

Hungary & Eastern Europe - Sixty Years Ago A Press Review by a Hungarian Refugee

Red 'NATO'
1955. 05. 1-15.

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CONFERENCE ON AUSTRIA

Encouraged by more favorable portents than have been present at any earlier time since the war, the Ambassadors of the United States, Britain, France and Soviet Russia meet in Vienna today with Austrian representatives to draft the final text of the treaty that is to restore Austria to full sovereignty and independence. If they succeed in reaching agreement, the treaty will then be considered and signed at a conference of the Big Four Foreign Ministers and Austria which could initiate a major break in the cold war.

For such a treaty would not only accomplish the long-delayed liberation of Austria, promised by the Moscow Declaration as far back as 1943. It would also mark the end of the Soviet occupation of Austrian soil and a withdrawal of Soviet troops which would roll back the Iron Curtain for the first time since it clanked down across the heart of Europe. Furthermore, if the Soviets adhere to the provisions of the peace treaties with Hungary and Rumania, they would also have to withdraw their "communication" troops from these two countries.

If the Big Four Foreign Ministers conference is successful in dealing with Austria, it will in all likelihood be followed by another such conference on Germany, for which Western experts are already making preparations. If that conference should also succeed, it might well be followed by a "conference at the summit," long urged by Sir Winston Churchill, accepted by Prime Minister Eden and Premier Faure, and never ruled out by President Eisenhower. The purpose of such a conference would be to reach a European settlement that could replace the cold war with at least a *modus vivendi* with the Soviets.

Viewed in the bleak light of the cold war and Soviet ambitions, this prospect is so bright that one must inevitably regard it with skepticism, and the many "if's" already mentioned indicate the many obstacles on the road toward such a goal. But the goal itself has always been the end aim of all Western policy, provided it could be attained with honor and without surrender of principle.

For the present, and with all due consideration of both Soviet aims and motivations, it appears as if the Soviets are prepared to give ground at least in part and at least at one point—Austria. After stalling and

precise terms of Austria's neutrality and the Big Power guarantee to close loopholes which would enable the Soviets to reoccupy Austria on the pretext that Austrian neutrality is violated; (2) the military forces to be allowed Austria to defend her neutrality; (3) the safeguarding of refugees from behind the Iron Curtain, in order to keep them out of Soviet hands; (4) clarification as to whether the Soviets really intend to withdraw their troops from Hungary and Rumania or whether they propose to evade that obligation under the guise of an Iron Curtain "NATO" which they have already announced.

Even assuming that these questions are settled satisfactorily, there is no blinking the fact that the price of Austria's liberation is a heavy economic burden on Austria and that Austria's enforced neutralization means a neutral wedge into the Western defense front, which cuts across the principal railroad lines between Italy and Germany. But if Austria becomes really free, that is a price which both Austria and the West will be willing to pay for the promise which the liberation of at least one country may hold for the future.

Times 21955

Conditions in Hungary

New Wave of Terror Reported Under Way in Country

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The April 19 issue of The New York Times carried a report about the changes in the Budapest Government. These changes—a switch back to the Rákosi regime—actually took place some months before.

In the spring of 1954, Rákosi had gone to the Soviet Union for "medical treatment." People in Budapest believed that he would return in the same manner as the former Bulgarian Premier, Georgi Dimitrov, returned to Sofia—in his casket. Rákosi, however, was very much alive when he returned to Budapest on Nov. 29. Since then arrests and death sentences—among them five death sentences brought in a conspiracy trial—have again become the order of the day. Deportations, too, have once more been resumed in Budapest.

This new wave of terror aims to suppress the silent revolution threatening to paralyze industrial and agricultural production throughout the country.

New deportations began four weeks ago. They differ from former ones in that some of the victims are now permitted to choose their own place of residence outside of Budapest and other larger cities.

Hungary, as well as the Baltic States, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Rumania, has sunk to the level of Soviet colonies. While the liquidation of the remnants of colonialism in Asia and Africa is being demanded at the currently held Bandung conference, we may witness how the once free countries of Europe, such as Hungary, are being transformed into colonies by the Soviets.

Citizens of Hungary are turned out of their apartments, and the better ones—complete with furnishings, linen and household equipment—are requisitioned for the invaders. Budapest's former fashionable residential districts are now exclusively inhabited by Russians. There are special stores in which only Russians are allowed to trade, where practically anything may be purchased, and at a lower price than in ordinary stores.

