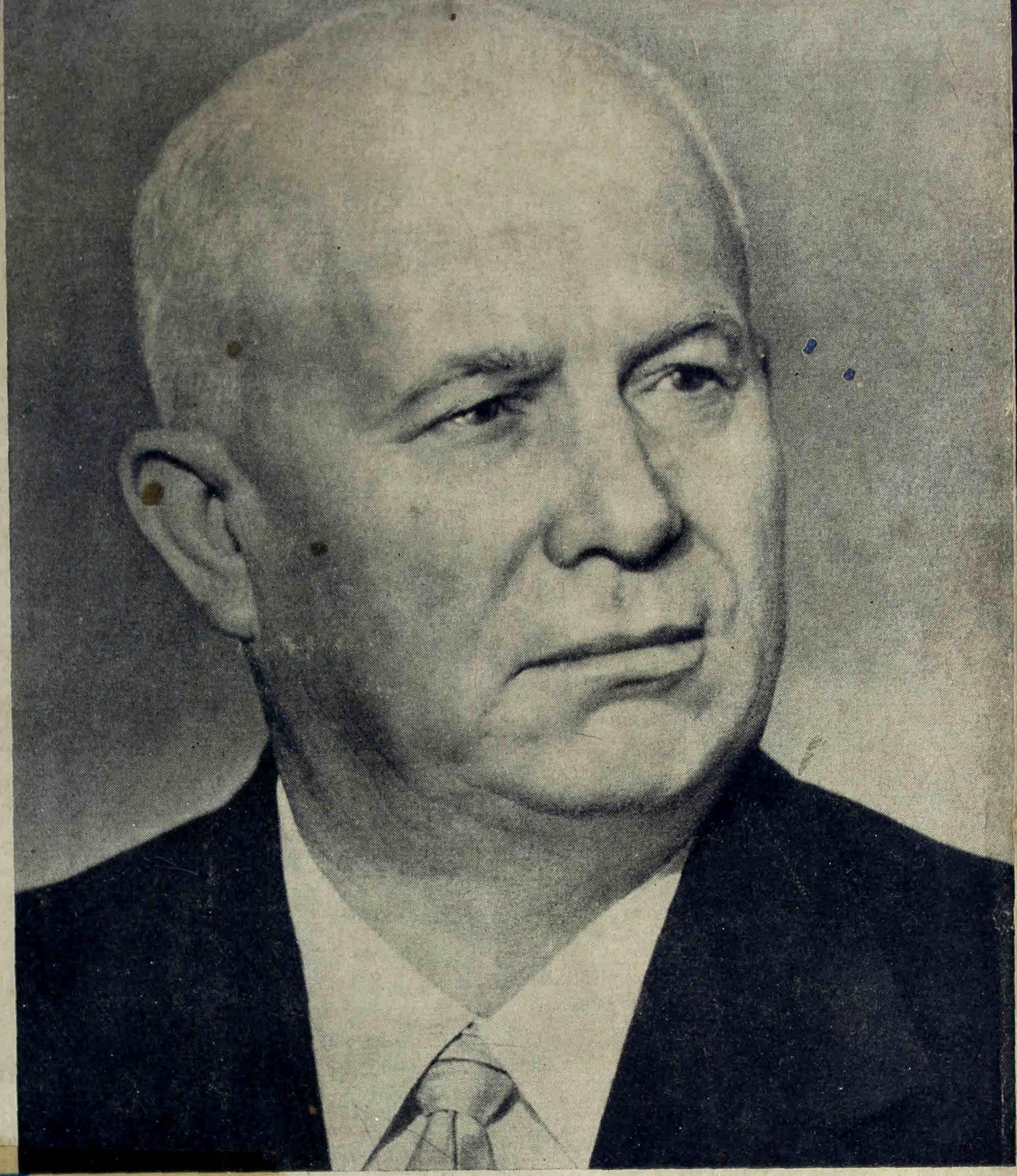

S. KHRUSHCHOV

ON PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

Н. С. ХРУЩЕВ

О МИРНОМ СОСУЩЕСТВОВАНИИ

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February 14, 1956

I

THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF THE SOVIET UNION

6. SOME FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS OF PRESENT-DAY INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Comrades, I should like to dwell on some fundamental questions concerning present-day international development, which determine not only the present course of events, but also the prospects for the future.

These questions are the peaceful coexistence of the two systems, the possibility of preventing wars in the present era, and the forms of transition to socialism in different countries.

Let us examine these questions in brief.

The peaceful coexistence of the two systems. The Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems has always been and remains the general line of our country's foreign policy.

It has been alleged that the Soviet Union advances the principle of peaceful coexistence merely out of tactical considerations, considerations of expediency. Yet it is common knowledge that we have always, from the very first years of Soviet power, stood with equal firm-

ness for peaceful coexistence. Hence, it is not a tactical move, but a fundamental principle of Soviet foreign policy.

This means that if there is indeed a threat to the peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social and political systems, it by no means comes from the Soviet Union or the rest of the socialist camp. Is there a single reason why a socialist state should want to unleash aggressive war? Do we have classes and groups that are interested in war as a means of enrichment? We do not. We abolished them long ago. Or, perhaps, we do not have enough territory or natural wealth, perhaps we lack sources of raw materials or markets for our goods? No, we have sufficient of all those and to spare. Why then should we want war? We do not want it, as a matter of principle we renounce any policy that might lead to millions of people being plunged into war for the sake of the selfish interests of a handful of multi-millionaires. Do those who shout about the "aggressive intentions" of the U.S.S.R. know all this? Of course they do. Why then do they keep up the old monotonous refrain about some imaginary "communist aggression"? Only to stir up mud, to conceal their plans for world domination, a "crusade" against peace, democracy and socialism.

To this day the enemies of peace allege that the Soviet Union is out to overthrow capitalism in other countries by "exporting" revolution. It goes without saying that among us Communists there are no supporters of capitalism. But this does not mean that we have interfered or plan to interfere in the internal affairs of countries where capitalism exists. Romain Rolland was right when he said that "freedom is not brought in from abroad in baggage trains like Bourbons". (*Animation.*) It is ridiculous to think that revolutions are made to order. We often hear representatives of bourgeois

countries reasoning thus: "The Soviet leaders claim that they are for peaceful coexistence between the two systems. At the same time they declare that they are fighting for communism, and say that communism is bound to win in all countries. Now if the Soviet Union is fighting for communism, how can there be any peaceful coexistence with it?" This view is the result of bourgeois propaganda. The ideologists of the bourgeoisie distort the facts and deliberately confuse questions of ideological struggle with questions of relations between states in order to make the Communists of the Soviet Union look like aggressors.

When we say that the socialist system will win in the competition between the two systems—the capitalist and the socialist—this by no means signifies that its victory will be achieved through armed interference by the socialist countries in the internal affairs of the capitalist countries. Our certainty of the victory of communism is based on the fact that the socialist mode of production possesses decisive advantages over the capitalist mode of production. Precisely because of this, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are more and more capturing the minds of the broad masses of the working people in the capitalist countries, just as they have captured the minds of millions of men and women in our country and the People's Democracies. (*Prolonged applause.*) We believe that all working men in the world, once they have become convinced of the advantages communism brings, will sooner or later take the road of struggle for the construction of socialist society. (*Prolonged applause.*) Building communism in our country, we are resolutely against war. We have always held and continue to hold that the establishment of a new social system in one or another country is the internal affair of the peoples of the countries concerned. This is our attitude, based on the great Marxist-Leninist teaching.

The principle of peaceful coexistence is gaining ever wider international recognition. This principle is one of the corner-stones of the foreign policy of the Chinese People's Republic and the other People's Democracies. It is being actively implemented by the Republic of India, the Union of Burma, and a number of other countries. And this is natural, for there is no other way in present-day conditions. Indeed, there are only two ways: either peaceful coexistence or the most destructive war in history. There is no third way.

We believe that countries with differing social systems can do more than exist side by side. It is necessary to proceed further, to improve relations, strengthen confidence between countries, and co-operate. The historic significance of the famous Five Principles, advanced by the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India and supported by the Bandung Conference and the world public in general, lies in that they provide the best form for relations between countries with differing social systems in present-day conditions. Why not make these principles the foundation of peaceful relations among all countries in all parts of the world? It would meet the vital interests and demands of the peoples if all countries subscribed to these Five Principles.

The possibility of preventing war in the present era. Millions of people all over the world are asking whether another war is really inevitable, whether mankind which has already experienced two devastating world wars must still go through a third one? Marxists must answer this question taking into consideration the epoch-making changes of the last decades.

There is, of course, a Marxist-Leninist thesis that wars are inevitable as long as imperialism exists. This precept was evolved at a time when 1) imperialism was an all-embracing world system, and 2) the social and

political forces which did not want war were weak, poorly organised, and hence unable to compel the imperialists to renounce war.

People usually take only one aspect of the question and examine only the economic basis of wars under imperialism. This is not enough. War is not only an economic phenomenon. Whether there is to be a war or not depends in large measure on the correlation of class, political forces, the degree of organisation and the awareness and resolve of people. Moreover, in certain conditions the struggle waged by progressive social and political forces may play a decisive role. Hitherto the state of affairs was such that the forces that did not want war and opposed it were poorly organised and lacked the means to check the schemes of the war-makers. Thus it was before the First World War, when the main force opposed to the threat of war—the world proletariat—was disorganised by the treachery of the leaders of the Second International. Thus it was on the eve of the Second World War, when the Soviet Union was the only country that pursued an active peace policy, when the other Great Powers to all intents and purposes encouraged the aggressors, and the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders had split the labour movement in the capitalist countries.

In that period this thesis was absolutely correct. At the present time, however, the situation has changed radically. Now there is a world camp of socialism, which has become a mighty force. In this camp the peace forces find not only the moral, but also the material means to prevent aggression. Moreover, there is a large group of other countries with a population running into many hundreds of millions which are actively working to avert war. The labour movement in the capitalist countries has today become a tremendous

force. The movement of peace supporters has sprung up and developed into a powerful factor.

In these circumstances certainly the Leninist precept that so long as imperialism exists, the economic basis giving rise to wars will also be preserved remains in force. That is why we must display the greatest vigilance. As long as capitalism survives in the world, the reactionary forces representing the interests of the capitalist monopolies will continue their drive towards military gambles and aggression, and may try to unleash war. But war is not fatalistically inevitable. Today there are mighty social and political forces possessing formidable means to prevent the imperialists from unleashing war, and if they do try to start it, to give a smashing rebuff to the aggressors and frustrate their adventurist plans. To be able to do this all anti-war forces must be vigilant and prepared, they must act as a united front and never relax their efforts in the battle for peace. The more actively the peoples defend peace, the greater the guarantees that there will be no new war. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Forms of transition to socialism in different countries. In connection with the radical changes in the world arena new prospects are also opening up in respect to the transition of countries and nations to socialism.

As far back as the eve of the Great October Socialist Revolution Lenin wrote: "All nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but not all will do so in exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own in one or another form of democracy, one or another variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, one or another rate at which socialist transformations will be effected in the various aspects of social life. There is nothing more primitive from the viewpoint of theory or more ridiculous from that of practice than to paint, 'in the name of historical materialism', *this* as-

pect of the future in a monotonous grey. The result will be nothing more than Suzdal daubing." (*Works*, Vol. 23, p. 58.)

Historical experience has fully confirmed Lenin's brilliant precept. Alongside the Soviet form of reconstructing society on socialist lines, we now have the form of People's Democracy.

In Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, and the other European People's Democracies, this form sprang up and is being utilised in conformity with the concrete historical, social and economic conditions, and peculiarities of each of these countries. It has been thoroughly tried and tested in the course of ten years and has fully proved its worth.

Much that is unique in socialist construction is being contributed by the Chinese People's Republic, whose economy prior to the victory of the revolution was exceedingly backward, semi-feudal and semi-colonial in character. Having taken over decisive commanding positions, the people's democratic state is using them in the social revolution to implement a policy of peaceful reorganisation of private industry and trade and their gradual transformation into a component of socialist economy.

The leadership of the great cause of socialist reconstruction by the Communist Party of China and the Communist and Workers' Parties of the other People's Democracies, exercised in keeping with the peculiarities and specific features of each country, is creative Marxism in action.

In the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, where state power belongs to the working people, and society is based on public ownership of the means of production, specific concrete forms of economic management and organisation of the state apparatus are arising in the process of socialist construction.

It is probable that more forms of transition to socialism will appear. Moreover, the implementation of these forms need not be associated with civil war under all circumstances. Our enemies like to depict us Leninists as advocates of violence always and everywhere. True, we recognise the need for the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into socialist society. It is this that distinguishes the revolutionary Marxists from the reformists, the opportunists. There is no doubt that in a number of capitalist countries the violent overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the sharp aggravation of class struggle connected with this are inevitable. But the forms of social revolution vary. It is not true that we regard violence and civil war as the only way to remake society.

It will be recalled that in the conditions that arose in April 1917 Lenin granted the possibility that the Russian Revolution might develop peacefully, and that in the spring of 1918, after the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin drew up his famous plan for peaceful socialist construction. It is not our fault that the Russian and international bourgeoisie organised counter-revolution, intervention, and civil war against the young Soviet state and forced the workers and peasants to take up arms. It did not come to civil war in the European People's Democracies, where the historical situation was different.

Leninism teaches us that the ruling classes will not surrender their power voluntarily. And the greater or lesser degree of intensity which the struggle may assume, the use or the non-use of violence in the transition to socialism depends on the resistance of the exploiters, on whether the exploiting class itself resorts to violence, rather than on the proletariat.

In this connection the question arises of whether it is possible to go over to socialism by using parliamen-

tary means. No such course was open to the Russian Bolsheviks, who were the first to effect this transition. Lenin showed us another road, that of the establishment of a republic of Soviets, the only correct road in those historical conditions. Following that course we achieved a victory of history-making significance.

Since then, however, the historical situation has undergone radical changes which make possible a new approach to the question. The forces of socialism and democracy have grown immeasurably throughout the world, and capitalism has become much weaker. The mighty camp of socialism with its population of over 900 million is growing and gaining in strength. Its gigantic internal forces, its decisive advantages over capitalism, are being increasingly revealed from day to day. Socialism has a great power of attraction for the workers, peasants, and intellectuals of all countries. The ideas of socialism are indeed coming to dominate the minds of all toiling humanity.

At the same time the present situation offers the working class in a number of capitalist countries a real opportunity to unite the overwhelming majority of the people under its leadership and to secure the transfer of the basic means of production into the hands of the people. The Right-wing bourgeois parties and their governments are suffering bankruptcy with increasing frequency. In these circumstances the working class, by rallying around itself the toiling peasantry, the intelligentsia, all patriotic forces, and resolutely repulsing the opportunist elements who are incapable of giving up the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, is in a position to defeat the reactionary forces opposed to the popular interest, to capture a stable majority in parliament, and transform the latter from an organ of bourgeois democracy into a genuine instrument of the people's will. (*Applause.*) In such an

event this institution, traditional in many highly developed capitalist countries, may become an organ of genuine democracy, democracy for the working people.

The winning of a stable parliamentary majority backed by a mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat and of all the working people could create for the working class of a number of capitalist and former colonial countries the conditions needed to secure fundamental social changes.

In the countries where capitalism is still strong and has a huge military and police apparatus at its disposal, the reactionary forces will of course inevitably offer serious resistance. There the transition to socialism will be attended by a sharp class, revolutionary struggle.

Whatever the form of transition to socialism, the decisive and indispensable factor is the political leadership of the working class headed by its vanguard. Without this there can be no transition to socialism.

It must be strongly emphasised that the more favourable conditions for the victory of socialism created in other countries are due to the fact that socialism has won in the Soviet Union and is winning in the People's Democracies. Its victory in our country would have been impossible had Lenin and the Bolshevik Party not upheld revolutionary Marxism in battle against the reformists, who broke with Marxism and took the path of opportunism.

Such are the considerations which the Central Committee of the Party finds necessary to set out in regard to the forms of transition to socialism in present-day conditions.

LETTER TO BERTRAND RUSSELL

March 5, 1958

The British philosopher, Bertrand Russell, addressed an Open Letter to N. S. Khrushchov and President Eisenhower, which was published in the London *New Statesman* of November 23, 1957. Khrushchov's reply was published in the *New Statesman* of December 21, 1957.

Both Russell's Open Letter and Khrushchov's reply were published in No. 1 *International Affairs* for 1958.

The U.S. Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, wrote a reply to Bertrand Russell on behalf of the U.S. President which was published in the *New Statesman* of February 8, 1958.

On March 5, 1958, Khrushchov sent a second letter to Bertrand Russell which the *New Statesman* published on March 14.

It is published below.

Mr. KINGSLEY MARTIN, THE EDITOR, *NEW STATESMAN*

Dear Mr. Editor,

On February 8 you published the letter by Mr. Dulles, the U.S. Secretary of State, sent on behalf of the U.S. President in reply to the Open Letter of Professor Bertrand Russell addressed to President Eisenhower and myself.

In so far as Mr. Dulles' letter contains distortions and inaccuracies concerning Soviet foreign policy, and also in so far as Mr. Dulles comments in an extremely arbitrary fashion upon a number of points made in my reply to Lord Russell published in your journal, I felt it necessary to address a second Open Letter to Professor Bertrand Russell.

Since many readers of your journal clearly read Lord Russell's letter and my reply, and also that of Mr. Dulles, I would ask you to be so kind as to publish my second letter to Lord Russell.

Yours faithfully,

N. KHRUSHCHOV

March 5, 1958

N. S. KHRUSHCHOV'S LETTER TO BERTRAND RUSSELL

Dear Lord Russell,

I see that the *New Statesman* on February 8 published a letter from Mr. John Foster Dulles, which he wrote on behalf of the U.S. President in reply to your Open Letter addressed to myself and Mr. Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States.

I had no intention of writing you a second letter, as in my letter of December 7 I had already set out my views on the important international problems you had touched upon. However, after carefully reading Mr. Dulles' letter in which he comments extensively and, regrettably, in a most peculiar way, on the Soviet Union's attitude and on my letter to you, the idea occurred to me to write you this letter. Naturally, it will deal with Mr. Dulles' letter.

To read Mr. Dulles' letter and remain silent—would not that be tantamount to agreeing, to some extent,

with what he writes? It is, however, impossible to agree—completely impossible—for in the heat of argument Mr. Dulles has been so carried away that he has completely lost touch with the real facts and has begun to build his arguments on his emotions and deductions. But deductions based on emotions, even if they come from a person of such strong convictions as Mr. Dulles, do not acquire the weight of facts.

Emotions are always emotions. The logic of facts is an entirely different matter. I have always been attracted rather by the logic of facts, and not by the logic of emotional deductions.

One cannot but agree with Mr. Dulles that the world in which we live is made of sterner stuff than mere words. So much combustible material has now been accumulated that it needs only a single spark to cause disaster. Such is the situation in the world that as a result of just one absurd incident or a defect in the equipment of a single plane carrying a hydrogen bomb, or the slightest deviation from the normal in the mentality of a pilot at the controls, war can become a fact this very day.

To Mr. Dulles, I should like to say that we are both getting on in years. I don't know about him, but during the Second World War it fell to my lot to see the death of many of my comrades and the devastation of entire towns. Believe me, it was a terrible thing. But that was in war-time. Today, while the British people sleep peacefully in their beds, a horrible death constantly hovers over their heads, borne not by enemy planes but by bombers carrying U.S. atom and hydrogen bombs.

Probably Mr. Dulles regards this circumstance differently from the way I regard it, and it awakens no protest from him; but I—and I am not alone—cannot speak of this without indignation. My entire being protests against such criminal playing with fire. And just

think—for the sake of what? They say for the sake of security and as a defence against possible attack. What attack do they have in mind? It turns out that what they are thinking of is defence against a possible Soviet attack.

To such people one can only say:

"Come to your senses, gentlemen—what makes you think that the Soviet Union intends to attack the Western Powers? Why do you deceive your own people?"

I often wonder what kind of logic it is that some of the leaders of the Western countries apply. If the Soviet Union says that there should be an immediate ending of nuclear weapons tests in view of the danger threatening mankind, we are told: "That's propaganda." If the Soviet Union suggests that a Summit conference be called to examine urgent problems—we are accused of trying to weaken the Western world. If the Soviet Union proposes the disbanding of all military blocs and the dismantling of all military bases, we are accused of wanting to set the Western allies "against one another", and so on.

In everything connected with the Soviet Union Mr. Dulles tries to see "communist propaganda".

Let us examine calmly and soberly some of the most important aspects of the present international situation.

If we base ourselves on facts, we have to admit that in the world today there are two world systems—the new, socialist system, and the old, capitalist system. Each is developing in accordance with its own inherent laws. And these systems were not born today or yesterday.

Prior to October 1917, one system—the capitalist system—held undivided sway in the world. This system had asserted itself in the struggle against the system of feudal serfdom and had replaced that system practically everywhere on our planet. If you take a look at history you will soon become convinced that the new

system was disliked by many at the time. History, however, did its job.

As a result of the victory of the working class in Russia, a new state, a workers' and peasants' state, was born—the Soviet Republic. A new, socialist system was created over one-sixth of our planet. Even those who dislike this system cannot but admit that the people themselves have now become the complete masters of all their country's wealth, the rightful builders of their own life.

This is how the new ideology founded by Karl Marx and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin triumphed in practice.

I foresee that Mr. Dulles will once again say: "More propaganda." Please understand me, Lord Russell, I have no intention whatsoever of making propaganda. I am compelled to speak of these things because Mr. Dulles, in interpreting them in his own way, has given them a most peculiar slant.

There was no festive peal of bells to welcome the birth of the new, socialist world in Russia—only volleys from the guns aimed against the victorious people. Fourteen foreign countries launched a bloody crusade against the Land of Soviets. Tell me, on what grounds did they invade our country and attempt to drown the newly-born Soviet socialist state in rivers of blood? They did not like Soviet power and they planned to put a noose round the people's neck. Is it to be wondered at that the peoples of the Soviet land swept the interventionists from their soil, as a good housewife sweeps the rubbish from her home?

And then came the time for peaceful work, to furnish our house in a way that suited our people. And we all worked, oblivious of self, relying on no one, asking help from nobody—doing everything ourselves. It was hard, for we were creating a society never before known in history. Everything was done to hinder us and span-

ners were thrown into the works, but Soviet men and women went resolutely forward, regardless of everything. For a long time the Soviet Union was the only socialist country.

And then, in 1939, the Second World War broke out. You know how that ended. The peoples in a whole number of countries in Europe and Asia refused to tolerate any longer a system that had brought them war and disaster. They threw out the unwanted governments which had betrayed the peoples, and set up in their countries the system of people's democracy; they followed the socialist path of development.

The Communists, who had devoted their lives to the cause of the people and who had always been in the very midst of the people, flesh and blood of the people—those Communists who, together with their people, had experienced all the hardships and misfortunes and in every respect had set an example of loyal service to their country's interests—naturally proved worthy of the people's great trust. The victorious people of the socialist countries saw in practice that they were worthy of the people's confidence.

What is the strength of the Communists, and where does it come from? Their strength lies in their unbreakable ties with the people. It is well known that, in tsarist Russia, during the February Revolution, our Party had between 40,000 and 45,000 members. But the Party grew rapidly. At the time of the April Conference, it already had 80,000 members; in August, by the Sixth Congress, 240,000, while on the eve of the October Revolution the Party membership had grown to 400,000. The best sons and daughters of the people joined the Party. What could the Communists have done in a country with a population of more than 100 million, had they not relied on the people, enjoyed their support, and expressed their cherished ideas and aspirations?

The Communist Party was the beacon which illumined the path to victory for the workers and peasants. The Communists helped the people, the disinherited and exploited men and women, to remove the scales from their eyes. The people themselves stepped into the arena of history and claimed their legitimate rights.

And eventually this will happen in other countries. This is what will happen both in the United States and in Britain, though there are no Soviet Communists there, nor will there be. Such is the relentless course of historical development, which no one can halt.

We are confident that the ideas of communism will find a way to reach the minds of the peoples, for Marxism-Leninism corresponds to the most vital interests of the working class—and not only of the working class. The working class is more receptive of the ideas of communism because the very conditions of capitalism have prepared it to receive them, but it acts in the interests of the people as a whole, in the interests of historical progress.

Communists enjoy citizenship rights in their country on an equal footing with persons who do not belong to the Party. In times of military misfortunes and hardships they voluntarily bear the brunt of those hardships and misfortunes, setting a personal example of heroism, steadfastness and self-sacrificing work.

That is what Communists are. They are united in the Party by communist ideals and by unshakable belief in the triumph of the communist society, in which there will be no oppression of man by man, or of nation by nation, and where the whole of society will consist of working people enjoying equal rights, in which nations will form one united and harmonious family, regardless of colour of skin or language.

Well, is it the Communists who impose their rule on the peoples, and not the handful of millionaires and bil-

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lionaires who have concentrated in their own hands all the main wealth of their countries, who have subordinated to their service the state, the army, the law courts, the police, and a mighty propaganda machine in the shape of countless papers and magazines, radio and television, clubs and entertainment establishments?

These are the facts, which Mr. Dulles has forgotten in his letter to you, dear Lord Russell. He prefers to allege that the Communists are imposing their will, their rule, on the people, and to remain silent about facts which are obvious to everyone, such as the monopolists of a large number of "democratic" countries holding in the grip of capital not only the mass of their own people, but also mercilessly exploiting millions upon millions in the colonial and dependent countries.

What explanation, other than a desire to mislead the readers, can there be for the fact that Mr. Dulles deliberately confuses questions concerning the class struggle in individual countries with questions concerning relations between the capitalist and socialist countries? I do not think this is the result of ignorance. No! Who knows better than Mr. Dulles that the class struggle in every capitalist country is the result of internal economic and political factors? The U.S. workers' struggle to improve their conditions and defend their rights takes a different course from that of the Italian workers, let us say, or the French. The struggle of the American farmers similarly differs from that of the Spanish peasants, although both are striving for a better life, striving to abolish the glaring injustice whereby the fruits of their labour are appropriated by a handful of persons possessing power and wealth.

Mr. Dulles distorts Soviet foreign policy, the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Who today does not realise that the people of each country

choose their own social system? The peoples themselves decide how they are to achieve the triumph of a system in which the men and women who create all the material wealth necessary for the development of society should have the best material and spiritual opportunities for their life, so that the products of their labour be fairly distributed among the toilers and not appropriated by owners of enterprises, by financial magnates—that is to say, so that there should be no exploitation of man by man. In the capitalist countries, the working people are waging a struggle against those who exploit and plunder them. They are struggling for the reorganisation of society.

In his attempt to mislead people who are insufficiently informed on political questions Mr. Dulles distorts the Declaration of the Communist and Workers' Parties. What does this Declaration say?

"The forms of the transition from capitalism to socialism may vary for different countries. The working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist Party—seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means. This would accord with the interests of the working class and the entire people, with the national interests of the country....

"In the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against the people, the possibility of non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind.... In this case the degree of bitterness and the forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these circles using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism.

"The possibility of one or another way to socialism depends on the concrete historical conditions in each country."

That is what is said in the Declaration which Mr. Dulles interprets so freely and tendentiously. He depicts the ideological class struggle in the capitalist countries as the result of the activity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We have said, and we continue to say, that the Communists in the Soviet Union sympathise with the struggle of the workers in the capitalist countries for their liberation from the yoke of monopoly capital, but we have never imposed our ideology on anyone nor do we intend to do so, least of all by force of arms. Mr. Dulles is fully aware of this and yet he asserts the opposite.

In his speeches, Mr. Dulles had frequently tried, for propaganda purposes, to use the Hungarian events against the Soviet Union. Since he refers to them again in his letter to you, Lord Russell, I must examine this question in substance, at least briefly. The essence of the matter is that in Hungary the Horthy elements, the agents of foreign monopoly capital tried to overthrow the people's democratic order, to restore the hated fascist regime. The handful of fascist conspirators and imperialist agents were followed by a small number of misguided honest people.

In pursuing their anti-popular aims, the enemies of socialist Hungary took advantage of mistakes made by the former Hungarian leaders. The conspirators provoked a rebellion against the legitimate Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, which the people had elected on a constitutional basis. To declare that these Horthy elements were expressing the will of the people is to present black as white.

The Hungarian Government had every right to appeal for help, and the Soviet Government, on the basis of the agreement existing between our two countries, gave assistance to Hungary—in the interests of the Hungarian people and of all the peoples of Europe and

the whole world—to prevent the return of the Horthy regime and to put an end to the fascist violence that had begun in Hungary. The Soviet Union's help to fraternal Hungary was given on legitimate grounds, and it was justified from every point of view. If the counter-revolution had succeeded in establishing a fascist regime in Hungary, it would have been a tremendous disaster for the peoples of Europe—and not of Europe alone, for it could have led to tragic events similar to those which followed the fascist seizure of power in Germany, Italy, Hungary, Austria and Spain, which caused the peoples so much disaster, bloodshed and tears—including the peoples of the United States, Britain and France.

In the last war our countries were allies, fighting jointly against bloody fascism. It is in the interests of the peoples, in the interests of peace, to prevent the rise of fascism.

It is clear that the Hungarian events were dragged in artificially by Mr. Dulles to confirm his argument that the Soviet Union interferes in the internal affairs of other countries.

