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FOR EUROPEAN SECURITY



Soviet Government's Note to France, Britain and the U.S.A.

December 9th, 1954



Speech of V. M. Molotov

on the Tenth Anniversary of
the Franco-Soviet Treaty
of Alliance & Mutual Assistance
Moscow - December 10th, 1954



Soviet Government's Note to the Government of France

December 16th, 1954

'SOVIET NEWS' BOOKLET

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**NOTE OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT
TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF FRANCE,
GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED
STATES**

As has already been reported in the press, on November 29 the governments of France, Britain and the United States, through their Embassies in Moscow, forwarded to the Soviet government reply Notes to the Soviet government's Notes of October 23 and November 13.

The text of the French government's Note was published in the Soviet press on December 2.

On December 9, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. forwarded to the French, British and United States Embassies in Moscow the Soviet government's Note in reply.

The following is the text of the Soviet government's Note to France:

THE government of the U.S.S.R. confirms receipt of the French government's Note of November 29, which is a reply to the Soviet government's Notes of October 23 and November 13.

The Soviet government observes with regret that the French government has not considered it possible to take part, jointly with other European states, in a conference to consider the question of collective security in Europe.

Neither has the French government, as its Note makes obvious, accepted the proposals of the Soviet government for a conference of the Foreign Ministers of France, the United

States, Britain and the Soviet Union, to examine the question of restoring German unity and holding free all-German elections, and also for the convening of a general European conference to establish a system of collective security in Europe.

Not only has the French government refused to take part, in a general European conference, in examining the proposals submitted by the Soviet government for collective security in Europe, but it has also made no proposals whatsoever of its own for safeguarding collective security in Europe. It is also a matter of common knowledge that the government of France, jointly with the other participants in the North Atlantic bloc, has worked to prevent other European states from taking part in such a conference.

In this way the government of France has taken up a position which shows that it is not trying to reach agreement with other European states to strengthen peace in Europe, and that it is holding up the establishment of an effective system of European security.

In place of the establishment of an effective system of European collective security, the government of France is trying its hardest to achieve the ratification of the Paris agreements for the remilitarisation of Western Germany and the inclusion of Western Germany in the aggressive North Atlantic bloc and in other military groupings of certain western states, directed against the peaceloving states of Europe. Such a policy is leading to the turning of Western Germany into a militarist state, with all the dangerous consequences of this—not to mention that the remilitarisation of Western Germany would make its unification with the peaceloving German Democratic Republic in one united state impossible.

Both in the Soviet Union and France, and also in other European states, the restoration of militarism in Western Germany cannot fail to arouse great anxiety about the future fate of peace in Europe. Nor can the government of France be ignorant of the fact that, for understandable reasons, the peoples of Europe have no confidence in so-called "limita-

tions" of German militarism, or the paper guarantees to which the Paris agreements refer.

Nor is it possible to reconcile the restoration of militarism in Western Germany and the creation of a West German army, as provided in the Paris agreements, with the plan for a universal reduction in armaments now under consideration by the United Nations. The ratification of the Paris agreements would lead to an intensified arms drive and would create fresh obstacles to reaching agreement on the reduction of armaments.

The government of the U.S.S.R. considers it necessary to declare once more that such an attitude on the part of the government of France, helping to restore German militarism, is in flagrant contradiction with the Franco-Soviet Treaty of 1944, which was aimed at preventing new German aggression, and fundamentally undermines the significance of that treaty. Yet that treaty is no less important for France and her security than it is for the Soviet Union.

Nor is this attitude of the French government compatible with other international agreements to which France has adhered—the Potsdam Agreement, for instance, aimed at the restoration of German unity on a peaceloving and democratic basis, and excluding the possibility of the remilitarisation of any part of Germany.

The Soviet government agrees that for the success of a conference on urgent European questions, including the question of Germany, the creation of the appropriate favourable conditions for reaching agreement among the states concerned must be developed. The Conference of European Countries for Safeguarding Peace and Security in Europe, held in Moscow from November 29 to December 2, indicates that the Soviet Union and the other states taking part in that conference have the desire to reach such an agreement, in the interests of strengthening peace in Europe. On the other hand, the French government's refusal to take part, either in a general European conference or in a four-power conference on the German question, in no way indicates that it has any such desire.

The present attempts to present matters as if the ratification of the Paris agreements would not prevent the settlement of the German question by negotiations among the powers concerned can only mislead public opinion.