In factories and offices, in the army as in the police force, the right of disposal, openly or covertly, lies exclusively in the hands of Russians. All others have to perform their jobs as ordered by them. The Russians are the No. 1 privileged, seconded in rank by their tools, the native Communists. All others are considered pariahs.

BELA FABIAN,

Member of the Executive Committee of the Hungarian National Council.

New York, April 19, 1955.

June 25 1955

\$5 Million in Food Sent Red Flood Victims

International News Service

President Eisenhower allowed the shipment of more than five million dollars worth of food to flood victims of three Iron Curtain countries in 1954.

This was disclosed by the Commerce Department yesterday in a report on the program initiated last summer by Mr. Eisenhower for humanitarian purposes. The Communist regimes of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and East Germany accepted the dramatic Eisenhower offer of food for flood sufferers last summer.

Relief shipments got under way in the late autumn and by the end of the year \$2,826,000 in corn, wheat, barley, dried peas and dried beans had been sent to Czechoslovakia, Hungary and East Germany.

Export license approvals under the President's flood relief

program for the Danube Basin amounted to \$5,152,000 and accounted for a substantial boost in the volume of United States trade with the European Soviet bloc in 1954.

American trade with Iron Curtain countries in Europe is limited under the Export Controls Act and must be reported quarterly by the Commerce Department. All trade with Red China is banned.

The department said that in the last three months of 1954 approval was given to export license applications valued at \$10,355,000. Five times more than in corresponding previous quarters.

Actual shipments totaled \$4,314,000 in the fourth quarter and \$5,958,000 in all of 1954 compared with \$1,776,000 in 1953 and \$1,097,000 in 1952.

The department pointed out that shipments are smaller

than approvals because orders are withdrawn and other trade disagreements arise.

United States imports from the European Soviet bloc amounted to \$42,277,000 in 1954, \$36,437,000 in 1953 and \$39,586,000 in 1952.

According to the department the liberation of controls last August accounted for only eight applications valued at \$3472 which would not otherwise have been approved for sale to Communist countries.

Exports other than food included \$1,198,000 in wool rags and \$528,000 in cigarettes and tobacco to Poland, Danzig and Czechoslovakia; \$552,000 in inedible tallow to Hungary and Romania; \$371,000 in edible oils to Hungary and \$179,000 in coal-tar acids to Russia.

United States imports from European Soviet bloc countries in 1954 included \$18,388,

000 in foodstuffs, chiefly from Poland; \$8,172,000 in undressed furs from Russia; \$1,916,000 in textile goods from Poland and Russia, and \$1,761,000 in cameras and parts from East Germany.

N.Y. Herald Trib. 4/5/55

Rokossovsky or Konev Seen as 'Red NATO' Chief

By Wireless to the Herald Tribune
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VIENNA, May 3.—Either Marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky or Marshal Ivan F. Konev is expected here to become commander-in-chief of a new unified satellite military command when the Eastern European states meet next week in Warsaw to finalize their counterpart to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The meeting may also produce an announcement of a "mutual assistance" arrangement for the Soviet Army to keep its troops in Hungary and elsewhere, instead of pulling them out after the Austrian state treaty is concluded, as Russia otherwise would be required to do. The Soviet Army has been there for ten years protecting Russian communication lines to Austria.

The Warsaw meeting on May 11 will climax a series of diplomatic moves which began in autumn. These moves, designed to halt Western ratification of German rearmament and German entry into NATO have failed and are concluding now in the somewhat petulant last gesture of having an Eastern "European Treaty Organization" meeting at the same time as a NATO meeting in Paris.

On Nov. 29, the Foreign Ministers of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and East Germany, with an observer from Red China, met in Moscow and agreed on a treaty of alliance to be made effective if West Germany entered the Western alliance.

March Meeting

At another meeting in March it was agreed to set up a unified Eastern military command if the Paris treaties were ratified. Now the satellite ministers will go to Warsaw to make good the threats.

These Soviet moves have been

discounted by what has happened in Eastern Europe since Soviet Marshal Rokossovsky was sent to Poland in 1948, received Polish citizenship and became War Minister and commander-in-chief of the Polish Armed Forces. Today the Polish forces are commanded by Soviet officers down to regimental level.

Similarly, Russians command in Czechoslovakia down to divisional level, and in Bulgaria down to regimental level. The only piece in the picture really remaining is the naming of a commander-in-chief for the satellites.

Marshal Rokossovsky may be named because he could be called a "Polish" commander-in-chief, but Marshal Konev, who was the first Soviet occupation commander in Austria, is far higher among the Soviet military powers.

