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WORKING GROUP ON TRENDS OF SOVIET POLICY

PROPOSED POLISH-CZECHOSLOVAK-EAST GERMAN MILITARY ALLIANCE

Note by the Secretary

The attached study prepared by the Political Division on the present status of the proposed Polish-Czechoslovak-East German military alliance and of the projected mutual-defence treaty to include the Soviet Union and all the East-European Soviet satellites has already been distributed to delegations. However, for the convenience of members of the Working Group on Trends of Soviet Policy it is now reproduced in the Working Group series of documents.

2. As previously notified, a meeting of the Working Group will be held on Wednesday, 9th March, 1955, at 3.30 p.m., to examine this paper.

(Signed) LUCILLE M. PEART

Palais de Chaillot,
Paris, XVIe.

NOTE

17th February, 1955

There is attached a consideration of the present status of the proposed Polish-Czechoslovak-East German military alliance and of the projected mutual-defence treaty to include the Soviet Union and all the East-European Soviet satellites.

The following conclusions are reached:

I. Polish-Czechoslovak-East German Alliance:

It would appear that all the necessary preliminary steps have been taken, or are now in the process of being taken, to conclude this alliance immediately upon the completion of ratification of the Paris Agreements. It is not yet clear, however, whether the USSR will deem it necessary to set up this grouping, in view of the recent specific threat to organize a mutual-defence organization, to include itself and its seven East-European satellites. If this tripartite alignment is set up, it will almost certainly have an organic connection with the eight-state grouping.

II. "Communist Treaty Organization" ("COMTO"):

On 8th February, 1955, Molotov declared unequivocally that, if the Paris Agreements were ratified, a "treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual aid" would be concluded by the USSR and its seven European satellites, that this would entail "the creation of a unified military command of the ... eight countries", and that, "in order not to lose time, the appropriate consultations were at present being carried out".

III. "Communist Eurasian Treaty Organization" ("CEATO"):

In his 5th February report, Molotov gave a general indication, in effect, that, if the Paris Agreements were ratified and if the United States were to continue to "prepare an attack on the Chinese People's Republic", the USSR, the CPR, the seven Soviet European satellites, North Korea, Viet-minh, and the Mongolian People's Republic (Outer Mongolia), would form a mutual-defence organization.

At all events, it is clear that, once ratification of the Paris Agreements has been completed, a new "Moscow Conference" will be called with the minimum aim of constituting a new eight-power alliance-system in Eastern Europe.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF PLANS FOR A POLISH-CZECHOSLOVAK-
EAST GERMAN MILITARY ALLIANCE

17th February, 1955

1. The first indication that the Soviet Union contemplated forming, or encouraging the formation, of new forms of military alliance in Eastern Europe, appears to have been given by the Soviet Foreign Minister, V.M. Molotov, in his interview with a Pravda correspondent on 20th November, 1954. Molotov said: "... if the Paris Agreements envisaging remilitarisation of Western Germany and its inclusion in the aforesaid Western militaristic alignments [i.e., Western European Union and NATO], are ratified and implemented, a new situation will have arisen in Europe, denoting an enhanced danger of war. In such a situation, the peaceable European states will have to give thought to further measures for safeguarding their security. The responsibility for intensifying the armaments race and for increasing the burden of military expenditure on the European nations will rest entirely with those who are today refusing to organize collective security in Europe and, instead, are trying to force the West-European nations to resurrect German militarism, with its revanchist plans for another war".

2. At the Moscow Conference (29th November-2nd December, 1954), further indications were given of Soviet and satellite intentions to create new forms of alliance in response to Western plans for the inclusion of Western Germany in WEU and NATO.

Thus, Molotov, in opening the Conference, said (29th November): "The fact should not be lost sight of that the aggressive element in certain countries well known to all, are resorting to every means of pressure in order to expedite the remilitarisation of Western Germany and its inclusion in their imperialist military alignments. This being the case, the peace-loving countries cannot confine themselves to the measures hitherto taken by them to safeguard their peace and security. These measures are no longer enough. Further measures are required to safeguard the peace and security of Europe".

This basic theme was then developed and enlarged upon in later statements by Molotov and by the heads of satellite delegations to the Conference.