They are nothing but stratagems now being undertaken in France and in other countries to lull the vigilance of the peoples.

In actual fact, however, the ratification of the Paris agreements, which provide for Western Germany being transformed into a militarist state and being drawn into military groupings directed against other European states, would make talks between the four powers on the unification of Germany pointless, and would preclude the possibility of agreement being reached on this question. Only those who are striving, not for the easing of tension in international relations, but for the opposite—a further sharpening of this tension—need the ratification of the Paris agreements.

In the situation that has arisen—a situation in which a direct threat of the revival of militarism in Western Germany has appeared—slackening of the vigilance of the peoples with regard to the danger of a new war in Europe is above all impermissible.

In reply to the carrying out of the remilitarisation of Western Germany, and to the new sharpening in the aggressive nature of the policies of France and the states associated with her in the North Atlantic bloc, the Soviet Union and the other peaceloving countries will take all the necessary measures to strengthen their armaments and to safeguard their security. The Soviet Union and the other peaceloving countries are compelled to undertake, without delay, all steps necessary to counter the growing armed forces of the aggressive states which threaten the preservation of peace, with a no less powerful force and with their preparedness for defence and for safeguarding peace. The aggressive plans of France and the other states of the North Atlantic bloc lead to an ever-growing arms drive. Thereby they must assume full responsibility for the consequences of their present policy, which is incompatible

with the interests of peace and leads to a considerable strengthening of the danger of a new war in Europe.

The position of the Soviet Union with regard to the signing of the Paris agreements and the situation now created in Europe, is expressed in the joint Declaration of the governments of the U.S.S.R., the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Albania, adopted on December 2 at the Moscow Conference of European Countries for Safeguarding Peace and Security in Europe.

The government of the People's Republic of China, which as you know, took part in the work of the Moscow Conference, expressed its full agreement with, and support for the Declaration of the conference.

The Soviet government is attaching the text of this Declaration to the present Note to the government of France.

As regards the Austrian question, the position of the Soviet Union on this question is set out in the proposals submitted to the Berlin Conference of the four powers and also subsequently in the relevant Notes of the Soviet government. Ratification of the Paris agreements, needless to say, would not help in reaching agreement on the Austrian question between the states concerned and Austria, which is highly desirable.

Analogous Notes have also been sent by the Soviet government to the governments of Britain and the United States.

Attached to the Soviet government Note was the text of the Declaration of the governments of the U.S.S.R., the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Albania, adopted at the Moscow Conference of European Countries for Safeguarding Peace and Security in Europe on December 2, 1954.

SPEECH BY V. M. MOLOTOV
On the Tenth Anniversary of the Franco-
Soviet Treaty of Alliance and
Mutual Assistance

V. M. Molotov, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and Minister of Foreign Affairs, made the following speech at a meeting of representatives of the Soviet public in Moscow on December 10, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Franco-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance:

DEAR Comrades and Friends, ten years ago the head of the government of France, General de Gaulle, arrived in Moscow together with other members of the French government of that time, and the Franco-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance was concluded.

The signing of the Franco-Soviet Treaty in the difficult years of the war was of great international importance. This treaty helped the success of the peoples' glorious struggle against Hitler aggression. Its aim was to strengthen friendship between the Soviet Union and France and thereby assist in ensuring lasting peace in Europe (*applause*).

Many true things have been said today about the importance of this treaty for the Soviet Union and France, and for the cause of European peace. The Soviet people and also the French people regard the Franco-Soviet Treaty and the strengthening of friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and France as being of very great importance.

The French have a fine saying: "In time of drought you learn which are the good wells, and in time of need you learn who are your real friends" (*applause*).

Wherein lies the fundamental significance of the Franco-Soviet Treaty?

The answer to this question does not call for many words.

Under this treaty the Soviet Union and France, two great European states, undertook to prevent further German aggression and, for this purpose, they gave a pledge that all the necessary measures would be undertaken jointly.

This treaty was concluded at a time when the Second World War had not yet ended. Hitlerism was in its last months, but was still putting up a frenzied resistance.

As had been the case previously, the brunt of the struggle for victory over German fascism fell on the shoulders of the Soviet Army. The cruel struggle against German fascism still called for tremendous sacrifices from the Soviet people, from the French people, and from other peoples as well. The Allied forces had not yet completely liberated the territory of France. Only the first few months had gone by since the government of France had begun to function on territory liberated from the Hitler invaders.

