suggest a foreign ministers meeting in May, mentioning even the date, May 11. We are already hastening to reply to this proposal though we

5. 19 Mar 59
Khrushchev Press
Conference in Moscow
(Reuters) (Cont'd)

have not yet received an official notice. I am disclosing a secret, but still I say that we shall accept the proposal for convening a conference on May 11. Comrade Gromyko tells me that this is already a concession by us.

Berezhkov, correspondent of the weekly New Times: The latest proposals on the contingents of troops in the free city of West Berlin and the extension of the time limit for a solution of the Berlin problem have given rise to allegations in the Western press that the Soviet proposals are the result of Western firmness. How do you assess such statements?

N. S. Khrushchev: Yes, I read such statements in the Western press. But they distort the real state of affairs. It must be said that there has been no "extension of the time limit," because as I have already explained, no ultimative time limits have been set for implementing our proposals in the Berlin issue in general. I mentioned this during my visit to the GDR and mention it today. This is why there is no place for a question of anybody's firmness in this case....

6. 19 Mar 59
Khrushchev Press
Conference in Moscow
(Reuters)

"Allies Have Lawful Rights in Berlin..."

N. S. Khrushchev: Yes, I believe that the United States, Britain, and France have lawful rights for their stay in Berlin. These rights flow from the fact of German surrender as a result of our joint struggle against Nazi Germany. But 14 years have elapsed since the end of the war and there is no need for the further occupation of West Berlin. That is why we proposed, at last, the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states. When a peace treaty is signed with the GDR and the Federal Republic of Germany the right to occupation becomes invalid.

6. 19 Mar 59
Khrushchev Press
Conference in Moscow
(Reuters) (Cont'd)

If the Western countries do not want to sign a peace treaty with Germany, the Soviet Union will still sign a peace treaty with the GDR. The rights, flowing from the surrender of Nazi Germany, extending to the territory of the GDR, too, will then cease to operate.

The GDR is an independent and sovereign state and if it signs a peace treaty with the USSR, peace conditions will consequently cover the entire territory of the GDR, and West Berlin lies on the territory of the GDR. We do not intend to hurt the population of West Berlin by abolishing their way of life, and that is why, by agreement with the Government of the GDR, we propose that West Berlin should enjoy the status of a demilitarized free city.

II. TREATY PROPOSALS

1. 18 Feb 59
Khrushchev Speech
at Tula
(New York Times)

"If Separate Peace Treaty Signed GDR Will
Become Sovereign State..."

Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev has asserted that the Soviet Union and its allies are prepared to sign a separate peace treaty with Communist East Germany. Moreover, he has warned the West that East Germany then would be a sovereign state and any attempt to force passage through it to West Berlin by land, by water or air "will be fittingly rebuffed...."

"We Soviet people have nothing to concede," Mr. Khrushchev said....

Premier Khrushchev, speaking to workers, collective farmers and party and Government officials in Tula, an old arms manufacturing city, linked the problem of West Berlin with the question of a German peace treaty.

"Some Western leaders say that if the land roads to West Berlin are blocked they will resort to an airlift," he said.

"The untenability of this stand is obvious. Indeed, if a peace treaty is signed with the two German states, or with one of them--and the Soviet Union and several other states that fought against Hitler's Germany are prepared to sign such a treaty--then the German Democratic Republic will acquire all the rights and obligations of a sovereign state.

"Moreover, these rights of the German Democratic Republic will be guaranteed by international law. Therefore no encroachment on the territory of the German Democratic Republic--in the middle of which Berlin is situated--either by ground, air or water can be allowed.

"Any violation of the German Democratic Republic's sovereignty will be fittingly re-

1. 18 Feb 59
Khrushchev Speech
at Tula (Cont'd)

buffed, regardless of how the violation is made: by water, ground or air. The imperialist gentry must take all this into account...."

"To this we can answer: you gentlemen may recognize it or not as you please!" the Premier exclaimed.

"The German Democratic Republic will not cease to exist because of that. You haven't been recognizing it for nearly ten years now. But it is not only existing, it is also successfully developing..."

"It is common knowledge that there are Soviet troops in the German Democratic Republic," he declared. "And mind you, they are not there to play skittles. Attempts are being made to scare us by saying that if we interfere they will begin to shoot. However, everyone realizes that if anybody starts shooting that would mean the beginning of a war.