Estimates of satellite military strength remain the same as the past: Poland, 540,000 organized in twenty-three divisions, four of them armored; Czechoslovakia, 240,000 in fourteen divisions, two armored; Romania, 250,000 in sixteen divisions; Bulgaria, 175,000 in eleven divisions, three armored;

Hungary, 180,000 in twelve divisions; Albania, 50,000, and East Germany, 150,000 men under arms.

The peace treaty limits on armed forces were Hungary, 70,000; Romania, 138,000, and Bulgaria, 65,000.

Times 5 V 9-5

KEY REDS TO MEET IN BERLIN SUNDAY

**Soviet Bloc May Map Plans
to Counter NATO as Well
as Mark Nazi Surrender**

By WALTER SULLIVAN

Special to The New York Times.

BERLIN, May 4—Key political and military leaders from the Communist world will assemble in East Berlin next week-end ostensibly to celebrate the tenth anniversary of Germany's liberation from the Nazis.

It is assumed their primary task will be to work on plans for an Eastern counterpart of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. A conference to map such an organization is due to convene next Wednesday in Warsaw, Poland. The delegates assembled in Berlin presumably will move in a body to the Polish capital.

It is believed that the Soviet delegation, which has not yet been named, will include one of the top men of the Soviet Government. The leader of the delegation is due to speak at the East Berlin liberation ceremonies Sunday and may make a major declaration on the German question.

Peng of Red China to Attend

The most important figure identified so far among those coming to Berlin is Gen. Peng Teh-huai, Communist China's Defense Minister. It is hardly likely that General Peng, in the midst of the Formosa crisis, is traveling half way around the world to sit on a reviewing stand. Communist China is to have an observer at the Warsaw talks.

Also coming are Deputy Premiers of Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgar and the Deputy Defense Minister of Poland, Hungary and North Korea, as well as the chief of the Albanian Coastal Command.

Brig. Gen. Kazimierz Witaszewski, Polish Deputy Defense Minister, is assistant to Marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky. The latter return to his native Poland after having become one of the Soviet Union's top military leaders. He is now Defense Minister in Warsaw and is mentioned as a likely choice as commander of the combined East European forces.

The Soviet bloc conference on defense measures in Warsaw next week will be the second held by those states. The first, last November, resulted in a declaration of intent to form a joint command in case the Paris agreements on West German armament and sovereignty were ratified.

West Germany is to become sovereign tomorrow.

Neues Deutschland, official

Communist party newspaper in East Berlin, said today the Warsaw talks "will discuss the conclusion of a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual help and at the same time will consider the question of organizing a common supreme command for the participating states."

The latter consist of the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania, with Communist China as an observer.

Despite these well-publicized preparations, it seemed unlikely that Moscow would move rapidly toward the construction of a military machine that included East German troops. The Communists are trying hard to persuade the Germans that a solution similar to the one proposed for Austria is possible here.

They probably will go slow on any steps that might have such a solution seem beyond reach.

Times 65955

A. P. Hears Its Reporter In Budapest Is Arrested



Associated Press

Dr. Endre Marton

The Associated Press announced yesterday that it had received indications that its Budapest correspondent, Dr. Endre Marton, a Hungarian national, had been arrested by the Hungarian secret police.

The Associated Press said it had received no communications from Dr. Marton since late February. Frank Starzel, general manager of The Associated Press, said the United States legation in Budapest had heard reports of Dr. Marton's arrest by Hungarian authorities.

The news service has not been able to learn the nature of charges against Dr. Marton. Several communications to the Hungarian Foreign Office have gone unanswered.

Dr. Marton had served as Associated Press correspondent in Budapest since 1947. He was educated in England, is married and has two children.

Times W V 955

SARNOFF DEMANDS A FULL 'COLD WAR'

In Memorandum to President
He Warns U. S. to Win
'Decisive Contest'

David Sarnoff urged the nation yesterday to wage all-out "cold war" against communism and be willing to accept the same "costs and casualties as a hot war would involve."

The chairman of the board of the Radio Corporation of America charged that the nation's political offensive against communism was "inadequate." He warned that the cold war "is not a preliminary bout but the decisive contest in which the loser may not have a second chance."

In a memorandum submitted to President Eisenhower last April 5 and made public yesterday, Mr. Sarnoff said the "surest way to prevent a hot war was to win the cold war." The memorandum grew out of his discussion of the subject with the President on March 15.

