

No. 3112

**UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS,
POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA,
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC,
HUNGARY, ROMANIA, BULGARIA and ALBANIA**

Declaration. Signed at Moscow, on 2 December 1954

Official text: Russian.

Registered by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on 3 January 1956.

**UNION DES RÉPUBLIQUES SOCIALISTES
SOVIÉTIQUES, POLOGNE, TCHÉCOSLOVAQUIE,
RÉPUBLIQUE DÉMOCRATIQUE ALLEMANDE,
HONGRIE, ROUMANIE, BULGARIE et ALBANIE**

Déclaration. Signée à Moscou, le 2 décembre 1954

Texte officiel russe.

Enregistrée par l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques le 3 janvier 1956.

[TRANSDUCTION — TRANSLATION]

No. 3112. DECLARATION¹ BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC, THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA. SIGNED AT MOSCOW, ON 2 DECEMBER 1954

Representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Romanian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Albania, with an observer from the People's Republic of China, have met at a conference in Moscow in order to examine the situation that has come about in Europe in connexion with the decisions of the London and Paris Conferences of certain Western States.

The Governments of the States participating in this Conference regret that not all European countries have found it possible to take part in the discussion of the situation which has arisen. The sponsors of the London and Paris Agreements — the United States of America, France and the United Kingdom — have likewise refrained from participating. Their reply of 29 November indicates that they are determined to ensure, at all costs, that the Paris Agreements are ratified.

Agreements concerning West Germany² were signed at a conference in Paris on 23 October³ after a conference of nine countries — United States of America, United Kingdom, France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg and Canada — had been held in London. These agreements provide for the remilitarization of West Germany and its inclusion in military groups — the North Atlantic bloc and the so-called "Western European Union" which is in process of formation.

Attempts were made very recently to revive German militarism through the remilitarization of West Germany under the flag of the notorious "European Defence Community". In the face of the natural opposition of the European peoples, and above all the French people, those attempts failed. Now an attempt is being made to revive German militarism under a different flag, and

¹ Came into force on 2 December 1954 by signature.

² United Nations, *Treaty Series*, Vol. 211, p. 342.

³ 1954.

every effort is being made to expedite the ratification of the Paris Agreements to this end.

In these circumstances the Governments of the States participating in this Conference consider it necessary to draw the attention of all European States to the fact that application of the Paris Agreements will cause a serious deterioration of the international situation in Europe. It will not only create new and even greater obstacles to the settlement of the German question and the reunification of Germany as a peace-loving and democratic State; it will also pit one part of Germany against the other and convert West Germany into a dangerous breeding-ground for a new war in Europe. Instead of facilitating a peaceful settlement of the German question, these agreements give a free hand to the militarist and revanchist elements in West Germany, thereby increasing the threat to the security of the European peoples.

The Paris Agreements run directly counter to the possibilities for a further relaxation of international tension which have recently become apparent. Thanks to the efforts of peace-loving States, the Korean war was brought to an end in the middle of last year. The Geneva Conference of this year helped to bring the eight-year-old war in Indochina to an end and to regularize the situation in that area to some extent. It must further be noted that some progress has been made in the negotiations in the United Nations on the general reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons. All this has been achieved despite the attitude of aggressive elements in certain States which seek to render the international situation more acute.

Yet precisely at this juncture, when conditions have become more favourable for the solution of pressing international problems, the ruling circles in certain States parties to the London and Paris Agreements have adopted the dangerous course of reviving German militarism in utter disregard of the consequences.

The Paris Agreements provide for the creation of a West German army of half a million men. The strength of these West German armed forces is five times that of the army formerly allowed to the whole of Germany under the Versailles Treaty of Peace, although it is known that the German Reichswehr of 100,000 men established at that time served as foundation for the formation of a Hitlerite army many millions strong.

Even now the German militarists do not conceal their intention to expand the West German army further and enlarge it from twelve to thirty, and later to sixty, divisions. The establishment of a West German army will, in fact, mean that that army will preponderate over those of the other members of the Western European Union and, inevitably, that the armed forces at the disposal of the West German militarists will hold a dominant position in Western Europe.

The danger implicit in the creation of a West German army is sufficiently evident from the fact that it will be commanded by generals of the former Hitlerite army, who only recently were the organizers of and accomplices in fascist aggression against the peoples of both Eastern and Western Europe.