"We advise all who try to rattle the saber: if you've got the jitters, take a cold shower and calm down. Otherwise it is perilous for peace...."

"With the people who adhere to such more sober positions we can come to an understanding," he said.

"One may well ask, what is he conceding to us?" Mr. Khrushchev added.

"No one is conceding anything to us. He simply reasons soberly and rationally."

Mr. Khrushchev said that on the other hand Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of West Germany and other Western leaders talked about demanding "a concession for a concession."

"What kind of bartering approach is this to the solution of important international problems?" he asked. "And what should we concede?"

1. 18 Feb 59
Khrushchev Speech
at Tula (Cont'd)

"We have made our proposals without asking too much," he declared. "We approach these proposals not from a bartering standpoint but honestly. We express the vital interests of the people...."

2. 4 Mar 59
Khrushchev Speech
at Leipzig
(New York Times)

"Promises East German Peace Treaty..."

Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev promised the East German people today a peace treaty whether the Western powers liked it or not....

"There are some hotheads in the West," Mr. Khrushchev said, shaking a finger. "They are not functioning right. They say we propose something impossible. Well, what do we propose? After fourteen years we propose a peace treaty for Germany and the elimination of the boiling kettle of Berlin."...

"If the Bonn republic does not want to sign, there will be a treaty for the German Democratic Republic alone," Mr. Khrushchev continued in excited phrases outrunning his interpreter. "What we want is peace, peace, peace...."

"We say to the West, let us have a peace conference with the two German states taking part," Mr. Khrushchev said today. "It would be a powerful contribution to relaxation of tension and would create good possibilities for the two German states to get together."

"The only way to reunification is through negotiations between the two German governments," he added....

Premier Khrushchev taxed Western powers with refusing Soviet proposals to settle the German question, yet failing to offer counter-proposals to the demand that the West withdraw from West Berlin and turn it into a demilitarized free city.

"Some people threaten us," he said. "Those who want war are those who have never fought. We [Russians and Germans] fought in two wars and we want peace...."

3. 7 Mar 59
Khrushchev Speech
at Leipzig
(TASS)

"Will Sign Separate Peace Treaty with
the GDR..."

"It is known that the Soviet Government has put forward the proposal to conclude a peace treaty with the GDR and the Federal Republic of Germany. I will not take long in dealing with this question. The proposal has been made, and we are waiting for a reply. From our point of view, it would be better to sign the treaty with the two existing German states but should this not take place, we will have to sign a peace treaty with the GDR. What is wrong about that? Which is better, no peace treaty or one with the GDR? The signing of a peace treaty with the GDR will be of great constructive importance. The German people will get the long awaited peace treaty. Should the government of the Federal Republic of Germany decline to sign a peace treaty, the position of the Federal Republic will become more complicated. Indeed, any honest person will have a legitimate question: Why is the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany unwilling to sign the peace treaty? That must be because it wants to keep up the state of cold war in order to start a hot war at an opportune moment. It is afraid of ending the cold war, because if there is none, NATO may well fall to pieces.

"Our proposals for the conclusion of a peace treaty with the GDR and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as the proposal for making West Berlin a free city, are said to have caused some disquiet among certain sections of the population of West Germany and West Berlin. But is there any reason for that disquiet? What will happen to West Berlin if it becomes a free city? Will the order of things change there? To this question one can reply: Nothing bad will happen. No one is going to make the population of West Berlin accept a scheme of things unacceptable to them. If they like the capitalist order of things, let it continue, by all means. Evidently the conditions are not ripe as yet for a new scheme of things there. There is a time for everything, however."

4. 9 Mar 59
Khrushchev Address
at Berlin Rally

"West Berlin is Part of the Territory
of the GDR..."

"An important step toward a healthy international situation would be a peace settlement with Germany. This question has matured. The German people and all peoples of the world expect this solution. Could it possibly be considered normal that 14 years after the end of the war there has still been no peace treaty signed between Germany and the states which took part in that war? The conclusion of a peace treaty and the liquidation of the occupation regime in West Berlin would further a rapprochement between the two existing German states and create the opportunity for the peaceful development of all of Germany. The conclusion of a peace treaty would eliminate many of the causes which are producing mistrust in the relations between the states and would thus strengthen peace and the security of the peoples....