Cabinet Status Urged

Mr. Sarnoff recommended the creation of a Strategy Board for Political Defense as a "cold war" equivalent of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The board would function directly under the President, and its head would have Cabinet status. It would include top representatives of the State and Defense Departments and the Central Intelligence and United States information agencies to plan and finance cold war activities of government and private groups.

Mr. Sarnoff also urged:

☐ Expenditure of up to \$3,000,000,000 a year, or 7½ per cent of the military defense budget, for political warfare.

☐ Encouragement of passive resistance in Soviet-dominated countries, insurrection in the "weakest links in the Kremlin's chain of power," subversion, infiltration and organized resistance where possible.

☐ Use of all media of communication for propaganda purposes including mobile television screens for non-Communist regions such as Asia to reach "areas where illiteracy bars the written word and lack of radios bars the spoken word."

In other areas, he proposed use of hand-operated phono-



URGES A 'COLD WAR':
David Sarnoff, chairman of the Radio Corporation of America. In a memorandum to President Eisenhower, he recommended all-out "cold war" against Communists.

graphs, each "costing no more than a loaf of bread," and cardboard records costing five cents each. The phonographs and records, he said, could be made

Mr. Sarnoff said any hope of a real compromise with the Soviet Union was "a dangerous self-delusion," that the United States' "current posture" was defensive and inherently weak and that our propaganda effort lacked continuity and consistency and had not "been geared for total victory."

He warned that a hot war always was a possibility and therefore maintenance of the nation's military strength was indispensable. But the primary threat now, he declared, was political and psychological, with the Kremlin seeking world domination by use of propaganda, fifth-column subversion, sabotage, terror and treacherous diplomacy.

The nation's counterstrategy, he said, must be "as massive, as intensive, as flexible as the enemy's."

N. Y. Herald Trib. 15 V 9 55

Free Austria Is Voted By Big 4, Sign Today; Konev Red 'Nato' Head

They Make It Legal

Satellites and Russia Sign 20-Year Pact in Warsaw

By The Associated Press

WARSAW, May 14.—The Soviet Union and seven East European Communist states set up a unified military command today to counter the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Soviet Marshal Ivan S. Konev was made supreme commander, with headquarters in Moscow.

The eight allies signed a twenty-year mutual security and friendship treaty and a protocol grouping their military forces under a single command. Marshal Konev, the Soviet Deputy Defense Minister, has been a Communist party member for thirty-seven years.

The treaty ceremonies took place in a white-and-marble hall of the Polish Parliament Building. Premiers of the eight nations—Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Albania and East Germany—signed the pact.

Later almost 100,000 cheering residents of Warsaw crowded into Dzerzhinsky Square and heard Communist leaders hail the new treaty as "a move for world peace."

Soviet Prime Minister Marshal Nikolai A. Bulganin declared that the Paris accords rearming West Germany sponsored "a new and dangerous militarism."

"We want peace," he cried, "but we will defend our countries by all means."

The loudest cheers and applause came when Marshal Bulganin told the crowd of Marshal Konev's appointment as supreme commander. He reminded the crowd that it was Marshal Konev who led the armies which liberated much of Poland from the Nazis.

[Western diplomats believe that the Russians have been in over-all command of their satellites' armed forces for some time and that Saturday's Warsaw action does not change the existing situation. However, the pact gives the Russians a legal framework under which Soviet troops can remain in the satellite nations through individual treaties between the Soviet Union and each country.

[The United States government estimates the armed

Continued on page 31, column 1



Herald Tribune—United Press

Soviet Prime Minister Marshal Nikolai A. Bulganin (center) addressing delegates to the Warsaw conference of the East European Communist states. Left to right are Soviet Deputy Defense Minister Marshal Ivan S. Konev, Soviet Foreign Minister Viacheslav M. Molotov, Marshal Bulganin and Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Gregori Zhukov. Marshal Konev yesterday was named supreme commander of the allied Red forces, consisting of the U. S. S. R. and seven East European countries.

Red 'NATO'

(Continued from page one)

strength of these European Communist nations at more than 6,000,000 men in 175 to 225 Russian divisions and eighty satellite divisions. NATO divisions under Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther number about 100, with West Germany to contribute later a twelve-division Army of 350,000 men.]

Marshal Bulganin, wearing a gray-blue double-breasted lounge suit, led the procession of Premiers, Foreign Ministers and Defense Ministers into the hall for the ceremony concluding the four-day conference. Previously each Premier had declared West Germany's rearmament made necessary new measures to strengthen East Europe's security.