Ten years have passed since then. For us Soviet people it is perfectly obvious that it is necessary now, no less than before, to remember our obligations to prevent fresh German aggression, to prevent German militarism from going on the rampage once again (*stormy applause*).

We are convinced that the overwhelming majority of the French people are imbued with these same feelings and ideas. How could Frenchmen forget that within a short period German militarism has twice forced a bloody war on France; that only a little more than ten years ago the whole of France was occupied and was groaning under the Hitler jackboot; that France has no more dangerous or deadly enemy than predatory, aggressive German militarism? (*applause*).

We are, of course, aware that there is a difference between the basic principles of policy of the bourgeois republic of France and the socialist Soviet Union and between their internal systems, and we bear this in mind. But this was also known at the time when the treaty between France and the Soviet Union for alliance and mutual assistance was signed. All this was taken into account when the treaty was concluded.

The treaty is based on recognition of the sovereign rights of the Soviet Union and also of France.

The question arises: Is it possible to imagine a situation in which today, ten years after the treaty was concluded, France would be less interested than the U.S.S.R. in the Franco-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance—a treaty whose aim is to safeguard peace in Europe?

Is it really possible to imagine that the French people are less concerned than the Soviet people in joint efforts by the peaceloving peoples to prevent a repetition of the German aggression which was responsible for unleashing both the First and the Second World Wars?

However great the difference between the social and state systems of France and the Soviet Union, both these states have a common task—the preservation and strengthening of peace in Europe accords with their fundamental national interests (*stormy applause*).

We Soviet people value the preservation of the treaty with France, with France as she is, and we understand the significance of this at the present time. We are convinced that Franco-Soviet friendship is in the interests of the Soviet people and also of the French people, and, at the same time, in the interests of safeguarding peace in Europe.

We base ourselves on the fact that France too, desiring to ensure her security, is vitally interested in the treaty with the Soviet Union—with the Soviet Union as it is.

The fact that since the Franco-Soviet Treaty was concluded our country has become a still more powerful state, obviously does not weaken, but only strengthens France's interest in having the U.S.S.R. as her ally in safeguarding the peace and wellbeing of the peoples of Europe (*prolonged applause*).

The Franco-Soviet Treaty is directed against no state whatsoever. Having as its aim the prevention of fresh German aggression and, consequently, the prevention of the unleashing of a new world war, it is also not directed in any way against the interests of Germany. Nor must it be forgotten that the desire for peace and peaceful co-operation with other peoples is today stronger than ever before in the German people.

In these circumstances the Franco-Soviet Treaty ought to become a cornerstone for safeguarding peace in Europe (*applause*). The peoples of the U.S.S.R. are firmly convinced that the French people, with their glorious and heroic traditions, their high level of political understanding, their activity and courage, are a great mainstay of the peace and freedom of the peoples of Europe (*stormy applause*).

The Soviet Union sees its task in working, through the joint efforts of all European states, irrespective of their social systems, to safeguard peace and security in Europe. The Soviet Union is striving to ensure that in this work, too, both our states shall act jointly. Such joint efforts by the U.S.S.R. and France are a guarantee of firm and lasting peace in Europe (*prolonged applause*).

The system of collective security should include all who are endeavouring to safeguard the peace of the European states. This system should also include both parts of Germany, and—when the unity of the German state is restored on the basis of free all-German elections—a united Germany.

These proposals of the Soviet Union cannot be detrimental to any European or non-European state. Simultaneously, their purpose is to help to restore the unity of Germany on a peaceloving and democratic basis, which also accords with the interests and desires of the German people themselves.

We know that these proposals have not met with support from the government of France. Like the United States of America and Britain, France has refused to take part in a general European conference for collective security and in a four-power conference on the German question.

We see the difficulties that have arisen. But we do not intend to throw in our hand in face of these difficulties (*stormy and prolonged applause*).

Today dark clouds are hanging over the Franco-Soviet Treaty. Official persons in France have recently been maintaining a shamefaced silence about the treaty. This is understandable—more and more frequently they are acting without regard to the Franco-Soviet Treaty, ignoring the obligations which the treaty imposes on those who are parties to it. A

month and a half ago the Paris agreements were signed, with France as one of the chief participants, in addition to the United States and Britain.

Under these agreements the remilitarisation of Western Germany is to be carried out, and Western Germany is to be included in the North Atlantic bloc and in other military groupings of a similarly aggressive nature. All the treaties and international agreements directed against the revival of German militarism and having as their aim the prevention of fresh German aggression—treaties and agreements to which the United States and Britain, and also France, are signatories—are thereby being broken.