In discussing the Hungarian events, it must also be pointed out that the old class that has outlived its time does not voluntarily give way to the new. The whole course of history clearly demonstrates this. The feudal system gave way to the capitalist system which replaced it only after a fierce struggle. If we examine, for instance, the history of the rise of the United States of America as an independent state, we shall see that it was born of a fierce struggle for freedom from colonial domination. When they rose up in struggle for their independence, the Americans did not ask the permission of the English. They drove the colonialists out and in the course of this struggle created their own state, the United States of America.

The Soviet Union also arose as the result of the struggle of the peoples of former tsarist Russia against the bankrupt capitalist system. The Soviet people swept away all oppressors and foreign interventionists and, arms in hand, voted for Soviet power. How could the new system be consolidated in our country, in the People's Democracies, without a self-sacrificing struggle by the working people against the power of the capitalists and landlords?

The people of the Soviet Union, of the Chinese People's Republic, of all the People's Democracies, won their freedom in stern struggle; they have become the creators of the new and most democratic society, in which there is no exploitation of man by man. Judge for yourself, Lord Russell, how objective and convincing is Mr. Dulles' assertion that nowhere in the world does a communist party maintain its rule except by forcibly imposing that rule upon the majority.

I cannot help but draw attention to Mr. Dulles' exhortation that power should be exercised only when "this reflected the freely given consent of the governed". This is precisely the stand we Communists take, and we fight for this, for it is the people who are the determining force, their will is sacred, it is their interests that the governments should express if they are really worth anything. In our opinion, it is not the people who must serve the government, but the government which must serve the people.

Perhaps I am saying things which Mr. Dulles does not like. However, I prefer speaking sharply but truthfully to speaking politely but falsely.

Take the Government of the Soviet Union, let us say, or any other socialist country, and compare its composition with that of the Government of the United States of America or any other capitalist country. Who is in power in the one and in the other? The matter is

so obvious that I don't think there is any need for me to enlarge upon it. In the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries the members of the government, the leaders in all bodies of state power, cannot but serve the interests of the people, for the very reason that they come from the people, they form part of the people, have been put forward by the people.

As far as the bodies both of executive and legislative powers in the capitalist countries are concerned, though Mr. Dulles tries to convince us that "the governed entrust them with government", it is just the opposite. Who does not know that "people of capital" and "adherents of capital" rule there? It would be interesting to hear what Mr. Dulles would say if he were to be asked whose interests were defended by the Rockefellers and the men in their service. How can the class interests of the billionaires be the same as the interests of the workers? Who can believe that the "governed", that is the people, elect the bodies of power in the capitalist countries by their own choice, in accordance with their own interests?

One can only wonder how it comes about that, after all these so-called "free elections", it is as a rule not workers who are in power in the capitalist countries, but men of capital, not those who by their toil create the material and spiritual values, but those who possess the money with which to buy these values.

No, Mr. Dulles, such "miracles" do not happen, and things are fairly simple. You speak of "force and violence" by the communist parties, but you know far better what the force of capital, the violence of capital are. This is well known by the workers, the small peasants, the clerks, the handicraftsmen, the entire working people, who have themselves experienced it, and who, therefore, know how to measure the sincerity of

Mr. Dulles' "indignation" regarding the "violence" of the Communists.

Mr. Dulles calls for submission to the tenets of the moral law on which his creed is based, and anathematises the tenets of the moral law on which the communist ideology is based, particularly that "variety of communism" which is espoused by the Soviet Communist Party. And here Mr. Dulles makes reference to Marx, Lenin and Stalin. For this reason I take the liberty of again drawing your attention to certain facts.

Mankind has continued for 1,957 years since the birth of Christ alone, but how many thousands of years had it existed before our system of chronology? And, as long as mankind has existed, so long have there been wars. They were waged by men long before the word communism ever came into existence, let alone the term "dictatorship of the proletariat".

On what moral law were those wars based? If we were to follow Mr. Dulles' logic, who but the Communists are to blame for those wars? But Marxism, as a theory, has existed for only just over a hundred years, while the first socialist state created on the basis of communist ideology has only been in existence for 40 years!

Recall the Crusades. The whole of Europe supplied warriors for the armies of the Crusaders. And they went through the land with fire and sword, carpeting it with the corpses of the followers of the Christian religion and the bodies of the infidels. And how true is it that these men then fought for the tomb of their Lord? Was it not rather for the rich lands of Asia Minor? Was it not in order to take these lands from the Moslem and Byzantine feudal lords and win domination for the European merchants over the trade routes between Europe and Asia that the Crusades were organised by the enterprising zealots of the religion of Christ?

In his letter to you, Mr. Dulles presents the matter as though communism and the Communists are the chief, virtually the only, culprits of wars.

But was it the Communists who organised and waged the 30 years' Wars of the Roses in England? Was it they who kindled the wasteful Hundred Years' War between England and France (1337-1453)? Was it they who sent British, French and other troops to the walls of the Russian city of Sevastopol in 1854, where thousands upon thousands of Russians, British and French gave their lives?

And in the name of what moral law was the First World War started, taking over ten million lives?

When those wars were being fought, priests carrying the cross and holy images marched in the ranks of the warring troops, praying for the triumph of the arms they had blessed.

Is there anyone who does not know that the Second World War was not started by us, was not started by the socialist state? It was started by the governments of the bourgeois countries and by bloody fascism, the offspring of imperialism.

Anyone who follows developments and studies history can discover the crying contradiction between historical facts and Mr. Dulles' statements. And this is only natural, for Mr. Dulles' statements do not conform to historical truth.

It is not communist ideology, but capitalism alone and its highest stage, imperialism, with its irreconcilable contradictions (between the monopoly groups) that gives rise to war. Imperialism has carried the contradictions between the capitalist states to the limit and during the lifetime of just one generation has caused two of the most devastating world wars, inflicting terrible wounds on mankind.

With his characteristic bombast, Mr. Dulles declares

that it is not possible to find in the history of the United States any occasion when an effort has been made to spread its creed by force of arms. It is allegedly otherwise with the creed of communism.

Enough of appealing to the history of the U.S.A., Mr. Dulles. Surely you know that at one time the territory of your country was inhabited by numerous brave Indian tribes, valiant hunters and peaceful tillers? Where are the native inhabitants of America today? Can you name just one of them who represents his people in Congress? Can you give us the name of just one Indian who has become a millionaire or billionaire? And where are the tribes themselves? It is said that they have been driven into reservations, and that in some amusement parks, by paying a fee, one can see the descendants of these native inhabitants of America who are put on show. Exterminate completely an aboriginal people, destroy them in the name of capitalist civilisation.... One must have a great belief in miracles to appeal to the memory of peoples and say that in the history of the United States there has not been any occasion "when an effort has been made to spread its creed by force of arms".

I don't want to be misunderstood. I have no intention whatever of accusing the forefathers of the present inhabitants of the United States of America of imposing by force of arms their belief in white superiority over the aborigines of America. I am only referring to historical facts, and no more. Possibly Mr. Dulles interprets them otherwise. But that is how I am accustomed to understand them.

Or let me refer to another period in the history of the United States—the period of the war between the slave-owning South and the North. What creed was being imposed by the slave-owners of the rich plantations in the Southern States, who turned millions of

people like themselves into disfranchised cattle, just because their skin was black? The whole world knows that it was not then a matter of a single occasion of "an effort made to spread their creed by force of arms", but of the systematic dissemination of the creed of the slave-owners. Of course, Mr. Dulles may forget this, but the facts of history are unbiased. They refute Mr. Dulles' assertions.

But why go into the past? Is it not in our own time that in the United States Negroes are being compelled by force of arms, by flagrant violence, to keep their children from schools where white children are taught? Isn't it in our own time that frenzied racists beat up and kill men with impunity, just because their skins aren't white?

What about the creed of the superiority of the rich, the monopolists, over the workers and farmers? On what does this creed rest if not on the weapons at the disposal of the monopolists, the handful of millionaires and billionaires?

You will of course remember that in his letter to you Mr. Dulles said that for the United States "there is no need to 'abandon' what Lord Russell condemns. On the contrary, it would be abhorrent and unthinkable that there should be introduced into our creed the concept of its maintenance or extension by methods of violence and compulsion".

But let us resort to facts once more.

Let us recall the United States' vile war against Mexico, as a result of which Texas and other territories were forcibly wrested from Mexico. Had Mexico attacked the United States? No, this was the most flagrant aggression by the United States against a weaker neighbour. And what about the Spanish-American war of 1898, unleashed by American imperialism? That was the first war of the epoch of imperialism. As a result,

Spanish colonies like Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines became American colonies. Do you remember those wars, Mr. Dulles?

Or by what concept was the United States guided when it sent troops to the Far East during the Civil War in Soviet Russia? And how many indirect, camouflaged wars have been waged by aggressive U.S. circles against other countries? Let us just recall Guatemala, where a democratic government, lawfully elected by the people, was destroyed and a President who enjoyed the support and confidence of the people forced to leave the country. Or take such an historical fact as the direct interference by the United States in the internal affairs of China, and the open, completely undisguised military support for the bankrupt Chiang Kai-shek clique, and the ignoring of the great Chinese People's Republic.

If one were to take Mr. Dulles' words in good faith, one might assume that he really does believe in non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. But again, when we turn to the facts, we see that his words are at variance with reality.

Are the demands of leading statesmen in the U.S.A. that the Great Powers discuss the political system of the East-European countries compatible with the concept of non-interference? Does not such a policy bring to mind the activities of a colonialist, who wants to settle the affairs of another country in the same way as he does those of his own estate?

And what is this Dulles-Eisenhower Doctrine? It also envisages direct and open interference by imperialist states in the internal affairs of the countries of the Middle East under the guise of fighting communism. Everyone very well knows that this doctrine denies the right of peoples to decide their own fate for themselves in the way they think necessary, in accordance with their own interests.

The colonial war in Algeria has been in progress for several years now. There is great bloodshed there. Are the Communists, against whom Mr. Dulles breathes thunder and lightning, to blame? No, this war was unleashed by the representatives of French monopoly capital, who do not want a peaceful settlement of the Algerian problem, but who are trying to preserve their colonial supremacy in Algeria by armed force and to extort profits.

What moral laws guide those who send French soldiers and mercenaries to "pacify" the Algerian population, and who gave the order for the bombing of the defenceless Tunisian village of Sakiet Sidi Youssef?

The peoples of the colonial and dependent countries want to break away from the yoke of colonialism. Some peoples have already liberated themselves, others are struggling for their freedom and independence, others again are gathering their strength, in order to stand up in the future and break the chains of colonial slavery. The imperialists are trying to keep their colonies, they want to accumulate still more wealth by exploiting the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries.

That is the essence of events in Algeria, Tunisia and the countries of the Middle East.

Such are the facts. They are stronger than words. What, then, are the moral laws Mr. Dulles is talking about?

Now let us turn to other questions which Mr. Dulles touched upon in his letter. He declares that the U.S.A. rejects the concept of nuclear war. "The United States," Mr. Dulles writes, "not only rejects that concept, but strives earnestly to do something to remove the danger of nuclear war."

These are fine words. We should welcome them with all our heart, if they were followed up with practical deeds. We have often declared and here again declare

that the Soviet Union is most sincerely striving to do everything that lies within its power to avert events which can lead to atomic war, the consequences of which will be catastrophic for all countries.

Thus, so far as the desire to avert the danger of atomic war is concerned, our positions seemingly coincide. What, then, is the matter? Why not go from words to deeds, and make it possible for the peoples to breathe with relief from the danger of a new world conflagration which hangs over them like the sword of Damocles? Why not enable the world—to quote your good words, Professor Russell—"to live again in a noonday brightness of hope"?

The Soviet Union is ready to settle the disarmament problem as quickly as is practically possible in the interests of peace and security of the peoples. We have supported and still do support a radical solution of the disarmament problem; we have been and still are in favour of the complete and unconditional prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the ending of their production and testing, the destruction of all existing stockpiles, and a substantial reduction in armed forces, armaments and military expenditures—all with the establishment of reasonable international control.

We won't be the ones to hold things up. However, as you know, due to some considerations, the Western Powers, and above all the U.S.A., are evading such a solution of the disarmament problem. If the Western Powers are not ready to accept a maximum programme, then we have suggested a minimum programme, in the belief that it is very important to make a first step, in order then to solve one problem after another, until finally the day that the peoples so long for will be reached, the day when war as a means of solving international problems will be excluded.

I must tell you, dear Lord Russell, that I am becom-

ing more and more convinced that certain people in the West have a biased approach to any Soviet proposals including those on disarmament in which many Western suggestions receive careful consideration; they treat them from the very outset with suspicion and caution, as if they were dealing with a delayed action bomb just about to go off.

Of course, we cannot deny that mutual distrust still exists; we do not trust the Governments of the Western Powers in everything, and there is distrust of the Soviet Union. There's nothing to be done about this: a lot of effort must still be exerted to dispel these suspicions about the Soviet Union's policy, and the Governments of the Western Powers must by their deeds show their desire for world peace and international security. Are we not confronted by yet another phenomenon which prevents us from reaching an understanding? For the policy of the Soviet Union is frequently presented in a distorted form with the deliberate desire of throwing doubt upon it and arousing distrust and suspicion of it.

Judge for yourself, Lord Russell. The U.S. Secretary of State writes, for example, that the Soviet Union has rejected the U.S. proposal for the creation of "an international organ of control over all forms of the use of atomic energy".

But to present the matter in this way is to distort the true facts of the case. In actual fact, when the U.S.A. enjoyed a monopoly of atomic energy, it suggested the establishment of some kind of world pool, known as the Baruch Plan. But the most important question is, for what aims? If it really had been a matter of prohibiting the production and use of atomic energy for military purposes, without doubt all honest people in the world would have warmly welcomed the U.S. Government's step. And we should not now have been

faced with these complicated problems, raised by the nuclear arms drive.

But the facts were otherwise. The U.S. representatives proposed a plan which, if it had been carried out, would only have strengthened the United States' monopoly over atomic energy, and would have made the U.S.A. the complete and only master of the secret of the production of atomic bombs—which, of course, could only suit certain monopoly circles, which have laid, and still lay, claim to world domination.

How could such a plan be accepted by the peace-loving countries, when it was clear to everyone that it was based not on concern for peace and international security, but on the selfish aims of the imperialist monopolies? Even the United States itself later repudiated the fundamental principles of its own plan.

We say: Let us act, let us impose a strict prohibition on atomic and hydrogen weapons, immediately cease testing these weapons and establish reasonable control. Let us come to an agreement on conditions which do not trespass on the interests of the parties concerned, which do not strengthen some and weaken others, on conditions which would not lead to states losing their independence and sovereignty, whichever system they may belong to, and on conditions which would not offer advantages to some countries to the detriment of others.

The time is ripe and, before the opportunity is lost, the Soviet Union calls on the Western Powers: it is time to go over from words to deeds, we must act on the basis of equal rights, without dictation—not from a "positions of strength", but from a position of reason.

As I have already written, Lord Russell, in my previous letter to you, man's reason and conscience cannot be reconciled to the dangerous threat of nuclear

war, common sense protests against the senseless and—I will speak frankly—criminal waste of national wealth on the invention of ever more terrible means of destruction and devastation. The scientists' wonderful discoveries which have captured man's imagination can bring abundance and happiness to mankind, if they are turned to peaceful aims, to lightening people's work, eradicating disease, in short, to everything that makes man's life on earth joyous and full.

In a situation which is poisoned by the cold war, even the greatest achievements of science, the products of great minds and persistent work by people worthy of respect, are painted in military hues, and adapted for purposes foreign to the spirit of man. You have probably noticed, Lord Russell, that in the United States even the launching of the sputniks was considered by many official spokesmen, and by the press in particular, primarily from the point of view of their military significance. Now we are told by the press that American scientists have been given the task of designing sputniks to be used for reconnaissance purposes.

In his letter to you, Mr. Dulles also touches on the question of outer space. Recalling the well-known proposal made by the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, Mr. Dulles says that the Soviet Union now has "the chance to demonstrate that its words of peace mean something more than a mere effort to lull the non-communist world into a mood of illusory security".

You probably remember, Lord Russell, that the President of the U.S.A. proposed the prohibition of the use of outer (interplanetary) space for testing missiles intended for military use, and also to end the production of weapons which envisage the use of interplanetary space—in short, the prohibition of intercontinental ballistic rockets.

As you know, the Soviet Union has expressed its readiness to examine this question too. The only question is, how? It is proposed that we extract from the general problem of disarmament the question of the intercontinental rocket, leaving other questions of disarmament—for example, that of the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons—unresolved. What is to be done? You must agree that it is unreasonable to focus attention on outer space, on intercontinental ballistic rockets—which, incidentally, the U.S.A. does not yet possess—and leave the question of nuclear weapons and the whole range of disarmament problems as before.

Surely, with such logic and such an approach, even if we were to manage to reach a definite agreement on outer space, the whole question of disarmament would have acquired a kind of ill-omened character: the unlimited production and accumulation of atomic and hydrogen weapons would continue, as well as other kinds of armament, until finally they were brought into use by some evil will.

This is the essence of the question and this is the logical conclusion, if the matter is approached seriously.

We agree to discuss the control of cosmic space, which is in fact the question of intercontinental ballistic rockets. But it must be examined as part of the general disarmament problem, including the question of prohibiting nuclear weapons and winding up the U.S. military bases surrounding the Soviet Union.

We are told that here the Soviet Union is again "presenting conditions", is again tying one disarmament question to another. Yes, we are tying them together in the same way that they are tied together in real life; for if we did otherwise, instead of an end to the arms drive, this drive could develop speeds such as the world has never known. There could be only one result:

the moment would come, when, at the behest of imperialist circles, a holocaust would burst upon the world—and then it would be too late to discuss whether or not one disarmament problem is related to another.

The Soviet Union, of course, has weapons against these bases. It also has intercontinental ballistic rockets. And although the United States of America is a considerable distance from the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union now possesses the means of combating the U.S.A., should the latter unleash war against us. The Soviet Union also had these means before in the shape of intercontinental bombers, but the ballistic rocket is, of course, an improved weapon. This is why we can understand the U.S. interest in the problem of outer space. It demands the prohibition of the intercontinental ballistic rocket in order to put itself in a more advantageous position, should war break out. If a sensible approach is to be made, then thought must be given not only to one's own security, but also to the security of other countries in Asia and Europe, where American military bases are sited and which, should war break out, would be subject to retaliatory attacks.

I think therefore, Lord Russell, that you will agree that the question of the control of the use of outer space must be decided simultaneously with the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the ending of tests, the dismantling of American military bases sited close to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and directed against those countries.

The Soviet Union is, therefore, trying to solve the disarmament problem in such a way that its solution will be a threat neither to the U.S.A., nor to the U.S.S.R., nor to any other country and an advantage neither for the U.S.A., nor the U.S.S.R. over other countries. Such an approach is, it seems, the only correct and reasonable one. It is, therefore, possible to say in advance that

if the leaders in the U.S.A. hope to use pressure and diplomatic evasions to achieve agreements placing the U.S.A. in the position of a protected and invulnerable country, while other countries are rendered defenceless, then they hope in vain.

I have already had occasion to say that if the "policy of strength" towards the Soviet Union was previously unwise and dangerous, then in present-day conditions it is simply adventurist and disastrous for the American people as well.

You very well know, Lord Russell, that modern armaments and atomic and hydrogen bombs will be exceptionally dangerous in war-time not only for the two belligerent states in terms of outright devastation and destruction of human beings; they will also be deadly for states wishing to stand aside from military operations, since the poisoned soil, air, food, etc., will cause terrible torments and the slow death of millions of people. There is in the world today an enormous quantity of atom and hydrogen bombs. According to the scientists' calculations, if they were all to be exploded simultaneously, the existence of almost every living thing on earth would be threatened.

Is it not, therefore, time to think again, to end this duel of words, to eliminate the cold war, which was not begun by the peace-loving peoples, and turn to concrete negotiations in order, in a business-like atmosphere, paying heed to each other's interests, patiently to advance step by step towards the solution of urgent international problems, including disarmament? And for this there is no need for either the Soviet Union or the United States of America to renounce their ideology.

Mr. Dulles, however, believes that the Soviet Union must reject at least "part of the Soviet communist creed".

Which part, Mr. Dulles, would you want Communists to reject? What if we were to suggest, Mr. Dulles, that you reject private property and establish public property in your country? I do not think that Mr. Dulles is prepared to do this. And not only he, but others of his persuasion. Therefore we consider it absurd to present the question in this way. Only a person who is not trying to achieve agreement between states, not trying to eliminate the cold war or ease international tension, only a person who is against peaceful coexistence, can present the question in that way.

Certain eminent political figures have adopted the practice of blackening the communist movement, of presenting it in a distorted form as an aggressive teaching, allegedly based on violence and wars, of presenting the matter in such a way that the socialist countries appear as the instigators of international tension. They are guided by the rule: the more you accentuate the atmosphere of distrust among states, the better. Such a policy is understandable. The imperialists exploit the people's fear of a war, so that it is easier for them to extort constantly growing taxes from the population, and waste huge sums on the armaments drive. They are not disturbed that such a policy can lead to war—for war is the most abundant source of enrichment for the monopolies.

We have condemned and still condemn such an ill-advised policy, which can lead to no good. However much our opponents may slander us, the socialist countries will not disappear, and communism, the most progressive and humanist teaching, will not cease to exist.

How many attempts have been made to destroy communism by force of arms! History has convincingly shown where this leads to. Only short-sighted people can think that the ideas of communism can be destroyed by war. These ideas are reaching the minds and

hearts of more and more millions of people, and are spreading far and wide. Everyone remembers how, after the First World War unleashed by the imperialists, and as a result of the October Revolution, the first socialist state in the world was created in Russia, a state in which the people took the power into their own hands. The Second World War, also unleashed by the imperialists, aroused a mighty people's movement and led to the victory of socialism in a number of countries of Europe and Asia, and to the formation of the great camp of the socialist countries.

I think that if imperialism unleashes a new world war, it will perish in it. The peoples will not want to tolerate a system which cannot exist without wars, without the annihilation of millions of people, to enrich a handful of monopolists.

I should like to say once more that ideological questions are not solved in the way Mr. Dulles suggests. Ideological questions and questions of social organisation are the internal affairs of the peoples of each country.

These are the questions which, on learning of Mr. Dulles' letter, I considered it necessary to deal with. Please excuse the fact that I have had to elucidate in some considerable detail certain points which received such incorrect treatment in Mr. Dulles' letter.

With deep respect,

N. KHRUSHCHOV

March 5, 1958
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FROM THE REPORT ON THE "CONTROL FIGURES FOR THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE U.S.S.R. FOR 1959-1965" DELIVERED AT THE TWENTY-FIRST EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

January 27, 1959

III

DECISIVE STAGE IN THE ECONOMIC COMPETITION BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM AND THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

THE PEACE POLICY OF THE U.S.S.R. AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The Seven-Year Plan is a fresh manifestation of the Leninist peace policy of the Soviet Union. Its fulfilment will play a very big part in solving the cardinal problem of our time—the preservation of world peace.

The importance of the plan lies, first of all, in the spirit of peace which imbues it. A state which undertakes the building of new factories, plants, power stations, mines and other institutions on a giant scale, which allocates nearly 400,000 million rubles* for housing and communal service development and aims at substantially raising the living standard of its people, is a state that is looking forward to peace and not war.

Secondly, the plan, when fulfilled, will so greatly increase the economic potential of the U.S.S.R. that it

* Here and elsewhere the figures are in old rubles.—*Ed.*

will, together with the growth of the economic potential of all the socialist countries, give peace a decisive advantage in the international alignment of forces. Thereby new, still more favourable conditions will be provided for averting a world war and preserving peace on earth.

The conclusion drawn by the Twentieth Congress of the Party that war is not fatally inevitable has been fully justified. Today we have all the more reason to insist that that conclusion was correct. There are now tremendous forces capable of rebuffing the imperialist aggressors and defeating them if they should start a world war.

What new elements will arise in the international situation with the implementation of the economic plans of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries of Europe and Asia? Their fulfilment *will create a real possibility of eliminating war as a means of settling international issues.*

Indeed, when the U.S.S.R. becomes the foremost industrial power in the world, when the Chinese People's Republic becomes a mighty industrial power and the industrial output of all the socialist countries combined is more than half the world industrial output, the international situation will change radically. The successes of the socialist countries will no doubt go a long way towards strengthening the forces of peace throughout the world. By that time the countries championing a durable peace will no doubt be joined by new countries that will have thrown off colonial oppression. The idea that war is impermissible will take still firmer root in the minds of men. The new alignment of forces will be so obvious that even the most diehard imperialists will clearly see the futility of any attempt to start a war against the socialist camp. Backed by the might of the socialist camp, the peaceful nations will then be able

to make bellicose imperialist groups abandon their plans for a new world war.

In this way, it will become really possible to exclude world war from the life of society even before the complete triumph of socialism on earth, with capitalism still existing in part of the world.

It may be argued that capitalism will still exist and so there will still be adventurers who might start a war. That is true, and we must not forget it. As long as capitalism exists it may always be possible to find people who, contrary to the dictates of common sense, will want to rush headlong into a hopeless venture. But in that way they will merely hasten the death of the capitalist system. Any attempt at aggression will be curbed and the adventurers put where they belong. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Such are the prospects, comrades, that stand out as we discuss our plans.

Allow me to turn to specific problems of the international situation. I shall not deal with all international problems—I will only touch on the more pressing ones.

The right solution to the German problem is of great importance to peace and international security. Twice in the first half of the twentieth century, German imperialism started world wars. Today, with the assistance of the monopolists of the U.S.A., Britain and the other partners of the aggressive North-Atlantic Treaty, West Germany is being turned into the main atomic and rocket base of NATO. Even now West Germany is coming to play a leading role in that aggressive bloc. Some Western politicians are evidently thinking of again spearheading the German threat eastwards, forgetting that German militarism also knows the way to the West.

A situation is arising in which German militarism may for the third time drag mankind into a world war. When

we point to the grave danger involved in the arming of West Germany, we are told that as a member of NATO West Germany is kept under control and is not dangerous. But anyone can now see that militarism and revanchism has reared its head in West Germany and threatens peaceful nations.

The Federal Republic of Germany is one of the countries whose ruling circles are for continuing the "cold war" and carrying on the so-called policy from "positions of strength". Chancellor Adenauer is the most zealous maker of that policy. He is one of the chief opponents to any agreement designed to lessen international tension and end the "cold war". This attitude of Adenauer's is backed by influential Western groups and by the countries which are dependent on the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany because they would like to get credits from them, and for other reasons.

The threat coming from German militarism compels peaceful countries, above all the neighbours of West Germany, to take appropriate measures.

For many years the Soviet Union has consistently sought to promote Germany's peaceful democratic development in accordance with the Potsdam Agreements and to prevent the revival of militarism. But all Soviet moves have met with the stubborn resistance of the ruling circles of the U.S.A., Britain, France and West Germany.

In view of the growing military threat from the Federal Republic of Germany, the Soviet Union has recently made a number of new proposals on the German problem. We have proposed a gradual reduction of foreign troops in Germany or, better still, their complete withdrawal. We stand for a "zone of disengagement" of armed forces. The farther apart they will be, the lesser the danger of clashes and conflicts. The Soviet

Union is prepared to withdraw its forces not only from Germany, but also from Poland and Hungary, where they are stationed under the Warsaw Treaty, if all the NATO countries withdraw their troops to within their national boundaries and abolish their military bases in other countries.

The Soviet Union supports the Polish plan for an "atom-free zone" in Europe and a reduction of conventional armaments in that zone.

Last November the Soviet Government approached the United States, Britain and France with a proposal to do away with the remnants of the occupation regime in Berlin and make West Berlin a demilitarised free city. Such a settlement of the Berlin question would make for a durable peace in Europe and serve to ease international tension.

The German problem would be radically solved through the conclusion of a German peace treaty. There is nothing to justify the fact that, fourteen years after the end of the war, no peace treaty has yet been signed between Germany and the countries which fought against her. Such a situation virtually benefits those who want the "cold war" to continue. The Western Powers are taking advantage of it to keep their troops in the heart of Europe, to maintain an atomic bridgehead there and to prepare a new war, unceremoniously playing with Germany and her people as though they were small change.

The draft peace treaty submitted by the Soviet Union combines measures ensuring the rights of the German people and their complete sovereignty and fully providing for their peaceful democratic development with measures necessary to preserve the security of nations and peace in Europe. A peace treaty with Germany would immediately relax tension in Europe. It would establish a reliable legal basis and cut the ground from

under revanchist sentiment in West Germany. It would rid the German people of foreign occupation and would enable them to settle all questions of home and foreign policy on their own.

The Soviet Union, for its part, will spare no effort to have the peace treaty concluded. It will work for it consistently and indefatigably. The peace treaty would also serve to solve the Berlin problem on peaceful and democratic lines. It would lead to West Berlin being made a free city and provide the necessary guarantee of non-interference in its affairs. The United Nations should be called on to enforce this guarantee. We want negotiations on all these problems so as to find a reasonable solution to them. Our proposals are in line with this purpose. They help to eliminate many of the causes of tension in the relations between states in the heart of Europe, and will strengthen peace.

The peace treaty will mean a big step forward towards German reunification, now hindered by the existing international tension, particularly in the relations between the two German states.

It must be clearly understood that the reunification of Germany is wholly and entirely the business of the German people. Since there are two sovereign states today and neither can be eliminated without touching off a world war, Germany's reunification can only be achieved through negotiations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. There is no other way. (*Applause.*)

All sensible people realise that the peaceful reunification of Germany cannot be accomplished by abolishing the socialist achievements of the German people in the German Democratic Republic. German unification on the lines proposed by Adenauer would jeopardise European security, since it would mean the extension of the sway of militarism, revanchism and reaction to

the whole of German territory. Neither must anyone expect Germany to be unified through the abolition of the regime existing in the Federal Republic of Germany.

