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# RADIO PROPAGANDA REPORT

SOVIET ELITE STATEMENTS ON TROOP WITHDRAWAL FROM EUROPE

(November 1956 - January 1959)

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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Introduction

This report presents, in chronological order, all references to the withdrawal or reduction of foreign troops from Europe that have appeared in statements by CPSU Presidium members and top Soviet military leaders, in Soviet Government statements and notes, and in communiqués signed jointly by Soviet and other bloc leaders during the period 17 November 1956 through 29 January 1959. Formal Soviet disarmament proposals are not included.

The usual formulation of the long-standing Soviet demand for withdrawal or reduction of foreign troops from Europe has been a very generalized one: The USSR favors a withdrawal of all foreign troops and liquidation of military bases in European countries.

The extent and timing of a proposed reduction were specified for the first time in the first statement cited in this chronology--a section of the Soviet Government's 17 November 1956 statement on disarmament. This statement suggested a reduction of foreign troops in Germany by one-third during 1957. The extent of proposed reductions in other European countries was not specified until two years later, when the 28 November 1958 Soviet Government declaration on surprise attack urged a one-third reduction in all European countries that would be included in a proposed zone of inspection.

The proposal for a one-third reduction of troops in Germany was reiterated only infrequently in the months following its introduction in November 1956. The 20 September 1957 Soviet memorandum on disarmament modified the proposal by suggesting a reduction by one-third "or some other agreed proportion." This suggestion was repeated by Gromyko three weeks later, but it did not reappear in elite pronouncements until the 5 May 1958 revised agenda proposal for a summit meeting (released on 17 June). The 5 May proposal suggested that the reduction be carried out during the course of 1958. The USSR's 15 July 1958 proposal for a European friendship treaty extended the time period to the next "one to two years." No elite statement since then has specified a time limit.

Withdrawal of troops "behind their national frontiers"--demanded in the omnibus 10 May 1955 Soviet disarmament proposals--was not called for in so many words in Soviet elite statements from the fall of 1956 to the spring of 1958. But the demand was reiterated in the 5 May 1958 summit-conference proposals, the 15 July 1958 proposal for a European friendship treaty, the 19 September 1958 government memorandum to the United Nations, and Khrushchev's 29 January 1959 report to the XXI CPSU Congress.

Control of troop reduction has seldom been discussed. The November 1956 statement referred to "necessary supervision," and three subsequent elite statements mentioned a control system. These few references to control are underlined in the compilation.

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(November 1956 - January 1959)

Government statement on disarmament, 17 November 1956:

The Soviet Union is once more raising its voice for the suspension of the arms race, for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, and for the prohibition of the testing of these weapons. For the purpose of a practical and speediest realization of these demands, in whose implementation all peoples are vitally interested, the Soviet government proposes:

To reduce by one-third, in the course of 1957, the armed forces of the United States, the USSR, Britain, and France stationed on the territory of Germany, with the establishment of the necessary supervision of this reduction.

To put into practice in the course of 1957 the considerable reduction of the armed forces of the United States, Britain, and France stationed on the territory of NATO countries and the armed forces of the USSR stationed on the territory of Warsaw Pact member states.

To liquidate in the course of two years foreign military, naval, and air force bases on the territories of other states.

Soviet-Polish communique, 18 November 1956:

Both delegations consider that in the present acute international situation all states, and first of all the great powers, must exert every effort to reach agreement on the reduction of armaments and armed forces, the banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the liquidation of military bases on foreign territories, and a considerable reduction of the armed forces of the United States, Britain, France, and the USSR in Germany.

Col. Gen. N. S. Fomin on Soviet Armed Forces Day, 22 February 1957:

The ruling circles of the United States, Britain, and France have constantly rejected the proposals of the Soviet Government on the further reduction of armaments and armed forces of the major states, the banning of atomic weapons, and the liquidation of military bases on foreign territories. The Soviet Union is taking concrete steps to eliminate international tension.

Gromyko at a reception in the GDR, 12 March 1957:

However good the agreement we have signed may be, it would be better for the German as well as for the Soviet people if at long last conditions were created which permitted the signing of

a peace treaty with a united peace-loving and democratic Germany and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Germany. You know that the Soviet Government has been aiming at this for a long time. Unfortunately, new obstacles have year after year been created by the Western powers and the government of the German Federal Republic on this road.

Zhukov at a reception in the GDR, 12 March 1957:

The Soviet Government has repeatedly proposed to the Western powers that they should agree on the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of Germany. The Soviet Government now again proposes that the forces of the United States, the USSR, Great Britain, and France which are stationed on the territory of Germany should be reduced by one-third in 1957 and that all foreign military bases on the territories of other states should be removed within two years.

Acceptance of these proposals would facilitate the creation of prerequisites for safeguarding a permanent peace in Europe as well as the solution of the German problem and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of Germany. The governments of the three Western powers, parties to the Paris Agreements which provide for leaving foreign troops for 50 years on the territory of the German Federal Republic, do not, however, support these Soviet proposals which are aimed at peace.

Khrushchev in an interview with the Tokyo ASAHI, 18 March 1957:

The attempt to terrify people by a "communist menace" will not be successful. Some people urge that the Soviet Union withdraw troops from Europe. However, Soviet troops stationed abroad are not large in number. We have some Soviet troops in Poland, a few more in Hungary and some in Rumania. There are no Soviet troops at all in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, or Albania.

Some people say that withdrawal of the Soviet troops from these countries would disturb the social setup of these countries and that they would be taken over by capitalism. We are sure that this view is mistaken. We would propose to the United States, Britain, and France that we all withdraw armed forces at the same time and eliminate all military bases in Europe and Asia. We believe that the Western powers would turn down this proposal. They would strengthen their armed troops in Europe. We are confident that the one who is right will be the ultimate victor.

Bulganin in a letter to Norwegian Premier Gerhardsen, 19 March 1957:

The Soviet Government has made specific proposals on such questions as the reduction of the armed forces of the great powers to the levels suggested at the time by the Western powers; the immediate termination of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests and

their complete prohibition with the destruction of all existing stockpiles; a considerable reduction, already in 1957, of the armed forces of the United States, Britain, France, and the USSR stationed in the territories of NATO countries and Warsaw Treaty countries, respectively; and the complete liquidation of all foreign military, naval, and air bases on the territories of other countries.