"The signing of a peace treaty would also mean the solution of the West Berlin question, which as part of Greater Berlin forms part of the territory of the German Democratic Republic. When we discussed the question of doing away with the remnants of the occupation regime in West Berlin and the normalization of the situation in the city, we took into account the fact that in the postwar years different economic and political conditions have developed in West Berlin than in the GDR. We view matters in a sober manner and we understand that the integration of West Berlin in the GDR would cause a painful break with the customary way of life of the people of West Berlin. The Soviet Union therefore put forward the proposal to accord West Berlin the status of a free city. Realization of this proposal would cause no change whatever in the existing situation in West Berlin except for the elimination of the occupation regime. The present social system would remain. No change whatever would take place in the conditions of social life.

4. 9 Mar 59
Khrushchev Address
at Berlin Rally
(Cont'd)

"Some people in the West express the fear that someone would threaten the freedom and independence of West Berlin. Such fears are of course devoid of any foundation. We suggested nevertheless that the great powers guarantee the independence and free development of the free city. No state, including the two German states, must interfere in the internal affairs of the free city. We have no objection to the United Nations cooperating in such guarantees.

"If necessary, we would even agree to the United States, Great Britain, France, and the USSR, or neutral countries, maintaining some sort of minimum number of troops in West Berlin to guarantee its status of free city. If such guarantees exist, nobody would dare to disturb the independent life of the free city....

"Permit me to ask: By what interests are they guided? We are told that our proposals cannot be accepted because the necessary trust does not yet exist between the countries of the socialist camp and the Western powers. True, this confidence for the time being does not exist, but this is no argument for the refusal to conclude a peace treaty. This would mean that, with the existing tension in the international situation we would not conclude a peace treaty at all with the GDR and the German Federal Republic. However, the international situation will naturally not improve as long as there are states in the center of Europe with which no peace settlement has yet been achieved. This kind of logic can lead to a dangerous cul-de-sac and have bad consequences for peace....

"We want everybody to understand clearly: Our proposals to conclude a peace treaty with both German states and to liquidate the occupation regime in West Berlin are dictated by the desire to separate the armed forces of the two camps and to normalize the situation in this part of the world. We shall not spare forces or energy in order to eliminate the dangerous situation which has now arisen in Germany.

4. 9 Mar 59
Khrushchev Address
at Berlin Rally
(Cont'd)

"May the imperialists then try to prove to the people that they are acting in their interests by making an attempt to continue the state of war in the center of Europe.

"Should the Western powers refuse to sign a peace treaty with both German states, we shall still sign a peace treaty with GDR....

"We propose to solve questions in which the danger of a new military conflict is inherent. The armed forces of the confronting military groupings meet in German territory, especially in Berlin, and the slightest carelessness on any side may produce the spark which starts a blaze over it and explodes the powderkeg.

"We want to separate the contacts so as not to cause the spark and so as not to confront the world with the danger of the greatest disaster: a third world war. Such is the position."

5. 19 Mar 59
Khrushchev News Conference in Moscow
(Reuters)
- "German Peace Treaty Would Normalize Situation in Central Europe..."
- "As you know, quite a long time has already passed since the publication of the Soviet draft peace treaty with Germany and of the proposals for ending the occupation regime in West Berlin...."
- "We have been saying all along that the only aim behind the Soviet Government's proposals is to put an end to the after-effects of World War II, to normalize the situation in Berlin and throughout the whole of Germany, and thus make a good start toward ending the 'cold war.'"
- "It is our firm conviction that the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the ending of the occupation of West Berlin would accord with the national interests of the German people and with the interests of strengthening peace and security. The international climate can and must be cleared. The only thing we are seeking is to have the storm clouds of a new war disappear from the international horizon forever...."
- "We value this very much and we shall do all in our power to put an end to the after-effects of World War II, bring about the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and contribute in this way toward creating a normal situation in Central Europe. This will be a start toward clearing international relations of all kinds of unwanted factors which are obstructing normal relations and a peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems...."
- "In the meeting with Macmillan, it was recognized that talks should be held between the governments concerned in the near future to smooth out the differences of opinion, including those on a peace treaty with Germany and on the Berlin question...."

5. 19 Mar 59
Khrushchev News Conference in Moscow
(Reuters) (Cont'd)

"One cannot at the same time fail to notice the statements by some Western political and military leaders which distort the true nature of the Soviet proposals concerning a peace treaty with Germany and Berlin, imputing aims which we do not have.