It would be wrong to impose on the Germans conditions from without for the reunification of their country. The Germans must reach agreement between themselves. That is why we support the slogan of Germany's democratic circles: "Germans, sit at one table!"

Western propaganda makes a great deal of noise, alleging that the Soviet Union is opposed to German reunification by free elections. We have never objected to free elections, nor do we object now. But again, the issue must be settled by the Germans themselves. We want all questions bearing on German reunification to be settled through agreement between the two German states and not the way Adenauer wants it done, that is, not through pressure by foreign powers or their interference in the domestic affairs of the German people and the absorption of the German Democratic Republic.

To make reunification easier for the two German states, we support the G.D.R. Government's reasonable proposal for a confederation as a first step towards establishing a permanent connection between the G.D.R. and the F.R.G. and constituting all-German agencies. If there is any other way whereby the two German states could reach agreement on reunification, we are prepared to co-operate.

In this connection, we must again mention the role being played by Chancellor Adenauer, who fears German reunification on peaceful and democratic lines. His attitude is absolutely incomprehensible. It is contrary to common sense and to the interests of the German people themselves. Adenauer is the leader of the Christian Democratic Party. It would seem that he should be guided by evangelical precepts, which people in his party are so fond of enlarging on. (*Laughter.*) Yet this

"Christian" has a cross in one hand and wants to take the atom bomb in the other. Indeed, he relies on the bomb more than on anything else, though such an attitude neither conforms to evangelical precepts nor promotes the solution of the German people's national problem. Herr Adenauer is an elderly and experienced man. And really, he ought to consider that it is not only his allies that have nuclear weapons, but also the Soviet Union. One should not forget that those are weapons whose use may lead to the loss of many human lives. Since West Germany is being turned into an atomic base, her population will be the first to suffer in the event of an armed conflict.

If Herr Adenauer is a truly religious man, it would seem that he should, in keeping with Christian doctrine, think of the hereafter, of ensuring that his soul "goes to heaven". (*General laughter.*) But, judging by his actual deeds, he has no hope of ever going to heaven. (*Animation.*) According to evangelical legend, another place is the reward of deeds like his—fiery Gehenna. (*General laughter.*)

In another part of the world—the Far East—the aggressive policy of the United States toward the Chinese People's Republic and other peace-loving countries is the main source of tension. Some time ago the world saw with anxiety how America's aggressive moves threatened to develop into a huge military conflagration. It was the resolute action of the Chinese People's Republic and other peace-loving forces that averted the threat.

The Pacific area has become the main testing ground for U.S. atomic weapons.

All this makes it imperative to see to it that war, particularly atomic war, is warded off in that region of the globe. There the opportunities seem to be greater than elsewhere, because the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Re-

public, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and also India, Indonesia, Burma and other countries in that area are working for peace. Joint action by them for the prohibition of the atomic weapon and of atomic tests might prove decisive in preserving peace in the Pacific. Their initiative would be supported by the peoples of Japan and other Pacific countries. *A zone of peace, above all an atom-free zone, can and must be created in the Far East and the rest of the Pacific area.*

All progressive mankind may well be pleased with developments in the Middle East. We welcome the national-liberation movement of the Arab peoples and the other peoples of Asia and Africa who have shaken off colonial oppression. The expulsion of imperialist colonialist troops from a number of countries in that area was a major triumph of the Arab peoples and the peace forces. But we must not imagine that an exacerbation of the situation there is out of the question, for the colonialists, driven out of their colonies, will never reconcile themselves to their defeat. The Western Powers, above all the United States and Britain, are trying to set one group of Arab countries on another; they are plotting in Iraq and other Arab countries. They are looking for weak spots in order to divide the peoples who have won their freedom, primarily those of the Arab East.

When a people fights for its national independence against colonial rule, all patriotic forces join in a united national front.

That was the case during the struggle of the Egyptian and other Arab peoples for liberation from the tyranny of imperialist colonialism. In Egypt, where all the national forces rallied together, the people won the struggle to expel the colonialists from the country and to nationalise the Suez Canal. All progressive mankind hailed the national liberation of Egypt. In Iraq, the reac-

tionary clique which served the imperialists was overthrown and an independent republic established. The Soviet people and the peoples of the other socialist countries gave vigorous support to the just struggle of the Arab peoples. Prominent leaders of that movement—Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic, and Abdul Kerim Kassem, head of the Iraqi Republican Government—have won the warm sympathy of the Soviet people.

After the colonialists have been expelled and the general national problems essentially solved, the people seek a solution to vital social problems. This applies above all to the land and peasant problem and the problem of labour's struggle against capital. Social processes arise within the national-liberation movement such as inevitably engender different opinions on the further course of development of the state.

Our country, like the other socialist countries, has always supported, and will continue to support, the national-liberation movement. The Soviet Union has never interfered, and has no intention of interfering, in the domestic affairs of other countries. But we feel we must state our attitude to the fact that a campaign is being conducted in some countries against progressive forces under the spurious slogan of anti-communism. Since in the United Arab Republic statements have recently been made against the ideas of communism and accusations levelled at Communists, I who am a Communist think it necessary to declare at this Congress of our Communist Party that it is wrong to accuse Communists of helping to weaken or divide the national effort in the struggle against imperialism. On the contrary, no one is more staunch and more devoted to the struggle against colonialists than the Communists. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) There are no forces more steadfast in the struggle against imperialism than the forces

of communism. And that is why the imperialists are spearheading their struggle against the communist movement.

The struggle against the communist and other progressive parties is a reactionary cause. Anti-communist policy does not unite the national forces but disunites them. Thereby it weakens the effort of a nation in defending its interests against imperialism. It is wrong to accuse Communists of acting against the national interests of the Arab peoples. It is also naïve to equate communism with Zionism. Everyone knows that Communists, those of Israel included, are fighting against Zionism.

It is unreasonable to see "communist intrigue" in everything. Problems of social development should be viewed more deeply. It is subject to objective laws that tell us that within nations there exist classes with different interests. After imperialist oppression has been abolished in a colonial country, its workers want to have shorter working hours and higher wages; its peasants want to have more land and an opportunity to enjoy the fruits of their labour; both workers and peasants want to have political rights. But the capitalists want to make more profit, and landed proprietors want to keep their land. The progressive elements want their country to make social progress. They strive to strengthen its national independence and to protect it from imperialist plots. Internal reaction, which is often instigated by the imperialists from without, resists that.

These processes, which take place in the countries that have shaken off imperialist tyranny, do not arise by the will or whim of any party. They arise because there are classes and different class interests. We who are Communists, and all progressive people in general, naturally sympathise with those who fight for social justice. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We do not deny that we and some of the leaders of the United Arab Republic have divergent views in the ideological sphere. But in the matter of fighting against imperialism, of consolidating the political and economic independence of the countries which have freed themselves from colonialism, of combating the war danger, our attitude coincides with theirs. Differences in ideological views should not impede the development of friendly relations between our countries or our joint struggle against imperialism. (*Applause.*)

Imperialist agents travelling in the Middle East seek to put the fear of communism into certain people, hoping thereby to assure imperialist influence and to support the reactionaries. For this reason, the people there must be on guard against imperialist intrigue.

The countries which have achieved their national liberation need, and will continue to need, the support of the socialist countries and all progressive people. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are promoting friendly relations with the countries which have won freedom from colonial tyranny; they are helping them and will continue to do so.

The imperialists use their economic relations with the underdeveloped countries as instruments of blackmail and extortion. They impose military and political conditions on those countries. Our country bases its relations with all states on complete equality and co-operation, with no military or political strings attached. We do not engage in charity. The Soviet Union renders aid on a fair commercial basis. The socialist countries help the underdeveloped countries to set up industries of their own, whereas the United States tries to sell them consumer goods which have no market at home. The Seven-Year Plan offers new opportunities for Soviet economic co-operation with the industrially underdeveloped countries.

The struggle of peoples for their freedom and independence has entered a new stage. The national-liberation movement is developing in all the colonial and dependent countries. The peoples of Latin America are intensifying their struggle against U.S. imperialist oppression. The peoples of Asia and Africa are stirring. Those of the peoples in that area who have won their national freedom want to shape their own destinies. They now need peace more than ever. The Great Powers must undertake solemnly to respect the sovereignty of the nations of the Arab East and Africa, to renounce the use of force in settling disputes, and interference in the internal affairs of those nations. In place of the powder magazine where there are those who play with fire, it is necessary to establish a zone of peace and free national development for the peoples.

Measures to ease the situation in the various regions should be combined with an effort to improve the overall international climate.

The task of tasks today is to break the deadlock over the *disarmament issue*. The armament race continues, swallowing up ever more financial and material resources. To raise funds for arms production, capitalist governments divert the lion's share of their budgets to militarisation; they pursue a policy of plundering the working people, acting on the principle: "My last shirt for a sword." (*Animation.*)

The need to ban tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons is particularly compelling. Now that it is generally recognised that atomic explosions can be detected at any point of the globe, there is no reason to delay the settlement of the issue of banning nuclear weapons tests. The peoples of all countries demand that a stop be put to these tests which contaminate the world atmosphere with harmful fall-out. And this demand must be met.

We hold the view that relations between states with different social systems should be based on peaceful coexistence. We and the ruling circles of the capitalist countries have different views and different world outlooks. We shall never renounce our views and have no illusions about our class opponents changing their ideology. But this does not imply that we must go to war over our divergence in views. In every country, it is the people themselves who shape their own destiny and choose their course of development. The Soviet Union has no intention of forcing on anyone the path it has chosen. We are wholly guided by Lenin's principle that revolution is not an export item.

Would it not be better for the leaders of states with different social systems to come—as soon as possible—to the conclusion that since we share one planet, and not too big a planet by present technological standards, it would be advisable to live on it without elbowing each other, or shaking fists at each other all the time in the shape of atom or hydrogen bombs. We must learn to settle our disputes by peaceful negotiation.

It is high time to see that threats are no good as far as the Soviet Union, the socialist camp are concerned, and to realise the radical changes which have come about in the world strategic situation.

Today all admit the successes achieved by Soviet science and technology, which have blazed man's trail into outer space. These achievements indicate the potentialities of the Soviet Union, of the world socialist system. It should be perfectly obvious that since the Soviet Union can launch a rocket hundreds of thousands of kilometres into outer space, it can launch powerful rockets with pin-point accuracy to any place on the globe. (*Applause.*)

However, our deductions from these facts are quite different from those made by certain groups in the

West. There, every achievement of science and technology is considered primarily from the standpoint of the military advantage it provides. When the first atom bomb was made in the United States, the American ruling circles at once laid claim to world supremacy.

Such intentions are alien to the Soviet Union. It is not for carrying out a warlike policy or imposing our will on other countries that we use the historic achievements of Soviet science and technology. We use them to redouble our efforts in the struggle for world peace. And now that we lead in rocket engineering, we again say to the United States, Britain and France: let us ban for all time the testing, production and use of atomic, hydrogen and rocket weapons; let us destroy all stockpiles of these deadly weapons; let us use the great discovery of human genius exclusively for peaceful purposes, for the welfare of man. Our Government is prepared to sign an appropriate treaty, tomorrow, if you like. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The only reasonable policy for the Great Powers is to proceed to a peaceful settlement of international problems and to start on general disarmament.

More than a year ago the Soviet Government proposed an East-West meeting of heads of government. Through the fault of the Western Powers, no progress has been made in the matter since then. But we consider it our duty to the peoples of all countries to work for this meeting, on which all who are concerned with peace and international security are pinning so much hope.

We have had more than one occasion to point out the great responsibility for the preservation of peace which rests with the two Great Powers—the Soviet Union and the United States. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it has more than once expressed its sincere desire to normalise relations with the United

States, and has backed its words with deeds. The Soviet Union proposed a fifty-year non-aggression pact. It proposed that the two countries should engage in extensive trade on mutually advantageous terms, encourage cultural relations, etc. But every time we came up against an outright refusal or veiled resistance.

Our two countries have never had any territorial claims on each other, nor have they any today. There are no grounds for clashes between our two peoples. Yet the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. have long been abnormal.

We know that many politicians and financiers, Senators and newspaper publishers in the U.S.A. have an interest in maintaining such relations. But the number of people who favour friendly, good-neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union is growing in the United States. The reception accorded to A. I. Mikoyan in America was forceful proof of this. His visit evoked among the American people a demonstration of friendly sentiment for the peoples of the Soviet Union. Most of the Americans whom he met openly expressed their sincere sympathy for the Soviet people, and a desire for friendship and peaceful co-operation with the Soviet Union. Among them were people of different political and religious views and of different social standing—scientists, cultural workers, businessmen and spokesmen for the general public. Evidently, most Americans no longer believe the anti-Soviet propaganda of the reactionary bourgeois newspapers in the U.S.A. The attempts made by certain elements to organise provocative action during Comrade Mikoyan's visit failed completely, because those elements did not represent the sentiments and views of the American people.

We welcome the efforts of all Americans who advocate an end to the "cold war" and support peaceful coexistence and co-operation between all countries.

Sympathy for the American people, whose industrial genius and efficiency are known all over the world, is strong in our country.

There are, of course, quite a few difficulties along the path of peaceful coexistence. In following this path, both sides will have to show a great deal of willingness for mutual understanding, great restraint and, if you will, great patience. (*Applause.*)

A considerable *expansion of world trade* could do much to relax international tension and strengthen mutual trust.

Despite the obstacles which have been raised, trade between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries of Europe and America in 1958 was almost trebled against 1950. We are doing good business with Sweden. Long-term trade agreements have been concluded with France and Italy, and our trade with other countries is increasing.

The Soviet economic programme of peaceful development for 1959-1965 offers good prospects for expanding Soviet trade with all countries. We can at least double the volume of our foreign trade.

We offer the capitalist countries peaceful competition, and not only for the time of the Seven-Year Plan. We are drawing up a long-term development plan for fifteen years. This plan, too, rests on the principle of peaceful development and peaceful economic competition.

All peoples can see that *our plans are plans of peaceful construction. We call on all peoples to work harder to maintain and promote peace. For our part, we shall do everything in our power to assure universal peace. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)*

SPEECH AT THE PRESENTATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LENIN PRIZE "FOR THE PROMOTION OF PEACE AMONG NATIONS" TO N. S. KHRUSHCHOV AT THE KREMLIN

May 16, 1959

Dear members of the International Lenin Prize Committee,

Dear Comrades and Friends,

To begin with, permit me to express my sincere thanks to the International Lenin Prize Committee for conferring upon me the honourable title of holder of the Lenin Prize "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations". (*Prolonged applause.*)

I should like to convey my deep gratitude to all our comrades and friends, the representatives of other countries and peoples, who, speaking from this rostrum, have addressed warm words to me and given a high estimate of my peace efforts. In such cases, speakers not only state the merits of the prize winner, but also say something as an advance, to be done by him later. (*Animation. Prolonged applause.*)

The wish has been voiced here that the peoples of the Soviet Union and myself, who have been honoured by this high attention and by the Peace Prize, should work on for enduring peace. Dear friends and comrades, I promise to do so to the utmost of my strength and ability. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

I would like to say that the striking and colourful speech made by Pundit Sunderlal, a representative of our friends, the Indian people, contains one point with which I disagree. One may get the impression from your speech that, being an atheist, I dislike religious people. I cannot agree to this. You are right when you say that I am an atheist, while you are a believer. But it does not follow by any means that there has to be dislike or hostility between us. As everyone knows, believers do not all profess the same faith. There are many peoples and many religions in the world. And there is intolerance between these religions, a struggle goes on between them, and history has known religious wars.

As atheists, we by no means inculcate enmity towards believers. We have never called for hostility between people on religious grounds, or for wars between states on ideological grounds, and we never shall.

We treat religious people not merely with tolerance, but with respect. We only oppose religion being used to harm people. It is in such cases that we do wage a fight. (*Applause.*) When in the old days the government of tsarist Russia had the church under its control and made it serve the capitalists and landlords, when the ruling classes used the church against the people, including religious people, we did our best to explain that religious feelings should not be directed against the interests of the people. Naturally, we have our own views about the universe, we have our materialist philosophy. But you, too, representatives of different religions, have your own views which do not coincide with those of other peoples professing other religions.

We want to see all people—believers and unbelievers—unite their efforts in working for the main thing—for peace, for a state of affairs in which all nations live like brothers and people do not wage war but live in

amity and peace. (*Stormy applause.*) I should like to recall a few facts from the recent past. During the Second World War many priests of various religions in our country sided with the people, who were defending their socialist homeland from the fascist invasion. Cases are known of priests receiving distinctions and government awards, such as Orders and medals. (*Applause.*)

Dear friends, I realise that when you were deciding whether to award an International Lenin Prize to me, you were not thinking solely of my personal activities. I execute the will of the Soviet people, our Party and our Government. Therefore, the Lenin Prize which I have been awarded should be regarded as a recognition of the tremendous efforts and the great contribution made by the Soviet people in the fight for peace and general security. (*Stormy applause.*)

Need I say that in our time no one man, whatever the efforts he may make, is able to prevent war and to ensure peace. It is necessary that all peoples participate actively in the defence of peace, that every man, wherever he may work and wherever he may live, should know and feel that peace on earth can only be preserved by active participation in the fight against the danger of war. My part in the defence of peace merges with the activities of millions of people, with their thoughts and their feelings. I assure you, dear friends, that I shall spare no energy, that I shall use every possibility available to me that the cause of peace may triumph. (*Stormy applause.*)

The prize which has been awarded to me bears the name of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the greatest champion of peace and happiness for mankind. Lenin devoted to the cause of international peace all the power of his genius, his power as an ardent orator, as a statesman of immense wisdom. Lenin's name is associated with the initial act of the first workers' and peasants' state

in the world, created under his leadership in the flames of the Great October Revolution, which appealed to all belligerent peoples immediately to conclude a peace without annexations, without plunder or seizure of other peoples' lands.

Lenin's ideas about peace and friendship between nations form the basis, the foundation of the foreign policy of the Soviet state. We are faithful to Lenin's ideas, we consistently put them into practice, and shall do all we can to avoid war and to develop good relations between nations, between states, irrespective of their social systems. We stand for peaceful coexistence. (*Applause.*)

Peace is the main condition for the existence and progress of nations. People link their most cherished desires and aspirations for a better life with the hope of living in peace. To the peoples of the Soviet Union, who within a short space of time have gone through the severe ordeals of two world wars, who have made tremendous sacrifices, the benefits of a peaceful life are particularly dear. It is hard to find a family in the Soviet Union for which war has not meant suffering and sacrifice. Soviet public and political leaders do not have to exert special efforts to prove to our people the necessity of fighting against the danger of war, of fighting to preserve peace on earth. The people have reached an understanding of this necessity with heart and mind through their sufferings in grim struggle.

Man has not been made to kill off his like. The urge to kill people is alien to man's nature, to his spiritual fibre. In order to push people into exterminating each other in war, the exploiting classes brought great pressure to bear on them, employed all means of influencing them, put them through military drill and taught them blind and implicit obedience. In order to set one nation warring against another, though these wars

brought nothing to the working people but disaster and devastation, the exploiters devised various false "theories", and went so far as to assert that war was mankind's "natural condition". They did not even hesitate to exploit religion for their ends. Despite the Christian commandment, "Thou shalt not kill", the ruling classes took priests into military service, and these led people to their deaths with cross and prayer in the name of the mercenary interests of the exploiters.

It is only in our day, when the working class has triumphed in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and the people have been enabled to build a life based on socialist principles, that a realistic prospect has arisen of ridding mankind of war and establishing peaceful and friendly relations among peoples. Our country is the standard-bearer of the most humane ideas of modern times. To the barbarous ideology of exterminating people we counterpose the ideology of peace and friendship among peoples. (*Stormy applause.*)

Each year our country advances further along the path of economic and cultural progress and improvement of the people's well-being. The Soviet Union is gathering increasing strength as it builds a communist society. People who come to us from abroad see for themselves the outstanding successes which the Soviet people have attained in building the new life; they see the Soviet people's love of peace. The time is gone when our plans were ridiculed abroad as idle dreams.

Now everybody acknowledges that the Soviet people have made extraordinary progress in industry, agriculture, science and culture. The richer our country becomes, the more fully are the material and spiritual requirements of people satisfied. In a socialist society everything is subordinated to solicitude for man, the good of the people, the all-round development of the individual.

I think that the leaders of the peace movement gathered here today, our foreign guests, have satisfied themselves that our people are engaged in peaceful creative labour; that Soviet people, engaged as they are in building communist society, are the most active fighters for peace. (*Applause.*)

I returned yesterday from a tour of the Ukraine and Moldavia. Last year the working people of these republics gave our homeland cause for rejoicing at their fine achievements. They have considerably increased the output of grain, meat, milk, grapes and other agricultural produce. Their splendid labour effort for the good of our homeland is highly appreciated. It was with great satisfaction that I carried out the mission entrusted to me by the Central Committee of our Party, the Soviet Government and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and presented Orders of Lenin to the republics of the Ukraine and Moldavia. (*Applause.*)

All the republics of the Soviet Union have achieved noteworthy successes in economic and cultural development. Soviet people are showing great enthusiasm in carrying out the Seven-Year Plan of Economic Development, drawn up by the Twenty-First Party Congress and approved by the entire people. No one can deny the fact that our Seven-Year Plan expresses the peaceful aspirations of the Soviet Union.

I have had occasion to meet thousands of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals. In my talks with them I have often been congratulated on the award of the Lenin Prize "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations" and wished further success in the fight for peace. The Soviet people want peace and are fighting for it. And for us the will of the people is sacred. (*Applause.*)

The more the Soviet people gain in strength and might, the greater their possibilities of successfully defending world peace and international security.

We live at a time when there are tremendous possibilities to fight for peace successfully, and inexhaustible sources of strength which have not yet been brought into action. What is needed is for the people to be seized by an all-conquering hatred of war, for them to combine their effort and put up insuperable obstacles to the forces of aggression.

The peoples have learned from bitter past experience to discern the real causes of war. They also know what modern warfare means and what its possible consequences are. People remember that a shot in Sarajevo was sufficient to drag millions of people into the years of slaughter of the imperialist First World War. Now war can break out at the evil intention of a handful of people, or even be caused during an attack of insanity by one of those who day and night fly American planes loaded with atom bombs.

At present there is, and can be, no task more important than that of taking timely action to bar the way to war, no finer aim than that of preserving and strengthening peace. In our day, to fight for peace has become the sacred duty of every human being. (*Applause.*)

The power of the masses who come out against the war threat is mounting. The influence of the people and of world opinion on the policy of governments and the entire course of world developments is growing from year to year. The fight for peace has been joined by the vast populations of countries which have recently attained national independence, and also by the peoples of colonial and dependent countries. The imperialist powers cannot but reckon with the fact that the golden times are over when they could count on the material and human resources of these countries for the conduct of war.

The last world war was a severe lesson for millions of people throughout the world, and everything must be done so that mankind does not forget that lesson.

Think back to the first days after the nightmare of war, which lasted many years, and finally came to an end. Hundreds of millions of people celebrated victory, trusting that this had been the last war, that the sinister shades of war would never again darken their lives. Millions of people had given their lives on the battlefield, and it had been their last hope that those who were left would live in peace, without anxiety or fear of the morrow. To all who have suffered the horrors of war there can be no other greater and loftier task than that of fulfilling these wishes and hopes of people for durable and lasting peace.

Only fourteen years have passed since the Second World War ended, yet for years now mankind has been living under the threat of a fresh war. The arms drive and "cold war" have been carried on with unflagging intensity for many years. They swallow up vast material resources. Tremendous masses of people—economists estimate over 100 million—are torn away from peaceful labour and involved to a greater or lesser degree in war preparations, while the funds spent on military preparations throughout the world are so immense that they would suffice to build within a short time a new country with modern cities, factories and gardens—a country in which over one hundred million people would be assured a high standard of living.

The imperialists have put at the service of war the greatest discovery of human genius—the energy of the atomic nucleus—and this has radically changed people's ideas of the nature and consequences of a future war. Today no one denies that such a war, if permitted to break out, would entail the death of millions upon millions of people and lead to untold devastation.

No one who has an interest in lasting peace can stand by passively, watching preparations being made for another war both overtly and covertly by the forces of aggression.

A particularly acute and vitally important problem arises from the very nature of a possible war of the future, from the changes that have occurred in military techniques.

Let us recall how the Second World War began. As is known, it began with Hitler's attack on Czechoslovakia and Poland, and spread later to other countries. Some time passed, however, before it developed into a world war.

What a new war would mean right from its very outset is sufficiently well known. There are no grounds to assume that if war breaks out, there will be time for "rising steam", for mobilising the forces of peace on a national, and later on a world-wide scale, in order to stop the extermination of people.

It is necessary, therefore, to lose no time in combining still more actively the efforts of all who stand for peace and to spare no energy in ensuring today that the endeavours of all people throughout the world are merged into one stream, so as to erect even now an insurmountable barrier to the unleashing of war. The peoples of the socialist countries know this well. The masses in Japan, Great Britain, West Germany, France, Italy, and also the United States of America and other countries, are coming to realise it more and more. A great contribution to the prevention of war is being made by India and other peace-loving countries that have liberated themselves from colonial dependence.

All peoples want peace. We have not the slightest doubt that the American people are as peaceful in their aspirations as the British, Japanese and other peoples.

It cannot be said that the American people do not realise what war is. But until now they have never seen war on their own soil and know of all its horrors only through newspapers and films. It is more difficult for Americans than, say, for the British, and the Japanese in particular, to visualise the destruction of entire cities and the terror of air raids. The American people are beginning to join the general fight of the peoples for peace, against the threat of atomic war, as millions of Americans become increasingly aware that if a fresh world war breaks out it will not unfold somewhere across the ocean, but involve their own territory, and that it will be impossible to find cover from it.

The peoples of West Germany, the United States, Britain, France, Japan and Italy bear special responsibility for settling the question of whether or not there is to be another world war. If millions of Americans, Germans, Britons, Frenchmen, Japanese and Italians come out all together against another war, no force in existence will dare to act counter to their will. Like the peoples of all the socialist countries, the Soviet people are always prepared to proffer their hand to them and jointly erect a mighty barrier to all instigators of war. (*Applause.*)

Ending the "cold war", easing international tension, is the most acute and the most important international problem of our time. The peoples refuse to tolerate the continued arms drive. They cannot be indifferent observers of developments which are dangerous to the whole of mankind. They are sick of the "cold war", of war preparations which, even in peace-time, contaminate the atmosphere with radioactive fall-out from atomic and hydrogen weapons tests. The question of banning thermonuclear tests is one of the most acute issues requiring immediate solution.

The stand of the Soviet Union on this question is well known. We spare no effort to end nuclear weapons tests. But to achieve positive results the efforts of the Soviet Union alone are insufficient. The efforts of all peoples are required. At present we are witness to the growth of these efforts. We see the movement against nuclear explosions grow wider and more powerful.

We are therefore convinced that the governments which possess nuclear weapons will finally be forced to recognise the necessity of stopping nuclear tests either by their own powers of reasoning or under the pressure of public opinion in their own countries and throughout the world.

And if we sometimes say sharp and unpleasant things on this question to our Western partners, we do so with one purpose only—that of achieving the earliest possible agreement on banning test explosions of atomic and hydrogen weapons. We believe firmly that this will be achieved, that the peoples will have their way and that the contamination of the atmosphere will cease at last. (*Applause.*)

You know that stopping the tests is not disarmament. It is only a step towards disarmament. But if we all work in that direction unflaggingly and sparing no effort, we shall reach the point where states will agree on reducing their armed forces, on banning atomic and hydrogen weapons and on stopping their production, and will then pass on to preparations for complete disarmament.

In this way they will really ensure inviolable peace and international security. It is clear that as long as countries are armed to the teeth and their armed forces, equipped with lethal weapons, confront each other, one cannot dismiss the possibility of accidents which may have disastrous consequences. Hence, it is necessary not only to press for the conclusion of non-

aggression pacts and the abolition of military blocs, but also to secure a radical solution of the disarmament problem, to secure that means of annihilation are not accumulated and that those in existence are destroyed. We are ready for that. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The governments of some Western states want us to agree to a most extensive system of control in our territory, at a time when a network of their military bases has been established around the Soviet Union and their troops are stationed in many countries. It would be naïve to expect us to agree to such a plan. It is clear to all that in such conditions control is not control, but outright reconnaissance which may be used for an attack upon us.

But if the Western governments are prepared to reach agreement on the abolition of military bases in other countries, on the withdrawal of all foreign troops within their national borders and on a phased reduction of armed forces, then we too shall be prepared to accept the gradual introduction of effective control.

The greater the cuts in armed forces, the farther we shall be willing to proceed along the path of control. Each state will be increasingly confident that no other state is able to pile up armaments in defiance of agreements, and thereby the possibility of one country attacking another will be removed. The Soviet Union is prepared to take such far-reaching steps in the field of disarmament and control. We have said this before and we say it again.

The Foreign Ministers Conference is now in progress in Geneva, and the eyes of the whole world are on it. To this conference the Western Powers have submitted their proposals, which they call a "peace plan". I have studied this plan, and I must say frankly that it left a bad taste in my mouth. The Western Powers call their proposals a "peace plan". But this is evidently the only

novelty about them, for in the past the Western Powers submitted essentially similar proposals which were in reality nothing but a "cold war" plan, a plan for pursuing the policy "from positions of strength".