Bulganin in a letter to Danish Premier Hansen, 28 March 1957:

The Soviet Government proposes that a number of important measures aimed at a major improvement of the entire situation in Europe should be carried out at the present time. As you probably recall, the USSR has proposed that the armed forces of the United States, the USSR, Britain, and France stationed in Germany should be cut by one-third before the end of 1957 and appropriate control over this cut be established, and that the armed forces of the United States, Britain and France stationed on the territories of the NATO countries and the armed forces of the USSR stationed in the Warsaw Treaty countries should be substantially reduced in the course of 1957.

Zhukov at a reception in Rumania, 15 April 1957:

We have repeatedly proposed and are also proposing now to the Western powers to withdraw their forces from the territory of other states and to liquidate their bases in other countries. But under various pretexts and subterfuges they continue to reject these peaceful proposals of the Soviet Government which feels that their implementation would considerably ease international tension and would eliminate all suspicion.

Bulganin in a letter to British Prime Minister Macmillan, 20 April 1957:

The Soviet people have noted with great satisfaction recent reports from London on some reduction in the strength of the British armed forces and the intention of the government you head to take new steps in this direction and specifically to cut the strength of the British armed forces stationed in the Federal Republic of Germany. We duly note the farsightedness you and your government displayed in connection with this decision.

We believe that, until agreement on the problem of universal disarmament is reached, the Great Powers could facilitate its solution especially by such unilateral measures. It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union has long since taken the road of a considerable reduction of its armed forces. For instance, in 1956 the Soviet Union evacuated more than 30,000 servicemen from Germany, and is willing further to reduce its forces in Germany if the other Great Powers follow suit.

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Bulganin in a letter to French Premier Mollet, 17 May 1957:

If it is impossible to reach an agreement now on the liquidation of all foreign bases situated on the territory of European countries, then, in our opinion, there should be simultaneous reduction of them. In our opinion there should be a simultaneous reduction of the armed forces of the United States, Britain, and France situated on the territory of countries participating in NATO, and the armed forces of the USSR situated on the territories of countries participating in the Warsaw Treaty. As far as I know such an idea is being widely discussed and evoking response in various political circles of France.

Khrushchev in a CBS interview, 28 May 1957:

What steps must be taken to prevent war? Why could not the United States and the other countries withdraw their troops from West Germany and from the Western countries, from France, Italy, Turkey, Greece, and from other places where your troops are stationed and of which I do not know. We, on the other hand, could withdraw our forces from East Germany, from Poland, Hungary, and Rumania. We do not have any troops in other countries. This would be very useful and could serve as a first step to test our good relations and to create a good atmosphere which would not reek of war. This would promote good and peaceful relations which could develop between our two countries. We have said this before, we are repeating it now, and are ready to do everything necessary to this end.

Mr. Schorr asked whether this would be included in the system of aerial inspection to exercise control over the fulfillment of such an agreement.

Answer: This is a different question. We shall withdraw our forces from foreign countries, but as to inspection, well how can you inspect countries? You are tempted to peek into the bedroom of your neighbor when he draws his curtains. We think this is impolite. But if you find this pleasant, let us reach agreement: We agree to it but on definite reciprocal terms. These terms were outlined by Comrade Zorin in London. The United States promised to give us an answer. We are waiting for it. I have difficulty in saying now whether it will be acceptable to our country.

Then Mr. Novins said that when Khrushchev spoke about the evacuation of American troops from West Europe he meant their removal to a distance of more than 3,000 miles. When he spoke about the withdrawal of Russian troops from East Germany, however, he meant their removal to a distance which could be covered in 2 hours. He asked whether Khrushchev, being a realist, thought that in such a case some sort of assurances could be expected to insure mutual confidence? What is Russia prepared to do?

Answer: You are misusing your arithmetic in calculating the distance to which our troops are to be withdrawn. You are withdrawing your forces to places much nearer than ours. Britain, for instance, is situated just across the English Channel, and the United States of America across the ocean. I find it difficult to say how long it takes a ship to cross over from the United States to Germany or to France, but just count how long it will take a train to bring our troops from Irkutsk or Vladivostok, for instance. We have to cover a greater distance than you.

Moreover, when we speak of disarmament, let us trust each other and not look at each other as gangsters. Let us use the yardstick of honest people, and we give our word and an opportunity to control this word of ours. Let us establish posts at definite points to prevent an unexpected attack from one or another side. These terms of ours are quite sufficient to insure adequate control and preclude the possibility of a sudden attack by one state against another.

Then Mr. Cutler asked whether Mr. Khrushchev feared that not all the countries of East Europe would remain communist if the Soviet troops were withdrawn from there.

Answer: These are fabrications to which you have, obviously, fallen victim. You think that the communist system in one or another country can be maintained only with the help of our armed forces. I would not fight for such a communist system. The communist system must be based on the will of the people, and if the people should not want this system, (let?) them establish the way of life they prefer best. This is why we will unflinchingly withdraw our troops from all the countries in which they are stationed--from Poland, Hungary, Rumania, East Germany--and I am sure that the peoples of these countries will defend their system even better then.

\* \* \*

Then Mr. Schorr said that they were not there to argue with Khrushchev but to find out his views. But since he had touched upon America's troubles in Formosa and since they were engaged in a sincere conversation, he wished to ask Mr. Khrushchev how long, in his opinion, Kadar's regime would hold out without the presence of Soviet troops and tanks in Soviet Hungary.

Answer: Let us put this to a test. You withdraw your troops from Germany and France, while we withdraw ours from Germany, Poland, and Hungary. Then we shall see that Kadar's regime which is a regime of the Hungarian people, will live on and prosper forever. Wherever the working class has taken power into their hands, they will not yield it to the exploiters, but will strengthen it and develop their economy and culture. This is what Kadar's regime is. This is not the rule of Kadar. Kadar is but a servant of the Hungarian people. This is the cause of the Hungarian people, of their working class.