"The Soviet Government submitted its proposals concerning a peace treaty with Germany and Berlin without seeking to obtain any advantage at the expense of the other side, without seeking to prejudice anybody's interests.

"After all, no one will lose anything by the Germans' receiving a peace treaty and West Berlin being rid of the occupationists who are lingering rather too long in the place. All peoples will be satisfied with the abolition, through the signature of a peace treaty with the two German states, of the after-effects of World War II.

"All will gain, and the cause of peace most of all, because the climate in the heart of Europe, where disputes and military conflicts have flared up so often, will become healthier.

"We urge the Governments of all countries which took part in the war against Nazi Germany to sit down at a conference table and settle the urgent problems, to conclude a peace treaty with Germany....

"The people want cooperation and understanding among the states on which peace mainly depends. As for the Soviet Government, the will of the people is law. We have submitted proposals for a peace treaty with Germany and the normalization of the situation in Berlin. It is now up to the Western powers to act. If they are really ready to talk, they will not find us wanting. We shall do everything within our power to make the talks a success."

III. REUNIFICATION

1. 7 Mar 59
Khrushchev Speech
at Leipzig
(TASS)

"Soviet Union for German Unity...."

"The world population is about 2.5 billion, of which there are about 80 million Germans. The question of society's movement to communism bears upon all peoples of the world, whereas the German question bears mostly upon Germany. Naturally, it is an acute, an important question. We stand for German unity, and the German people need it. But can the peoples of the world exist without the reunification of the two German states? They can, and not badly. Can the Germans live without reunification? They can, and even well. Consequently this, though important, is not a fundamental question.

"The most reasonable way out would be to sign a peace treaty with the two German republics. In the present circumstances that would be the most correct solution of the question. The signing of a peace treaty, without altering anything that came into being after the war, by putting on record the existing situation in Central Europe, would represent a decisive step toward normalizing the international situation, toward establishing a climate of confidence between the two sides....

"The Soviet Union, the Soviet people, always were and are for the unity of Germany. Our government, Stalin, on the other hand, persistently advocated the idea of German unity. And we continue to abide by this decision today. But now, on what foundation should Germany be reunited? We are not for just any reunification. And you, too, will agree, I think, that the question of reunification should be approached primarily from class positions....

1. 7 Mar 59
Khrushchev Speech
at Leipzig (Cont'd)

"What does the reunification of Germany mean under the present conditions when two German states are in existence? On what basis can it be achieved? He who reflects the interests of the working class cannot admit, even in thought, that the workers and peasants of the GDR, who have created a worker-peasant state and are successfully building socialism, should lose all their gains in consequence of reunification and should agree to live, as formerly, in capitalist slavery.

"Our consent to the reunification of Germany on a capitalist basis, comrades, would dishonor us workers in the eyes of the future generations.

"Can we agree when the capitalist world proposes to achieve the reunification of Germany at the expense of the GDR and thus narrow down the front of socialism? To do so would be to imitate the proverbial crucian carp which wanted to jump into the pike's mouth, and in such a way as not to scratch its throat. We have not been and we do not live to yield to capitalism. We must firmly abide by the principles of proletarian internationalism. We live, as Lenin said, in the era of proletarian revolutions and the collapse of capitalism....

"I repeat, we are for German unity, and the German people will be reunited. This is only a question of time. At the same time, it is of course very important on what basis it will be reunited....

"Consequently, the frontiers should apparently be recognized as they do exist...."

2. 7 Mar 59
Khrushchev Speech
at East Berlin
(UPI)

"Will Not Agree to Reunification Plan
Ending Communist Control of East Germany
..."

Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev of the Soviet Union appealed to the West tonight to show readiness to compromise and give a "reasonable answer" to the Soviet proposals for Berlin.

He told a mass rally of East Berliners that the Soviet Union stood by its proposals for making West Berlin a demilitarized free city and for turning over to East Germany control of the Western access routes to the city.

"Now we are waiting for an answer," the Soviet Premier said. "We hope it will be a reasonable one."

His call for a reasonable approach by the West followed a speech earlier in the day at Leipzig in which he warned that a small war over Berlin would touch off a world conflict that would end in the destruction of the West by Communist forces.

Mr. Khrushchev served notice in his Leipzig speech that he would not agree to the reunification of Germany under any plan that would end Communist control of East Germany.