The real initiator of the proposals submitted by the Western Powers is not present at the Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers. But his shadow, the shadow of Herr Adenauer, haunts Geneva, and his authorship is plainly evident. Judging from the proposals of the Western Powers, they want to cling to their old positions.

When the Western Powers drew up their plan, they apparently bore in mind the fact that a certain easing of the international tension is in evidence at present, or, speaking figuratively, a thaw in the relations between states has set in. The arguments advanced in support of the Western plan were so framed as to provoke sharp criticism from us, because the so-called "peace plan" puts the solution of important international problems into cold storage. This is being done in order to place the blame on us later, and to accuse us of intractability. But we are not going to give our partners this pleasure. We shall not take that course. On the contrary, we shall explain that this is not the way to secure the ending of the state of "cold war".

The Western proposals contain points which are worth discussing and to which we are not going to object. On the contrary, we shall be prepared to look for acceptable solutions at the same table. But questions have to be taken separately. They must not be tied up as they are by the Western Powers, into one big knot that cannot be untied. The question of concluding a peace treaty with the two German states should be dealt with first, and the Berlin question solved on this basis by converting West Berlin into a free city.

It goes without saying that the makers of the Western plan are clever people, though their minds do not seem to have worked in the right direction when they were drawing up the plan. They knew perfectly well that their proposals on the German and Berlin questions were unacceptable. The Western plan is, in its essence, unacceptable even to its authors, because in reality none of them want the reunification of Germany. The problem of Germany's reunification and all other considerations on this score cannot be an object of discussion by the four Powers. It is a matter for the Germans themselves.

Let us therefore look for realistic ways, truly acceptable mutually, of settling pressing matters without discriminating against any country or any state. And if by joint efforts we find such ways, this will be a great victory for the peoples of all countries who are seeking to end the "cold war", and to safeguard world peace.

Dear friends, there are not many among the governments of bourgeois countries which could submit their policy to the judgement of the people, and count on its winning approval.

We have urged the governments of the Western countries repeatedly to compete in the making of peaceful proposals, in pursuing a policy which would best respond to the desires of the peoples, and would serve the maintenance of world peace. If the capitalist governments wish to compete with us in the sphere of peace, we can assure them that we shall be very glad of this, but are not going to surrender first place to anyone. (*Stormy applause.*) The vital interests of the people and the policy of the Soviet Government are one whole.

The Soviet people—like any other in the world—wants peace. Maybe you have noticed the following, seemingly commonplace, things. When people wake

up they say, "Good morning"; whenever they meet they say, "Good day"; and when parting in the evening they say, "Good night!"

What do these wishes mean? People wish each other well. By saying "Good night" one man wishes another that he sleep fast and rest after his daily labour. On going to bed, everyone hopes that he will have a quiet night, that no one will disturb his slumbers, let alone attack him or destroy his home.

But in our contemporary world there are still forces which are not only scheming against the peaceful life of one man; they are scheming against the peaceful life of mankind as a whole, threatening to unleash a terrible war, threatening the peoples with atom and hydrogen bombs. They surround countries thousands of kilometres from their own land with their military and rocket bases and their planes loaded with nuclear bombs circle over peacefully sleeping towns and villages of other countries.

The Soviet Government actually pursues a policy that is aimed at ensuring a good night and a good day to every Soviet citizen and to every human being on earth. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We want war to be removed for ever from the life of the peoples as a means of settling disputed issues between states. We want peaceful life and peaceful labour to prevail throughout the world.

We warmly wish the peace fighters and the peoples of all countries to achieve a situation in which their governments will work as actively in the battle for peace as the Soviet Government does, and for their proposals always to coincide with public opinion in their countries and serve to ensure world peace.

As for the Soviet Government, it is prepared to appear before any international public gathering and state its peace policy. Let the governments of the Western

countries give an account of their foreign policy, let them report to world opinion.

Gathered in this hall today are prominent peace fighters from various countries who are returning from the session of the World Peace Council in Stockholm. On this day, such an auspicious one for me, I should like, with all my heart, to pay tribute and wish success to these courageous people, who often have to overcome tremendous difficulties and are frequently persecuted for their devoted service to the cause of peace. (*Stormy applause.*)

Dear friends, you are also confronted by many difficulties due to the fact that people of different political opinions, languages and religions are taking part in the fight for peace. But these differences also contain great strength and a great advantage. They demonstrate that millions of people in all parts of our planet are rising in defence of peace and to fight for greater peaceful international co-operation and friendship. (*Applause.*)

We welcome and support the decisions of the anniversary session of the World Peace Council in Stockholm. We express ourselves ready for a meeting of representatives of the Great Powers to discuss urgent international questions in the interests of stopping the "cold war" and opening up a path for peaceful co-operation between nations. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In conclusion, permit me to express once more my deep and sincere gratitude to the International Lenin Prize Committee for awarding me the honourable title of Lenin Prize winner. I regard it as a great honour not only to myself, but to our country, to the Soviet people, to our Government and to the Soviet Union's policy of peace. (*Stormy applause.*)

Since the decision to award me a Peace Prize, I have received many congratulations, both from Soviet people and from abroad. I should like to take this opportunity

of conveying my most heartfelt gratitude to all who have sent me their congratulations. (*Prolonged applause.*)

I assure all of you, dear friends and comrades, that I shall exert all my energies to justify your good wishes, that I shall continue to fight indefatigably for the great cause of consolidating peace and the security of the peoples. (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live fraternity between all peoples! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live world peace! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.*)

ON PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE*

I have been told that the question of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is uppermost today in the minds of many Americans—and not only Americans. The question of coexistence, particularly in our day, interests literally every man and woman. We all know well that tremendous changes have taken place in the world.

Gone, indeed, are the days when it took weeks to cross the ocean from one continent to the other or when a trip from Europe to America, or from Asia to Africa, was an extremely complicated undertaking. By the scale of modern technology our planet is not very big; in this sense, it has even become somewhat congested. And if in our daily life it is a matter of considerable importance to establish normal relations with our neighbours in a densely inhabited settlement, this is so much the more necessary in the relations between states, especially states belonging to different social systems.

You may like your neighbour or dislike him. You are not obliged to be friends with him or visit him. But you

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* This article was written by Comrade N. S. Khrushchov at the request of the editors of the American journal, *Foreign Affairs*, and was published in that journal.—*Ed.*

live side by side, and what can you do if neither you nor he has any desire to quit the old home and move to another town? All the more so in relations between states. It would be unreasonable to assume that you can make it so hot for your undesirable neighbour that he will decide to move to Mars or Venus. And vice versa, of course.

What else can be done? There may be two ways out: either war—and war in the age of rocketry and H-bombs is fraught with the most dire consequences for all nations—or peaceful coexistence. Whether you like your neighbour or not, nothing can be done about it, you have to find some way of getting on with him, for we live on one planet.

But the very concept of peaceful coexistence, it is said, frightens certain people who have lost the habit of trusting their neighbours and who see a double bottom in every suitcase, by its alleged complexity. On hearing the word "coexistence", people of this kind begin to juggle about with it one way and another, sizing it up and applying various yardsticks to it—could it be a fraud? or a trap? Does coexistence, perhaps, signify a division of the world into areas separated by high fences, which do not communicate with each other at all? And what is going to happen behind those fences?

The more such questions are piled up artificially by the "cold war" warriors, the more difficult it is for the ordinary man to make head or tail of them. It would therefore be timely to divest the essence of this question of all superfluous elements and to attempt to look soberly at the most pressing problem of our day—the problem of peaceful coexistence.

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One need not delve deeply into history to appreciate how important it is for mankind to ensure peaceful co-

existence. And let it be said in passing that the Europeans might have benefited a great deal in their day if, instead of organising senseless crusades which invariably ended in failure, they had established peaceful relations with the differently-minded peoples of the Moslem East.

Let us turn to the facts of the relatively recent past when the watershed between states was no longer constituted of distinctions in religious creeds and customs, but of much deeper differences of principle in the choice of social systems. This new situation arose on the threshold of the 1920s when, to the booming of the guns of the Russian cruiser *Aurora* which had joined the insurrectionist workers and peasants, a new and unprecedented social system, a state of workers and peasants, came into the world.

Its appearance was met with the disgruntled outcries of those who naïvely believed the capitalist system to be eternal and immutable. Some even tried to strangle the unwanted infant in the cradle. Everybody knows how this ended—our people voted with arms in hand for Soviet power, and it came to stay. And even then, in 1920, replying to a question of the correspondent of the *New York Evening Journal* as to what basis there could be for peace between Soviet Russia and America, V. I. Lenin said: "Let the American capitalists not touch us. We won't touch them."

From its very inception the Soviet state proclaimed peaceful coexistence as the basic principle of its foreign policy. The fact that the very first political act of the Soviet state was the decree on peace, the decree on stopping the bloody war, is not to be considered an accident.

What is the policy of peaceful coexistence?

In its simplest expression it signifies the repudiation of war as a means of solving controversial issues. How-

ever, this does not by any means exhaust the concept of peaceful coexistence. Apart from commitment to non-aggression, it also presupposes an obligation on the part of all states to desist from violating each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty in any form and under any pretext whatsoever. The principle of peaceful coexistence signifies a renunciation of interference in the internal affairs of other countries with the object of altering their political system or mode of life, or for any other motives. The doctrine of peaceful coexistence also presupposes that political and economic relations between countries are to be based upon complete equality of the parties concerned, and upon mutual benefit.

It is quite often said in the West that peaceful coexistence is nothing but a tactical move of the socialist states. There is not a grain of truth in such allegations.

Our desire for peace and peaceful coexistence is not prompted by any time-serving or tactical considerations. It springs from the very nature of socialist society in which there are no classes or social groups interested in profiting by means of war or by seizing and enslaving foreign territories. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, thanks to their socialist system, have an unlimited home market and, for this reason, they have no need to pursue an expansionist policy of conquest and subordination of other countries to their influence.

It is the people who determine the destiny of the socialist countries. The socialist countries are ruled by the working people themselves—the workers and the peasants, the people who themselves create all the material and spiritual values of society. And working people cannot want war. For to them war spells grief and tears, death, devastation and misery. Ordinary people have no need for war.

Contrary to what certain propagandists hostile to us say, the coexistence of states with different social systems does not mean that they will only fence themselves off from one another by a high wall and undertake the mutual obligation not to throw stones over the wall and not to pour dirt upon each other. No, peaceful coexistence does not merely mean cohabiting side by side in the absence of war but with the constantly remaining threat of its breaking out in the future. *Peaceful coexistence can and should develop into peaceful competition in the best possible satisfaction of all man's needs.*

We say to the leaders of the capitalist states: Let us try out in practice whose system is better, let us compete without war. That is much better than competing in who produces more arms and who smashes whom. We stand, and always will stand, for such competition as will help to raise the well-being of the peoples to a higher level.

The principle of peaceful competition does not at all demand that a country abandon its accepted system and ideology. It goes without saying that the acceptance of this principle cannot lead to the immediate end of disputes and contradictions, which are inevitable between countries adhering to different social systems. But the main thing is ensured: the states which have decided to take the path of peaceful coexistence repudiate the use of force in any form and agree on the peaceful adjustment of possible disputes and conflicts with due regard for the mutual interests of the parties concerned. And in our age of H-bomb and atomic techniques this is the main thing of interest to every man.

Sceptical about the idea of peaceful competition, U.S. Vice-President R. Nixon, in his speech over the Soviet radio and television in August 1959, attempted to find a contradiction between the Soviet people's pro-

fessions of their readiness to coexist peacefully with the capitalist states and the slogans posted in the shops of our factories calling for higher labour productivity in order to ensure the speediest victory of communism.

This is not the first time we have heard representatives of the bourgeois countries reason in this manner. They say: The Soviet leaders maintain that they are for peaceful coexistence. At the same time they declare that they are fighting for communism, and go so far as to say that communism will be victorious in all countries. How can there be peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union if it fights for communism?

People who treat the question in this way mix things up, wilfully or not, by confusing the problems of ideological struggle with the question of relations between states. Those indulging in this sort of confusion are most probably guided by a desire to cast aspersions upon the Communists of the Soviet Union and to represent them as the advocates of aggressive actions. This, however, is very unwise.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union at its Twentieth Congress has made it perfectly clear and obvious that the allegations that the Soviet Union intends to overthrow capitalism in other countries by "exporting" revolution are absolutely groundless. I cannot refrain from reminding you of my words at the Twentieth Congress. They ran as follows: "It goes without saying that among us Communists there are no adherents of capitalism. But this does not mean at all that we have interfered or plan to interfere in the internal affairs of those countries where capitalism exists. Romain Rolland was right when he said that 'freedom is not brought in from abroad in baggage trains like the Bourbons'. It is ridiculous to think that revolutions are made to order."

We Communists believe that the idea of communism will ultimately triumph throughout the world, just as

it has triumphed in our country, in China, and in many other states. Many readers of *Foreign Affairs* will probably disagree with us. Perhaps they think that it is the idea of capitalism that will ultimately triumph. It is their right to think so. We may argue, we may disagree with one another. *The main thing is to keep to the sphere of ideological struggle, without resorting to arms in order to prove that one is right.* The point is that with military techniques what they are today, there are now no spots in the world that are out of reach. Should a world war break out, no country will be able to shut itself off in any way from a crushing blow.

We believe that ultimately that system will be victorious on the globe which will offer the nations greater opportunities for improving their material and spiritual life. It is socialism that creates unprecedentedly great prospects for the inexhaustible creative enthusiasm of the masses, for a genuine flourishing of science and culture, for the realisation of man's longing for a happy life, a life without destitute and unemployed people, for happy childhood and tranquil old age, for the realisation of the most audacious and ambitious human projects, for man's right to create in a truly free manner in the interests of the people.

But when we say that in the competition between the two systems, the capitalist and the socialist, our system will win, this does not signify by any means, of course, that we shall achieve victory by interfering in the internal affairs of the capitalist countries.

Our confidence in the victory of communism is of a different kind. It is based on a knowledge of the laws governing the development of society. Just as in its time capitalism, as the more progressive system, took the place of feudalism, so will capitalism be inevitably replaced by communism—the more progressive and more just social system. We are confident of the vic-

tory of the socialist system because it is more progressive than the capitalist system. Soviet power has been in existence for only a little more than 40 years, and during these years we have gone through two of the worst wars, repulsing the attacks of enemies who attempted to strangle us. In the United States capitalism has been in existence for more than a century and a half, and, moreover, the history of the United States has developed in such a way that its enemies have never once landed on American territory.

Yet the dynamics of the development of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. are such that the 42-year-old Land of the Soviets is already able to challenge the 150-year-old capitalist state to economic competition; furthermore, the most far-sighted American leaders are admitting that the Soviet Union is fast catching up with the United States and will ultimately outstrip it. Watching the progress of this competition, anyone can judge which is the better system, and we believe that in the long run all the peoples will embark on the path of struggle for the building of socialist society.

You disagree with us? Prove in practice that your system is superior and more efficacious, that it is capable of ensuring a higher degree of prosperity for the people than the socialist system, that under capitalism man can be happier than under socialism. It is impossible to prove this. I have no other explanation for the fact that talk of violently "rolling back" communism never ceases in the West. Not long ago the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives saw fit to pass a resolution calling for the "liberation" of the socialist countries allegedly enslaved by communism and, moreover, of a number of Union Republics constituting part of the Soviet Union. The authors of the resolution call for the "liberation" of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Geor-

gia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and even the "Ural Area".

I would not be telling the full truth if I did not say that the adoption of this ill-starred resolution was regarded by the Soviet people as an act of provocation. Personally, I agree with this appraisal.

It would be interesting to see, incidentally, how the authors of this resolution would react if the parliament of Mexico, for instance, were to pass a resolution demanding that Texas, Arizona and California be "liberated from American slavery"? Apparently they have never pondered such a question, which is very regrettable. Sometimes comparisons help to understand the essence of a matter.

Travelling through the Soviet Union, prominent American statesmen and public leaders have had every opportunity to convince themselves that there is no hope of sowing strife between Soviet people and the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, and of influencing them to rebel against communism. But how, then, are we to explain the unceasing attempts to revive the policy of "rolling back" communism? What do they have in mind? Armed intervention in the internal affairs of the socialist countries? But in the West as well as in the East people are fully aware that under the conditions of modern military techniques such actions are fraught with immediate and relentless retaliation.

So we come back to what we started with. In our day there are only two ways—peaceful coexistence or the most destructive war in history. There is no third way.

* * *

The problem of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems has become particularly pressing in view of the fact that after the Second

World War the development of relations between states has entered a new phase. Now we have approached a period in the life of mankind when there is a real chance of excluding war once and for all from the life of society.

How can this be done?

The new alignment of international forces which has developed since the Second World War offers ground for the assertion that a new world war is no longer fatally inevitable, that it can be averted.

First, today not only all the socialist states, but many countries in Asia and Africa which have embarked upon the road of independent national statehood, and many other states outside the aggressive military groupings, are actively fighting for peace.

Secondly, the peace policy enjoys the powerful support of the broad masses of people all over the world.

Thirdly, the peaceful socialist states are in possession of very potent material means, which cannot but have a deterring effect upon the aggressors.

Prior to the Second World War, the U.S.S.R. was the only socialist country, with only about 17 per cent of the area, about 9 per cent of the population, and about 10 per cent of the output of the world. At present, the socialist countries cover about one-fourth of the area of the globe inhabited by one-third of the world population, and their industrial output accounts for about one-third of the world output.

This is precisely the explanation of the indisputable fact that throughout the recent years, seats of war arising now in one and now in another part of the globe—in the Middle East and in Europe, in the Far East and in South-East Asia—were nipped in the bud.

And what lies ahead?

As a result of the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan of Economic Development of the

U.S.S.R., and of the plans of the other socialist countries of Europe and Asia, the countries of the socialist system will account for somewhat more than half of the world output. Their economic power will grow immeasurably, and this will serve to an even greater extent to consolidate world peace: the material might and moral influence of the peace-loving states will be so great that any bellicose militarist will have to think ten times before risking war. It is the good fortune of mankind that there has emerged a community of socialist states which are not interested in new wars, because to build socialism and communism the socialist countries need peace. Today the community of socialist countries which has sprung up on the basis of complete equality holds such a position in the development of all branches of economy, science and culture as to be able to exert an influence towards preventing the outbreak of new world wars.

Hence, we are already in a practical sense near to that stage in the life of humanity when nothing will prevent people from devoting themselves wholly to peaceful labour, when war will be wholly excluded from the life of society.

But if we say that there is no fatal inevitability of war at present, this by no means signifies that we can rest on our laurels, fold our arms and bask in the sun in the hope that an end has been put to wars once and for all. Those in the West who believe that war is to their benefit have not yet abandoned their schemes. They control considerable material forces, military and political levers, and there is no guarantee that some tragic day they will not attempt to set them in motion. All the more necessary is it to continue an active struggle in order that the policy of peaceful coexistence may triumph throughout the world not in words but in deeds.

Of much importance, of course, is the fact that this policy has in our day won not only the widest moral approval but also international legal recognition. The countries of the socialist camp in their relations with the capitalist states are guided precisely by this policy. The principles of peaceful coexistence are reflected in the decisions of the Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries. Furthermore, many countries of Europe, Asia and Africa have solemnly proclaimed this principle as the basis of their foreign policy. Lastly, the idea of peaceful coexistence was unanimously supported in the decisions of the twelfth and thirteenth sessions of the United Nations General Assembly.

In our view, peaceful coexistence can become lasting only if the good declarations in favour of peace are supported by active measures on the part of the governments and peoples of all countries. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it has already done a good deal in this respect, and I am able to share some experiences with you.

As far back as March 12, 1951, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. adopted a "Law on the Defence of Peace", stating:

"1) Propaganda of war, in whatever form it may be conducted, undermines the cause of peace, creates the menace of a new war and therefore constitutes a grave crime against humanity.

"2) Persons guilty of the propaganda of war shall be brought to court and tried as heinous criminals."

Further, the Soviet Union has in recent years unilaterally reduced its Armed Forces by more than 2,000,000 men. The funds released as a result have been used to develop the economy and further improve the living and cultural standards of the Soviet people.

The Soviet Union has shut down its bases on the territories of other states.

The Soviet Union unilaterally discontinued tests of atomic weapons and refrained from conducting them until it became utterly clear that the Western Powers refused to follow our example and were continuing the explosions.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly submitted detailed and perfectly realistic proposals for disarmament, meeting the positions of the Western Powers half-way. But to solve the disarmament problem it is necessary for our Western partners to agree and to show a desire to meet us halfway too. This is just what was lacking.

When it became clear that it was very difficult under these conditions to solve the complex disarmament problem immediately, we proposed another concrete idea to our partners: Let us concentrate our attention on those problems which lend themselves most easily to a solution; let us undertake initial, partial steps on which the views of the parties concerned have been brought closer together.

It is perfectly clear that today the discontinuation of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests is foremost among these questions. Some progress has been achieved in this matter, and this justifies the hope that an agreement on the discontinuation of nuclear weapons tests will shortly be reached. Implementation of this measure will, of course, be an important step towards solving the disarmament problem and the banning of nuclear weapons in general.

Attributing much importance to contacts and intercourse between statesmen of all countries, the Soviet Government a few years ago proposed that an East-West Heads of Government Conference be convened in order to come to terms—taking into account present-day realities and guided by the spirit of mutual understanding—on concrete measures, the realisation of which would help to relax international tension.

We proposed that this conference consider those international questions for the settlement of which realistic prerequisites already existed. As a first step toward such a settlement, we proposed to the Powers concerned that a peace treaty be concluded with Germany and that West Berlin be granted the status of a demilitarised free city. I want to emphasise particularly that we were guided primarily by the desire to write *finis* to the survivals of the Second World War.

We regard the elimination of the survivals of the Second World War and the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German states—the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic—as the question of questions.

Indeed, 14 years have already passed since the war ended, but the German people are still without a peace treaty. The delay of a peace settlement with Germany has afforded wide scope for the activities of the West-German militarists and revanchists. They have already proclaimed their aggressive plans; for instance, they are laying claim to lands in Poland and Czechoslovakia. Of course, the German revanchists are thinking not only of a march to the East; they also know the way to the West. In the Second World War, history tells us, the Hitlerites occupied Western Europe before turning against the Soviet Union.

But will the direction in which the present-day German revenge-seekers choose to strike first make things any easier for the European peoples in the event of a general war breaking out in Europe? The lessons of history must not be ignored. That often ends in tragedy.

Some say: The Soviet people are unduly sensitive. Can one assume that West Germany is now in a position to precipitate another world war?

Those who put the question thus forget that West Germany is at present acting in the world arena within

the military North-Atlantic bloc and not alone. She plays a leading role in this bloc. More than that, life has shown that the North-Atlantic Alliance is being gradually converted into an instrument of the German militarists, which makes it easier for them to carry out aggressive plans. It is not at all out of the question, therefore, that West Germany, taking advantage of her position in the North-Atlantic Alliance, may provoke hostilities in order to draw her allies into them and plunge the whole world into the chasm of a devastating war.

All this indicates how timely and realistic are the proposals of the Soviet Government for the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and for bringing the situation in West Berlin back to normal.

And yet, some of the Western opponents of the Soviet proposals say that if the Soviet Union really stands for peaceful coexistence it should even be asked to commit itself to the preservation of the existing status quo. Others argue that if the Western Powers agree to conclude a peace treaty with the two German states that would amount to a retreat on their part, and the Soviet Union should make some compensation for this "retreat".

There are no grounds whatever for these assertions, in our opinion. It is a matter of doing away with the survivals of the Second World War and of concluding a peace treaty. And any possibility of someone gaining and someone losing, of someone acquiring and of someone making concessions, is out of the question here. All the parties concerned acquire a stronger foundation in the shape of a peace treaty for the maintenance of peace in Europe and throughout the world. Does this not accord with the interests of all the peoples?

At times, and of late especially, some Western spokesmen have gone so far as to allege that doing

away with the survivals of the Second World War is a step which would intensify rather than ease international tension. It is hard to believe that allegations of this kind have been made without ulterior motives, when attempts are being made to present the policy of the U.S.S.R., which is intended to secure a lasting and stable peace, in a distorted light by alleging that it all but leads to war.

It seems to us that the Soviet position on the German question corresponds most of all to reality.

Now, it seems, no sober-minded leader in the West is inclined any longer to advance the unrealistic demand for the so-called reunification of Germany before the conclusion of a peace treaty, since more and more political leaders are coming to understand that reunification in the conditions now obtaining is a process which depends upon the Germans themselves and not upon any outside interference. We should proceed from the obvious fact that two German states exist and that the Germans themselves must decide how they want to live. Inasmuch as these two states, the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic, do exist, the peace treaty should be concluded with them, because any further procrastination and postponement of this exceptionally important act not only sustains the abnormal situation in Europe but also leads to its further deterioration.

As for Germany's unity, I am convinced that Germany will be united sooner or later. However, before this moment comes—for no one can foretell when it will come—no attempts should be made to interfere from outside in this internal process, to sustain the state of war which is fraught with many grave dangers and surprises for peace in Europe and throughout the world. The desire to preserve the peace and to prevent another war should outweigh all other considerations

of statesmen, irrespective of their mode of thinking. The Gordian knot must be cut: the peace treaty must be achieved if we do not want to play with fire, with the destinies of millions upon millions of people.

In this connection we cannot but also mention the question of West Berlin. It is commonly known that the German revanchists have made West Berlin the base for their constant espionage and subversive activities directed towards provoking war. We resolutely reject all attempts to ascribe to the Soviet Union the intention of seizing West Berlin and infringing upon the right of the population in that part of the city to preserve its present way of life. On the contrary, in demanding the normalisation of the situation in West Berlin, we have proposed that it be converted into a free city and that the preservation there of the way of life and of the social order which suits the West Berlin inhabitants, be guaranteed by ourselves jointly with the Western countries. This shows that the attitude of the Government of the Soviet Union and that of the Western Governments, judging by their statements, coincide on this question. They, and we too, stand for the independence of West Berlin and for the preservation there of the existing way of life.

It is, therefore, only necessary to overcome the difficulties born of the "cold war" in order to find the way to an agreement on West Berlin and on the wider question of concluding a peace treaty with the two German states. This is the way to promote an easing of international tension and further peaceful coexistence. It would strengthen confidence between states and assist in the gradual removal of unfriendliness and suspicion in international relations.

Implementation of the Soviet proposals would not injure the interests of the Western Powers and would not give one-sided advantages to anybody. At the

same time, a settlement of the German question would prevent a dangerous development of events in Europe, eliminate one of the main causes of international tension and create favourable prospects for an adjustment of other international issues.

The proposals of the Soviet Union were discussed at the Foreign Ministers Conference in Geneva. The Ministers did not succeed in reaching an agreement, but the Geneva Conference did accomplish a great deal of useful work. The positions of the two sides were definitely brought closer together and the possibility of an agreement on some questions has become apparent.

At the same time, we still have substantial differences on a number of questions. I am deeply convinced that they are not fundamental differences, not differences on which agreement is impossible. If we still have differences and have not reached agreement on a number of important questions, it is—as we believe with adequate grounds—a result of the concessions which are being made by the Western Powers to Chancellor Adenauer, who is pursuing a militarist policy, the policy of the German revanchists. This is a case of the United States, Britain and France dangerously abetting Chancellor Adenauer. It would be far better if the NATO allies of West Germany persuaded Chancellor Adenauer, in the interests of the maintenance of peace, that his policy imperils the cause of peace and that it may ultimately end in irreparable disaster for West Germany.

All this emphasises again that the representatives of the states concerned must do still more work in order to arrive at mutually acceptable solutions.

I believe that my forthcoming trip to the United States in September and the subsequent visit of U.S. President Eisenhower to the Soviet Union will afford the possibility for a useful exchange of opinions, for

finding a common tongue and a common understanding of the questions that have to be settled.

* * *

We are thus prepared, now as before, to do everything we possibly can in order that the relations between the Soviet Union and other countries, and, in particular, the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., should rest upon a foundation of friendship and that they should fully correspond to the principles of peaceful coexistence.

I should like to repeat what I said at a recent press conference in Moscow: "If Soviet-American relations become brighter, that will not fail to bring about an improvement in the relations with other states and will help to scatter the gloomy clouds in other parts of the globe as well. Naturally, we want friendship not only with the U.S.A., but also with the friends of the U.S.A. At the same time, we want the U.S.A. to have good relations not only with us, but with our friends as well."

What is still needed to make the principles of peaceful coexistence an unshakable international standard and daily practice in the relations between the West and East?

Of course, different answers may be given to this question. But to be quite frank, the following still has to be said: *Everybody should understand the irrevocable fact that the historic process is irreversible.* It is impossible to bring back yesterday. It is time to understand that the world of the twentieth century is not the world of the nineteenth century, that two diametrically opposite social and economic systems exist side by side in the world today, and that the socialist system, in spite of all the attacks upon it, has grown so strong,

has developed into such a force, as to make any return to the past impossible.

Real facts of life in the last ten years have shown convincingly that the policy of "rolling back" communism can do no more than poison the international atmosphere, heighten the tension between states and work in favour of the "cold war". Neither its inspirers nor those who conduct it can turn back the course of history and restore capitalism in the socialist countries.

We have always considered the Americans realistic people. All the more are we astonished to find that U.S. leaders still number in their midst individuals who stick to the policy of "rolling back" communism despite its obvious failure. But is it not high time to take a sober view of things and to draw conclusions from the lessons of the last 15 years? Is it not yet clear to everybody that consistent adherence to the policy of peaceful coexistence would make it possible to improve the international situation, to bring about a drastic cut in military expenditures and to release vast material resources for more sensible purposes?