Khrushchev in an interview with the Tokyo ASAHI, 18 June 1957:

We are not afraid of withdrawing our troops from all the countries where they are now stationed. Britain, the United States, and France fear this. The governments of Italy and West Germany are also afraid of foreign troops being evacuated from their countries. Adenauer, for instance, asks the foreign troops to remain in Western Germany. Why? Simply because the governments of these countries do not know what will happen to them when the American forces leave. They do not know how Frenchmen, Italians, Germans, Greeks, and others will behave. This means that they are not sure of themselves. They are not sure of the people's adherence to the capitalist system. The truth is on our side. The strength is also on our side.

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The Soviet Union has repeatedly suggested to the Western powers a gradual withdrawal of troops from Germany. Moreover, the Soviet Union has repeatedly declared and declares its readiness to withdraw its troops completely, not only from the GDR, but also from Poland, Hungary, and Rumania if the United States and the other NATO countries withdraw their troops from West Germany, France and other countries.

Why should the Western powers not accept our proposal? It is simple, logical, and understandable. Let us restore the state of affairs to what is normal for peacetime. Let every nation arrange its life within the confines of its frontiers as it wishes, without the presence of foreign troops. The Soviet Union will agree to such measures without hesitation. The United States does not want to agree to this. It needs American troops in Europe to keep under its control not only West Germany but the other countries of West Europe as well. And it is not only in Europe that it keeps troops.

USSR-GDR joint statement, 13 August 1957:

Measures such as the withdrawal of all foreign troops from European countries and the signing of an agreement of nonaggression between members of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty defense system would contribute greatly to the easing of tension in Europe.

The GDR government notes with satisfaction the complete unity of views of the two sides concerning the need to effect in the immediate future a considerable reduction in the forces of the four powers stationed in Germany. The acceptance of this proposal by the Western powers would be an important step toward the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of both West and East European countries, and the establishment of normal peacetime conditions on the European continent.

\* \* \*

The GDR deems it necessary, in the first place, to reach an agreement with the German Federal Republic on the implementation of a joint policy on the following questions:

...Joint or separate appeals to the four powers for an early withdrawal of their troops from the whole of Germany. Conclusion of an agreement between the GDR and the German Federal Republic on these questions would mark the beginning of the existence of the German confederation.

Government statement on disarmament talks, 27 August 1957:

The Soviet Union also proposed that agreement be reached on the liquidation by the states of all foreign military bases on the territory of other countries; on a reduction in the armed forces of the USSR, the United States, Great Britain and France stationed on the territory of Germany; on a reduction in the armed forces of the United States, Great Britain, and France stationed on the territory of NATO member-countries and on the territory of other foreign countries and of the armed forces of the USSR stationed on the territory of Warsaw Treaty member-countries.

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Government note to West Germany, 7 September 1957:

It is known that on 27 July the Government of the GDR put forward its proposals concerning the means by which the German nation could maintain peace and reunify Germany. The GDR suggested establishment of a German confederation, that is a treaty-bound union of both sovereign German states for the pursuance of a common policy on such major and urgent questions of the national life of the German people as:

1. Prohibition of the location and production of atomic bombs or any other atomic weapons on the territory of Germany and prohibition of the propaganda of atomic war.
2. Withdrawal of both German states from NATO and the Warsaw Treaty organization respectively, abolition of conscription and an agreement on a mutual limitation of the strength of the armed forces.
3. A joint or separate agreement of the four powers concerning an early phased withdrawal of their troops from the whole of Germany.

Air Marshal Vershinin in a PRAVDA interview, 8 September 1957:

The Soviet Union has more than once proposed that all military bases on foreign territories should be dismantled. It is common knowledge that such proposals have been put forward by the Soviet Government at many sessions of the U.N. General Assembly, at the "summit" meeting of the four great powers in Geneva, at a number of other international meetings and conferences, and at talks with the governments of different countries.

Whenever they made these proposals, the representatives of the Soviet Union pointed out with ample reason that the existence of military bases is a grave threat to international peace and security. As long as there are military bases, there are weapons and the massing of armed forces at these bases. These weapons are at all times charged and can "go off" on the slightest mischance.

Gromyko in a statement to the press, 10 September 1957:

One might ask, on what ground does Adenauer speak of the Soviet Union's "negative stand" on the question of disarmament?... Maybe Adenauer dislikes the position of the Soviet Union because it proposes to liquidate military bases on foreign territories, including that of Germany, and to withdraw foreign troops from West and East Germany and also from other European states in which foreign armed forces are still to be found? Maybe Adenauer is not suited by that government's proposal that the powers possessing atomic weapons renounce their location on German soil.

The Soviet Union proposes the liquidation of foreign military bases in other countries. The Western powers will not hear of this. The Soviet Union proposes the withdrawal of the foreign armed forces stationed in Germany and in the territories of the other NATO countries and Warsaw Treaty states. On this question too the Western powers take a negative stand.

The Soviet Government considers that it is imperative to give priority to the following measures:

...To withdraw foreign troops from Germany and the other European countries on whose territory there are still foreign armed forces. There is no need to prove that the implementation of such a measure would decisively improve the climate in Europe and would help to establish good, peaceful relations between the states.

Government memorandum on disarmament, 20 September 1957:

The Soviet Government also proposes that the armed forces of the United States, the USSR, Britain, and France stationed in Germany should be reduced by one-third, or by some other agreed proportion.

The Soviet Government also believes that an agreement to reduce the armed forces of the United States, Britain, and France stationed on the territories of the NATO countries, and of the armed forces of the USSR stationed on the territories of the Warsaw Treaty countries would play a highly important part in relaxing international tension. The extent of reduction of armed forces of the above countries could be specified during subsequent negotiations.

Gromyko in a speech at the United Nations, 20 September 1957:

The Soviet Union favors the reestablishment of conditions throughout the world prevailing in peacetime and, on its part, is prepared to withdraw its forces from countries where they are at present stationed under the Warsaw Treaty and other international agreements if the United States and other Western countries also withdraw their armed forces stationed on the territory of a number of European countries. It is the opinion of the Soviet Government that foreign troops must also be withdrawn from other states where they are still stationed on one pretext or another.