Molotov was a little more specific in his main programme declaration (29th November): "If their security is to be firmly guaranteed, the peaceful European states must cement their forces and strengthen them considerably in the event of the Paris Agreements being ratified and implemented. For this, they must duly prepare to adopt such measures for strengthening their defensive power as the present situation calls for. This requires that the countries represented at this Conference shall take joint measures in the sphere of organization of their armed forces and their command, as well as other measures, so as reliably to protect the peaceful labours of their peoples, to guarantee the inviolability of their frontiers, and to provide defence against possible aggression".

In his main programme declaration, the Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak Republic, and head of the Czechoslovak Delegation

to the Conference, Viliam Siroky, for the first time indicated the possibility of the formation of a Polish-Czechoslovak-East German alliance, in addition to the more inclusive arrangement suggested by Molotov. He said (30th November): "The Czechoslovak Government is also of the opinion that the revival of militarism in Western Germany and the creation of an aggressive West-German army would constitute a threat in the first place to the borders of Czechoslovakia, the Polish People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic. The Czechoslovak Government therefore considers that, if the Paris Agreements are ratified, the governments of these countries in particular, because of their common interest in combating this threat, must adopt effective common measures for safeguarding their frontiers".

Speaking immediately after Siroky, Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic, and head of the East German Delegation to the Conference, Otto Grotewohl, agreed with him that, "if the Paris Agreements are ratified, the Republic of Czechoslovakia, the Polish People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic, which will be especially endangered by this, should agree on joint measures" (30th November).

These statements were followed by declarations by the heads of the other satellite delegations, all of whom declared that, if the Paris Agreements were ratified, their governments would be prepared, together with the other participants in the Conference, to "take concrete collective measures also in the military sphere for the defence of the peaceful creative labours of their nations and for ensuring the inviolability of their frontiers against any aggression" (statement by Manush Muftiu, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, and head of its delegation, 1st December). The Chinese Communist observer at the Conference, Deputy Foreign Minister Chang Wen-tien, CPR Ambassador to Moscow, said (1st December): "The Chinese People's Republic will give its undivided support to all the decisions and measures adopted here to safeguard European peace and security".

The final Declaration of the Conference said (2nd December): "The parties to this Conference declare that they have decided, should the Paris Agreements be ratified, to adopt joint measures in the sphere of organization of their armed forces and their commands, as well as other measures required for strengthening their defensive power, protecting the peaceful labours of their peoples, guaranteeing the inviolability of their frontiers and territories, and providing defence against possible aggression The parties to this Conference have agreed, if the Paris Agreements are ratified, to re-examine the situation with a view to taking reliable measures for the safeguarding of their security and for the maintenance of peace in Europe".

3. In its note of 9th December, 1954, to France, the United Kingdom and the United States, the Soviet Union, referring to the Declaration of the Moscow Conference, declared (the quotation is from the text of the note to France): "In reply to the implementation of the remilitarisation of Western Germany and to the new intensification of aggressiveness in the policy of France and of the countries of the North Atlantic bloc connected with her, the Soviet Union and other peace-loving countries will carry out all the necessary measures to step up their armaments and to safeguard their security. The Soviet Union and other peace loving countries are compelled to take without delay every necessary step to oppose

the growing armed forces of the aggressive states, which threaten the preservation of peace, with a strength not less powerful and with their readiness to defend and protect peace".

4. A conference was held at Prague from 29th to 31st December, 1954, which was attended by Delegations of the Czechoslovak National Assembly (led by Chairman of the Assembly Zdenek Fierlinger), the Polish Sejm (i.e., Diet) (led by Marshal of the Sejm Jan Dembowski), and the East German Volkskammer (led by its Chairman Johannes Dieckmann). The Prague Conference adopted a final resolution declaring that "The Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic and the German Democratic Republic are directly threatened by the revival of the revanchist Wehrmacht. They are therefore determined to strengthen their co-operation in all spheres and to help one another Our nations are resolved to take all necessary measures to safeguard their independence and peaceful work, their great achievements and the inviolability of their frontiers and territories in the event of ratification of the Paris Agreements".