The well-known British scientist, J. Bernal, recently cited figures to show that average annual expenditures for military purposes throughout the world between 1950 and 1957 amount to the huge sum of about $90,000 million. How many factories, houses, schools, hospitals and libraries could have been built everywhere with the funds now spent on the preparation of another war! And how rapid could be the economic progress of the underdeveloped countries if we converted to these purposes at least some of the means which are now being spent on war purposes....

* * *

One cannot help seeing that the policy of peaceful coexistence acquires a firm foundation only in the event

of extensive and absolutely unrestricted international trade. It may be said without exaggeration that there is no good basis for improving relations between our countries other than the development of international trade.

If the principle of peaceful coexistence of states is to be adhered to not in words, but in deeds, it is perfectly obvious that no ideological differences should be an obstacle to the development and extension of mutually advantageous economic contacts, to the exchange of everything produced by human genius in the sphere of peaceful branches of material production.

In this connection it may be recalled that soon after the birth of the Soviet state, back in the early 1920s, the Western countries, proceeding from considerations of economic interest, agreed to establish trade relations with our country despite the acutest ideological differences. Since then, excepting comparatively short periods, trade between the Soviet Union and capitalist states has kept on developing steadily. No ideological differences have prevented, for instance, a considerable extention of trade relations between the Soviet Union and Britain and other Western states in recent years.

We make no secret of our desire to establish normal commercial and business contacts without any restrictions, without any discriminations, with the United States as well.

In June of last year the Soviet Government addressed itself to the Government of the United States with the proposal to develop economic and trade contacts between our two countries. We suggested an extensive and concrete programme of developing Soviet-American trade on a mutually advantageous basis. The adoption of our proposals would undoubtedly accord with the interests of both countries and their peoples. However, these proposals have not shown the desired development so far.

In striving to normalise trade relations with the United States, the Soviet Union does not pursue any special interests. In our economic development we rely wholly on the internal forces of our country, on our own resources and possibilities. All our plans for further economic development are drawn up on the basis of our available possibilities. Just as in the past, we base these plans only on our own possibilities and forces. Irrespective of whether or not we shall trade with Western countries, the United States included, the implementation of our economic plans of peaceful construction will not in the least be delayed.

However, if we both want to improve relations between the countries, all barriers in international trade must be removed. Those who want peaceful coexistence cannot but favour the development of commercial, economic and business contacts. Only on this basis can international affairs develop normally.

Peaceful coexistence is the only way which is in keeping with the interests of all nations. To reject it would under existing conditions mean to doom the whole world to a terrible and destructive war, whereas it is quite possible to avoid it.

Can it be that mankind, which has advanced to a plane where it has proved capable of the greatest discoveries and has made its first steps into outer space, should not be able to use the colossal achievements of its genius for the establishment of a stable peace, for the good of man, rather than for the preparation of another war and for the destruction of all that has been created by his labour over many millenniums? Reason refuses to believe this. It protests.

Soviet people have stated, and declare again, that they do not want war. If the Soviet Union and the countries friendly to it are not attacked, we shall never use any weapons either against the United States or against

any other countries. We do not want any horrors of war, destruction, suffering and death for ourselves or for any other peoples. We say this not because we fear anyone. Together with our friends, we are united and stronger than ever. But precisely because of that do we say that war can and should be prevented. Precisely because we want to rid mankind of war, do we urge the Western Powers to peaceful and noble competition. We say to all: Let us prove to each other the advantages of one's own system not with fists, not by war, but by peaceful economic competition in conditions of peaceful coexistence.

As for the social system in a country, that is the domestic affair of its people. We have always stood, and stand today, for non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. We have always abided, and shall abide, by this standpoint. The question, for example, of what system shall exist in the United States or in other capitalist countries cannot be decided by other peoples or states. This question can and will be decided only by the American people themselves, only by the people of each country.

The existence of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries is a real fact. It is also a real fact that the United States of America and the other capitalist countries live in different social conditions, in the conditions of capitalism. Then let us recognise this real situation and proceed from it in order not to go against reality, against life itself. Let us not try to change this situation by interference from without, by means of war on the part of some states against other states.

I repeat, there is only one road to peace, one way out of the existing tension—peaceful coexistence.

SPEECH AT THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

September 18, 1959

Mr. President,
Esteemed Delegates,

My visit to the United States at the invitation of the President, Mr. Dwight Eisenhower, has coincided with the beginning of the United Nations General Assembly session. Permit me, first of all, to express my sincere thanks to the Assembly delegates and to the Secretary-General for this opportunity to speak from the lofty rostrum of the United Nations. I appreciate this honour all the more because the Soviet Union is today submitting to the General Assembly highly important proposals on the most burning issue agitating the peoples—the disarmament problem.

History knows no other international organisation in which the peoples reposed such hopes as in the United Nations. Born in the grim days when the noise of the last battles of the Second World War had not yet died away and when the ruins of devastated towns and villages were still smoking, the United Nations, expressing the thoughts and aspirations of millions upon millions of tormented people, proclaimed it to be its main purpose to deliver succeeding generations from the scourge of war. Today the United Nations embraces more than eighty states. Its ranks have been joined by many of

the states which, in the past war, were in the camp hostile to those who had laid the foundations of this Organisation.

More than fourteen years have elapsed since this international forum was created. But the purpose for which the Organisation was founded has not yet been achieved. The peoples still live in constant anxiety about peace, about their future. And how can they not feel this anxiety-when, now in one part of the world, now in another, military conflicts flare up and human blood is shed? The clouds of a new war danger, at times thickening into storm clouds, lour over a world which has not yet forgotten the horrors of the Second World War.

The tension in international relations cannot continue for ever: either it will reach a point where there can be only one outcome—war—or, by their joint efforts, the states will succeed in ending this tension before it is too late. The peoples expect the United Nations to redouble its efforts towards creating an atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding among the states and consolidating world peace.

In international affairs, in solving controversial problems, success is possible provided the states concentrate not on what divides the present-day world, but on what brings states closer together. No social or political dissimilarities, no differences in ideology or religious beliefs must prevent the member states of the United Nations from reaching agreement on the main thing: that the principles of peaceful coexistence and friendly co-operation be sacredly and unswervingly observed by all states. If, on the other hand, differences and social dissimilarities are pushed to the fore, it is bound to doom all our efforts to preserve peace. In the twentieth century one cannot undertake crusades to wipe out unbelievers with fire and sword, as the fanatics of the

Middle Ages did, without running the risk of confronting humanity with the greatest calamity in its history.

The United Nations Organisation is itself an embodiment of the idea of peaceful co-operation between states with different social and political systems. Indeed, see how many states belonging to different social systems, what a multitude of races and nationalities, what a diversity of philosophies and cultures are represented in this hall!

But since the states differ in their evaluations of controversial issues, since there are divergent views on the causes of the present international tension, we have to face the fact that the elimination of disagreements will require persistent effort, patience and statesmanship on the part of the governments. The time has come for the efforts of the United Nations in strengthening peace to be supplemented by the efforts of the heads of government of all states, by the efforts of the broad masses of the people, who stand for peace and international security. Everything goes to show that the time has come to open a period of international negotiations, conferences and meetings of statesmen in order to solve the pressing international problems one after another.

For the principles of peaceful coexistence to become undividedly established in the relations between states, it is necessary, in our opinion, to put an end to the "cold war". The peoples cannot allow the unnatural state of "cold war" to continue any longer, as they cannot allow epidemics of plague and cholera.

What does ending the "cold war" mean and what must be done to accomplish it?

First of all, an end must be put to calls for war. There is no getting away from the fact that bellicose speeches continue to be made even by some short-sighted statesmen. Is it not time to put a stop to sabre-rattling and threats against other states?

The "cold war" is doubly dangerous because it is attended by an unbridled armaments race, which, growing like an avalanche, is increasing suspicion and distrust among states.

Nor must it be forgotten that the "cold war" began and is proceeding at a time when the aftermath of the Second World War has by no means been eliminated yet, when a peace treaty with Germany has not yet been concluded and an occupation regime is still maintained in the heart of Germany, in Berlin, on the territory of its Western sectors. The elimination of this source of tension in the centre of Europe, in the potentially most dangerous area of the globe, where large armed forces of the opposing military alignments are stationed in close contiguity, would furnish the key to normalising the climate in the world. We appeal to the Governments of the United States, Britain and France to exert every effort to reach agreement on real steps to achieve this.

Who can deny that in ending the "cold war" and normalising the international climate great importance attaches to developing, in every way, contacts between the peoples? We are for extending the practice of mutual visits by statesmen, and also by representatives of political, business and public circles, for developing international economic, cultural, scientific and technical co-operation.

I should like to say that the United Nations will fulfil its noble mission far more successfully if it is able to rid itself of the elements of "cold war" which often handicap its activities. Isn't it the "cold war" that has produced the intolerable situation where the Chinese People's Republic, one of the biggest powers in the world, has for many years now been denied its lawful rights in the United Nations?

It is inconceivable, after all, that anyone could seriously think that a dependable and lasting solution of major world problems can be achieved without the participation of the great People's China, now approaching its glorious tenth anniversary.

Permit me to voice the following thoughts on this subject in all frankness. Everyone knows that when a person dies he is eventually buried. No matter how dear the deceased, no matter how it hurts to part with him, life compels everyone to face up to realities: a coffin or a tomb is made for the dead man and he is taken out of the house of the living. So it was in ancient times, and so it is today. Why then must China be represented in the United Nations by the corpse of reactionary China, that is, by the Chiang Kai-shek clique? We consider that it is high time for the United Nations to deal with a corpse as all peoples do, that is, carry it out, so that a real representative of the Chinese people may take his rightful seat in the United Nations. (*Applause.*)

After all, China is not Taiwan. Taiwan is only a small island, a province, that is, a small part of a great state, China. China is the Chinese People's Republic, which has for ten years now been developing rapidly, which has a stable government recognised by the entire Chinese people, and legislative bodies elected by the entire people of China. China is a great state whose capital is Peking. Sooner or later Taiwan, as an inalienable part of the sovereign Chinese state, will be united with the whole of People's China, that is, the authority of the Government of the People's Republic of China will be extended to this island. And the sooner it is done, the better.

The restoration of the lawful rights of People's China will not only enormously enhance the prestige and authority of the United Nations, but will also be a no-

table contribution to improving the international climate generally.

I should like to hope that the United Nations will find the strength to get rid of all "cold war" accretions and become a really universal organ of international co-operation working effectively for world peace.

It may, however, be asked: abolition of the "cold war", consolidation of peace, and the peaceful coexistence of states is, of course, a supremely noble and attractive goal, but is it attainable, is it realistic? Can we already at this time, in present-day conditions, place the relations between states on a new basis?

From this rostrum I emphatically declare that the Soviet Government considers the achievement of this goal not only urgent, but also entirely realistic. The Soviet Union is convinced that the necessary conditions are now in evidence for a radical change for the better in international relations, for the *complete* abolition of the "cold war" in the interests of the whole of humanity.

Let us consider, if only briefly, the most important of the events of recent months bearing on the problem of reducing international tension.

The convocation in May 1959 of the Geneva Foreign Ministers Conference, in which plenipotentiary representatives of the two German states for the first time took part, was in itself the expression of a new spirit in international relations, the spirit of realism and mutual understanding. The results achieved in Geneva are, of course, not yet such as could be considered sufficient for the practical solution of pressing international problems. But it is already something that the detailed and frank discussion of the problems on the Geneva conference agenda made it possible, as noted in the final communiqué of the conference, to bring the positions of the sides on a number of points closer together. In this way not a bad foundation was laid for further ne-

gotiations which can lead to agreement on the questions that remain outstanding.

It is especially heartening that important steps have been taken to develop Soviet-American relations. No one is likely to doubt that the evolution of the international situation as a whole depends in no small measure on how relations develop between the United States and the Soviet Union, the two strongest powers in the world. That is why even those first shoots of something new which have appeared in Soviet-American relations of late meet with the most heartfelt approval all over the world. The ice in Soviet-American relations has undoubtedly begun to break, and of this we are sincerely glad.

Among the events making for improvement in Soviet-American relations, the exchange of visits between the Heads of Government of the U.S.S.R. and the United States could prove a turning point. We have had, and will continue, an exchange of opinions with the President of the United States on problems of Soviet-American relations and on pressing international problems. We believe that Mr. Eisenhower wishes to contribute to removing the tension in relations between states.

At one of his news conferences the President of the United States expressed a readiness to negotiate realistically with the Soviet Union on a reasonable and mutually guaranteed plan for general disarmament or disarmament in the field of special types of weapons, to make a real beginning toward solving the problems of the divided Germany, and to help in otherwise reducing tension in the world. Permit me to express the hope that our exchange of views with President Eisenhower will be fruitful.

We belong to those who hope that the exchange of visits between the leading statesmen of the United

States and the U.S.S.R. and the forthcoming meetings and conversations will help to pave a straight way to the complete ending of the "cold war", provided, of course, there is a mutual desire to achieve that. That is how we regard our visit to the United States and the coming visit of President Eisenhower to the Soviet Union.

Many other facts could also be adduced which exemplify the new favourable trends in world affairs.

Signs that relations between states are becoming warmer are not, of course, a result of chance favourable circumstances.

The world, we think, is really entering a new phase of international relations. The grim years of the "cold war" could not fail to leave a mark on everyone. The ordinary people and political leaders in many different countries have done much thinking and have learned much. Everywhere the forces actively supporting peace and friendly relations between the nations have grown immeasurably.

It would, of course, be unjustified optimism to assert that the atmosphere of distrust and suspicion in the relations between states is already a thing of the past, that peace in the world is already secure, and that there is no need of further persistent efforts by all the states. Unfortunately, that is as yet by no means the case. Circles which obstruct a relaxation of international tension and sow the seeds of new conflicts are still active and influential in many countries. These people uphold the old, moribund state of affairs, they cling to the legacy of the "cold war".

But the course of events, especially of late, shows that attempts to hinder relaxation of international tension, to put spokes in the wheel, can only lead to the discomfiture of those who persist in such attempts, for the peoples will not support them.

We live at a time when mankind is marching ahead with giant strides, and we are witnessing not only the rapid development of industry, science and engineering, but also rapid changes in the political appearance of large areas of the world. Once backward peoples are coming free of colonial dependence and new independent states are arising in the place of former colonies and semi-colonies. Permit me to extend warm greetings from the bottom of my heart to the representatives of those states present in this hall. (*Applause.*)

At the same time it has to be owned that not all peoples who have a right to be represented in the United Nations have their representatives here as yet. The Soviet Union, like all freedom-loving nations, warmly wishes success to the peoples who still live in colonial dependence but who are fighting resolutely for their national liberation from the colonial yoke.

The last strongholds of the obsolete colonial system are crumbling, and crumbling badly, and this is one of the salient factors of our time. Take a look at the map of Asia and Africa and you will see hundreds of millions of people who have freed themselves of centuries-old oppression by foreigners, of foreign exploitation.

Coming generations will highly appreciate the heroism of those who led the struggle for the independence of India and Indonesia, the United Arab Republic and Iraq, Ghana, Guinea and other states, just as the people of the United States today revere the memory of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, who led the American people in their struggle for independence.

I deem it necessary to say here, from the rostrum of the United Nations, that the Soviet Union has the sincerest sympathy and the profoundest understanding for all peoples who, on different continents, are upholding their freedom and national independence. It is my opin-

ion that this position of ours fully accords with the principles of the United Nations Charter, which is predicated on recognition of the right of the peoples to a free and independent existence and development.

Who if not the United Nations should be the first to give a helping hand to peoples liberating themselves to ensure their inalienable right to be masters of their own destiny and to shape their life without any pressure or encroachments from without? And is it not the duty of the United Nations to contribute to the utmost to the economic advancement of the new states rising from the ruins of the colonial system, to help them speedily build up their national economies? This can only be achieved by the provision of large-scale economic assistance without any political or other strings attached. And that is the position taken by the Soviet Union on the question of economic aid, which we are rendering and intend to render in future to many countries. This position, we feel, fully accords with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The Soviet Union would also be prepared to join with other powers in rendering economic assistance to the underdeveloped countries, as they are called, by using part of the resources that would be made available in the Soviet Union and other countries through conclusion of an international agreement on disarmament and reduction of military budgets. We have earlier stated our readiness to assume such an undertaking, and I am empowered by my Government to reaffirm it from the rostrum of the General Assembly.

There is another highly important source which, in our opinion, should be drawn upon extensively to provide assistance to economically underdeveloped countries. The peoples of many of these countries have won political independence, but they are still cruelly ex-

ploited by foreigners economically. Their oil and other natural wealth is plundered, it is taken out of the country for next to nothing, yielding huge profits to foreign exploiters.

In common with the representatives of many other states, we consider that in the question of economic aid one cannot put on a par those who do not take part in the exploitation of former colonial countries, and never did, and those who continue without any scruples to squeeze wealth out of the underdeveloped countries. It would be right and just for the foreign exploiters to return at least part of the riches they have amassed by exploiting the oppressed peoples, so that these funds, returned in the form of aid to the underdeveloped countries, could be used for the development of their economy and culture, for raising the living standards of their peoples.

The Soviet Union has been rendering and will continue to render genuine, disinterested assistance to the underdeveloped countries. Rest assured of that.

What preposterous survivals are in these days the various artificial obstacles to the full-blooded, all-round development of international trade! The entire system of discrimination in trade has long deserved to be buried, and without any honours.

As you know, the Soviet Union has consistently advocated maximum development of international trade on a basis of equality and mutual benefit. It is our deep conviction that trade provides a good basis for developing peaceful co-operation among states, for strengthening mutual confidence among the nations. We consider that this position accords completely with the United Nations Charter, which obligates all member states to develop friendly relations among nations on the basis of respect for the principle of equality and self-determination of the peoples.

We are all faced with many outstanding international problems. Not all of them are equally important or urgent. Some of them concern the relations between individual countries, others affect the interests of the peoples of a number of countries and continents. But there is one problem whose solution is awaited with hope by the people of all countries, big and small, whatever their social system and way of life—*the problem of disarmament.* Whether mankind will head towards war with its disastrous consequences or whether the cause of peace will prevail depends largely on whether or not the correct solution is found to that problem. The peoples long for peace, they want to live without fear for their future, without fear of losing their loved ones in the flames of another war.

For centuries the peoples have dreamed of getting rid of the destructive weapons of war. The demand for disarmament has been advanced and pressed by humanity's finest minds, the greatest public leaders and statesmen, the parties closest to the working people. But instead of disarmament the world has for many decades now been convulsed by the armaments fever.

Who can honestly say that the arms race has helped to solve a single, even the simplest international problem? On the contrary, it only complicates and tangles the solution of all issues in dispute.

Never before in the history of mankind has armament building proceeded at such a pace and with such dangers involved as today, in the age of the atom, electronics and the conquest of outer space.

Only recently rapid-fire automatic weapons, tanks, long-range artillery and aerial bombs were regarded as the most terrible, the most powerful instruments of annihilation. But can they stand any comparison with the weapons available today? We have reached a stage where it would be difficult to devise a weapon more

powerful than the hydrogen bomb, whose potential is practically unlimited. If all the instruments of destruction mankind has possessed in the past were put together, they would amount in power to only an insignificant fraction of what the two or three Great Powers possessing nuclear weapons have at their disposal today.

I shall not be disclosing any great secret when I say that the explosion of one—only one—big hydrogen bomb releases a tremendous energy of destruction. Recently I read some remarks by the American nuclear physicist William C. Davidon, stating that the explosion of one hydrogen bomb releases more energy than all the explosions effected by all countries in all the wars in the history of mankind. And, by all the indications, he is right. Can one disregard the fact that the destructive power of the weapons of war has reached such colossal proportions? And can one forget that there is not a spot on the globe today that nuclear and rocket weapons cannot reach?

It is hard to imagine the consequences for mankind of a war with the use of these monstrous instruments of destruction and annihilation. If it were allowed to break out, its toll would run not into millions, but into tens and even hundreds of millions of human lives. It would be a war that would know no distinction between front and rear, between combatants and children. Many large cities and industrial centres would be reduced to ruins, and great monuments of culture, created by the efforts of man's genius over centuries, would be lost irretrievably. Nor would this war spare future generations. Its poisonous trail in the form of radioactive contamination would long continue to cripple people and claim many lives.

The position in the world today is a dangerous one. Various military alliances are in existence and the arms

race never stops for a moment. So much inflammable material has accumulated that a single spark could touch off a catastrophe. The world has reached a point where war could become a fact owing to some stupid accident, such as a technical fault in a plane carrying a hydrogen bomb or a mental aberration in the pilot behind the controls.

It is well known, moreover, that the arms race is already a heavy burden on the peoples. It is causing rising prices on consumer goods, depressing real wages, harmfully affecting the economy of many states, disrupting international trade. Never before have so many states, such masses of people, been drawn into war preparations as at present. If we consider, in addition to the military, the number of people directly or indirectly connected with the production of arms and involved in various military research, we shall find that over 100 million people—and, moreover, the most capable and energetic workers, scientists, engineers—have been taken from the labours of peace. A vast fund of human energy, knowledge, ingenuity, skill is being poured as into a bottomless pit, consumed by the growing armaments.

The annual military expenditures of all states today total approximately $100,000 million. Is it not time to call a halt to this insensate squandering of the people's means and the people's energies for the preparation of war and destruction?

The Soviet Government, guided as it is in its foreign policy by the principle of peaceful coexistence, stands for peace and friendship between all nations. The aim of our home policy—its one aim—is to create a life worthy of the best ideals of mankind. Our Seven-Year Plan is pervaded with the spirit of peaceableness, with concern for the welfare and happiness of the people. The aim of our foreign policy—its one and invariable

aim—is to prevent war, to ensure peace and security to our country and to all countries.

Some Western leaders expected that the "cold war" would sap the material resources of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, would undermine their economy. But their calculations have been wrong. Even though it has to bear a certain armaments burden, the Soviet Union is able to ensure the rapid development of its economy and the ever fuller satisfaction of the growing requirements of its people. Of course, the people's material requirements would be more amply met if the arms burden were removed.

The Soviet Union is a resolute and consistent champion of disarmament. In our state there are no classes or groups interested in war and armament building, in the conquest of foreign territories. Everyone will agree that to accomplish the great tasks we have set ourselves in the improvement of the well-being of the Soviet people and the fulfilment of our economic construction plans, we need peace. In common with the other states which cherish peace, we would like to gear all our economy and resources to peaceful purposes, in order to provide our people in abundance with food, clothing, housing, etc. With the arms race going on, however, we cannot undividedly devote our efforts to peaceful construction without endangering the vital interests of our people, the interests of the country's security.

All peoples need peace. Following the conclusion of the Second World War, the Soviet Union submitted concrete disarmament proposals to the United Nations. We proposed the complete prohibition of atomic weapons, a substantial reduction of armed forces and armaments, and a steep cut in arms expenditures. We urged the dismantling of military bases on foreign ter-

ritory and the withdrawal of armed forces from foreign territories.

We have proved our desire to solve the disarmament problem by deeds, and not just words. Time and again the Soviet Union has taken the initiative and undertaken concrete steps towards ending the arms race and getting down with all speed to practical disarmament measures. Immediately after the end of the war, our country carried out an extensive demobilisation of its armed forces. The Soviet Union has given up all the military bases it had after the Second World War on the territory of other states.

You will recall that in the past few years the Soviet Armed Forces have been reduced, unilaterally, by a total of over two million men. The Soviet forces in the German Democratic Republic have been reduced considerably, and all Soviet troops have been withdrawn from the Rumanian People's Republic. We have also made a substantial cut in our military expenditure.

In 1958, the Soviet Union unilaterally suspended tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons in the hope that the other powers would follow this noble example. It is only to be regretted that these hopes were not justified. Now the Soviet Government has decided not to resume nuclear explosions in the Soviet Union if the Western Powers do not resume atomic and hydrogen weapons tests. Only if they resume tests of nuclear weapons will the Soviet Union consider itself free of this commitment.

The disarmament problem has been under discussion for over fourteen years now in the United Nations and at other international meetings, but no practical results have yet been achieved. What is the reason? I should not like to rake over the past, to go into an analysis of the obstacles and differences that arose in the course

of the disarmament talks, much less to bring accusations against anyone. That is not the important thing now. The important thing, we are profoundly convinced, is to remove the main roadblocks obstructing disarmament, to try to find a new approach to the solution of the problem.

The record of the disarmament talks shows plainly that the question of control has been put forward as one of the main obstacles to agreement. We were and are for strict international control over the implementation of the disarmament agreement, when it is reached. But we have always been against the control system being divorced from measures of disarmament, against the control organs becoming, in effect, organs for the collection of intelligence information while there would in fact be no disarmament.

We are for genuine controlled disarmament, but we are against control without disarmament. The opponents of disarmament can easily make any measure conditional upon such control provisions as other states will be unable to accept, in the conditions of a universal arms race. The countries which, for one reason or another, advance such far-reaching control demands would themselves most probably be disinclined to accept these demands if it came to carrying them out.

There is yet another difficulty. So long as disarmament is conceived as only partial and some armaments are to remain after the conclusion of the disarmament agreement, it would still leave states with the material possibility of attacking. There would always be the fear that with these remaining types of armaments and armed forces an attack could still be committed. The knowledge that such a possibility would remain hampered the disarmament negotiations not a little.

Many states feared that the disarmament measures would affect precisely those types of armaments in

which they have the greatest advantage and which they believe to be particularly necessary to themselves. Naturally, under these conditions, in an atmosphere of "cold war" and mutual suspicion, no state, speaking seriously and not for propaganda, could reveal its military secrets, the organisation of its defence and war production, without prejudicing the interests of its national security.

All the delegates will, I am sure, agree that the collective reason of all states, as well as of the United Nations, must be focused on finding a new approach to the solution of the disarmament problem.

The task is to find a lever which would make it possible to stop mankind from sliding into the abyss of war. What is essential now is to rule out the very possibility of wars being started. So long as there exist large armies, air forces and navies, nuclear and rocket weapons, so long as young men on the threshold of life are first of all taught the art of warfare and general staffs are busy working out plans of future military operations, there is no guarantee of stable peace.

The Soviet Government, having comprehensively considered the situation, has come to the firm conviction that *the way out of the deadlock should be sought along the lines of general and complete disarmament.* With such an approach, the possibility of any military advantages being created for any states is completely ruled out. *It is general and complete disarmament that will remove all the barriers raised during the discussions on partial disarmament and clear the way for the establishment of comprehensive, complete control.*

What does the Soviet Government propose?

The essence of our proposals is that over a period of four years all states should effect complete disarmament and thereafter no longer possess any means of waging war.

This signifies that land armies, navies and air forces would cease to exist, general staffs and war ministries would be abolished, military training establishments would be closed. Tens of millions of men would return to peaceful constructive labours.

Military bases on foreign territory would be dismantled.

All atomic and hydrogen bombs in the possession of states would be destroyed and their further production discontinued. The energy of fissionable materials would be used exclusively for peaceful economic and scientific purposes.

Military rockets of all ranges would be eliminated and rockets would remain only as a means of transportation and of the conquest of outer space for the good of all mankind.

The states would retain only strictly limited contingents of police (militia) agreed for each country, equipped with small arms and designed exclusively to maintain internal order and protect the personal security of citizens.

So that no one could violate his obligations, we propose the establishment of an international control body comprised of all states. A system of control over all disarmament measures should be set up which should be instituted and should function according to the stages by which disarmament is to be effected.

If disarmament is comprehensive and complete, then upon its consummation control will also be general and complete. States will have nothing to conceal from one another: none of them will possess weapons that could be used against another, and no restraints will be imposed on the controllers' zeal.

This solution of disarmament questions will ensure the complete security of all states. It will create favourable conditions for the peaceful coexistence of states.

All international issues will then be resolved not by force of arms but by peaceful means.

We are realists in politics and understand that working out such a broad disarmament programme will take some time. While such a programme is being elaborated, while matters are being agreed, we must not sit with folded arms and wait.

The Soviet Government considers that the elaboration of a programme of general and complete disarmament should not hold up the settlement of so acute and entirely ripe a question as the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests for all time. All the prerequisites for settling it are now in evidence. We hope that an appropriate agreement on the discontinuance of tests will be concluded and put into effect without delay.

The danger of a nuclear rocket war which threatens the peoples calls for bold, far-reaching solutions to ensure peace.

A decision to effect general and complete disarmament at an early date and the implementation of that decision would usher in a new stage in international life. The agreement of states to undertake general and complete disarmament would be convincing practical proof of the absence of any aggressive designs on their part and of a sincere desire to base their relations with other states on friendship and co-operation. With the destruction of weapons and the abolition of armed forces, no material possibilities would remain for states to pursue any policy other than a policy of peace.

On achieving complete disarmament, mankind would feel as does an exhausted desert traveller, tormented by fear of dying from thirst and exposure, when after long weary wanderings he reaches an oasis.

General and complete disarmament would allow enormous material and financial resources to be diverted from the manufacture of weapons of death to construc-

tive purposes. Human energy could be directed to the creation of material and spiritual values beautifying and ennobling men's life and work.

The implementation of a programme of general and complete disarmament would make it possible to divert enormous sums to the building of schools, hospitals, homes, roads, to the production of foodstuffs and manufactures. The money released would allow taxes to be substantially reduced and prices to be lowered. This would have a beneficial effect on the living standards of the population and would be welcomed by millions of ordinary people. The funds spent by the states for military needs over the last decade alone would suffice to build over 150 million houses which could comfortably accommodate many hundreds of millions of people.