Before our very eyes the aggressive forces of the United States, Britain and France are entering into a military alliance with the German militarists. This military alliance intends to talk to other countries "from a position of strength," that is to say, with military threats and all kinds of pressure on other states. The fact that these military groupings which are being set up under the direction of the ruling circles of the United States, are aimed directly against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, is not concealed.

What is left of the Franco-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance and of the undertaking to prevent fresh German aggression by the joint efforts of France and the U.S.S.R.?

And is there any need for further proof that the Paris agreements are incompatible with the Franco-Soviet Treaty? (*applause*).

The government of France at the present time is exerting every effort to secure ratification of the Paris agreements by the French Parliament.

They are now outdoing one another in attempts to prove that the Paris agreements, which open the gates to the revival of German militarism, will help to safeguard the security of France. But who can believe that? Will there be many French people able to believe that in order to safeguard France's security it is necessary to free the hands of the German militarists who want a new war of revenge, and that

it is necessary at the same time to repulse the Soviet Union, ignoring both the aims and the obligations under the Franco-Soviet Treaty and also under other international agreements?

A few days ago a French newspaper published an article by a former Minister, René Capitant, who gives the following appraisal of the Paris agreements:

"We French people realise full well that our country and the whole of the West would be threatened with mortal danger if the U.S.S.R. decided unilaterally to arm Germany, in order to turn Germany into its ally. Such an act would be tantamount to a declaration of war.

"Consequently we should understand that a similar act committed by the West would be regarded by the U.S.S.R. as a military threat and that talking about peaceful intentions cannot change anything in this terrible reality.

"Yet it is precisely in this way that the West is preparing to act. This is the aim of the Paris agreements. For this reason France must turn down these agreements.

"Our country . . . in whose name General de Gaulle signed the Franco-Soviet Treaty, has no right to commit such a senseless and unjustified act, leading to the breaking of alliances."

It can be said with confidence that these words express the true feelings and ideas of French patriots (*applause*).

The Moscow Conference of eight European states for safeguarding peace and security in Europe, ended on December 2. In the Declaration adopted at this conference the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania give their views on the Paris agreements.

This Declaration of the Moscow Conference is imbued with one main desire: to promote the preservation and strengthening of peace in Europe.

This Declaration is imbued with the same spirit as the Franco-Soviet Treaty.

The position is otherwise as regards the Paris agreements.

The Paris agreements cannot further the strengthening of peace. By freeing the hands of the German militarists they can only promote one thing: serious intensification of the danger of a new war in Europe. The Paris agreements mean

further intensification of the armaments drive and a further increase in international tension. We must not underestimate where this is leading.

As in France, so equally in Britain and the United States, all kinds of steps are being taken to lull the vigilance of the peoples and, behind the clamour of all sorts of press reports, to push through ratification of the Paris agreements. And the ruses to which they resort!

They pretend that negotiations of some kind have already been started with the Soviet government on the Austrian question. Yet it is obvious to everyone that on the basis of ratification of the Paris agreements any talks whatsoever on the German or the Austrian question would be pointless.

Rumours have already been set on foot to the effect that a conference of representatives of the four powers is to meet in May. They know that there are plenty of credulous people who are not experienced in such matters. This is all being done in order to mislead the public and, on any and every pretext, to facilitate the implementation of the plans for ratification of the Paris agreements, which undermine the foundations of peace in Europe, complicate the entire international situation and greatly intensify the danger of a new war in Europe.

In view of this situation, the Soviet Union and the other peaceloving states cannot give themselves up to futile marking time.

Since there is a grave increase in the danger of a new war, the Soviet people and the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania and the German Democratic Republic must look to their armed forces, with the sole aim of more surely safeguarding peace (*stormy applause*). The peaceloving countries are faced with the need to undertake, with the maximum determination, the strengthening of the might of their armaments, and the German Democratic Republic is faced with the need to create its own national armed forces, as Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl declared at the Moscow Conference. The peaceloving states of Europe must unite their efforts and must jointly carry through all the necessary measures to ensure their security and to defend peace (*prolonged applause*).

Ratification of the Paris agreements, leading to the revival of German militarism, will compel the Soviet Union and other peaceloving countries to take such measures as are necessary to counter the growing armed strength of the aggressive states, which creates a threat to the preservation of peace, with a no less powerful force and with their readiness to defend the cause of peace to the end (*stormy, prolonged applause*).