\* \* \*

Taking into account the position of the Western powers and desiring to help to move the discussion of the disarmament problem off dead center, the Soviet Government submitted proposals for partial disarmament measures. The Soviet Government proposed that an agreement on such measures should provide for:

...The achievement of an agreement to reduce the armed forces of the United States, USSR, Britain, and France stationed on the territory of Germany as well as reduction of the armed forces of the United States, Britain, and France stationed on the territories of the NATO countries and of the armed forces of the USSR stationed on the territories of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Gromyko in a speech at the United Nations, 11 October 1957:

In conclusion, the Soviet representative recalled the most pressing disarmament measures proposed by the Soviet Union:

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...Reduction by one-third or by any other agreed amount of the armed forces of the United States, the USSR, Britain, and France stationed on German territory, and also reduction of the armed forces of these powers on the territories of NATO and Warsaw Treaty participants respectively.

Khrushchev in an interview with the Toronto TELEGRAM, 2 November 1957:

As you know, the Soviet Union supports disarmament, the reduction of armed forces and armaments and the withdrawal of troops belonging both to the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and to the parties to the Warsaw Treaty from the territories of other countries. The Soviet Union calls for the banning of the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the immediate cessation of tests of these weapons with the establishment of international control....

Question: Does the Soviet Union consider that the liquidation of foreign military bases in all European countries would be an effective contribution to the relaxation of international tension?

Reply: Yes, undoubtedly. The liquidation of military bases abroad is one of the most important issues in solving the problem of disarmament and the relaxation of international tension. It would be most reasonable to begin precisely with this. Judge for yourself: can the peace-loving peoples believe in the sincerity of declarations about disarmament made by statesmen of countries which maintain military bases in foreign countries?

If the Western powers had really wanted to solve the disarmament problem and to achieve a relaxation of international tension they should have wound up their military bases abroad and withdrawn their armed forces. It would also be logical to reduce armed forces by an amount at least equivalent to the number of troops at present manning these bases.

Bulganin in a letter to Chancellor Adenauer, 10 December 1957

I deem it necessary to call your attention to the appropriate statements of the Soviet Government concerning its readiness to reduce the strength of or withdraw its troops from Germany, as well as from other countries where they are stationed in conformity with the Warsaw Treaty, provided that the armed forces of the United States, Great Britain, and France are withdrawn from the territories of the Federal German Republic and other NATO member countries.

Government note to U.N. members, Spain and Portugal, 13 December 1957.

Thus, confidence between states and peoples could be strengthened which, in turn, would create favorable conditions for solving other major problems such as a substantial reduction of armed forces, the complete prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons with the cessation of their manufacture and the destruction of stockpiles the liquidation of military bases in foreign territories, the gradual withdrawal of foreign armed forces from the territories of all states including members of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty organizations.\*

\* Similar statements appeared in Bulganin's December letters to President Eisenhower and to leaders of the other countries belonging to NATO.

and the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe and Asia to replace the existing military alignment of powers.

Gromyko in a speech to the USSR Supreme Soviet, 21 December 1957:

Such questions as the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and their removal from armaments, the reduction of military expenditures and military budgets, the liquidation of military bases on foreign territories, the withdrawal of foreign troops from the NATO and Warsaw treaty countries respectively, are in general glossed over in the proposals by the Western powers. This alone shows that these powers are far from making any efforts to facilitate the success of the disarmament talks.

Soviet proposals for summit meeting agenda, 9 January 1958:

...5--It would be difficult to deny the enormous political significance for improving the situation in Europe, and not only in Europe, of the reduction of foreign troops which are on the territory of Germany and also on the territories of other countries--both members of NATO and of the Warsaw treaty, and even more the complete withdrawal of these troops. Keeping in mind the fact that the agreement on full withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of the above states has met with serious difficulties, as experience has shown, in the opinion of the Soviet Government necessity arises for an agreement between the interested states at least on the reduction of the number of their troops on the above-mentioned territories, or at first, at least, on the territory of Germany.\*

Khrushchev in a speech in Minsk, 22 January 1958:

The Soviet Union is continuing to show in deeds its sincere desire to strengthen peace and international security. Implementing the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Soviet Government adopted a decision to reduce its armed forces by a further 300,000 men, including the withdrawal of over 41,000 troops from the German Democratic Republic and over 17,000 troops from Hungary.

\* \* \*

We also believe that it is high time to reach agreement on the reduction of the foreign troops stationed in Germany and other European states. When we speak of the reduction of these forces, we mean that this must be only the beginning, only the first stage, because eventually all foreign troops must be withdrawn from the territories of other countries.

Khrushchev in an interview with the Hamburg DIE WELT, 29 January 1958

So far as I know, much attention is being paid in West Germany to the Soviet Government's proposals for a gradual reduction of foreign troops, with their subsequent complete withdrawal from the territories of all North Atlantic alliance and Warsaw Treaty states and the simultaneous liquidation of foreign bases--initiating these measures in Germany.

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\* The 15 January 1958 Soviet note to Portugal referred to a partial withdrawal of troops as "one of the most urgent steps."

It would seem that such a proposal, which is in complete accord with the national interests of the German people, should have been positively regarded by the Federal Republic. With the present concentration of troops and military equipment in Germany, which is abnormal for peace time, the disengagement of the armed forces of the great powers which are in contact there would simultaneously be conducive to the strengthening of security in Europe.

The well-known negative view that the Federal Government takes of the proposal to reduce and subsequently to withdraw foreign troops from Germany naturally is not conducive to the solution of an issue so important to the relaxation of international tensions.

Bulganin in a letter to President Eisenhower, 1 February 1958:

That is why the Soviet Government proposes, as you know, that the summit meeting consider such questions as: immediate discontinuation of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests, renunciation by the USSR, the United States, and Great Britain of the use of nuclear weapons, establishment in Central Europe of a zone free of atomic weapons, conclusion of a nonaggression pact between members of the North Atlantic alliance and members of the Warsaw treaty, reduction of the foreign troops on the territory of Germany and in other European states, the drafting of an agreement on questions connected with the prevention of a surprise attack, measures for the extension of international trade, discontinuation of the propaganda of war, and ways to ease tension in the Middle East.