In defiance of international agreements for the elimination of German war potential, industry for war production is being openly rebuilt in West Germany. To an ever-increasing degree, heavy industry in the Ruhr is switching to the production of armaments. It should not be forgotten that it is this same Ruhr which has repeatedly been the main arsenal where weapons for the German militarists' aggressive wars have been forged.

Furthermore the Paris Agreements make provision for atomic research, which will make possible the production of atomic and hydrogen weapons in West Germany, and also for the supply of atomic weapons to West Germany by other States. Under these agreements West Germany will be able to include atomic weapons in its armoury.

This means that atomic weapons will fall into the hands of the very men who only recently, in implanting Hitler's bloodthirsty "new order", were sowing death and destruction in Europe and planning to wipe out entire peoples; the very men who, in their death camps, slaughtered millions of civilians — Poles, Russians, Jews, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Frenchmen, Serbs, Czechs, Slovaks, Belgians, Norwegians and others.

It means that atomic weapons will be at the disposal of the very men who even now announce their plans for revenge in Europe. The application of these agreements will greatly increase the danger of a destructive atomic war, with all its disastrous consequences for the peoples, especially those of the most densely populated parts of Europe.

The peoples of Europe view with justifiable scepticism the expectation that the inclusion of a remilitarized West Germany in a Western European military alliance will make it possible to set some sort of limits to the growth of German militarism. Such attempts have been made before, but have always ended in fiasco. Peace in Europe cannot be secured by opening the way for a rebirth of German militarism and lulling oneself by devising safeguards against it which are quite obviously ineffective. If peace in Europe is to be secured, the rebirth of German militarism must be made an impossibility.

Remilitarization of West Germany means that the weight and influence of militarist and revanchist elements in that country will grow ever greater, with the inevitable result that democratic freedoms in West Germany will be further curtailed and the country converted into a militarist State. It is characteristic that there was no room in the Paris Agreements for provisions to secure the democratic rights of the West German population, whereas they do

contain a provision placing the West German authorities under an obligation to enact legislation concerning a "state of emergency", which is obviously directed against the democratic rights and freedoms of the population.

By reviving German militarism and giving the militarists virtual authority and emergency powers, the Paris Agreements pave the way for the establishment of a military dictatorship in West Germany. Not only are these Agreements foreign to the interests of the German people; they are aimed directly against the German working class and are intended to stifle the democratic forces in West Germany. The conditions which the Paris Agreements propose to establish in West Germany are in many respects reminiscent of the situation which existed in Germany shortly before the Hitlerites came to power. It is no secret that the powers possessed by Hindenburg, the then President of Germany, to proclaim a "state of emergency" were used by the German militarists to destroy democratic rights and freedoms, suppress labour organizations and establish a fascist dictatorship in Germany.

The Paris Agreements speak of "the termination of the occupation régime" and the conferment of so-called "sovereignty" on West Germany. But in reality the West German "sovereignty" to which the Paris Agreements refer merely means the grant to the West German militarists and revanchists of the right to form an army which the sponsors of the Paris Agreements propose to use as cannon-fodder to further their own ends. Furthermore the Paris Agreements force on West Germany the extension until 1998 of the occupation of its territory by United States, United Kingdom and French forces, and thus propose to make West Germany the main bridgehead for the furtherance of United States aggressive designs in Europe. In these circumstances it is not difficult to gauge the true value of the references to so-called West German "sovereignty", especially when it is remembered that the Paris Agreements leave intact all the basic provisions of the one-sided Bonn Convention.

Despite the assertions of certain Western statesmen, the Paris Agreements can only be regarded as a virtual refusal to solve the German problem, a refusal to reunify Germany on peaceful and democratic lines for a long time to come. The plans to remilitarize West Germany and include it in military groups are now the chief obstacle to the national reunification of Germany. Hence the removal of that obstacle would make it possible for the four Powers to reach agreement on the restoration of the unity and sovereignty of Germany and, to that end, the holding of free elections throughout Germany with due regard to the interests of the German people.

It is estimated in political quarters in Bonn that to form and arm a West German army half a million strong will cost some 100,000 million marks, the

whole burden of which will fall upon the working people of West Germany and primarily upon the working class, inevitably causing a sharp decline in their level of living. The remilitarization of West Germany promises to benefit only the great West German monopolies and the vast United States, United Kingdom and French monopolies closely associated with them, which are already anticipating enormous profits from the supply of arms for the projected West German army. These armament dealers have more than once battered on wars which have brought the peoples of Europe only limitless sacrifice and privation.