Today we are speaking of the importance of the Franco-Soviet Treaty as a treaty which has served, and must serve the cause of peace. But in the present circumstances we must also speak about ratification of the Paris agreements being directed against the main aims of that treaty, and about the fact that this not only cannot serve the aims of peace but, on the contrary, is a dangerous gamble on another war.

We tell this both to the government of France and to the people of France. We tell this to all who have ears, as we consider it to be necessary to intensify in every way the struggle to safeguard and strengthen peace. Ratification of the Paris agreements will not catch us unawares (*applause*).

The Soviet people are confident in their strength. Our people know how foolhardy are the efforts of the aggressive imperialists to have recourse to threats of military force against the Soviet Union. Should it be necessary, the Soviet Union, naturally, will also be able to demonstrate its might and will prove the righteousness and justice of its cause (*prolonged applause*).

We recall the words of the great Lenin:

"They can never conquer a nation in which the majority of the workers and peasants have learned, realised and seen that they are defending their own Soviet power—the power of the working people, that they are defending a cause whose victory will ensure for themselves and for their children the opportunity of enjoying all the benefits of culture, all the creations of man's labour" (*applause*).

Lenin said this 35 years ago. At that time the Soviet Union, the first socialist state, the state of the working people, stood on its own and was as yet unable to develop all the power of its economic and cultural strength and possibilities. Today

the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, together with Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and the other democratic countries, unite such powerful forces of the people and enjoy such great support far beyond the confines of their own states, that we realise as never before the significance of the historic changes that have taken place in these years. There is no force in the world capable of preventing our peoples from advancing along their chosen and glorious socialist path (*stormy and prolonged applause*).

The Soviet Union attaches great importance to treaties and international agreements whose aim is to defend the interests of peace. But we Soviet people are well aware that the defence of peace and the security of the peoples depend mainly on the peoples themselves, on their awareness, on their organisation, on their joint efforts (*applause*).

It remains for me to recall Stalin's famous words:

"Peace will be preserved and strengthened if the peoples take into their own hands the cause of the preservation of peace and defend it to the end [*applause*]. War may become inevitable if the warmongers succeed in enmeshing the masses of the people in a net of lies, deceiving them and drawing them into a new world war."

We must uphold the cause of peace.

By our determined activity, by our unswerving efforts, and by our struggle, jointly with other peoples, we shall uphold peace, uphold our righteous and just cause (*stormy, prolonged applause, developing into an ovation. All rise*).

SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S NOTE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE

On December 16, V. M. Molotov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., received M. Louis Joxe, the French Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., and handed him the following Note from the government of the U.S.S.R. to the government of France:

THE Soviet government considers it necessary to draw the attention of the government of France to the fact that the French government's actions, expressed in the conclusion of the so-called Paris agreements, are in fundamental contradiction with the obligations assumed by France under the Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the French Republic.

This treaty was concluded on December 10, 1944, towards the end of the Second World War, when the Soviet Union and France, with other states in the anti-Hitler coalition, having closely united their forces, were waging the hard struggle against German militarism—the common enemy of the peoples of Europe. The Franco-Soviet Treaty, sealed with the blood of the best sons of the Soviet and French peoples, provides for the adoption by France and the Soviet Union of joint measures to prevent the possibility of fresh aggression on the part of German militarism, and thereby to prevent another war in Europe.

This treaty, concluded for a term up to the end of 1964, states:

"The High Contracting Parties undertake also after the termination of the present war with Germany to take jointly all necessary measures for the elimination of any new threat coming from Germany and to obstruct such actions as would

make possible any new attempt at aggression on her part" (Article III).

The treaty says further: "The High Contracting Parties undertake not to conclude any alliance and not to take part in any coalition directed against either of the High Contracting Parties" (Article V).

The treaty also contains undertakings providing for mutual assistance by the parties in the event of aggression by Germany, which is in accord with the interests of safeguarding the security of both France and the Soviet Union.

Whereas the Franco-Soviet Treaty pursues the aim of preventing the possibility of fresh German aggression, the Paris agreements, which have been signed by the government of France, would lead to the restoration of German militarism and would thereby create a threat of fresh German aggression. These agreements provide for the remilitarisation of Western Germany and the creation of a West German army headed by former Hitler generals, who only recently were imposing a fascist régime of bloody terror and oppression on the occupied territories of France, the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Norway, Belgium and other European states.