Khrushchev in an interview with the London TIMES, 15 February 1958:

We are ready to agree to the complete banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons, to complete disarmament, to a complete withdrawal of troops and liquidation of foreign bases on the territories of other states.

Gen. M. V. Zakharov in an ADN interview, 18 February 1958:

Among these peaceful deeds, for example, is the Soviet Government's unilateral reduction, in 1955 and 1956 of her armed forces by 1.84 million men, which includes a reduction by more than 50,000 in the number of armed forces stationed in the GDR.

In accordance with an instruction of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR the Soviet Union has now decided to reduce its armed forces by a further 300,000 men, of whom more than 41,000 are to be withdrawn from the GDR and more than 17,000 from Hungary. In this way the armed forces will be reduced by a total of 2.14 million men, among them approximately 100,000 men from the group of Soviet armed forces in Germany....

What is the reaction of the Western powers to all this? Unfortunately they have not yet confirmed their professions of faith in peace with any practical measures. They continue the armaments race as before and maintain huge armed forces on the territories of other states. It suffices to point out that according to the U.S. press, more than 1 million armed forces are abroad. The network of U.S. military bases in foreign countries is becoming increasingly dense.

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The peoples are waiting for the governments of the United States, Britain, France, and West Germany, to embark at long last on peaceful deeds which will liquidate the "cold war" and promote lasting peace throughout the world. It will be recalled that the Soviet Government has on several occasions submitted proposals which are directed at the reduction and also at the withdrawal of the foreign troops from the territory of European states, a process which should begin in Germany.

The Soviet Government recently proposed the discussion of the question of the reduction of foreign armed forces stationed in Germany and other states in Europe at a conference of leading statesmen. Agreement by the powers on this question would be a good foundation for settling the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territories of European states and thus for the restoration of the situation which existed before the Second World War. It is indisputable that this would considerably facilitate a rapprochement of the two German states and the solution of the national problem of the German people--Germany's reunification on a peaceful and democratic basis.

Government note to the United States, 28 February 1958:

The considerations of the Soviet Government regarding the agenda for a summit conference with the participation of heads of government are already known to the Government of the United States. The Soviet Union proposes that the following topical international questions be discussed at this conference:

Suspension of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests without delay.

Renunciation by the USSR, the United States, and Great Britain of the use of nuclear weapons.

Setting up in Central Europe of a zone free of atomic weapons.

Conclusion of a nonaggression agreement between states which are members of NATO and the Warsaw treaty.

Reduction in the number of foreign troops on the territory of Germany and within the boundaries of other European states.

The working out of an agreement on questions connected with averting a sudden attack.

Measures for the expansion of international trade contacts.

The suspension of war propaganda.

Ways to ease tension in the Near and Middle East.

Bulganin in a letter to President Eisenhower, 6 March 1958:

Are Englishmen and Frenchmen, the population of West Germany, or Belgians less interested than Russians, Poles, Czechs or the inhabitants of East Germany in a nonaggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw powers so that by mutual agreement both sides should commence a reduction in the numerical strength of foreign troops in Germany and that a vast denuclearized zone be created in Central Europe and excluded from the sphere of application of atomic, hydrogen, and rocket weapons?

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Foreign Ministry statement on disarmament, 14 March 1958:

The questions which the Soviet Union suggested for discussion at the /summit/ meeting include immediate suspension of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests, renunciation of the use of these weapons, establishment in Europe of a zone free from atomic and hydrogen rocket weapons, reduction of the strength of the foreign troops stationed in Germany and other European states, and so forth.

Khrushchev in a preelection speech in Kalinin, 14 March 1958:

In our opinion the ripe international questions at the present stage are: An immediate banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the renunciation by the USSR, the United States and Great Britain of use of nuclear weapons, the setting up in the center of Europe of an atom-free zone, the conclusion of agreements of nonaggression between the states participating in the North Atlantic bloc and in the Warsaw Treaty organization, reduction of foreign troops on the territory of Germany and within the boundaries of other European states, the working out of an agreement on questions connected with the prevention of surprise attack, means for easing tension in the Near and Middle East, measures for extension of international trade relations and the stopping of war propaganda.

Government memorandum to West Germany, 19 March 1958:

In the proposals concerned, which were also transmitted to the Government of the German Federal Republic, the Soviet Government advocated that the conference participants concentrate their attention on most urgent international problems ripe for agreement, such as the immediate cessation of tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the setting up in Central Europe of a zone free from atomic and rocket weapons, the reduction of the number of foreign troops in German territory and within the boundaries of other states, and so forth.

Khrushchev in an interview with the Paris LE FIGARO, 20 March 1958:

The Soviet Government proposed a high-level conference of heads of government, in order to discuss such urgent questions as the cessation of hydrogen and atomic weapon tests; the refusal to make use of nuclear weapons; the creation of an atom-free zone in Central Europe; the conclusion of a nonaggression pact between NATO countries and member countries of the Warsaw Treaty; the reduction of the number of armed forces stationed on German territory and within the frontiers of other European states; the elaboration of an agreement on questions connected with the warding off of surprise attacks; measures to expand international trade relations; the cessation of war propaganda; means to relax tension in the Near and Middle East.

Aide memoire to the United States, 24 March 1958:

It is the deep conviction of the Soviet Government that the following are the questions of great international significance which must be given priority: immediate ending of tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons; renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons by the USSR, the United States, and Great Britain; establishment of a zone free from



nuclear and rocket weapons in Central Europe; signing of a nonaggression agreement between states belonging to the North Atlantic alliance and the Warsaw Treaty member states; reduction of the numerical strength of foreign troops stationed on the territory of Germany and in other European states; drafting of an agreement on questions involved in the prevention of surprise attack; measures for extending international trade; ending of war propaganda; ways to reduce tension in the area of the Near and Middle East.