What is happening now is a repetition of events before the Second World War, when German concerns forged weapons for Hitlerite aggression with the support and direct participation of foreign, especially United States, monopolies. Today United States Government agencies are coming increasingly under the influence of the capitalist monopolies which once helped to engineer and unleash the Second World War.

The Paris Agreements are evidence that once again the ruling circles of certain Powers, and first and foremost the United States of America, are banking on the resurgence of German militarism and are seeking support in the accomplishment of their imperialist designs in the remilitarization of West Germany. These agreements create a military bloc linking aggressive elements in the United States, the United Kingdom and France with German militarism. They represent a deal transacted behind the back of the German people and the peoples of other European States who, it is common knowledge, were not consulted by anyone when these agreements were drafted.

Such an aggressive bloc cannot serve the interests of peace and security in Europe. Its creation renders the whole situation in Europe more acute, and greatly increases the threat of a new world war.

The formation of the new military bloc runs counter to the Franco-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance of 1944 and the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of 1942 concerning Collaboration and Mutual Assistance after the War, which provide for the adoption by France, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union of joint measures to render impossible new aggression by German militarism. It also runs counter to international agreements concluded by the States participating in this Conference and by other States, with the object of guaranteeing peace and security for all European States. The remilitarization of West Germany and its inclusion in military groups are likewise incompatible with the international obligation not to permit a resurgence of German militarism which was assumed by the United States of America and the United Kingdom, and later by France, under the Potsdam Agreement. This violation of the obligations assumed by the United States, France and the United Kingdom under these treaties and agreements undermines confidence in relations between States and is utterly irreconcilable with the security of the peoples of Europe.

The formation of this new military group is defended on the ground that it is essential to the security of its member States, although in reality these States are threatened by no one. An attempt is made to justify the remilitarization of West Germany and its inclusion in military groups embracing certain Western countries by the argument that relations with the Soviet Union and the people's democracies should be based on "a position of strength". It is claimed that such a policy will help to create more favourable conditions for negotiation and the settlement of outstanding international problems. The advocates of this policy, which is already substantially discredited, do not conceal their desire to impose on other States decisions advantageous to the imperialist elements of certain Western Powers. In reality the policy reflects the ambition of these elements to dominate the world. However, the eventual outcome of similar attempts by past aspirants to world domination should not be forgotten.

Military alignments of certain European States directed against other European States have, of course, existed in the past. On the eve of the Second World War, Hitlerite Germany and fascist Italy formed an aggressive military group which was later joined by militarist Japan. The organizers of this group, known as the "Anti-Comintern Pact", endeavoured to justify its formation on "ideological" grounds. In reality, however, this was merely a screen behind which they tried to conceal the true aggressive character of this military bloc, whose aim was to achieve world supremacy. It is a known fact that the organizers of this military group were chiefly responsible for the outbreak of the Second World War.

Something of a similar nature is taking place today, when the organizers of the new military groups seek to justify their formation by referring to differences in the social structure of States. But there is no more truth in their assertions than there was in those made by the founders of the "Anti-Comintern Pact", who used that pact to engineer and unleash the late World War.

It is clear from the foregoing that, no matter what arguments are advanced in their support, military groups composed of certain Western States and a remilitarized West Germany, far from being able to serve the cause of peace and security in Europe, merely introduce serious complications into the situation in Europe and will inevitably intensify the armaments race, with all its dangerous consequences not only for all European States but for other States too.

If these military groups in Europe should enlarge their armies, air forces and other armed services and go to the length of reviving aggressive German militarism, the other European States will inevitably be compelled to take effective measures to defend themselves and guard against attack. Accordingly,

all States concerned to safeguard peace and security in Europe must endeavour to prevent the revival of German militarism, avert the possibility of an intensification of the armaments race, and assist in uniting the efforts of all European States in order to safeguard security in Europe.

Recognizing that settlement of the German question is the major task in the consolidation of peace in Europe, the Governments of the USSR, the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Romanian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Albania consider that the solution of the German question requires first and foremost :

Renunciation of plans for the remilitarization of West Germany and its inclusion in military groups; this will remove the main obstacle to the reunification of Germany on peaceful and democratic lines;

Attainment of agreement on the holding of free elections throughout Germany in 1955 and the formation, on the basis of those elections, of an all-German Government for a unified, democratic and peace-loving Germany.