Two hundred reporters, including a dozen from Western countries, watched the signing. Afterward a summarized text of the agreement was read to reporters by a Soviet spokesman. One clause provides that the treaty will automatically be dissolved if the East and West can agree on any all-Europe collective security system.

Deputy Commanders

[The summary of the treaty's contents emphasized the Communists' intent to make their alliance a counter to NATO. The provisions are almost exactly the same as those contained in the North Atlantic treaty signed April 4, 1949.]

Deputy commanders will be the Defense Ministers or other military leaders of the participating nations. Each of the deputies will command forces to be supplied by his country to Marshal Konev's unified command. The exact numbers of East Germany's contribution will be decided later.

Treaty Provisions

Marshal Konev, fifty-seven, entered the Soviet Army in 1918 and joined the Communist party the same year. On May 2, 1945, armies of the 2d Ukrainian Front under his command, along with armies of the 1st Ukrainian Front, took Berlin. Marshal Konev is twice a Hero of the Soviet Union. He holds three Orders of Lenin and the Order of Victory.

clares the eight nations decided to tighten their defense measures because of West Germany's admission to the Western alliance. The pact is to take effect when the last participating na-

tion has ratified it. The first of its eleven articles declares that the nations undertake, in conformity with the United Nations Charter, to refrain from the use of force in international relations and to do their best to solve international questions by peaceful means.

Another article declares that in case of armed attack on any one or more of the participating states, the other signatories will provide immediate help, including armed forces. At the same time the signatories will consult on measures to restore peace, communicate their actions to

the U. N. Security Council, and cease their actions once the Security Council itself steps in.

The eight nations agreed to set up a political consultative council on which the signatories will be represented by members of their government or ambassadors.

Times 15/5/55

Texts of Warsaw Pact and Unified Arms Accord

LONDON, May 14 (Reuters)—Following are the texts of a communiqué on a unified command for Soviet-bloc armies and of a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance signed in Warsaw today by eight Eastern European countries:

The Communiqué

In accordance with the pact of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the People's Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Czechoslovak Republic, the signatory states have decided to set up a unified command of armed forces.

This decision provides that general questions relating to the strengthening of the defense capacity and the organization of united armed forces of the participating countries are to be examined by the political and consultative communities, which will take appropriate decisions.

The Commander in Chief of the united armed forces contributed by the participating states is appointed in the person of Marshal of the Soviet Union Konev.

The deputies to the Commander in Chief of the united armed forces are appointed in the persons of the ministers of defense and military leaders of the participating states who are to command the armed forces of each participating country contributing to the strength of the unified armed forces.

The question of the participation of the German Democratic Republic in measures regarding the armed forces of the unified command is to be examined later.

The Commander in Chief of the united armed forces is to set up a headquarters of the unified command of the participating countries, which is to include the permanent representatives of the general staffs of the participating countries.

The headquarters is to be located in Moscow.

The location of the united armed forces on the territories of the participating states is to be decided in accordance with the needs of mutual defense by agreement between these states.

The Treaty

The contracting parties confirm once again their striving for the creation of a system of collective security in Europe based on the participation of all European states, irrespective of their social or state structure, which would make it possible to unite their efforts in the interest of insuring peace in Europe.

Taking into consideration at the same time the situation which has arisen in Europe as the result of the ratification of the Paris agreements envisaging the formation of a new military alignment in the



Associated Press Radiophoto

SOVIET LEADERS AT WARSAW: The scene at conference table yesterday as mutual security treaty was signed by Soviet and European allies. From left are Marshal Ivan S. Konev, named supreme commander of all forces in alliance; Foreign Minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov; Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin and Defense Minister Georgi K. Zhukov.

form of the West European Union with the participation of Western Germany, which is being remilitarized, and her inclusion in the North Atlantic bloc, which increases the danger of a new war and creates a threat to the national security of peace-loving states;

Being convinced of the fact that in these circumstances peace-loving states in Europe must take measures necessary to safeguard their security and in the interests of preserving peace in Europe;

Guided by the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter, in the interests of the further strengthening and developing of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance in accordance with the principles of respecting the independence and sovereignty of the states and non-interference in their internal affairs;

Have decided to conclude the present treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance, and have appointed as their representatives:

The Presidium of the People's Assembly of the Albanian People's Republic—MEHMET SHEHU, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Albanian P. R.

The Presidium of the People's Assembly of the Bulgarian P. R.—VULKO CHERVENKOV, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian P. R.