Soviet-Hungarian communique, 10 April 1958:

The Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic proclaim their resolution to work for the settlement, among other pressing international problems, of such urgent questions as the immediate and universal termination of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests, reduction in the numerical strength of foreign troops stationed in Germany and in other member states of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, the establishment in Central Europe of a zone free from nuclear and rocket weapons.

Mikoyan in an interview with West German journalists, 26 April 1958:

Asked whether the Soviet Union is prepared to evacuate the GDR, Poland, and Hungary if the Western powers withdraw their forces from the Federal Republic, Mikoyan replied that the Soviet proposals for a withdrawal of forces were not adopted even when Moscow proposed a phased withdrawal. Thereupon the Soviet Union unilaterally decided to withdraw 40,000 men from the GDR and 17,000 from Hungary. "However, the Western powers want to hear nothing of a withdrawal, yet we shall nevertheless continue to fight for this cause."

Khrushchev in an interview with Greek publisher Lambrakis, 3 May 1958:

The Soviet Government believes that discussion of such questions as ending of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests without delay, creation of an atom-free zone in Central Europe, conclusion of a nonaggression agreement between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty states, reduction of foreign troops in the territory of Germany and other European states, and reaching an agreement on the prevention of a surprise attack, on easing tension in the Middle East and measures to extend international trade and end war propaganda, as well as other urgent questions, would be conducive to the achievement of favorable results.

Soviet proposals for summit meeting agenda, 5 May 1958 (TASS 17 June):

Reduction in the numerical strength of the foreign forces stationed in Germany and other European states.

Consistently striving for the necessary agreement with other powers, the Soviet Union has more than once made concrete proposals for disarmament and also effected unilateral measures to reduce its armed forces and armaments, assuming that the other great powers would follow suit. The Soviet Union supports a radical solution of the disarmament problem, a substantial reduction in the armed forces and armaments of the states, complete withdrawal of the foreign armed forces from the territories of the European member states of both military alignments, including Germany, and liquidation of all military bases on foreign soil.

Since, however, the Western powers do not seem prepared to reach agreement on all these questions the Soviet Union proposes that those questions should be solved in the present stage on which there is complete possibility of now reaching agreement.

The Soviet Government proposes the gradual reduction of foreign troops on the territories of other states and suggests, as a first step, that the armed forces of the USSR, the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and the other states that have their troops on German soil, should be reduced in the course of 1958 by one-third or any other agreed proportion. The contingents of these forces subject to reduction must be withdrawn from German territory to their own countries.

The question of a substantial reduction in the armed forces and the armaments of states and the conclusion of an appropriate international agreement as well as the complete withdrawal of foreign armed forces from the territories of the NATO member states and the parties to the Warsaw Treaty organization could be discussed in a later stage of the talks.

Khrushchev in a speech at Warsaw Treaty meeting, 24 May 1958:

If the Western powers fear that following the establishment of this zone the Soviet Union will retain in its superiority in conventional arms, the question arises: Why do they reject the Soviet proposals for reducing the strength of foreign troops on the territory of Germany and other European states? To our mind, it would be hardly correct to preclude in advance the possibility that the establishment of a zone free of nuclear and rocket weapons would be accompanied by measures for the reduction and mutually acceptable adjustment of the strength of foreign troops now kept on the territory of states which may form part of the proposed zone.

\* \* \*

The Soviet Government favors the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territories of other states and the liquidation of all military bases on foreign territories. Considering Western objections to the proposal for the complete withdrawal of troops from foreign territories, the Soviet Government proposed to the Western powers to agree, as a start, at least on a reduction of their troops in the above territories. But this proposal, too, is opposed by the United States and its NATO partners.

Recognizing the importance that the withdrawal of foreign troops from European states would have for improving the international climate, the Soviet Government considers it necessary, in the present situation, to make new efforts, to do everything to impel the Western powers to effect such a measure. This is the aim pursued by the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the Rumanian People's Republic. This step of the Soviet Union can make a start on the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other states and clear the way for agreement on this matter among all countries concerned.

Khrushchev in note to President Eisenhower, 11 June 1958:

I shall take the liberty of again enumerating the questions which the Soviet Government believes should be considered at the Summit meeting. They are as follows:

Instant termination of the tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons;

Renunciation of the use of all types of atomic, hydrogen, and rockets weapons;

Creation in Central Europe of a zone free of atomic, hydrogen, and rocket weapons;

Conclusion of a nonaggression pact between states;

A ban on the use of cosmic space for military purposes, liquidation of military bases on foreign territories, and international cooperation in the study of cosmic space;

Reduction of the foreign troops on the territory of Germany and other European states;

Conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany;

Measures for the prevention of a surprise attack by one state against another;

Measures for the extension of international trade;

Development of ties and contacts among states;

Discontinuation of the propaganda of war, enmity, and hatred among the peoples;

Ways of easing tension in the Middle East.

Khrushchev in an interview with the Australian HERALD, 11 June 1958

The Western powers opposed the proposal of the USSR for liquidation of foreign military bases on other territories, for the reduction by one-third, or to any other extent agreed upon, of foreign armed forces on Germany's territory, and also the USSR proposal for the reduction of foreign armed forces on the territories of other European states....

The Soviet Government has repeatedly declared that it is also willing to consider the question of the withdrawal of the foreign powers' armed forces from Germany and other member countries of NATO and the Warsaw treaty, the question of the liquidation of foreign military bases on other territories, or, as the initial step, to discuss the question of the reduction of the foreign forces on the said territories.

You obviously know that a conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact was held recently in Moscow at which a declaration was adopted of the member-states of the Warsaw treaty and other important decisions which characterize the peace-loving nature of the socialist states. A decision was adopted on a new reduction of the armed forces of the member-states of the Warsaw treaty and the proposal of the Government of the Soviet Union in agreement with the Government of Rumania on the withdrawal in the near future from this country's territory of troops stationed there in accordance with the Warsaw Treaty was approved.

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By agreement with the Hungarian Government the Government of the USSR had decided to reduce the numbers of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary....