Then at last it will be possible to conclude a peace treaty with Germany, which is essential for the establishment of a lasting peace in Europe.

It must be recognized that the withdrawal of occupation forces from East and West Germany, as proposed by the Soviet Union, would do much to effect a *rapprochement* between the two parts of Germany and to solve the problem of German reunification.

It is essential for the security of Europe that the Powers concerned should reach agreement on the question of German unification, which would serve the interests of all the peace-loving peoples of Europe and of the German people themselves. The course of remilitarizing West Germany and including it in military groups which has been adopted by the United States of America, France and the United Kingdom makes it impossible to reach such agreement. Far from contributing to European security, that course is regarded by all peace-loving peoples as reflecting a policy which imperils the preservation of peace in Europe.

Genuine security in Europe can be assured only if, instead of closed military groups being formed among certain European States and directed against other European States, a system of collective security is established in Europe. Such a system of security, based on the participation of all European States irrespective of their social and political systems, would make it possible for the European States to unite their efforts for the protection of peace in Europe. It stands to reason that the German people must be allowed to join in solving this general European problem on an equal footing with other peoples. The United States of America and other States bearing responsibility for the settlement of the

German question, which is of decisive importance for the peace of Europe, would also be able to participate in this collective security system.

The general European system of collective security should provide for the assumption by all its participant States of an obligation to settle all disputes that may arise among them, in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, in such a manner that peace and security in Europe are not endangered. It should provide for consultation whenever any of the participant States considers that a threat of armed attack has arisen in Europe, so that effective measures may be taken to remove that threat. To be effective, this system must provide that an attack on one or more States in Europe shall be regarded as an attack on all the parties to the relevant general European treaty, and that each party shall afford the State so attacked assistance by all the means at its disposal, including the use of armed force, in order to restore and maintain peace and security in Europe.

The establishment of such an all-European system of collective security would wholly meet the need to strengthen international co-operation in accordance with the principles of respect for the independence and sovereignty of States large and small and of non-intervention in their domestic affairs. It would also greatly increase the possibility of a solution of the German problem in that it would preclude the conversion of West Germany into a militarist State and would create favourable conditions for the reunification of Germany.

The organization of collective security in Europe and the unification of Germany on peaceful and democratic lines constitute the course of action which will ensure Germany's development as one of the great Powers. In contrast to the militaristic course taken by Germany's development in the past, which has repeatedly had the direst consequences for the German nation, the reunification of Germany within a framework of collective security in Europe will offer ample prospects for the growth of Germany's peace economy, industry and agriculture and for the development of extensive economic ties between Germany and other countries, especially the Eastern European countries and the countries of Asia, with their huge populations and inexhaustible resources. The development of Germany in the enjoyment of peaceful conditions and extensive economic ties with other States would provide its industries with vast markets, assure employment for its population and promote the improvement of its level of living.

Germany's destiny as a great Power thus depends closely on whether it takes the course of peaceful development and co-operation with all other European States or the course of preparing a new war. The course of peaceful

development and international co-operation followed by the German Democratic Republic leads to regeneration and prosperity for Germany. The other course, into which the German militarists are seeking to direct West Germany, leads to a new war and, hence, to the conversion of West Germany into a region of fire and destruction.

All this goes to prove that the true national interests of the German people are inseparable from the interests of peace and the establishment of an effective system of collective security in Europe.

The States participating in this Conference fully endorse the principles formulated in the draft "General European Treaty concerning Collective Security in Europe" proposed by the Government of the USSR, and call upon all European States jointly to examine these proposals, which fulfil the requirements for the establishment of a lasting peace in Europe. They also state that they are prepared to examine any other proposals made on this subject with a view to the preparation of a draft treaty concerning European collective security acceptable to all States concerned.

The States participating in this Conference are profoundly convinced that security in Europe based upon the principles set forth above and fortified by friendly relations among European States would make it possible to put an end to a situation in which Europe is periodically visited by devastating wars and limitless sacrifice is exacted from the European peoples.