General and complete disarmament would also create entirely new opportunities for aid to the countries whose economies are still underdeveloped and need assistance on the part of more developed countries. Even if only a small part of the money released by the termination of the military expenditures of the Great Powers were devoted to such aid, it could open up literally a new epoch in the economic development of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

All the artificial obstacles to the development of international trade which today exist in the form of discriminatory restrictions, embargo lists, etc., would disappear. The industries of such nations as the U.S.A., Britain, France, West Germany and other highly developed countries could at last receive large orders from other states. The utilisation of the funds released by disarmament would provide the widest employment opportunities. That is why the claims that disarmament would bring on a crisis or economic recession in the highly developed industrial countries of the capitalist world are unfounded.

When no country has the actual means of launching hostilities against other countries, international relations will develop in a spirit of confidence. Suspicion and fear will vanish, all nations will be able to treat each other like genuine good neighbours. The doors will open wide for economic, commercial and cultural cooperation between all states. For the first time the secure and stable peace that all peoples so eagerly desire will become a reality.

Convinced that by the joint efforts of all the countries united in the name of the peaceful principles of the United Nations Charter these great aims can and must be achieved, *the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics submits for the consideration of the United Nations a Declaration on general and complete disarmament containing concrete proposals on the subject.*

It goes without saying that if for any reason the Western Powers do not evince a readiness at present to embark on general and complete disarmament, the Soviet Government is prepared to reach agreement with other states on appropriate partial measures for disarmament and strengthening of security. The chief of these, in the Soviet Government's opinion, are:

1) The creation of a control and inspection zone with a reduction of foreign troops on the territory of the West-European countries concerned;

2) The creation of an atom-free zone in Central Europe;

3) The withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of European states and the dismantling of military bases on foreign territory;

4) The conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the member states of NATO and of the Warsaw Treaty;

5) An agreement on the prevention of surprise attack by one state on another.

The Soviet Government thinks it appropriate to remind you of its disarmament proposals of May 10, 1955, containing concrete ideas concerning partial disarmament measures. It is convinced that these proposals are a good basis for agreement on this vitally important problem.

This is not the first time the Soviet Union has advanced the idea of general and complete disarmament. All the way back between the First and the Second World wars the Government of our country came forward with a comprehensive programme of complete disarmament. At that time the opponents of disarmament were wont to assert that the Soviet Union had put forward these proposals because it was an economically and militarily weak country. If in those days this false thesis could perhaps delude some, it is now manifest to all that talk of any weakness of the Soviet Union is absurd.

The new proposal of the Soviet Government is prompted by the sole desire to ensure truly lasting peace among the nations.

We say sincerely to all countries: In contrast to the "Let us arm!" slogan, still current in some quarters, we put forward the slogan "Let us completely disarm!" Let us rather compete in who builds more homes, schools and hospitals for the people, produces more grain, milk, meat, clothing and other consumer goods, and not in who has more hydrogen bombs and rockets. This will be welcomed by all the peoples of the world.

Gentlemen, the United Nations Organisation, whose General Assembly I today have the honour of addressing, can and should play a big part in international affairs. Its importance derives from the fact that represented in it are nearly all the nations of the world. They have united to consider jointly the pressing problems of international relations. If two or several states

are unable to agree among themselves, the United Nations should help them. Its role in such cases is to smooth the rough edges in relations between states, which can lead to disputes, to tensions, and even to wars. By performing its cardinal function of strengthening world peace and security, the United Nations will win the respect it should enjoy, and its prestige will grow.

But I have to say in all frankness that at present the United Nations in some cases unfortunately does not perform these functions. Sometimes, by wrongly raising issues in the U.N., needless tension is actually created between states.

Why does this happen? Because not all U.N. member states treat with due respect this Organisation in which mankind reposes such hopes. Instead of constantly reinforcing the prestige of the United Nations, so that it may really be the most authoritative international organ, to which the governments of all countries apply whenever in need of getting some vital problem solved, some states seek to use it in their own narrow interests. Naturally, an international organisation cannot work effectively for peace if there is within it a group of countries which seek to impose their will on others. That kind of policy will undermine the foundations of the United Nations. If things should continue to develop along these lines, which might be called factional, this would lead to a deterioration and not to an improvement of relations between states. From an organ expressing the interests of all its members, the United Nations would become the organ of a group of states, pursuing the policy of that group and not the policy of safeguarding world peace. This would in the initial stage engender disrespect for the United Nations, and then might lead to its break-up, as happened to the League of Nations in its day.

The distinguishing characteristic of a properly functioning international organ is that here questions ought to be settled not by a formal count of votes but by a reasonable and patient quest for a just solution acceptable to all. After all, one cannot expect countries against whose will an unjust decision is taken to agree to carry it out. It leaves a bitter taste in their mouth. Recall how many such instances there have been in the history of the United Nations! Therefore, the United Nations should pass only such decisions as all will vote for, seeing in them an expression of the common will and the common interest. Such decisions would be recognised as the only correct and the only possible both by our generation and by future historians.

Naturally, a group of states which at a given moment commands a majority can put through the decision it wants. But this is a Pyrrhic victory. Such "victories" injure the United Nations, they disrupt it.

It should also be borne in mind that in the voting of one question or another the majority in the United Nations is a variable quantity. It could change against those who today so often bank on the voting machine. As the Russian saying goes, "You reap what you sow." And so, the wisest and most far-sighted policy is one of seeking jointly for mutually acceptable decisions stemming exclusively from concern for safeguarding world peace and non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations.

When the Security Council was being established in the U.N., the idea of agreed decisions was made the basis of its work. And a special responsibility for the maintenance of peace was laid upon the Great Powers, whose representatives are permanent members of the Security Council. It was found necessary, in order to avoid complications in international relations, to estab-

lish the principle of Great Power unanimity in the Security Council, known as the veto power.

Some people are against the veto. But if there is no veto there will be no international organisation, it will fall to pieces. The veto principle obliges the Great Powers to reach on all matters before the Security Council a unanimous decision that ensures the effective maintenance of peace. It is better to seek unanimous decisions of the Great Powers than to settle international issues by force of arms.

Gentlemen, I have tried to state frankly some ideas concerning the international situation and also concerning our understanding of the tasks of the United Nations. We are sure that the proposals we have set forth on the instructions of the Soviet Government will meet with sympathy among the majority of the people of all countries and among the delegates sitting in this hall.

I should like to assure the delegates to the General Assembly that in the Soviet Union the United Nations will continue to have a most active participant in all endeavours to rid mankind of the burden of armaments and to consolidate world peace. Thank you, gentlemen. (*Stormy applause.*)

DISARMAMENT FOR DURABLE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

FROM THE REPORT DELIVERED AT THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R.

January 14, 1960

Comrade Deputies, the more important measures of the Soviet Government aimed at easing international tension and promoting peace were dealt with in the report on the international situation and the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, presented to the last session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet proposals for general and complete disarmament, submitted to the United Nations, were received with deep satisfaction by the peoples of all countries of the world. The U.N. General Assembly gave unanimous approval to the idea of general and complete disarmament.

The Message addressed by the Supreme Soviet to the parliaments of all nations found support with the parliaments and governments of the socialist countries and with many members of parliament of various countries on all continents.

In consistently pursuing a foreign policy of peace and acting upon the Leninist principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, the Soviet Government has been carrying out step by step the concrete measures outlined in the proposal for general and complete disarmament.

The Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Communist Party have decided to submit new specific proposals for a reduction of the armed forces of our country to this session of the Supreme Soviet.

Before I present these proposals, allow me to deal with some questions bearing on our domestic situation, international affairs and the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

SOME QUESTIONS OF THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Comrade Deputies, we have noted more than once that the international situation has definitely improved of late. You all remember, of course, what the international situation was like several years ago—say, in 1952-1953. Comparing the situation in those years with what we have today, we can draw only one conclusion—the clouds of the war menace have begun to disperse, though not as fast as we should have liked.

To be sure, it would be wrong to picture the recent course of events as a sort of straight line, starting somewhere at a rather high point of international tension and dropping to ever lower points. If it were possible to gauge the degree of international tension in the same way as, say, temperature is measured—with a mercury column—the thermometer would show us several drops and rises. But the general tendency is that international tensions are beginning to relax and the "cold war" champions are suffering defeat.

The Jubilee Session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, held on the 40th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, advanced a proposal for an East-West conference of leaders to ease international tension. We note with pleasure that the efforts of the Soviet Government to bring about such a meeting have yielded positive results.

Not long ago we reached agreement with Dwight Eisenhower, the U.S. President, Charles de Gaulle, the French President, and Harold Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, to hold a Summit conference in Paris on May 16. It is understood that this conference will be followed by a number of further top-level meetings.

It would be imprudent to try to forecast the possible results of the forthcoming conference, since those results will depend not only on us, but also on our partners. It is important to stress, however, that there are to be serious talks with the leaders of the major Western Powers with a view to reaching a mutual understanding on the more pressing international issues and eliminating the causes of international tension. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we should like the meeting to be beneficial and fruitful.

We are deeply convinced that, given reasonable consideration for the interests of the parties concerned and general readiness to meet each other half-way, any controversial question, however thorny and complicated, can be settled to mutual advantage and in the interest of peace. And there are any number of issues of this kind awaiting settlement. To begin with, there are the issues of general and complete disarmament, of a peace treaty with Germany—including the question of making West Berlin a free city—of a ban on atomic and hydrogen weapons tests, and of East-West relations. It is first of all these issues that we have proposed placing on the agenda of the coming Summit meeting.

It is only natural that the people everywhere should pin great hopes on the meeting in question for the strengthening of peace and friendly co-operation among the nations. True, isolated voices can be heard, particularly in some small countries, expressing apprehension that the Great Powers, having reached agreement among themselves, may throw the interests of small countries

overboard, ignoring the views of the states not represented at the conference. Permit me to state here that these apprehensions are absolutely groundless. As far as the Soviet Government is concerned, it has never had and does not have any intention of reaching agreement behind the backs of other countries on matters directly affecting their interests. We consider that any attempts to derive unilateral benefits of any kind at the expense of other countries would be altogether at variance with the aims of the planned meeting, whose results should benefit universal peace and, consequently, all countries, big and small.

The meetings, and the frank and very useful talks, which took place between President Eisenhower and myself at Camp David, as also those I had with Prime Minister Macmillan of Great Britain during his stay in Moscow early last year, suggest that a spirit of realism, frankness and co-operation will prevail at the coming Summit talks as well. Recent experience is conclusive proof that personal meetings and contacts between the leading statesmen are, in the circumstances, the most effective and promising method of improving relations between states and reaching agreement on outstanding international issues.

In two months from now I am to visit France at the invitation of President de Gaulle. It will be a great pleasure for us to acquaint ourselves with the life and achievements of the great French people, our ally in the common struggle against Hitler fascism. In the course of history, a feeling of affection has developed in our country for France and her people, who have made so important a contribution to world culture, science and technology. It is fair to hope that my forthcoming visit to France and talks with President de Gaulle will produce positive results both in the way of improving Soviet-French relations and in achieving a healthier internation-

al atmosphere. In our country, General de Gaulle is known as a man who showed great courage in the days when France had been defeated and was occupied by Hitler troops. Many statesmen at that time betrayed the interests of France and began to collaborate with the invaders. In those difficult years General de Gaulle fought for the liberation of France from the tyranny of the invaders and for her national honour.

Much can be expected from the forthcoming meeting with President Eisenhower, who is coming on a return visit to our country in June. The Soviet Government hopes that the noble cause of bringing an atmosphere of trust into Soviet-American relations, to which we devoted our efforts at Camp David, will be fruitfully continued in Moscow. (*Applause.*)

After this session of the Supreme Soviet, K. Y. Voroshilov, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., will leave for India on a goodwill visit at the invitation of the President of the Republic. At the same time F. R. Kozlov, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and Y. A. Furtseva, Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., will go on a visit to India at the invitation of the Indian Government. The delegation has also received, and accepted with pleasure, a kind invitation from the King and Government of Nepal to visit that country.

We believe that these visits will help to strengthen friendly relations between the peoples of the Soviet Union and India and between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Nepal, and will promote world peace. (*Applause.*)

You know that I am shortly to visit Indonesia, where I am going at the invitation of Mr. Sukarno, the President and Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia.

We set great hopes on this trip because our two countries have many questions in common that unite us.

These questions are the struggle for the further consolidation of peace, the struggle against colonial rule, and the further strengthening of the economic and political independence of the countries that have won their freedom and independence. (*Applause.*)

The Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, has invited us to visit India on our way to Indonesia. I have accepted the invitation with pleasure because we believe that meetings with Mr. Nehru and other Indian leaders will serve peace and promote friendly relations between our two countries. (*Applause.*) Good relations between the peoples of the Soviet Union and India are developing and growing stronger. I have very good personal relations with Mr. Nehru. The trip, new meetings and exchanges of views, will contribute to a durable world peace. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Government has also received an invitation from His Majesty Zahir Shah, the King of Afghanistan, and from the Afghan Government to visit their country as well during the forthcoming trip. We have accepted with pleasure. I expect to make a stop in Kabul to exchange views with the King and the Government of our immediate neighbour, Afghanistan, with whom we have friendly relations that are making good progress. (*Applause.*)

There is an invitation from the Government of the Union of Burma to visit Burma during the trip to Indonesia. I shall be pleased to avail myself of the kind invitation to revisit that country. I think that my visit to Burma and an exchange of views with her government leaders will serve the progress of good relations between our two countries and promote peace. (*Applause.*)

We are also preparing to meet with the President of the Italian Republic, Sig. Gronchi, who will visit the Soviet Union in February. We hope that our meetings and conversations with the Italian President will help

further to improve Italian-Soviet relations and bring our peoples closer together, which will also contribute to a durable peace. (*Applause.*)

In the international sphere, there have lately been tendencies favourable to a lessening of tension. On the other hand, it is evident that influential forces with whom both the thaw in international relations and personal contacts between the heads of state of the East and the West go against the grain are still active in the biggest countries of the West, above all the NATO countries. Thirst for profit urges certain imperialist quarters to continue the arms race and maintain the state of "cold war". These quarters are influential enough and can under certain conditions injure the effort for easing international tension.

Those politicians who have cast in their lot with the arms race policy dread a relaxation of world tension and cannot bear the very thought of relaxation becoming a reality.

There are, for example, the statements made by Governor of New York Rockefeller, the well-known American multi-millionaire, ex-President of the United States Truman and ex-Secretary of State Acheson. This trio, and indeed some other people, approach international issues from positions that are very far from those that found expression in the Soviet-American Communiqué released at Camp David. Statements of that sort are standard specimens of "cold war". They must to some extent be due to the fact that Truman is an ex-President and Acheson his ex-Secretary of State, and that both of these "ex's" find it impossible to renounce the old, now discredited policy "from positions of strength", the policy of "containment" and "rolling back", and of "brinkmanship". Other leaders who would like to gain influence in U.S. politics are trying to follow in Truman's and Acheson's footsteps. Yet it

should be obvious to anyone that falling back on the "cold war" policy bodes no good.

The advocates of "cold war" test their voices, making speeches in one place and another. In their statements, they sing the old "cold war" tune, holding up the bugaboo of the "communist threat". But people who want peace have long been fed up with this false tune and are irritated by it.

The change in U.S. public sentiment came out, in particular, during Nelson Rockefeller's recent pre-election tour of the country. Speaking before the electorate, he tried, as it were, to counter the warmth that had set in in the international climate by intensifying the "cold war" draught, to go back to the worst days, when tension between states was very high. But what was the outcome? Even those Americans who usually listen to what multi-millionaires and "cold war" advocates such as Rockefeller have to say did not like the shrill note he struck.

Rockefeller was plainly eager to ride into the White House on the "cold war" horse and try out the presidential chair. But the horse began to stumble and Rockefeller realised that it would not get him there because it is not now the kind of horse that will bring you to the White House. He therefore announced beforehand his decision not to run for President. But that step may be no more than a manoeuvre.

It is certainly not a repudiation of the "cold war", not a desire to lay down arms and begin working for international co-operation. It is clear that the imperialists will try again to rally the forces of the "cold war" supporters. Peace-loving people must be on their guard, and must not relax their effort to strengthen peace. With still greater determination they must expose those who are intent on maintaining international tension and the arms race, who wish to further their personal prosper-

ity and their careers through a policy that threatens mankind with terrible danger.

It is hard to believe that there is anyone in the United States who does not realise the disastrous consequences which a new world war would have. Neither millions, nor even billions of dollars can safeguard aggressors against defeat if they should start up a new war.

Those circles in the United States, and indeed in the other NATO countries, who today advocate the continuation of the "cold war", find themselves shackled by contradictions born of the "cold war" policy. On the one hand, these circles have an interest in the arms race because it brings them profits. On the other, they cannot but see that the arms race increases the danger of a war whose flames would devour all their fortunes, including the profits made from the arms race. Hence a number of contradictory phenomena in the policy of the capitalist countries, which alternately show a tendency to international co-operation and to an aggravation of international tensions.

One example of these contradictory tendencies is now furnished, unfortunately, by the stand which the U.S. Government has taken on the issue of discontinuing atomic and hydrogen weapons tests.

It is well known that for a rather long time—more than a year—the nuclear powers, that is, the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain, have been holding talks in Geneva to discontinue test explosions of atomic and hydrogen weapons. The importance of this problem is obvious to all. It would be unfair to deny that although the Geneva talks are making slow headway, they have, nevertheless, produced certain positive results facilitating the conclusion of an agreement to end tests.

That being so, the peoples of the world received as a

good, encouraging omen the decision, taken of its own accord by each of the negotiating states, to refrain from further nuclear tests. For over a year, no test explosions of atomic or hydrogen weapons have been carried out anywhere in the world. This gratifying fact inspired the peoples with the hope that the existing situation could be made final through the earliest possible conclusion of an appropriate international treaty putting an end to nuclear tests once and for all.

But on December 29 last Mr. Eisenhower, the U.S. President, made a statement which implied that the United States would consider itself free to resume nuclear weapons tests after December 31, 1959. And although the President's statement says that the United States will not resume tests without advance notice, it evidently means that the United States may now resume nuclear explosions at any time.

The announcement of this decision by the U.S. Government caused regret and alarm in every single country of the world.

It is easy enough to imagine what the consequences would be if any country were to resume nuclear weapons tests in the present situation. The other nuclear powers would be compelled to adopt the same course. An impetus would be given to the resumption of an absolutely unlimited race in the testing of nuclear weapons by any power and in any conditions. The government that resumed nuclear weapons tests first would assume a grave responsibility before the peoples.

It would be difficult to reconcile a decision by any one of the three powers to resume nuclear weapons tests with the commitments made by it before all the members of the United Nations. For the recent session of the U.N. General Assembly, expressing the will of the peoples, unanimously called on the parties to the Geneva talks on the discontinuance of nuclear weapons

tests to exert still greater efforts for a speedy agreement and not to resume nuclear weapons tests. The delegations of the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain voted for this appeal.

I should like to re-emphasise in this connection that the Soviet Government, prompted by the desire to provide the most favourable conditions for the earliest possible drafting of a treaty on the discontinuance of tests, will abide by its commitment not to resume experimental nuclear blasts in the Soviet Union unless the Western Powers begin testing atomic and hydrogen weapons. (*Applause.*)

The statement made by the U.S. President says that the prospects for a test-ban agreement have been injured of late. I must frankly say that we find it hard to accept such an appraisal. I have already said that the three-power conference has done a good deal to draft such an agreement. The Soviet Union recently submitted to the Geneva Conference new proposals for the solution of three problems on which there had been considerable disagreement—the composition of the Control Commission, the staffing of control posts and the procedure to be used by the Control Commission in deciding budgetary and financial matters.

These Soviet proposals, which are a step towards meeting the Western Powers, offer an opportunity for further progress in the work of the Geneva Conference.

We note with satisfaction that part of President Eisenhower's statement saying that the United States will resume negotiations in a continuing spirit of seeking to reach an agreement ending nuclear weapons tests.

As regards the Soviet Union, it will continue to seek ways of surmounting the obstacles which have arisen in the course of the Geneva talks. It will make every effort to bring about the early conclusion of a treaty ending all nuclear weapons tests for all time. We believe

that there are opportunities for this even now, if only all parties will strive for agreement.

Lately official U.S. spokesmen have claimed that underground blasts can be concealed so as to defy detection by any instruments. Let us grant that modern technique sometimes fails to give absolute certainty that all underground nuclear weapons blasts will be detected. Let us grant that it is sometimes not so easy to distinguish underground nuclear explosions from earthquakes or explosions of a volcanic nature. But if an appropriate agreement is signed, it will naturally have to be carried out in good faith by all sides. The peoples of the whole world will benefit immensely from this. All nuclear weapons blasts—underground, under water and in the air—will be ended. People will be certain that the atmosphere will not be contaminated by radioactive fall-out. In the meantime progress in science will provide means of detecting and recording all nuclear blasts with absolute precision.

But even if today we do not yet have a guarantee that all blasts are recorded fully and with absolute accuracy, a test-ban agreement will place great obligations on its signatories. And it goes without saying that they will all have to adhere to it strictly. If a party violates its commitments, the initiators of the violation will cover themselves with disgrace, and will be branded by the peoples of the whole world.

As I have said, no nuclear explosions have been carried out for more than a year—in accordance with voluntary commitments made by each side, without an international agreement. Such an agreement, if it is signed, will presumably make it still more obligatory for all the countries concerned to abide strictly by the understanding reached.

Therefore, references to the imperfections of the technical methods of detecting nuclear blasts are not the

best excuse for resuming underground nuclear blasts. If they want to resume tests of nuclear weapons in the air, on the ground, underground or under water, let them say so plainly instead of seeking formal pretexts to justify the step.

We wish to re-emphasise that the Soviet Union holds firmly to the view that all types of nuclear weapons tests in the air, on the ground, underground and under water must be discontinued. (*Applause.*) If a decision were adopted to ban tests only in the atmosphere, this would shatter the peoples' hopes of a complete discontinuance of tests. The peoples want complete disarmament and the disbandment of all armies. They want a complete ban on nuclear weapons, so that a lasting and dependable world peace will be assured. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Awareness of the fact that the international situation has changed and that a radical shift has occurred in the relation of forces between the socialist and the capitalist countries is gaining ground in the Western countries. It appears that the ossified notions of the nature and prospects of East-West relations, notions that took shape over the years, are right now undergoing a definite change in those countries, above all probably in the United States. This is the subject of numerous statements by statesmen and politicians. Special committees, such as those set up by the U.S. Senate, publish voluminous studies on the further course of Western foreign policy.

There are now many politicians in the West who have learned from experience that the old "positions of strength" policy is untenable, but who have not yet come to recognise the need of a genuine policy of peace and honest co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. It is clear that the contradictory conclusions and inferences of certain Western circles

stem from confusion in the face of the outstanding successes and achievements of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp as a whole.

While in the United States, we saw that the more far-sighted of the American statesmen, businessmen and intellectuals, to say nothing of the workers and farmers, want peace and tranquillity, and not a continued arms race and nervous strain. Since the launching of the Soviet sputniks and space rockets, which demonstrated the possibilities of modern technology, the American people have become fully aware of the fact that the United States is now no less vulnerable militarily than any other country. I think no one will suspect me of trying to intimidate anyone by these words. This is simply the actual state of affairs and it is not we alone who see it that way, but also Western statesmen, including those of the United States. No matter to what U.S. audience we spoke of the need of peaceful coexistence and disarmament, our statements on these points always met with understanding and, moreover, brought what I would call a most favourable response and approval from the Americans.

Today popular sentiment in the United States, Britain, France, Italy and other countries is such that even those circles which are still clinging to a "cold war" policy are unable to come out openly against the idea of disarmament and peaceful coexistence. That is why, at this stage, they are adapting themselves to the situation, regrouping their forces, manoeuvring, and trying to camouflage themselves. But their positions have been undermined, and their strength is dwindling in the face of the peoples' irresistible urge for peace. Our task is to strike at the "cold war" supporters unrelentingly, hitting them harder and harder, so as to isolate them, and to pillory them in the eyes of world opinion. Our most effective weapon in this noble cause is the peace policy of the So-

viet Government and its indefatigable effort towards ending the "cold war" for good. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Recent years have been rich in international events which led to the consolidation of the international position of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. We have every reason to say that never throughout the glorious history of the Soviet state has the defence of our country been so reliably safeguarded against any eventualities or encroachments from outside as it is now. (*Stormy applause.*) Never before has the Soviet Union's influence on international affairs, and its prestige as a bulwark of peace, been as great as it is today. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The alignment of forces in the international arena assures the superiority of the peace-loving states. Marching in the serried ranks of the countries championing peace are the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the other socialist countries. Many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are taking more and more vigorous action to promote peace. (*Applause.*)

FOR GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

Comrade Deputies, you know that at its Twentieth and Twenty-First Congresses our Party arrived at the conclusion that in the present situation there is no longer any fatal inevitability of war and that it is possible and necessary to banish war from the life of human society for all time. General and complete disarmament is a clear path leading to the deliverance of mankind from the calamities of war.

On behalf of the Soviet Government, I submitted a programme for general and complete disarmament to the United Nations on September 18, 1959.

Our proposals are simple and clear to anyone. They are supported by all who strive to make the Second World War the last world war in human history, to prevent a third world war from ever breaking out. To prevent another war, we must destroy the means of warfare and put the states in conditions where none of them will be able to start hostilities against another state. This is precisely what the Soviet Government is proposing. Our proposals provide for the disbandment of all armed forces and the destruction of all types of weapons.

The Soviet Union is prepared itself and proposes to the other countries that they abolish war ministries and general staffs and do away with military service. To put it in a nutshell, the idea of our proposals is to reduce practically to zero the level of the armed forces and armaments of states, leaving them only strictly limited contingents agreed for each country, and equipped with small arms, for the maintenance of internal order and the protection of the personal safety of citizens.

We are satisfied with the fact that at the General Assembly all the U.N. member states adopted a resolution approving the idea of general and complete disarmament. The Ten-Nation Committee which is shortly to begin discussing disarmament questions has been instructed to consider our proposals.

It should also be noted that our partners at the coming negotiations, on whom the results of the examination of the Soviet disarmament proposals will chiefly depend, lent an attentive ear to the Soviet proposals, although they added reservations to their positive statements, specifically with regard to establishing control. We are somewhat surprised at those reservations because our proposals provide for all that is needed to ensure reliable international control over the realisation of general and complete disarmament.

When our Government was drafting and discussing the proposals for general and complete disarmament, we were familiar enough, of course, with the attitudes of our partners towards control. Therefore, this time too, we worked out with particular care the proposals for control to forestall possible objections and leave no room for reservations on the part of the Western Powers. Nevertheless, we again hear the same old groundless contentions to the effect that the Soviet proposals do not provide for effective enough control over the realisation of disarmament measures.

If our Western partners are intent on ensuring effective control over disarmament, we welcome that, because it is what we want, too. The Soviet Union is for strict international control over disarmament. It advocates agreement on general and complete disarmament such as will provide a reliable guarantee that no country will violate its disarmament commitments. Our proposals envisage the establishment of effective international control over disarmament, which should naturally correspond to the specific stages of disarmament.

If, however, the Western Powers are making reservations on control by way of pettifogging, in order to delay and then wreck agreement on general and complete disarmament, that will certainly frustrate hopes for general and complete disarmament and is bound to be a bitter disappointment to the peoples.

There are those in the West who allege that disarmament is fraught with grave consequences for the economy of the capitalist countries. They argue that if the production of bombs, guns, submarines and other means of destruction were to be stopped, that would lead to ruin and to the loss of employment and means of subsistence by hundreds of thousands of people. But this sort of talk is fit only for people who can see no other way

of developing the economy than by subordinating it to the interests of war preparations.

The least we can say about assertions of this kind is that they are utterly unsubstantiated. I had occasion to talk with many representatives of American business who take a far less gloomy view of the matter and are confident that U.S. industry is well able to cope with the task of converting the entire economy to the output of goods intended for peaceful uses.

Indeed, there is good reason to expect that the conversion of production capacities to the manufacture of peace-time goods would make it possible to sharply reduce the taxes levied on the population, to increase the capacity of the home market and at the same time to spend more on education, health and social maintenance. And would it not increase to a tremendous extent the opportunities for a foreign trade free from the artificial restrictions prompted by considerations that have nothing to do with economic advantage? How many countries in the world need peace-time goods and not weapons!

There can be no doubt that, given disarmament, the opportunities of selling peace-time products in the foreign market would increase immensely and world trade would have excellent prospects of expansion.

It is not one particular state or group of states that would benefit from disarmament, for disarmament would pave the way to a lasting peace and to economic progress in all countries and for all peoples.

The Soviet Union has proved not only by words, but also by deeds, that it is seeking a solution to the disarmament problem. Immediately after the Second World War, a large-scale demobilisation of the armed forces was carried out in our country. In later years the Soviet Union dismantled all its military bases on foreign soil.

The Soviet Union went further still. Striving to put

an end to the arms race and set about taking practical disarmament steps as soon as possible, our country effected a further reduction of its armed forces. It is well known that in the last four years the Soviet Union has unilaterally reduced the strength of its armed forces by a total of another 2,140,000. Soviet troops have been withdrawn from the Rumanian People's Republic and the strength of our troops stationed under existing agreements in the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic has been reduced considerably.