The Soviet Government proposes to discuss the following urgent questions on disarmament at the summit conference: the immediate suspension of the tests of atomic and nuclear weapons; the rejection by the USSR, the United States, and Great Britain of the use of nuclear weapons; the setting up in Central Europe of an atom-free zone; the reduction of the numbers of armed forces stationed on the territories of Germany and other European states; the working out of an agreement on questions linked with the forestalling of a sudden attack.

\* \* \*

As before, the Soviet Union is ready to help actively the German people in the formation of a single peace-loving democratic Germany and to support all proposals, such as, for example, the formation of a confederation of the two German states, the formation of an atom-free zone in Europe, the reduction of foreign troops on German territory, and others which contribute to the attainment of this aim.

Government note to Western countries proposing European Friendship Pact, 15 July 1958:

It would likewise be advisable as a start to have the treaty provide for a one-third, or any other agreed, reduction of the strength of the foreign armed forces stationed in Germany territory, during the next one to two years. In implementing such a reduction, agreement could be reached on a proper system of control and inspection over the enforcement of this commitment by the signatories to the relevant agreement.

Draft European friendship treaty, 15 July 1958:

Article 5: Pending the conclusion of a general agreement on the reduction of armaments and armed forces and on the prohibition of nuclear weapons, the contracting parties undertake:

A: To reduce their armed forces and armaments stationed on the territory of Germany by one-third, or by any other agreed amount, in the course of one or two years. The troop contingents thus released will have to be withdrawn from German territory behind their national frontiers.

Following this reduction of the armed forces and armaments, consideration shall be given to a further reduction of foreign armed forces stationed in the territory of other European countries. The contingents shall be withdrawn in both cases behind their national frontiers.

To exchange regularly, not less than twice a year, information on the numerical strength of the armed forces and armaments of the parties to the agreement located in the territory of other European states.

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Reply to GDR note on a German peace treaty, 18 September 1958:

The Soviet Government fully shares the opinion of the GDR on the necessity of preparing and the early conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany which would definitely regulate Germany's relations with the anti-Hitler coalition and insure the German people a position of equal rights among other peoples. The conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany would fully restore the sovereign rights of the German nation, would lead to the withdrawal of foreign troops from Germany's territory, and would create the external conditions which would guarantee the peaceful development of Germany and preserve it from any external interference.

Government memorandum to U.N. on disarmament measures, 19 September 1958:

The memorandum says further that the Soviet Government favors the withdrawal of all troops stationed on the territories of foreign countries and proposes, as the first step, that agreement be reached on the reduction of the armed forces of the USSR, the United States, Great Britain, France, and other states now stationed on the territory of Germany by one-third or any other amount agreed by the sides concerned, and the withdrawal of the contingents freed by this reduction behind their national frontiers.

Khrushchev in Moscow press conference, 27 November 1958:

It would be very reasonable if West Germany did not arm itself, and it would still be more reasonable if the other nations with forces in Eastern and Western Germany withdrew their troops, which we have suggested repeatedly. The ending of the occupation regime in Berlin and the establishment of a free city in the western part of Berlin would contribute to solving the problem of pulling troops out of Germany and would also be helpful in solving the problem of disarmament.

Government declaration on Surprise Attack, 28 November 1958:

On a reduction of foreign forces in Europe by one third:

To achieve the above-mentioned goals, the Soviet Government proposes agreement to be reached on a reduction, at least by one third, of the foreign armed forces stationed on the territory of the European countries which would be included in the control zone to be agreed upon....

A reduction, at least by one third, of the foreign armed forces stationed on the territory of European countries would be a first step toward normalizing the situation in Europe. The Soviet Government believes that given the good will of both sides it would be possible to agree on this question because this, far from impairing the security of either side, would strengthen European security. Such a step would set the minds of the European peoples at rest and would go far toward reducing mistrust which is injuring international relations.

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Khrushchev in an interview with the Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG,  
12 December 1958:

Provided mutual agreement is reached and mutual relations are good, this would create favorable preconditions to deal with other, more complicated problems, especially with the question of removing troops so that the armed forces of the two opposing military groups have no direct contact with each other, and thus a sort of zone dividing the armed forces will be established.

We are willing on our part to agree to a reduction of our troops stationed in the GDR on condition that the Western powers also agree to reduce their troops stationed in West Germany. We are even willing to completely remove our troops from the territories of those European countries within the national borders of which they are temporarily stationed if the Western powers will do the same. If our proposals should be accepted, we would be ready to agree to a control of reduction and removal of foreign troops from German territory. I am sure that such a step would bring the German people considerable relief.

Statement to NATO members , 15 December 1958:

Is there a country within the sphere of influence of the North Atlantic pact where even one military base of NATO has been liquidated or where foreign troops have been withdrawn? It is common knowledge that there are no such countries. Meanwhile, the United States is known to have drawn all other NATO countries into the arms race, has set up hundreds and hundreds of military bases and strongholds on foreign soil, has stationed its troops on the territory of many countries, and is now pressing for the establishment of American nuclear rocket bases there.

The Soviet Government puts forth the following proposals to the governments of the North Atlantic treaty nations:

...Instead of expanding the network of military bases and massing the armed forces of some nations on the territory of others, which cannot be recognized as normal for peacetime; it is proposed to start an agreed reduction of the foreign forces, at least on a small scale to begin with, on the territory of the NATO and Warsaw treaty countries....

\* \* \*

The Soviet Government also considers it necessary to settle as soon as possible the question of Berlin whose foreign occupation is a serious source of international tension.

Gromyko in a speech to the USSR Supreme Soviet, 25 December 1958:

The Soviet Government also proposed the establishment of ground control posts in a definite zone in Europe and the Middle East and a zone for mutual aerial photography in such an area and in the Far East and U.S. territory, which would cover equally extensive territories in the USSR, the United States, and the entire territory of Japan, including the island of Okinawa. But as the control

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posts and aerial photography in themselves do not mean either a reduction in armed forces or armaments, or a reduction in their concentration in certain territories, the USSR government has--with the object of making the above-mentioned measures effective--proposed that these measures be combined with such steps as the reduction by one-third of the foreign armed forces stationed on the territories of the European countries and a refusal to station nuclear and rocket weapons in both parts of Germany.