The question of ratifying the Paris Agreements will shortly be under discussion in the parliaments of certain Western States. Official circles in certain States are exerting ever-increasing pressure on the parliaments and the public in order to force through the ratification of these agreements.

In these circumstances the Governments of the USSR, the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Romanian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Albania consider it their duty to draw the attention of all European States, and especially of the States parties to the Paris Agreements, to the fact that ratification of these agreements will be an act directed against the preservation of peace and towards the preparation of a new war in Europe. Such ratification will greatly complicate the whole situation in Europe and undermine the possibility of settling outstanding European problems, and first and foremost the German problem.

The ratification and application of these Agreements, by increasing the danger of war, will represent a threat to the national security of the peace-loving States of Europe, especially those States which are Germany's neighbours.

This threat arises from the fact that the States parties to the Paris Agreements are constantly increasing the scope of their military and economic measures

against the peace-loving States of Europe. They have now gone to the length of entering into a military bloc with German militarism, they are proceeding to remilitarize West Germany with their own hands and are threatening the future peaceful existence of the States which are not members of their military groups. The armed forces of the States parties to the Paris Agreements are now to include a West German army, headed by Hitlerite generals. This means that for the future the policy of operating from "a position of strength" will be pursued with the direct support of resurgent German militarism, which brings the danger of a new war in Europe much closer.

The situation which has arisen makes it necessary for the States represented at this Conference to consider ways and means of joining forces to safeguard their security. The peace-loving States are compelled to adopt urgent measures in order to confront the aggressive forces of this military bloc of Western Powers with their combined might, in order to protect their security.

The States parties to this Conference declare that they have decided that, if the Paris Agreements are ratified, they will take concerted action relating to the organization and command of their armed forces and such other action as may be necessary to reinforce their defensive strength, in order to defend the peaceful labour of their peoples, guarantee the inviolability of their frontiers and territories and afford protection against possible aggression.

All such measures are in accordance with the inherent right of States to self-defence, with the Charter of the United Nations, and with the treaties and agreements previously concluded for the purpose of preventing the resurgence of German militarism and the renewal of aggression in Europe.

The States participating in this Conference have agreed that, if the Paris Agreements are ratified, they will re-examine the situation with a view to taking the necessary steps to safeguard their security and to promote the maintenance of peace in Europe.

The States participating in this Conference are resolved to continue to press for the creation of a system of collective security in Europe, in the conviction that only the concerted efforts of the European States can provide the basis for a stable and lasting peace in Europe. To this end they remain prepared to co-operate with such other European States as may express their desire to adopt this course.

The Governments of the States participating in the Moscow Conference of European Countries on the safeguarding of peace and security in Europe are profoundly convinced that their policy, which is designed to strengthen peace and general security, and the measures outlined at this Conference accord with the interests of our peoples and of all other peace-loving peoples.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania and the German Democratic Republic are engaged in peaceful, constructive labours. Their efforts are directed towards further economic and cultural progress and the steady improvement of the level of living of the workers and, at the same time, towards ensuring the firm defence of their great socialist achievements. There is no power on earth that can turn back the wheel of history and impede the building of socialism in our countries.

The peoples of our States recognize that the Paris Agreements have considerably increased the threat of a newwar ; but they will not allow the course of events to take them by surprise.

Our peoples have confidence in their strength and their inexhaustible resources. The forces of peace and socialism are strong and united as never before. Any attempt to attack, to unleash war and to disrupt the peaceful life of our peoples will meet with an overwhelming rebuff; and then our peoples, sustained by the sympathy and support of other peoples, will spare no effort to destroy the forces of aggression and to secure the triumph of our just and righteous cause.

Our peoples desire to live in peace and to enjoy friendly relations with all other peoples. For this very reason, while continuing in every way to uphold the interests of peace and general security, they will do everything essential to ensure their further peaceful development and the necessary security of their States.

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics :

(Signed) V. MOLOTOV

For the Polish People's Republic :

(Signed) J. CYRANKIEWICZ

For the Czechoslovak Republic :

(Signed) V. SIROKÝ

For the German Democratic Republic :

(Signed) O. GROTEWOHL

For the Hungarian People's Republic :

(Signed) A. HEGEDÜS

For the Romanian People's Republic :

(Signed) C. STOICA

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria :

(Signed) A. YUGOV

For the People's Republic of Albania :

(Signed) M. MUFTIU

Moscow, 2 December 1954