I should like to report to the Deputies to the Supreme Soviet on the changes that have occurred in the numerical strength of our armed forces over the past 30-odd years.

After the Civil War the Soviet Government demobilised the bulk of the armed forces and reorganised them. As a result, by 1927 we had 586,000 men serving in the Red Army and Navy. This was also determined to a degree by the international situation at that time.

The Japanese imperialist aggression in the Far East and the advent of fascism to power in Germany were the reason why we increased our armed forces, which by 1937 were 1,433,000 strong.

Then, with the outbreak of the Second World War, which exposed the Soviet Union to the immediate threat of attack by Hitler Germany, our armed forces were increased again, so that by 1941 they were 4,207,000 strong.

Hitler Germany's treacherous attack on the Soviet Union and the bloody four-year war that followed compelled us to increase the strength of our armed forces to 11,365,000 by May 1945.

As a result of the demobilisation carried out immediately after the war, by 1948 the strength of the

Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R. was down to 2,874,000. The Soviet Union undertook a substantial reduction of its armed forces in the hope that the Western Powers, too, would be guided by the idea of preserving peace and friendship and would strengthen the relations established between the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition. But our hopes were not realised. As a result of the formation of the aggressive NATO bloc in the West and in view of the atom-bomb blackmail at a time when we had no such bomb yet, the Soviet Union had, with a view to strengthening its defence against the eventuality of provocation, to increase the strength of its troops, which in 1955 reached 5,763,000.

Subsequently, between 1955 and 1958, as I have already reported, we reduced our armed forces by 2,140,000, so that their present strength is 3,623,000.

These, then, are the data on the state of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union over the past decades.

A NEW PROPOSAL FOR REDUCING THE ARMED FORCES OF THE SOVIET UNION

Comrade Deputies, today the Soviet Government is submitting to the Supreme Soviet a proposal for a further substantial reduction of the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R. As in the past, we consider it possible to effect this reduction unilaterally, and irrespective of the progress of disarmament discussions by the Ten-Nation Committee or other international agencies.

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. is submitting for your consideration and approval a proposal for reducing our armed forces by another 1,200,000. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) If this proposal is approved by the Supreme Soviet, our Army and Navy will be 2,423,000 strong. In other words, the strength of our armed forces will be below the level indicated in the proposals which

the United States, Britain and France put forward during the discussion of the disarmament problem in 1956. Those proposals fixed the level of the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. and the United States at 2,500,000 each. We accepted that proposal and on more than one occasion advanced it ourselves—on the understanding, of course, that this would be only a first step in the reduction of armed forces. In particular, we mentioned this figure in the Soviet proposals submitted to the U.N. General Assembly in the autumn of 1956. More than three years have passed since, but no agreement has yet been reached on the matter. Now we propose reducing the armed forces to a still lower level and we do so of our own accord, without procrastination, without wasting time and effort and without the nervous strain occasioned by interminable disarmament disputes with our partners.

We are confident that the Deputies will thoroughly discuss the proposal submitted by the Government to this session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and will appreciate the motives guiding the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government in the matter.

The security of his country, the safeguarding of the achievements of the Revolution and the successful building of communism in our country are the prime concern of every Soviet citizen, and all the more so of a Deputy to the Supreme Soviet—an elected representative of the people. That is why the very first question prompted by the proposals we have submitted is whether the defence potential of our country will still be adequate when the measure we are suggesting has been carried out. Why is it that, at a time when our ill-wishers have not yet discarded the very phrase "policy from positions of strength", we, instead of countering strength with strength, are, in fact, willing to reduce our Army and

Navy and, consequently, expenditure on armaments? What is the reason? Are we not being somewhat careless with regard to the security of our country?

We have made a detailed and comprehensive study of the matter and consulted the military, the General Staff, and we reply without hesitation: Our defence will be quite adequate and we have taken everything into account realistically.

What is the evidence backing this realistic appraisal and warranting so momentous a decision? What is the evidence on the strength of which the Deputies can adopt this decision with firm vonviction that it will not prejudice the defensive capacity of our country?

Our confidence in the soundness of the suggested measures is based on the fact that the Soviet Union is going through a period of unprecedented upsurge in the entire national economy. It is based on the unbreakable moral and political unity of Soviet society. Soviet scientists, engineers and workers have made it possible to equip our armed forces with weapons that were unknown to man—atomic, hydrogen, rocket and other modern weapons. It is our economic progress, and the achievements of our scientific and technical genius, that make it possible to reduce the armed forces. We are also taking into account the growth and consolidation of the mighty socialist camp, which is a reliable stronghold of peace.

Thanks to the triumph of the Leninist ideas, the construction of a socialist society and further progress in building communism, our country is now making headway in all spheres—economy, the living standards of the people, science, technology and culture. Drawing on these achievements, our scientists, engineers and workers engaged in the defence industry have created new modern weapons that are abreast of the latest developments in science and technology. This enables us

to reduce the armed forces without detriment to the defence potential of the country.

Allow me, Comrade Deputies, to express on your behalf, and on behalf of the Soviet Government and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the most sincere gratitude to all scientists, engineers, technicians and workers, to all who have been giving all their knowledge and energy to promote the welfare of our country and increase its might. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The Party, the Government and the entire Soviet people give their warm thanks to the scientists, engineers, technicians and workers to whose knowledge and effort we owe great achievements in developing atomic and hydrogen weapons, rockets and all the other means that have made it possible to raise the defence potential of our country to so high a level, which in turn enables us now to undertake a further reduction of the armed forces. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Union has stockpiled the necessary amount of atomic and hydrogen weapons. As long as no agreement has been reached to outlaw nuclear weapons, we are compelled to continue producing them. To be sure, we have to spend a good deal for this purpose. But for the time being we cannot fully renounce the production of nuclear weapons; such a decision should come as a result of agreement between the nuclear powers.

Our country has powerful rocketry. The present level of military technique being what it is, the Air Force and the Navy have lost their former importance. These arms are being replaced and not reduced. Military aircraft is almost entirely being replaced by rockets. We have now drastically reduced, and apparently will reduce still further, or even discontinue, the production of bombers and other obsolete craft. In the Navy, the submarine fleet is acquiring great importance, whereas surface

ships can no longer play the role they played in the past.

Our armed forces have to a considerable degree been switched to rocket and nuclear weapons. We are perfecting, and will go on perfecting, these weapons—until they are banned.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government can inform you, Comrade Deputies, that the weapons we have now are formidable ones, but what is in the hatching, so to speak, is still more perfect, still more formidable. (*Stormy applause.*) The weapon that is being developed and is, as they say, in the portfolio of our scientists and designers is an incredible weapon.

You will all probably agree, Comrade Deputies, that today the question of the numerical strength of armed forces cannot be approached as it was approached but a few years ago. Suffice it to say that since 1955 the numerical strength of the armed forces in our country has been reduced by a third, but their fire-power has increased many times over during the period owing to the development and introduction of the latest types of modern military equipment.

In our time, a country's defensive capacity is not determined by the number of men under arms, of men in uniform. Apart from the general political and economic factors, of which I have already spoken, a country's defence potential depends in decisive measure on the fire-power and the means of delivery that country commands.

The proposed reduction will in no way reduce the fire-power of our armed forces, and this is the important thing. In fact, the reason why states maintain armies is to possess an adequate fire-power, such as will be able to stand up to a probable enemy and restrain him from attack, or repulse him effectively should he try to attack.

The Soviet Army today possesses such armaments and such fire-power as no army has ever had. I want to re-emphasise that we already have such an amount of nuclear weapons—atomic and hydrogen weapons and an appropriate number of rockets to deliver them to the territory of a potential aggressor—that if some madman were to provoke an attack on our country or on other socialist countries, we could literally wipe the country or countries attacking us off the face of the earth. (*Stormy applause.*)

It is perfectly clear to all sober-minded people that atomic and hydrogen weapons are particularly dangerous to the countries that are densely populated. Of course, all countries will suffer in one way or another in the event of a new world war. We, too, shall suffer much, shall sustain great losses, but we shall survive. Our territory is immense and our population is less concentrated in large industrial centres than is the case in many other countries. The West will suffer incomparably more. If the aggressors start up a new war, it will be not only their last war, but also the end of capitalism, for the peoples will see clearly that capitalism is a source of wars, and will no longer tolerate that system, which brings suffering and calamities to mankind. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Considering all this, the Soviet people can be confident and calm—the Soviet Army's present armament makes our country completely impregnable. (*Stormy applause.*)

Of course, impregnability is a rather relative term. After all, we must not forget that our enemies—for some states avow themselves to be our enemies, making no secret of their military and political aims—will not mark time. If they do not yet have as many rockets as we have, and if their rockets are less perfect, they have a chance to overcome their temporary lag, to improve

their rocketry, and will perhaps draw level with us sooner or later.

The United States, for instance, has set out to overtake the Soviet Union in rocket production within five years. It will certainly do its utmost to help its rocketry out of its present state and raise it to a higher level. But it would be naïve to imagine that we will meanwhile sit back and relax. Indeed, the Americans themselves are saying: Why, are the Russians going to play dice and wait for us?

Naturally, we will do everything to use the time we have gained in the development of rocket weapons and to keep our lead in this field until an international agreement on disarmament is reached. (*Prolonged applause.*)

But a question suggests itself here. Since the possibility must not be ruled out that some capitalist countries will draw level with us in modern armaments, cannot they commit treachery and attack us first in order to exploit the factor of a surprise attack by so formidable a weapon as atomic rockets and thereby secure advantages that may help them win? No. Modern means of warfare give no such advantages to either side.

It is possible to attack first. That wouldn't require much brains—it would rather require recklessness, and we realise, of course, that some of our probable enemies are prone to this sort of thing. It is not an infrequent occurrence that the advocates of the policy "from positions of strength" become hot-headed and reckless in one country or another, although it would seem that Hitler's "laurels" should have a cooling effect on them. But, apparently, their minds are so befogged that they have forgotten those serious lessons of history.

Let us suppose, however, that some state or group of states were to succeed in preparing and carrying out a surprise attack on a power possessing nuclear and rocket arms. Would the aggressor—even allowing for

a moment that he succeeded in striking a surprise blow —be able to put out of action at once all the stocks of nuclear weapons, all the rocket installations on the territory of the power attacked? Of course not. The state subjected to a surprise attack—provided it is a big state, of course—would in any case be able to rebuff the aggressor effectively.

We are aware that our country is surrounded by foreign military bases. We therefore distribute our rocket installations in such a way as to have a double and even treble reserve. Ours is a vast territory and we are in a position to disperse our rocket installations and to camouflage them well. We are developing such a system that if some means of retaliation are knocked out, we shall always be able to resort to the duplicating means and hit the targets from reserve positions. (*Applause.*)

That should be quite enough to have a sobering effect on anyone with a normal mentality, on people who are prepared to answer for their actions to the peoples and who hold the destinies of the peoples dear. There is no vouching for madmen, of course. Madmen have always existed and will probably not become extinct in the future, either. The only thing is not to forget that whereas in the past the advent of such madmen to power resulted in bloody wars, it would in our day be a calamity defying comparison.

Just as a mother sees to it when going out that no inflammable material, no matches or electric appliances are left within the reach of a child who may without knowing it cause great damage to the house and the city, so the peoples should see to it that the governments, parliaments and other offices on which the safeguarding of peace depends should not be infiltrated by people who set themselves insane, criminal aims. The peoples must show great vigilance to prevent madmen from using rocket and nuclear weapons against mankind,

until a solution is found to the problem of general and complete disarmament and, consequently, of the destruction of all means of warfare. *(Prolonged applause.)*

THE LESSONS OF THE PAST MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN

Western leaders have not yet renounced the policy "from positions of strength" and "on the brink of war". Although the principal champion of that policy is dead, his warlike calls have not yet been scrapped, have not been cast aside. Chancellor Adenauer is particularly active in this respect. But Herr Adenauer and those who like to repeat with him that they will continue the policy "from positions of strength" should take a realistic view of things. They should look "under the roots", as Kozma Prutkov used to say. (*Animation.*)

There was some sort of logic in that policy when the Western Powers had economic superiority and the monopoly of a powerful weapon like the atom bomb, although, even then, that was no reason for pursuing a policy "from positions of strength".

Today, however, when the Soviet Union has atomic and hydrogen weapons, when our country has demonstrated to the world its superiority in rocket engineering, when the economy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is flourishing, when the solid unity of the socialist camp is a reality and when all peoples are striving to join efforts to ensure peace, the policy "from positions of strength" is becoming utterly pointless.

What does it mean to bank on the policy "from positions of strength" now that the relation of forces has changed? It means to foredoom oneself to inevitable failure, to follow in Hitler's footsteps.

For it was Hitler who pursued the policy "from positions of strength" in its naked form. When he came to

power he immediately started on a policy of expansion, a policy of winning so-called *Lebensraum*. He announced that he would make war on the Soviet Union and advance as far as the Urals, that he would subdue other countries.

The events which preceded the Second World War are still fresh in everyone's memory. Hitler cynically told those of like mind: "We must cast aside all sentimentality and be hard. Some day, when I order war, I shall not worry about the ten million young men I send to their death." Hitler regarded the other nations and peoples as fertiliser and slaves for the chosen Aryan race which must rule all.

To disguise these criminal aims, Hitler called his party National-Socialist. The Nazi leader adopted the term "socialism", which is the most popular with the peoples, in order to win over as many naïve and inexperienced people as possible.

In implementing his policy of conquest, Hitler presented ultimatums, and began hostilities if they were rejected. In that manner, he succeeded in overrunning many European countries. Intoxicated by easy victories, Hitler made a gangster-like attack on the Soviet Union. Everyone knows how the adventure ended. It ended with that madman finding the right solution, for, when Soviet troops were already fighting in the streets of Berlin, he killed himself as a scorpion does when ringed by fire.

It should be borne in mind that on the eve of the Second World War the Soviet Union was the only socialist state, a state in a capitalist encirclement. At that time it was not we who had superiority in economy and in other resources. Today the situation is entirely different. Anyone who is in his right mind and has some little ability of calculating, reflecting, and understanding the developments which have taken place during the post-

war period, is bound to see a radical change in the international relation of forces in favour of socialism. It should be obvious that to pursue a policy "from positions of strength" with regard to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries today is to take the road of fatal adventures. (*Applause.*)

This adventurist policy today finds its most striking expression in West Germany. It will be recalled that one of Hitler's first reactionary steps after seizing power was to ban the Communist Party and to persecute working-class organisations. Adenauer, too, has outlawed the Communist Party of Germany and launched an offensive against the trade unions and other democratic organisations of the working people. One disgraceful trial after another is held in West Germany against persons active in the peace movement. Isn't that the limit? To put people behind prison bars merely because they advocate peace in accordance with their convictions is an arbitrary and lawless act even under the West German Constitution.

Lately there has been an increasingly distinct tendency in West Germany to whitewash and all but exonerate the bloody Hitler regime. This tendency was pointed out in apt terms by Lord Russell. In a letter to the *Times*, he called attention to the fact that the secondary school textbooks of history published in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1958, unlike those published in 1949, say nothing about the Reichstag fire, the persecution of the Jewish population, the atrocities perpetrated in concentration camps, and other crimes of the fascist regime of Hitler.

In his letter, Russell cited specific facts borrowed from the German newspaper *Die Welt*. For example, the textbook of German history published in 1949 devoted two and a half pages to the Reichstag fire staged by the Nazis, whereas the 1958 textbook says not a word

about it. The old textbook had three pages about the persecution of Jews, but the new one gives only 14 lines. Concentration camps were given five pages in the old textbook, but the new one says nothing at all about them.

The recent anti-semitic fascist actions in West German towns are a typical sign of growing reaction, whose diverse intrigues have long been well known to world public opinion. Many decades ago, when reaction was rampant in tsarist Russia, the "black hundreds" organised anti-semitic pogroms more than once. Lenin and the Bolsheviks, and all progressive people in general, vigorously combated that shameful practice.

In Germany, Hitler did his best to kindle anti-semitism. He suppressed all freedom and trampled the democratic rights underfoot. He did all that to be able to start on his bloody enterprise, that is, to unleash a war.

The Soviet Union has always championed, as it does today, friendship among all peoples, and friendship with the German people. We have very good, friendly relations with the German Democratic Republic, and we treasure this friendship. We are doing everything to have good, friendly relations with the West Germans as well. But we are greatly disappointed by the activities of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, particularly those of Chancellor Adenauer, aimed at fanning the "cold war".

We have heard Herr Adenauer's protestations to the effect that he is not a revanchist and would not tolerate a single revanchist minister in his cabinet. The German people indeed do not want to have anything in common with revanchists. But how are we to reconcile Chancellor Adenauer's statements with the fact that the West German Government is seeking a revision of the state boundaries established in Europe after the Second World

War and rises up in arms against any suggestion for eliminating the survivals of that war, signing a peace treaty with Germany and establishing a durable peace in Europe?

Or take Adenauer's latest trip to West Berlin and his provocative statement that nothing would be left of the Soviet Union if it came to an atomic war. These facts suggest that Adenauer has not learned the lessons taught to the German fascists, and is taking the road they followed. We may well presume that Hitler's final "laurels" cannot tempt Adenauer.

We must state most unequivocally that if rabid fascists, such as are now being allowed to assume authority and command, build up the Bundeswehr and command the NATO armed forces, were to gain the upper hand in West Germany, and if those vermin tried to crawl out of their confines, far from being allowed to crawl as far as Moscow or Stalingrad, as they did during the Hitler invasion, they would be crushed on their own soil. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The policy of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany shows most dangerous trends. Unless checked by the forces of peace, these trends may have most deplorable consequences and may lead to a third world war.

We cannot help wondering why the war preparations of the Federal Republic of Germany are meeting with support on the part of France, Britain and other countries that suffered from Hitler's onslaught. How can those countries encourage West Germany to rearm, help her with their own hands to build up her armed forces and equip them with modern weapons?

Some politicians of West Germany's NATO allies say frankly and plainly, though they do so behind the scenes and not in public: Please believe us and try to understand that if the Federal Republic of Germany stays

out of NATO, if it has no army and spends nothing on armaments, it will have great economic advantages over the other Western countries and will become a still more formidable competitor in trade. The West German economy *is* strong and it is ahead of those of the other NATO countries, except the United States. It follows that, to such Western politicians, economic progress in West Germany on peaceful lines is a very dangerous thing, while the entry of the Federal Republic of Germany into NATO and its participation in the arms race is almost a blessing. They are not averse to handicapping their West German rival with the burden of arms and large armed forces so as to weaken West Germany economically and create more favourable conditions for competing with her in the world market.

The proponents of this most peculiar concept seem to forget that the arms they are giving to the German revachists will not be used as the givers see fit. For the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, while accepting the weapons, has its own aims in view. It wants, with the aid of the army and a powerful economy, to win a dominant position in Western Europe and give orders to its NATO allies. In point of fact, it is not so far away from this goal. West Germany already holds many key positions in NATO.

French, British, Belgian and other NATO soldiers now have to take orders from the West German general Speidel. Yet the French know that general as an officer who was Hitler's close associate, who organised a fifth column among the French officers and afterwards became Chief of Staff of the Nazi forces that occupied France in 1940. As for the British, they know him as one of the organisers of Hitler's terroristic bombing raids on Britain. And now here is this Nazi, who got away with murder, commanding the NATO ground forces in Central Europe.

There was a time when, to justify West Germany's entry into NATO, the governments of the three Western Powers averred that the Paris Agreements would safeguard the European countries against a resurgent West Germany. In November 1955, John Foster Dulles, the late U.S. Secretary of State, said at the Geneva Foreign Ministers Conference:

"Is it objectionable that the Federal Republic of Germany foregoes the right to have atomic weapons, bacteriological weapons and chemical weapons? Is this objectionable that under the Brussels Treaty the military establishments and armaments of the Federal Republic are subject to investigations and control through the Brussels Treaty Council representing predominantly states which in the past have suffered from German aggression?"

That is what was said, but what happened in reality? It was claimed that West Germany's entry into NATO would make it possible to control her military economy and armaments, but in reality a situation was created in which West Germany is enabled to control her European allies and is striving to exert pressure on the trend of U.S. policy. And what is actually left of the few restrictions originally imposed on West Germany by the Paris Agreements since today the Bundeswehr is receiving atomic and rocket weapons? All that the makers of the Brussels and Paris agreements can now do is to seek comfort in the dead paragraphs of those agreements nullified by the West German militarists' revanchist policy.

See what Chancellor Adenauer calls for in his article published on New Year's Eve. Traditionally, on that day statesmen convey messages of peace and best wishes for prosperity to the peoples. Not so Adenauer. He goes on bending his energies to continue the policy "from positions of strength" and calling for "firmness and

resolve" in pursuing that policy. The recent lessening of international tension is no more, as he sees it, than an "illusion". The Chancellor says that it is now "more essential than ever" to keep on increasing the military strength of NATO and West Germany.

These facts, comrades, go to show again how pressing is the problem of concluding a peace treaty with both German states, whose solution has long been urged by the Soviet Government. Such a treaty would write *finis* to the Second World War for good, assure the peaceful and democratic development of the whole of Germany and make her neighbours confident that West Germany will not revert to the road of aggression. The Soviet Government holds a peaceful settlement with Germany to be an international problem whose solution brooks no delay, a problem of the utmost importance.

We will do all in our power to have this problem settled at last. It is our earnest desire to find a solution to the German problem in common with our allies in the struggle against Hitler Germany. We proceed on the understanding that the question of West Berlin will also be settled thereby through agreement. But if all our efforts towards concluding a peace treaty with the two German states are still not crowned with success, the Soviet Union, together with the other countries that are willing to do so, will sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, with all the attendant consequences. (*Prolonged applause.*)

PEACEFUL OBJECTIVES OF THE SOVIET PROPOSALS

Comrade Deputies, some of the Soviet citizens, as well as our friends, the peace supporters in other countries, may perhaps wonder whether the new big reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces will not stimulate activity on the part of the military alignments opposing

us. The United States will have larger armed forces than the Soviet Union. If the Federal Republic of Germany has nine divisions today, it is going to have as many as 12 divisions before long. The NATO military command has about 50 divisions at its disposal in Europe alone. Besides, the European countries in the North Atlantic alliance have over 30 divisions under their national control.

That being so, will not the reduction of the Soviet Army expose our country, and indeed the cause of peace, to danger? Will it not tempt the aggressive forces, the enemies of communism, to begin a war against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and thereby plunge mankind into a new carnage? Will it not undermine or lead to the loss of the Soviet "deterrent", to use the current Western term?

We have considered that and can report to the Supreme Soviet that the defence potential of our country will not diminish in the least. In present-day conditions, wars would not be waged the way they were before. They would have little in common with the wars of the past. In the old days the nations tried to keep their armies close to the frontiers so as to raise a living wall, as it were, of soldiers and guns at the right moment. If any country wanted to invade another, it had to attack the troops stationed thus on the border. That was how wars used to begin. At first fighting broke out on the frontiers of the belligerents and that is where the troops were massed.

If a war were to start now, hostilities would take a different course since the nations would have means of delivering their arms to points thousands of kilometres away. It is first of all deep in the belligerents' territory that a war would start. Furthermore, there would be not a single capital, no large industrial or administrative centre, and no strategic area left unattacked in the very

first minutes, let alone days, of the war. In other words, the war would start in a different manner, if at all, and would proceed in a different manner.

A reduction of the numerical strength of our armed forces will not prevent us from maintaining the country's defensive power at the proper level. We shall still have all the means required for the defence of our country, and our enemy will know it very well. In case he does not, we are warning him and telling him outright: By reducing the numerical strength of our armed forces, we shall not be diminishing their fire-power. On the contrary, their fire-power will increase many times over in terms of quality. (*Stormy applause.*)

If our Western partners decline to follow our example, they will disappoint not only progressive people, but all nations as well. If the Western Powers persist, they will thereby reveal their aggressiveness and their desire to continue the arms race and preparations for a new war. By their policy of arms race, they will be exposing themselves still more in the eyes of the peoples.

Economically, this policy will overload the budgets of the capitalist states and lead to an increasing tax burden.

It goes without saying that we shall have to spend a certain amount on defence, pending agreement on general and complete disarmament. But this expenditure will be cut down as the armed forces will have been reduced. Besides, this money will be used more effectively. Obviously, such a situation will benefit our country as it will help us to increase our economic power and to provide additional opportunities of promoting the standard of living, increasing our material wealth, building more homes and reducing the working day. It follows that the large armies in the countries of the military alignment opposing us are our involuntary allies who will make it easier for us to achieve our main objective, that is, to surpass the most developed capitalist countries in all

fields—science, output of machinery and implements of labour, production of consumer goods, and meeting the requirements of the people. (*Applause.*)

I should like to comment on some speculations which are now rife abroad concerning our disarmament proposals and which our ill-wishers will in all probability indulge in still more following the new, and so very impressive, reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces.

It is often alleged in the West that the Soviet Union wants disarmament because it is having difficulties in fulfilling its Seven-Year Economic Development Plan. They go so far as to assert that the Soviet Union put forward its disarmament proposals for the sole purpose of releasing funds to fulfil the Seven-Year Plan. Of course, that is nothing but an invention of the Soviet Union's ill-wishers. If there are those in the West who imagine that the state of the Soviet Union's economy does not permit of keeping an army strong enough to assure our country's defence, so much the worse for those who think so.

Our economy, as I have already reported, is making good progress and has reached an unprecedented level of prosperity. But we have a still brighter future in store, because we have fulfilled the programme for the first year of the Seven-Year Plan and, moreover, produced a large amount of goods over and above it. Consequently, far from having any difficulties, we have favourable conditions for a substantial overfulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan. The allegations about difficulties in fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan will therefore not hold water.

Some may interpret our proposals for a reduction of the armed forces as having been prompted exclusively by the necessity of saving and accumulating means. As you know, economy is always called for and is always of great practical importance. The lower the costs and the less unproductive spending, the more means can be

allocated for reproducing the means of production, for developing the economy and hence for increasing output and meeting the material and spiritual needs of the people to a fuller extent.

The proposal for the reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces, which the Government is submitting to the Supreme Soviet, will save us approximately 16,000 million to 17,000 million rubles a year. It will be a very tangible saving for our people and country. It will help us very considerably in fulfilling and overfulfilling our economic plans. (*Applause.*)

To eliminate unproductive spending and provide additional opportunities for economic progress is a task constantly facing any country, not only ours. I repeat, economy is always called for and the problem will always attract unflagging attention. However, the question of a nation's defence transcends the concept of cost, as indeed any other concept in terms of economy. We are no niggards and we shall not go chasing the rubles at the risk of imperilling the lives of our people and the very existence of our country.

It is not from economic or budgetary weakness but from strength and power that we are undertaking a reduction of the armed forces. In doing so, we are guided by the peaceful aspirations of our people. And it should be clear to anyone that if there arose a situation calling for more spending on the maintenance of the armed forces, our budget and our economy would permit of more than another ten thousand million rubles being set aside for the promotion of our country's security. (*Applause.*) If our country were threatened with immediate attack, we could not only keep our armed forces at their present strength, but could also increase them considerably. Our budget, our economy, would be able to bear the strain, and we could still provide sufficient investments to fulfil the Seven-Year Plan.

What is it, then, that now prompts us to propose reducing our armed forces? We are prompted by the lofty humanistic ideals which are inherent in our progressive world outlook and which completely permeate the life of a socialist society. It is not from positions of strength but from positions of reason that we approach the matter. (*Applause.*)

The reason why we are reducing our armed forces is that we want no war, do not intend to attack anyone, do not wish to threaten anyone and have no predatory aims. Today, inflated armies, as well as military bases thrust far beyond national frontiers, are meant for attack and are unnecessary for defence. By reducing the strength of our armed forces, we show that the intentions of our country are most peaceable and not aggressive. For no country planning to attack another country or group of countries would undertake a unilateral reduction of its armed forces since, to launch the attack, it would not only have to use its fire-power, including nuclear weapons and rockets, but would also have to increase the numerical strength of its army.

Comrade Deputies, we are about to decide a matter of great historic importance—a reduction of our armed forces—and thereby to pave the way to a further relaxation of international tension, to a durable world peace. This action will rouse an echo in the hearts of the people in all countries. Not even the most inveterate exponents of the "cold war" will be able to prove that we are taking this step with a view to preparing for war.

Our people and the Communist Party express their deepest respect and affection for the soldiers, sailors, non-coms, officers, generals, admirals and marshals who have loyally served, and serve today, the interests of the Soviet people and the great ideals of Marxism-Leninism. The glory of our people's valiant sons and daughters, who shed their blood and gave their lives fighting for the

freedom and independence of the country during the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War, will live on for ever. The Soviet people are deeply grateful to those who heroically repelled the enemy's onslaught and who worked with unstinting energy, and are working now, to increase their country's might as they stand guard over the peaceful labour of the Soviet people. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Soviet people will be most satisfied to learn of measures for a further reduction of the armed forces, which will result in a considerable number of servicemen resuming work in industry, at building sites, on collective and state farms, in research establishments and educational institutions.

Soviet and Party bodies will have a great deal of work to do in connection with the Government's proposal for so substantial a reduction of the armed forces, a proposal which, I am sure, will be unanimously approved by the Deputies. We expect that the implementation of this measure will require from twelve to eighteen months, or even two years. For there will be a large number of men to be discharged from military service. This should be done without undue haste, so as not to create any difficulties for them. Thorough preparation will be required to ensure that the men released as a result of demobilisation get jobs, that they obtain proper employment. The task will be easier in the case of the privates and non-coms. They have not served long and are skilled in specific trades which they will be able to take up again. Besides, they are young men who can easily learn the jobs that suit them.