\* \* \*

It is necessary to state that the Soviet Government proposals on the Berlin question have been warmly approved by the people and the government of the country which is most concerned in this question --I have in mind the GDR, on whose territory, as is well known, Berlin is situated and whose capital city it is. Reports from the GDR show that the population of this republic welcomes the USSR proposal aimed at liquidating the occupation of West Berlin and at a peaceful solution of the Berlin question....

It is clear, therefore, that anybody who has the cause of peace at heart welcomes the Soviet proposals, designed to remove the malignant growth into which the occupation regime in West Berlin has now developed as soon as possible, thus insuring the possibility of a normal and healthy development of relations among states in Europe. As long as the Berlin question remains unsolved, as long as the occupation regime prevails in West Berlin, there can be no question of the liquidation of tension in Germany and Europe, and it will be impossible to put an end to the cold war....

The governments of the Western powers continue, as before, to maintain that they have "certain occupation rights," which allegedly allow them--and almost make it incumbent on them--to maintain their troops, tanks, and guns in West Berlin....

This document of the American diplomatic department not only fails to help achieve a clear picture of the Berlin question, but is calculated to mislead people, to create by hook or by crook a semblance of some sort of legal basis for the present rule of the occupiers in West Berlin. However, to argue about the rights of occupiers now, almost 14 years after the end of the war, when with the existence of two sovereign German states there is absolutely no ground for foreign occupation, when people, including the German people, rightly demand to be given normal conditions for peaceful life, is an absolutely unfounded and hopeless attitude....

The Soviet Government, for clearly understandable reasons, has sent its proposals on Berlin to the United States, Britain, and France, that is, to the states whose troops are at present stationed in West Berlin. However, it has never proposed to the NATO council or to any other organ of this military grouping, talks on the Berlin question....

West German Chancellor Adenauer and his ministers lose no opportunity to place spokes in the wheels of this matter. They are literally begging the Western powers to prevent the ending of the foreign occupation of West Berlin. The question arises: What interests are pursued by the leaders of West Germany in taking such a position? It seems that it was not accidental that the Western press had recently indicated that they are interested in continuing the cold war because

its ending would unsaddle them, because their policy of hostility to the cause of peace, the cause of easing tension would, in such an event, be dealt a blow from which they could hardly recover....

To transform West Berlin from a source of conflicts and provocations into a place where over 2 million Germans can live a peaceful and independent life, to create a demilitarized and free city, West Berlin--such is the equitable solution of the Berlin problem which, under present conditions, is prompted by life itself. The Soviet Government would sincerely like to hope that the leaders of the Western powers will display wise statesmanship and will also come to the conclusion that the Soviet proposals give real grounds for the solution of the Berlin problem.

Mikoyan in a press conference in Copenhagen, 3 January 1959:

We have no intention of taking Berlin or submitting the city to our controls," stated Mikoyan, "and we also do not want any advantages for the Soviet Union in Berlin. We merely want Berlin to become a free city, with free access from all sides from all countries and without occupation troops. The occupation troops are a result of the war, and it is time now to forget the war."

Draft peace treaty with Germany, 10 January 1959:

Article 30: All foreign troops now stationed in Germany are to be withdrawn from Germany not later than within one year after the coming into force of the present treaty; or, after the coming into force of the present treaty, all foreign troops now stationed in Germany shall be withdrawn from Germany within time limits to be agreed upon by the parties concerned, so that within six months from the coming into force of the treaty the numerical strength of foreign troops stationed on German territory shall be reduced one-third.

Simultaneously with the withdrawal of foreign troops from Germany all foreign military bases on Germany territory shall be closed down.

In the future, Germany shall not permit the stationing of any foreign armed forces or the establishment of foreign military bases on its territory.

Note to United States on German peace treaty, 10 January 1959

Regarding the problem of European security, the Soviet Government attached tremendous importance to its solution. It has repeatedly made proposals for establishing a system of measures to insure European security. Suffice it to recall such proposals as those for concluding a nonaggression agreement between the North Atlantic and Warsaw Treaty member states for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of Europe, as well as the support by the Soviet Government of the Polish proposal for establishing an atom-free zone in Central Europe.

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Khrushchev in a speech to the XXI CPSU Congress, 28 January 1959

Lately, taking into account the growing military danger posed by the Federal German Republic, the Soviet Union put forward a number of new proposals on the German question. We propose to begin the gradual reduction of foreign troops in Germany and, even better, their complete withdrawal from there. We are favoring the creation of an armed forces' "disengagement zone." The farther these forces are from each other, the more guarantee there will be against the danger of clashes and conflicts.

The Soviet Union is prepared to withdraw its troops not only from Germany but also from Poland and Hungary where they are stationed in accordance with the Warsaw treaty, provided all those countries which are members of NATO will similarly withdraw their troops to the boundaries of their national frontier and liquidate their military bases on foreign territories. The Soviet Union supports the plan of the Government of the Polish People's Republic for the setting up in Europe of an atom-free zone and the reduction in this zone of conventional armaments.

Last autumn the Soviet Government made a proposal to the United States, Britain, and France for the liquidation of the remnants of the occupation regime in Berlin and the transformation of West Berlin into a demilitarized free city.

Gromyko in a speech to the XXI CPSU Congress, 29 January 1959

The years separating us from the XX CPSU Congress have revealed the striking contrast between the foreign policies of the countries of the socialist camp and those of the capitalist camp. The difference is quite distinct. There is no need to go into details. We shall recapitulate only the salient points. We have persistently and repeatedly made offers to the Western powers to sign a non-aggression pact between the two principal military groups--NATO and the Warsaw treaty organization. We suggested the beginning of mutual withdrawal of troops from the territories of foreign states, a military "disengagement," and, where the atmosphere is "hottest"--in Central Europe--to set up a zone free from nuclear and rocket weapons, as proposed by Poland.

The Soviet Government suggested to the Western powers that agreement be reached to use outer space for peaceful purposes only, to outlaw rocket weapons, and to liquidate foreign military bases on the territories of other countries. The ruling circles of the Western powers rejected this proposal too.