"The question of peace and a peace treaty with Germany must be solved," he said here tonight.

"All honorable men who want peace have no arguments against this. A state of order must be established in Berlin amounting to normal peaceful conditions for the Berliners. Compromises have to be made."

2. 7 Mar 59
Khrushchev Speech
at East Berlin
(Cont'd)

The Soviet leader already has been discussing with East German officials a separate peace treaty with East Germany to be signed if the West refuses to agree to the Soviet call for an all-German peace pact. A separate treaty, Mr. Khrushchev has said, will be taken by the Communists to mean the end of the four-power occupation of Berlin.

"I am convinced," Mr. Khrushchev said, "that the people of Germany and people throughout the world who want peace will understand this plan for Berlin and will judge our proposals accordingly."

In his speech earlier to an all-German workers' conference at Leipzig, he warned that the Soviet bloc would use a policy of strength in dealing with the West. He said communism would sooner or later rule the world and that an accident could cause a war in Germany, where both East and West maintain large armed forces.

"We recognize the right of using strength in dealing with the imperialists," he said. "When you talk to the imperialists you need only morals but you must be supported by strength."

"If a new war starts, even if it starts as a small war, it will end in the destruction of capitalism," Mr. Khrushchev said.

IV. SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS

1. 27 Nov 58
Khrushchev Press
Conference in
Moscow

"Insure Non-Interference in Internal
Berlin Affairs..."

"We shall do everything to safeguard and support the free city, insure noninterference in its internal affairs so that it would develop in keeping with the wish of its population. Should other countries recognize the situation or should they agree to sign a joint document or, if necessary, to have this recorded in a resolution of the United Nations, we would be willing to do so."

2. 12 Dec 58
Khrushchev
Sueddeutsche Zeitung
Interview

"Absence of American Tanks Would Give
Better Security to West Berlin than
Commitments of Four Powers..."

"The absence of American tanks and British guns in the streets of West Berlin and the transformation of West Berlin into a free city would create peaceful conditions and give it corresponding security. A better security guarantee for West Berlin than the commitments of the four big powers and the two German states is hardly conceivable. These guarantee commitments might be registered with the UN, if this should be necessary. The Soviet Union and the GDR are ready to guarantee the maintenance of the free city status. For the moment, it is only the Western powers which disapprove of this idea."

3. 5 Feb 59
Khrushchev Speech
at XXI Party
Congress

"Access for Allies to Free City..."

"We are, therefore, prepared to participate with the United States, Britain and France in defining a status for West Berlin that would guarantee its normal development, its relations with all countries with which it may wish to maintain them, and access for those countries to the free city. We also agree to the United Nations participating in safeguarding the status of the free city and are prepared to discuss the form in which this may be done."

4. 24 Feb 59
Two-Hour Kremlin
Speech
(New York Times)

"Soviet Union Insists West Must Accept Existence of Two German States..."

...Mr. Khrushchev led up to his rejection of the Western proposal with a reiteration of the Soviet Union's insistence that the West must accept the existence of the two German states and must sign a peace treaty with both.

He indicated again, as he did last week, that if the West did not, the Soviet Union would go ahead with the conclusion of a separate peace treaty with East Germany....

"Since we are united in the organization of the Warsaw Treaty, we shall stand for the defense, independence and sovereignty of each of the members of that pact," Mr. Khrushchev declared.

"Any violation of the borders of the German Democratic Republic will be regarded as a violation of the sovereignty of the republic and as the beginning of war.

"That is why we warn the hotheads of the West, who come out with aggressive declarations against the German Democratic Republic, that Soviet troops and German

4. 24 Feb 59
Two-Hour Kremlin
Speech
(cont'd)

Democratic Republic troops stand on German territory and no one dares violate the border of the German Democratic Republic either by land, by water or by air...."

Addressing himself to the Western leaders he said:

"You, gentlemen, are carrying on an absurd policy with regard to your former partner in the job of destroying Hitler, a partner that contributed much more to the defeat of Hitlerism than all of the other participants in the anti-Hitler coalition put together.

"Your conception is unrealistic, incorrect and unacceptable...."

Mr. Khrushchev said simply that he hoped the visit of Mr. Macmillan would "promote the improvement of mutual understanding between us, be an important step on the path of the development of friendly relations between our countries and promote the development of trade and cultural contacts...."