5. The participants in the Prague Conference then returned home to publicise its results. This was done in East Germany, for example, by a session of the Volkskammer, which passed a resolution on 12th January, 1955, approving the results of the Prague Conference. It is interesting to note that this resolution, as originally presented, called for action to create a "joint defence [*i.e.*, by Poland, Czechoslovakia and Eastern Germany] against aggression in case of ratification and implementation of the Paris war pacts". When it was finally passed, however, the words "and implementation" had been dropped from the resolution, so that the final version provided for establishment of the tripartite defensive grouping immediately the Paris Agreements had been ratified. During the "debate" in the Volkskammer, a GDR government spokesman said that 60,000,000 Poles, Czechoslovaks and East Germans would "band together in close alliance to oppose the Western aggressive bloc".

6. In his foreign-policy report to the Supreme Soviet on 8th February, 1955, Molotov for the first time specifically declared that, if the Paris Agreements were ratified, the USSR and its seven European satellites (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania) would conclude a multilateral mutual-defence treaty, and establish a unified military command. The threat developed by the Moscow Conference was thus made explicit.

It is still not clear whether this "Communist Treaty Organization" ("COMTO") would make the projected "Eastern European Union" of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Eastern Germany superfluous, or whether "EEU" would be created as a subordinate element of "COMTO". In any event, Molotov said that, in order not to waste time, conversations on the establishment of "COMTO" were already under way.

7. There have been a number of events, revolving primarily around the German Democratic Republic, which appear to illustrate, at least partially, the preparations, referred to by Molotov, for the conclusion, both of the Polish-Czechoslovak-East German, and of the eight-state, mutual-defence treaties.

-- On 25th January, 1955, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued a decree terminating the state of war

between Germany and the USSR;

-- On 29th January, 1955, the Prime Minister, Otto Grotewohl, the Deputy Prime Minister, Walter Ulbricht (who is also First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, i.e., the East-German Communist Party), and the Foreign Minister, Lothar Bolz, of the German Democratic Republic, received Soviet Ambassador to the GDR and High Commissioner in Germany G.M. Pushkin, who had just returned from consultations in Moscow.

-- On 30th January, 1955, the GDR Council of Ministers issued a statement on the Soviet decree of 25th January, terminating the state of war between the USSR and Germany. The GDR statement, which called for "free all-German elections" during 1955, also said that the continued occupation of Germany by the West; after the ratification of the Paris Agreements, would "assume the character of military intervention ...".

-- On 31st January, 1955, the Polish Government issued a statement, in which it said that it had recommended that the Council of State of Poland (which corresponds to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; cf. the latter's action of 25th January) adopt a decision terminating the state of war between Poland and Germany.

-- On 3rd February, 1955, the President of the Czechoslovak Republic published a proclamation ending the state of war between Czechoslovakia and Germany.

These Soviet, Polish and Czechoslovak actions vis-à-vis Germany are obviously designed to clear away the legal barriers to the formation of either tripartite, or the eight-power, mutual-defence pacts, or both.

8. Behind the threatened formation of the Polish-Czechoslovak-East German alliance and of the "Communist Treaty Organization", ("COMTO"), to comprise the USSR and its seven European satellites, lies, less clearly defined (as was the case with the threat of "COMTO" between the Moscow Conference and Molotov's Supreme Soviet report), the further threat of the creation of a twelve-state military alliance, to consist of the USSR, the seven European satellites, the CPR., the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam (i.e., Viet-minh), and the Mongolian People's Republic. On this point, Molotov, in his report of 8th February to the Supreme Soviet, said only that the twelve would "be compelled to unite their forces to safeguard their security if the aggressive plans, which are intended to assist the restoration of German militarism [i.e., the Paris Agreements] and to prepare an attack on peace-loving countries [i.e., presumably, by the United States on the Chinese People's Republic], are pursued".

9. Thus, the position now is:

I. Polish Czechoslovak-East German Alliance:

It would appear that all the necessary preliminary steps have been taken, or are now in the process of being taken, to conclude this alliance immediately upon the completion of ratification of the Paris Agreements. It is not yet clear, however, whether the USSR will

deem it necessary to set up this grouping, in view of the recent specific threat to organize a mutual-defence organization, to include itself and its seven East-European satellites. If this tripartite alignment is set up, it will almost certainly have an organic connection with the eight-state grouping.

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