The Presidium of the Hungarian P. R.—ANDRAS HECSKESZ, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian P. R.

The Presidium of the German Democratic Republic—OTTO GROTHWOL, Prime Minister of the G. D. R.

The State Council of the Polish P. R.—J. CIERANKIEWICZ, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish P. R.

The Presidium of the Great National Assembly of the Ru-

manian P. R.—GHEORGHIU GHEORGHIU-DEJ, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Rumanian P. R.

The Presidium of the U. S. S. R. Supreme Soviet—NIKOLAI A. BULGANIN, Chairman of the U. S. S. R. Council of Ministers.

The President of the Czechoslovak Republic—VILIAM SIRSKY, Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Who, representing their countries, agreed to the following:

ARTICLE 1

The high contracting parties undertake, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, to abstain in their international relations from threats of violence or its use and to settle disputes necessary to establish and preserve international peace and security.

Measures taken on the basis of this article will assist security in accordance with the U. N. Charter.

These measures will be stopped as soon as the Security Council takes measures necessary for establishing and preserving international peace and security.

ARTICLE 2

The contracting powers agree to set up a joint command of their armed forces to be allotted by agreement between the powers, at the disposal of this command and used on the basis of jointly established principles.

They will also take other agreed measures necessary to strengthen their defenses in order to protect the peaceful toil of their peoples, guarantee the integrity of their frontiers and territories and insure their defense against possible aggression.

ARTICLE 3

With the object of carrying out consultations provided by the present treaty between the states participating in the treaty and for the examination of questions arising in connection

with the fulfillment of this international disputes by peaceful means, so as not to put each other or international peace in danger.

ARTICLE 4

The contracting parties declare their readiness to cooperate in all international actions with the purpose of insuring international peace and security.

With that, the contracting parties will strive to reach agreement with states desiring to cooperate in that cause and take measures to reduce armaments and the ban of atomic, hydrogen and other kinds of weapons of mass destruction.

ARTICLE 5

The contracting parties will consult mutually on all important international problems affecting their common interests, taking as their guide the interests of strengthening international peace and security.

They will immediately consult each time in the event of a threat of armed attack against one or several states, signatories to the pact, in the interest of insuring their mutual defense and of maintaining peace and security.

ARTICLE 6

In case of armed aggression in Europe against one or several states party to the pact by a state or group of states, each state member of the pact, in order to put into practice the right to individual or collective self-defense, in accordance with Article 51 of the U. N. Charter, will afford to the state or states which are the objects of such an aggression immediate assistance, individually and in agreement with other states, party to the pact, with all means which appear necessary, including the use of armed force.

The parties to the pact will

immediately take joint measures, a political consultative committee is being set up in which each state participating in the treaty will be represented by a member of its Government or another specially appointed representative.

The committee may set up any auxiliary organs it considers necessary.

ARTICLE 7

The contracting parties undertake not to enter into any coalitions or unions and not to enter into any agreements whose aims are contrary to the terms of this treaty.

The contracting parties declare that their obligations under existing international agreements are not contrary to the terms of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 8

The contracting parties declare that they will act in a spirit of friendship and cooperation in order further to develop the economic and cultural ties between them, and will be guided by principles of mutual respect and will not interfere in the internal affairs of each other.

ARTICLE 9

The present treaty is open to other states, irrespective of their social or Government regime, who declare their readiness to abide by the terms of this treaty in order to safeguard peace and security of the peoples.

The joining of this treaty by such countries will come into force in agreement with the states party to the treaty, after it has been handed over to the Government of Poland for safekeeping.

ARTICLE 10

The present treaty is subject to ratification, and the ratification instruments will be handed over to the Government of Poland for safekeeping. It will come into force on the day the instruments are handed over to the Polish Government.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic will inform the other state signatories of the treaty when each ratification instrument is handed over.

ARTICLE 11

The present treaty will remain in force for twenty years. Those states which do not give notice of abrogation one year before the treaty expires will remain bound by it for a further ten years.

In the event of a system of collective security being set up in Europe and a pact to this effect being signed—to which each party to this treaty will direct its efforts—the present treaty will lapse from the day such a collective security treaty comes into force.

Drawn up in Warsaw May 14, 1955, in one copy each in Russian, Polish, Czech and German, each text being equally valid.

Attested copies of this treaty will be sent to the Governments of each party to the treaty by the Government of the Polish People's Republic.

In witness whereof the plenipotentiary representatives affixed their signatures and seal.