Mr. Khrushchev proposed that the pact be concluded for twenty years.

"But if our guests tell us that this is not a very long period, we will hail such a statement and say 'Let us conclude a pact for fifty years, and if you want for even a longer period.'..."

5. 24 Feb 59
Moscow Speech

"United Nations Must Take Part in Observance of Free City Status..."

"When the peace treaty is concluded with the two German states, or with one of them the agreement on the division of Berlin into sectors, and hence on its occupation status, will then, ipso facto, finally fall away.

5. 24 Feb 59
Moscow Speech
(Cont'd)

"In order not to subject West Berlin to a painful breaking of the social-economic system established there, we propose to confer upon it the status of a free city. The government of the German Democratic Republic, on whose territory Berlin is situated, has agreed to this. We agree to elaborate--together with the United States, Britain, and France--the status of the free city of Berlin and to work out the proper guarantees for the preservation of that status so that nobody will interfere in the affairs of the free city and so that its independence and its necessary business, cultural, and other relations with the countries of West and East will be safeguarded.

"The Soviet Union agrees to be--together with the United States, Britain and France --one of the guarantors of the status of the free city of Berlin. We hold also that the United Nations must take part in the observance of the status of the free city...."

6. 19 Mar 59
Khrushchev Press
Conference in
Moscow
(Reuters)

"Soviet Forces to be Withdrawn only if
General Agreement Reached to Withdraw
Allied Forces From Foreign Soil..."

N. S. Khrushchev: "First, we do not term the peace treaty which we will sign with the GDR, in case the Western powers and the Federal Republic of Germany refuse to conclude a peace treaty on Germany, a separate peace treaty. As for the essence of the question, evidently, our forces would remain in the GDR. They can be withdrawn only on the condition that general agreement is reached on the withdrawal of foreign forces from alien soil. Such an agreement must be reached between the NATO states and the states united by the

6. 19 Mar 59
Khrushchev Press
Conference in
Moscow
(cont'd)

Warsaw treaty. We cannot and will not withdraw forces unilaterally. And I should like to add that we are not going to reduce our armed forces further since the Soviet Union has already cut its forces by more than 2 million men. Unfortunately, the Western powers did not follow suit. That is why, speaking of peace, we are forced to keep our powder dry."

Leonhardt, correspondent of ADN: "President Eisenhower said in his speech that the Soviet Government's proposal on making West Berlin a demilitarized free city was allegedly vague and expressed the opinion that the adoption of this proposal would not safeguard the freedom and independence of West Berlin. Are there any foundations for such assertions concerning the Soviet proposals for a solution of the Berlin problem?"

N.S. Khrushchev: "The question must be settled in principle. If the foreign ministers or the heads of government meet and settle in principle the question that agreement must be reached on creating the status of a free city for West Berlin, partial problems would not seem too difficult. If Mr. Eisenhower believes that our proposals are not precise enough and, as a photographer would say, not yet in focus, let us together search for this precision, let us aid the developer--at one time in my youth photography interested me--and we will find those means which would insure freedom to the free city of West Berlin so that no one should interfere in its affairs, so that it should have contacts with those states it wants to."

6. 19 Mar 59
Khrushchev Press
Conference in
Moscow
(cont'd)

"The government of the GDR on its part declared that it will honor the treaty on the free city of Western Berlin and would safeguard all necessary guarantees. And we on our part should do everything to secure the independence of this city and nonintervention in its affairs. Let other countries, if the question of a free city seems vague to them, try together with us to make it clearer."

Buist, correspondent of the British REUTER agency: "Is the Soviet Government willing to examine a wider agenda for the original foreign ministers conference, and not only the question of Berlin and a German peace treaty?"

N.S. Khrushchev: "We have always been supporters of a reasonable approach to a solution of problems. We believe that in this case the key problem must be seized and solved, this is one approach. There is another approach too: to begin with less important matters. A big international problem has now matured, the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. It would be better to settle this issue first and thus cut the Gordian knot. Then it would be easier to settle other issues too. When we met with Mr. Macmillan we mentioned this, and if there is to be a meeting of heads of government--and such a meeting must be repeated, because questions cannot be solved in one or two meetings--evidently better mutual understanding will be obtained. But what is to be discussed and solved first and foremost is a question that is better settled with the government's concerned and not here at a press conference."