Not only is a big West German army being created, with its own large air forces, tanks and heavy artillery, and its own military staffs, but also the whole of Western Germany's heavy industry, including the Ruhr industrial region, is being switched to armaments production.

In violation of the existing international agreements, the Paris agreements put atomic weapons, and also chemical and bacteriological weapons into the hands of the militarists and revenge-seekers of Western Germany, which greatly increases the danger of an atomic, chemical and bacteriological war of extermination, with all its terrible consequences and incalculable losses.

At the same time the Paris agreements provide for the inclusion of a remilitarised Western Germany in the aggressive North Atlantic bloc and other military groupings directed against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. This means that France, as one of the chief participants in these groupings, is entering into a military alliance with a revived German militarism, in spite of the fact that under the Franco-Soviet Treaty France assumed the obligation not to enter any military alliances directed against the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government has already repeatedly pointed out, in particular in its Notes of October 23, November 13 and December 9, that such actions by the French government are in manifest contradiction with the letter and spirit of the Franco-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance. By signing the Paris agreements France has flagrantly violated her own allied obligations under the Franco-Soviet Treaty, both as regards the prevention of fresh German aggression and as regards non-participation in military alliances directed against the Soviet Union.

The Soviet government has repeatedly drawn the attention of the government of France to all the dangers connected with the policy of restoring German militarism. Moreover it has invariably pointed out the need for joint measures by the U.S.S.R. and France aimed at safeguarding and strengthening peace in Europe and at settling urgent questions concerning the solution of the German problem.

With a view to solving the problem of restoring the unity of Germany on a peaceloving and democratic basis through the holding of free all-German elections, the Soviet government proposed the immediate convening of a conference of the Foreign Ministers of the four powers.

The Soviet government likewise proposed to the government of France to promote the conclusion of a general European treaty for the establishment of an effective system of collective security in Europe, to which all European states, irrespective

of their social or state systems, could belong. The conclusion of such a treaty would help to ensure peaceful conditions for the development of all the peoples of Europe. The Soviet government proposed that a conference be convened at the end of November, in Moscow or Paris, of all European countries, specially to discuss the question of establishing a system of collective security in Europe.

All these proposals of the Soviet government had the aim of preventing the revival of German militarism, of strengthening and developing friendly Franco-Soviet relations, which is of exceptional importance for ensuring the security of France and the U.S.S.R. and for strengthening peace in Europe. The Soviet government notes with regret that the government of France has refused to take part in the organisation of collective security in Europe and in carrying out the urgent tasks for the peaceful settlement of the German problem. By rejecting these proposals of the Soviet government and rejecting its friendly warnings, the French government has shown that it does not wish to take into account its obligations under the Franco-Soviet Treaty or the interests of strengthening the peace and security of the peoples of Europe.

Not only does the foreign policy of the French government fail to conform with France's obligations under the Franco-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance, but it is also directly aimed against the Soviet Union and the other peace-loving European states.

The government of France has signed the Paris agreements and is now doing its utmost to hasten the ratification of these agreements. It is thereby striving to hasten the remilitarisation of Western Germany and the inclusion of Western Germany in these military groupings.

In such a situation the Franco-Soviet Treaty cannot serve the aims for which it was concluded. Since the government of

France, in spite of the existence of this treaty, has taken the attitude of restoring militarism in Western Germany and drawing the remilitarised Western Germany into military groupings against the Soviet Union and other peace-loving European states, the Franco-Soviet Treaty not only cannot serve the interests of peace but, on the contrary, becomes nothing but a screen, serving to cover up the present policy of the government of France, which has entered into aggressive military groupings headed by the United States of America. The Soviet government cannot reconcile itself to such a position, and cannot but state this directly to the Soviet people and also to the French people.

All this goes to show that ratification of the Paris agreements would inevitably gravely complicate the entire situation in Europe, that this ratification does not accord with the interests of peace and security in Europe, and that it is needed only by the aggressive circles of certain states, engaged in preparing a new war.

In such circumstances the Soviet government considers it its duty to declare that the act of ratifying the Paris agreements will cancel the Franco-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance and annul this treaty. Entire responsibility for this will rest with France, with the French government.

After the ratification of the Paris agreements there would remain nothing for the Soviet government to do but to submit to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. a proposal to annul the Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the French Republic.

Moscow, December 16, 1954

The French Ambassador stated that he would forward the Note to his government immediately.