It is a more responsible and difficult task to provide employment for officers and political workers, that is, professional army personnel. These men need most careful attention. The officers in our armed forces are well trained. They have devoted all their energies to

studying military science and the art of war in order to serve our country well. Now they will have to learn new trades and professions and to use their knowledge in other fields, but it will be in the interest of the same common cause of achieving the triumph of the ideas of Lenin, the triumph of communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We must give them our care and affection so that they will feel at home in their new environment, in the new conditions in which they will be working. We must help them to acquire skills that will assure them an adequate income. Every one of them will be able to choose a job to his liking, for there are ample opportunities for that. At their new work places, they should be received as friends, as brothers, and treated with special consideration. They should be helped to acquire the knowledge they will need for making the best use of their energies in their new fields of activity, which will not be military but will be concerned with the fulfilment of the same tasks—increasing the might of our country, promoting economic and cultural progress and achieving the triumph of communism. (*Applause.*)

These men will be taking up jobs in the field of production, but if the situation calls for it, they will rejoin the ranks of the valiant Soviet Army to do their duty to the country.

The men and officers to be demobilised must be given time to get used to their new life. It might be advisable to set up special courses for them to acquire new skills. We shall be developing civil aviation and some of the airmen will be able to use their knowledge and experience as fliers. Some of the artillerymen and fliers will be used in new rocket units; many of them can be employed in the appropriate branches of the national economy.

It will be seen that the question is not one of simply giving an ex-serviceman a job, but of really seeing to

it that he is not only well provided for, but also derives moral satisfaction from his work, being aware that he is serving the common cause and taking an active part in communist construction. This is a big and complicated problem, and we should tackle it with the greatest sense of responsibility.

And now I want to discuss with you, Comrade Deputies, some ideas concerning the further improvement of our armed forces—that is, if there is no progress in solving the problem of general and complete disarmament. The Government and the Central Committee of our Party are now deliberating and studying the question of adopting, in due course, a territorial system of organisation of our armed forces. It may prove a repetition of what Vladimir Ilyich Lenin did in the early years of Soviet rule, but it will be in different conditions and in a somewhat different way. We believe that the territorial system will be able to provide the necessary personnel and contingents of population trained in the art of war and in the handling of modern weapons.

Looking ahead, we can visualise the possibility of our military units being formed on the territorial principle. The men will get their military training outside their working hours and, whenever necessary, appropriate means of transportation, such as aircraft and other military equipment, will make it possible to mass the forces in the appropriate area of our territory. I am saying this so that, in deciding on the present reduction of our armed forces, you will also bear in mind the problems that may arise in the future, failing agreement on disarmament.

The Central Committee of our Party and the Soviet Government are confident that all our soldiers, and our officers, generals and admirals, who led the Soviet forces in battle with distinction in the years of the Great Patriotic War, will welcome the Soviet Government's

proposal for a further substantial reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces. We are certain that the ex-servicemen who take up civilian jobs will serve their people as honourably in the field of peaceful labour as they have been doing in the ranks of the glorious Armed Forces of the Soviet Union. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We express our profound gratitude to these comrades for their loyal and selfless service in the Soviet Armed Forces. Allow me to wish them, with all my heart, the best of success in their new fields of activity. May they serve there, just as loyally and selflessly, the interests of the working class and of all the working people of the Soviet Union for the triumph of communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IS MADE IMPERATIVE BY REALITY ITSELF

Comrade Deputies, we are submitting the proposal for a further reduction of our armed forces on the eve of momentous international negotiations at which the Soviet Union's programme calling for general and complete disarmament in four years will be considered. Everyone can now see that we are not only putting forward a programme for general and complete disarmament, but are also unilaterally beginning to carry out the important measures this programme calls for, that is, taking far-reaching steps that will make it easier to reach agreement on disarmament problems. We don't use words lightly, and back our proposals with practical steps.

In international affairs, there have been instances of a proposal being made in the hope that it will under all circumstances be turned down by the other side. Such unfair practices are alien to the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. We are prepared to carry into

effect what is set down in our programme for general and complete disarmament fully and consistently from the day an appropriate agreement has been reached. What is more, we are in advance creating conditions that will greatly facilitate such an agreement and will, as it were, anticipate its implementation. Can the governments of the NATO countries claim credit for any action like that? Unfortunately, there are as yet no grounds at all for saying they can.

We are undertaking a further reduction of our armed forces and we earnestly hope that other countries will do likewise.

The question may be asked why we are now undertaking a unilateral reduction of our armed forces of our own free will while in the past we broke many a lance in striving for a solution, in agreement with the Western Powers, to the problem of reducing the strength of the armed forces, that is, a solution on the basis of reciprocity. Are not we making a concession? Will this move of ours not be interpreted as a departure from our own earlier demands?

I must tell you, Comrade Deputies, that we have taken account of the possibility of our decision being so interpreted. Nevertheless, the Government has found a unilateral reduction of our armed forces to be a timely measure—for the following reason.

The Soviet programme for general and complete disarmament was, as I have mentioned, submitted to the United Nations last September. The U.N. General Assembly resolved to refer our proposal and the disarmament proposals of other countries to the Ten-Nation Committee for consideration. It is now four months since the Soviet proposals were submitted, but the Ten-Nation Committee has not got down to business as yet, although five of its members—the Soviet Union, the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic,

the Rumanian People's Republic and the People's Republic of Bulgaria—have on numerous occasions signified their readiness to carry out this decision of the Fourteenth Session of the U.N. General Assembly without delay. It had been agreed with the Western Powers that the Ten-Nation Committee would meet early this year. Then the date was shifted to February—certainly not on our initiative—and now our partners have suggested postponing the meeting to March 15, which we have had to accept.

Let there be no mistake. I do not want to say anything bad either about the Ten-Nation Committee itself or about the important job it is about to undertake. The Soviet Government is greatly interested in the Committee working as fruitfully as possible and accomplishing the big tasks facing it. But a good deal of experience has been gained in the course of post-war disarmament talks and we should be less than frank if we omitted mention of our apprehensions at this stage. If that regrettable experience recurs in the Ten-Nation Committee, the newly established body which is to consider disarmament issues, the progress of negotiations will be very, very slow and, probably, much water will have been drunk at the meetings of the Committee before it makes headway towards a disarmament agreement. If the matter of, say, burying a dead man were to take as much time as the discussion on the termination of the arms race has taken so far, then the corpse would have decayed long ago and there would be nothing left to bury.

The Soviet disarmament proposals will hardly be turned down outright, for the state of affairs in the world today does not permit of such a thing. But, as we know, the equipment of Western diplomacy includes such methods as the setting up of all sorts of committees and subcommittees, the submission of reports and sur-

veys, interminable polemics and debates on wordings. We must not rule out the possibility of all these things being brought into play by the opponents of disarmament to block constructive decisions. But we should not like anything of the sort to happen, and should like the talks to be fair and fruitful.

Suppose, however, the negotiations do take such an undesirable turn. In that case, while engaged in the negotiations, we should, contrary to our desire, be compelled to maintain our armed forces at a strength not called for, strictly speaking, by the interests of our country's defence. For it goes without saying that we would insist at the negotiations on reciprocity as a necessary condition for reducing armed forces and armaments. But our partners, by delaying agreement, would prevent us from settling the matter on the basis of reciprocity. Therefore, to maintain our country's prestige, we should have to keep our armed forces at their present strength and refrain from a unilateral reduction of them until we succeeded in persuading our partners to agree to a reciprocal reduction.

Who would be the loser? It would be our Soviet state, our people, because we should have to go on spending national funds absolutely unproductively. We should have to continue maintaining an army of the same size as today. By carrying out a unilateral reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces, we are demonstrating to the whole world, and by concrete deeds, too, our good faith, our desire to live in peace and friendship with all nations. (*Applause.*)

It goes without saying that even after reducing the strength of the Soviet Armed Forces we shall not slacken our effort to reach agreement with the West on general and complete disarmament. We want to free ourselves and others from the war menace and to reduce to naught the probability of accidents that could involve

mankind in war, a war which in present-day conditions would inevitably become a world war.

We have every reason to say that the steps which the Soviet Union takes unilaterally to ease international tension have, and will continue to have, a tremendous effect on the international situation.

Presumably, the peoples and public opinion in the West will bring greater pressure to bear on those NATO circles that would like to continue building up armed forces and armaments. Every time the question of increasing military appropriations comes up in the parliaments of capitalist countries, those of their members who are closer to the people will have good reason to point to the example set by the Soviet Union, which reduces its armed forces. Any sober-minded person in the West to whom aggressive schemes are alien will reason more or less as follows: Why should we increase our armed forces while the Soviet Union is drastically reducing its own? Of course, we can hardly expect that the rhetoric of those who keep talking year in year out about the "Soviet military threat" will run dry. But it is quite safe to say that the number of people who listen to the "cold warriors" will shrink very considerably. (*Applause.*)

Taking steps to reduce our armed forces, we say to the West: Let us seek agreement on disarmament, let us do everything to prevent war, let us compete not in building up armed forces and armaments but in reducing them, in destroying means of warfare.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are helping each other so that the economy of some countries will reach the level of the more developed ones. Furthermore, the socialist countries consistently implement the principle of rendering assistance to economically underdeveloped countries. The working people of the socialist countries sincerely want the peoples

fighting for their freedom and independence to establish an economy of their own and to stand firmly on their own feet, so that they will not depend for economic progress and a higher standard of living on hand-outs from rich capitalist powers.

The Soviet Union has been helping other countries as much as it can. I believe there is no need to list the countries receiving aid from us or to name the projects being carried out there with our assistance, since it would be a very long list.

The reduction of our armed forces, that is, the reduction of expenditure on armaments, will provide even better opportunities for promoting our economy and, consequently, increasing assistance to the so-called underdeveloped countries.

Now as before, we declare that if agreement is reached on general and complete disarmament, which will release enormous means, it will be possible as a result to render greater assistance to all economically underdeveloped countries.

Peaceful coexistence of all countries irrespective of their internal order, of their social systems, is the fundamental question today, the question of questions in international relations. It is only through peaceful coexistence made secure by disarmament that the highroad to a durable peace lies, the road to mankind's deliverance from the nightmare of devastating world wars. Not only the broad masses of the people, but also many statesmen and political leaders of the capitalist countries are realising more and more the necessity of peaceful coexistence.

But there are also those who deliberately distort the idea of peaceful coexistence. Some of the more stubborn adherents of the "cold war" are even trying to frighten the peoples away from peaceful coexistence by rep-

resenting it as a kind of diabolical invention of the Communists.

We have repeatedly emphasised that peaceful coexistence is not someone's invention but an indisputable fact indicating the existence of two social systems—socialism and capitalism—in the world today. These two social systems are competing in the economic field and are engaged in an ideological struggle. This is only natural, it is a necessary stage in the development of society. The point at issue is how the question of superiority of one or the other system shall be settled, whether through peaceful competition or through military conflicts.

The dispute between the two systems can and must be settled by peaceful means; it is impermissible to settle controversies between states by force of arms. The struggle of world outlooks, the struggle for the minds and hearts of men, will continue even in conditions of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. But we propose settling ideological disputes between states not by armed force, but by the power of conviction, by good example. By taking a decision on a further reduction of our armed forces, we are setting a good example that is in line with the best ideals of mankind. What we stand for is that each system should demonstrate its advantages in the course of peaceful development and that in every country the people themselves should choose the social system they wish to maintain.

Peaceful coexistence implies that countries with opposed ideologies must, nonetheless, live in peace with each other, live side by side, coexist. Hence the term "coexistence". If there were but one ideology in the world and the same social system prevailed in all countries, there would be no antagonistic system and the problem of coexistence as we understand it today

would not arise at all. In that case, it would be simply existence and not coexistence.

As it is, however, there exist two camps in the world today, each with a different social system. The countries in these camps shape their policies along entirely different lines. In these circumstances, the problem of peaceful coexistence, that is, of safeguarding the world against the disaster of a military conflict between these two essentially antagonistic systems, between the groups of countries in which the two systems reign supreme, is of paramount importance. It is necessary to see to it that the inevitable struggle between them resolves solely into a struggle between ideologies and into peaceful emulation, or competition, to use a term that the capitalists find easier to understand. Each side will demonstrate its advantages to the best of its ability, but war as a means of settling this dispute must be ruled out. This, then, is coexistence as we Communists see it. We are upholding such coexistence with might and main, and will continue to do so. We consider that it is indispensable and inevitable in the present conditions, unless, of course, one heads deliberately for the lunacy of nuclear-rocket war.

Some Western politicians are now trying to mislead and intimidate unenlightened people who as yet know little about communist theory and to whom our communist philosophy is not clear. They seek to talk them into believing that since the Communists proclaim their faith in the victory of communist ideology and the ultimate triumph of socialism and communism throughout the world, it follows that the Communists harbour aggressive designs, that they want to conquer the world, to rule all peoples, and so on. Need we prove that these allegations are nothing but brazen lies and slander?

The enemies of communism misrepresent our aims because they are afraid of the influence which the peace

policy of the socialist countries exerts on the peoples. We have never said, of course, that our aim is to conquer the world or a part of it. What does "conquer" mean? It means forcibly to impose one's terms, one's political system, one's ideology, on the other side. But then that is not coexistence, it is interference in the internal affairs of other countries, it is war. It is something we are most emphatically opposed to.

We consider that it is impossible forcibly to impose on other peoples something they object to, something they do not want. The Communists are firmly convinced that no ideology, including communist ideology, can be implanted forcibly, by war, by bayonets.

But there is yet another side to the matter, which the ideologists of imperialism are also trying hard to conceal. No state frontiers can stop the spread of communist ideology, of Marxism-Leninism. No armies can check the progress of human thought, and even those who are expected to guard the peoples, with arms, against communist ideas often adopt these progressive ideas themselves and, instead of standing guard against communism, become carriers of the communist "bacillus", as the capitalists call it.

No bayonets, no prisons or force, can stem the ideas of communism, for the simple reason that Marxism-Leninism is an expression of the vital interests of the working people, that it is the truth. Communist society is a society based on complete justice, freedom, equality, and genuine respect for man. Whatever guards one may post, however much one may try to fool people, they will in the end see and understand what is true and what isn't, what is good and what is bad. That is why we are confident that the cause of communism will triumph in the end. Communism will win, but not in the sense that the socialist countries will conquer the other countries. No, the people of each country will them-

selves weigh all the facts and when they have appreciated the essence of Marxism-Leninism, they will of their own free will choose the more progressive social system.

As for seeing which system is more progressive and just, that is going to be easier from day to day. Millions of people see the evils of capitalism and feel the heavy burden and utter iniquity of that system of oppression, and as time goes on they will see them better and feel them more. The peoples of the capitalist countries see that capitalism means glaring contrasts between the opulence of the few and the hard life and semi-starvation of the working man, that it means millions thrown on the streets as unemployed, and constant uncertainty as to the future on the part of those who still have work. The working people of the capitalist countries know well what it is to fall ill and have no money for treatment, no money to call a doctor and pay for medicines sold at outrageous prices, what it is to be unable to send their children to school.

And when people in the capitalist countries compare their living conditions with those in the socialist countries, where the people have long forgotten all these troubles, the conclusions that occur to them are not hard to guess. When they compare the low rate of economic development in the capitalist countries with the rapid progress of the national economy of the socialist countries, the imperialist policy of "cold war" and arms race with the peaceful foreign policy of the socialist countries and their struggle for disarmament, they realise which social system is more just and progressive.

While today capitalist propaganda still succeeds in scaring some little-informed people with communism, we can say with confidence that it is a strictly temporary phenomenon. When these people have seen what is

what, they will be ashamed of their present error, and not every grandfather will make bold to confess to his grandchildren that there was a time when he was against communism.

Some of the more far-sighted ideologists and policy-makers of capitalism are already coming to realise that the social system under which they live and which they defend is historically doomed. They are afraid of it, and try to stave off the inevitable. They do their utmost to gloss over the facts, and avoid calling a spade a spade in the hope of befogging the minds of the masses.

Take the calls for extending "aid" to the economically backward countries that are coming more and more frequently from Western statesmen and politicians. It is necessary to feed the starving in those countries, they say, or they will claim their rights. To be sure, these calls are accompanied by a variety of fine words about generosity, humanity and so on. But what do they actually indicate? Certainly not Christian love of neighbour, but a most ordinary and selfish fear on the part of the monopolists.

For decades and even centuries, the imperialists and colonialists plundered the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which they now have so "generous" an intention of helping. They extracted untold wealth from the bowels of those countries but deliberately kept those who extracted it for them in poverty and ignorance, and exploited them mercilessly. That is why dozens of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are poor today and rank as economically underdeveloped. It is not at all because the soil in those countries is poorer than elsewhere or the populations less capable and industrious, but because foreign exploiters profited by their labour and resources, and waxed rich at their expense. The result is a situation where the annual per capita national income in the colonial powers ranges

between approximately $1,000 and $2,000, while in the backward countries it is a mere $100 or even less.

The time has come when the robbed are beginning to realise who robbed them and who is to blame for their plight. And they are already raising their voice in reminder. That is why the colonialists are beginning to sense that the hour of reckoning will come soon, and are trying to extricate themselves somehow from this situation.

The existence and progress of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are no doubt playing a tremendous part in the growth of the self-consciousness of the colonial or former colonial and semi-colonial countries. Their progress is there for all to see. Once these countries—China and some others, for instance—were themselves exploited and economically backward. But today they have changed beyond recognition. They have made immense progress in economy and culture, and in the building of a new society. The socialist states thereby graphically demonstrate the advantages of socialism as a more just and progressive social system. And there is no escaping these facts for the capitalist gentlemen. No matter how much they distort our Marxist-Leninist theory, no matter how much they revile us, the peoples are becoming more and more clear-sighted. They see, and become increasingly convinced, that only by throwing off the tyranny of the exploiters can they win genuine freedom, peace and happiness. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The moribund capitalist society is being succeeded by a new, just society which provides equal conditions for all and offers all benefits to every working man. The road of this new society is strewn with the magnificent flowers of freedom, equality, abundance and peace, and its victorious advance is irresistible. Such is the law of historical progress. (*Stormy applause.*)

* * *

Comrade Deputies, I have submitted to you, on instructions from the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government, new proposals for the reduction of our armed forces. By putting these proposals into practice, our country will make an important contribution to a durable world peace.

The Soviet people are confident of their strength and their splendid communist future. That is why we will continue to press boldly, firmly and vigorously for disarmament and for providing conditions for peaceful coexistence. The Soviet people will do everything for other countries, big and small, also to take this road.

Following unswervingly the road of building a communist society, the Soviet Union will continue firmly to uphold the great cause of peace among the nations. (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live peace throughout the world! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.*)

ADDRESS TO PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

February 11, 1960

Mr. Chairman,

Members of Parliament,

Allow me, first of all, to express my thanks for this opportunity of addressing the Parliament of the Indian Republic. I regard it as a great personal honour and an expression of the profound feelings of friendship that our peoples have for each other.

Only four years have passed since I first had the honour of speaking before the Indian Parliament. In the life of nations and states, four years is a very short period. But these four years may be compared in significance with some of the decades even of our eventful century.

In this period the forces working for peace and the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems have grown immeasurably. The tireless and selfless efforts of the peoples have brought about a certain relaxation of international tension. The indisputable truth that the peaceful coexistence of states is a historical fact, a vital necessity arising from the present stage in the development of human society, is winning ever greater recognition with the peoples and with politicians and statesmen, even with those whose ideological outlooks are diametrically opposed. The

principles of *Panch Shila* have carved themselves a place in history, and no little credit for this goes to peace-loving India.

It is our firm conviction that the principles of peaceful coexistence should underlie the settlement of all disputed international questions. (*Applause.*) This means that their settlement should be sought through negotiations conducted on a basis of equality and not through pressure and *diktat.*

The promotion of peace is not an easy task because influential forces that have an interest in continuing the arms race, frustrating the international *détente* that has begun and rekindling the "cold war" are still active in some countries. These forces do not intend to lay down arms, they do not intend to refrain from further struggle. Their activities are particularly dangerous in our time, a time of unprecedented achievements in science and technology.

Indeed, by his genius and technical skill man has now made a break-through into the infinite expanses of space. Sometimes one has a feeling that man's accomplishments are outstripping his imagination, although the latter should always lead the way.

The atom placed at the service of man is truly capable of working miracles. It opens up the possibility of conquering the severest diseases, of revolutionising agriculture, of introducing new, formerly inconceivable, production processes—not to speak of the fact that the atom, tamed by man, is becoming an immense source of energy on earth.

There is an ancient Eastern legend about a genie who was accidentally released from his bottle and then ceased to obey man. But now man has learned a great deal, he has become stronger. Having harnessed the energy of the atom, he must keep a firm grip on the reins.

For science has created not only atomic power stations

and space rockets. It has also created hydrogen bombs and intercontinental ballistic missiles for military purposes that are capable of delivering a nuclear warhead to any point on our planet. No one wanting to start up a war could now count on doing so with impunity. Whereas in the past some advocates of the "positions of strength" policy dreamed of calmly sitting snug after unleashing a war, now such hopes have become empty illusions.

Much has also changed in the past four years in the Asian countries which, pursuing their independent national foreign policy, have considerably consolidated their state sovereignty and made noticeable progress in building up their national economy.

In the near historical future we can see a time when Asian states that only yesterday were in the position of oppressed colonies will enter the ranks of the world's foremost countries with regard to the level of development of their national economy and culture. Like Prometheus unbound, the peoples of Asia are squaring their powerful shoulders as they embark on the building of a new life.

The Soviet people sincerely rejoice at the Asian countries' successes and bright prospects of independent national development.

We also rejoice at the successes attained in their struggle for liberation by the peoples of Africa, who have awakened to action. They are fighting against colonialist domination with increasing vigour. The Soviet people wish the African peoples new successes in this noble cause.

We are glad that the peoples of Latin America, too, are standing up for their national and economic independence with ever greater resolution and are opposing enslavement by foreigners, however veiled its form may be. Our sympathy always has gone and will

go to such countries as Cuba, which is actively defending her national and economic independence.

The Soviet Union has always given friendly and disinterested aid and support to all countries fighting for freedom and independence, fighting against age-long economic backwardness, and intends to continue doing so. (*Applause.*)

One cannot, of course, measure all the industrially developed countries with the same yardstick. It should be taken into account that the way some of the highly developed countries attained economic prosperity and a high standard of living was by oppressing and robbing colonial peoples. The reason why some Western countries are developed is precisely because the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are undeveloped. It would only be fair if the Western countries now gave back at least a part of the plundered riches to the peoples who were in colonial dependency in the past.

The Soviet Union is another matter. Our wealth and our industries were created in a historically brief period by hard work on the part of the Soviet people. Although we do not have any surplus funds, we nevertheless render increasing assistance to countries in need of it. Hundreds of industrial establishments and power stations are now being built in many underdeveloped countries with the help of the U.S.S.R. We want these countries to get on their feet, to build up their own industries capable of manufacturing not only articles of consumption but also means of production. This will help underdeveloped countries to establish their own industrial basis and speed up the rate of their economic progress. We consider that any country wishing to consolidate its independence must develop its national industries, its economy in order to raise the people's living standard and cultural level.

In furthering the economic progress of underdeveloped countries, the Soviet Union helps them chiefly in the form of credits and loans on most favourable terms. We do not make any profits from this, for we do not want to enrich ourselves at the expense of the countries we help. (*Applause.*) We are guided by a sincere desire to help the peoples of former colonial countries in every way to win genuine economic independence as quickly as possible and sharply raise their living standards. It is understandable that co-operation on this fair basis between the U.S.S.R. and economically underdeveloped countries is steadily expanding and will, we hope, continue to do so.

In your country, for whose people Soviet people have the warmest of feelings, the Soviet Union is helping to build establishments of the iron and steel, heavy engineering, mining, oil and pharmaceutical industries, a thermal power station and an optical glass factory, to conduct exploratory drilling for oil and to carry out other work. The Bhilai Iron and Steel Works, the firstling of Indo-Soviet economic co-operation, is now turning out more and more steel and pig iron, which India's economy needs so much, and has become an establishment with a complete production cycle.

The Bhilai Iron and Steel Works is a symbol of Soviet-Indian friendship. (*Loud applause.*) I am told that its chief engineer, Mr. P. Dani, has compared Bhilai with a shoot that is growing into a great and powerful tree of Indian industry. (*Applause.*) Yes, it is a good shoot, with firm roots in Indian soil, and we are happy that Soviet people have made their friendly contribution to this important cause. (*Loud applause.*)

Broad creative contacts that enrich both our countries have been established and are developing, and we can only hope that they will continue to do so. May sturdy and mighty trees of Soviet-Indian friendship grow from

each shoot! (*Loud applause.*) May the friendship between our two countries be as strong as the steel produced by the Bhilai Iron and Steel Works! (*Stormy ovation.*)

Economic co-operation with the Soviet Union has become a major factor in the industrialisation of economically underdeveloped countries which have embarked on independent development. As the Soviet Union carries out the Seven-Year Plan for the development of its national economy, which provides for another steep economic advance, it will be able to set aside increasing material resources for aid to other countries, including the Republic of India.

Soviet people sincerely hope that co-operation and friendship between our two countries will continue to grow successfully to the joy of all friends of peace and true civilisation.

Soviet people rejoice at the achievements the Indian Republic has registered in the past decade. We well know from our own experience how difficult it is to overcome economic backwardness and build up modern industries, the foundation of a country's independence.

The Soviet people have set up first-class industries of their own, made big progress in agriculture and raised science and culture to a high level. Everyone now acknowledges that the Soviet Union has moved up into second place in the world in industrial output and holds leading positions in a number of branches of science and technology. The Soviet artificial earth satellites, our space rockets, of which one became the first man-made planet of the solar system, the second delivered a Soviet pennant to the moon and the third photographed the invisible side of the moon, are all convincing indices of our country's high industrial, scientific and technological level. (*Stormy applause.*)

Just recently successful tests were conducted of powerful intercontinental ballistic missiles, which demonstrated new major achievements by Soviet scientists and the Soviet Union's tremendous potentialities for solving the most difficult scientific and technological problems of our time.

Our country is now busy carrying out its great Seven-Year Plan. We finished the first year of the Seven-Year Plan well. Last year more industrial goods were produced over and above plan than old Russia turned out in the whole of 1913. Our successes in economic development are a result of the activity of the whole people, who are inspired by the idea of establishing the most just and perfect society on earth.

In the Western countries they are still spreading all sorts of tall stories and inventions about the Soviet Union, alleging that there is no democracy, no freedom of the individual in our country. Some even go to the limit of absurdity by declaring that labour in the Soviet Union is little short of slave labour. But how could a country where there is no freedom for the people, where there is no democracy and the individual is oppressed—how could such a country have developed its economy and culture so successfully?

We hold that man's supreme right, guaranteeing his freedom, is the right to work, to an assured existence today and tomorrow, his deliverance from the fearful threat of unemployment and impoverishment. The supreme manifestation of freedom of the individual and a guarantee of the rights of man is emancipation from being exploited by those who have concentrated the means of production, factories, banks, houses, the land and its mineral wealth in their hands and use them all for their personal enrichment.

It is in work for oneself and for society instead of for exploiters that we see genuine social justice, the

realisation of mankind's age-long dream, a manifestation of humanism.

In the Soviet Union the right of every citizen to work, to rest and leisure, to maintenance in old age and in case of disability and to education is exercised in reality. Our people have been delivered from the fear of unemployment; every citizen has ample opportunities for developing his creative forces and abilities.

Opponents of socialism claim that there is no democracy in the Soviet Union because we have only one political party, the Communist Party. Yes, there is actually one party existing in our country. Why? The explanation is the solid unity of our society, in which there have long been no exploiting classes, no exploitation of man by man. Nor do we have any intermediate social groups or strata with specific class interests. Soviet society is a society of working people—of workers, peasants and the people's intelligentsia, who are united by a singleness of interests, by a singleness of purpose. One party, the Communist Party, expresses and defends the interests of the Soviet people. This is why there are no other parties in our country.

Why do several parties exist in bourgeois society? Because it is divided into different classes. Some own the means of production, while others have only their labour power. That is why the capitalist class has its own party, the landlords their party, the working class forms its own political party, the working peasantry, which is oppressed by the landlords, is also compelled to organise and work out means of struggle to form its own party; the petty bourgeoisie, defending itself against monopoly capital, is compelled to set up its political organisations; to defend its interests, the intelligentsia also strives to have its own political organisations. Such is the law of development of a society consisting of

different classes and social strata. That is what explains the existence of many parties.

As for democratic principles of government, I must tell you that there is not a single country of bourgeois democracy where the people take such an active part in deciding matters of state as they do in the Soviet Union. In our country more and more functions of the state are passing over to the jurisdiction of public organisations and local government bodies. Not long ago, for example, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Internal Affairs was abolished and its functions turned over to local bodies.

Surely it is an indication of the unity of our people and the democracy of the Soviet system that there have been no instances of persons being brought to trial for political reasons in our country in recent years. Crime in the Soviet Union is steadily declining and the number of criminal cases tried in court is falling off sharply thanks to the rise in the people's living and cultural standards, to their increasing political consciousness and to broad public participation in the prevention of breaches of the law.

In recent years the Soviet Union has carried out highly important measures expanding the democratic foundations of our state. It has extended the powers of the Union republics and local Soviets, carried out major changes in industrial and agricultural management and in public education, and has enhanced the role of the trade unions and other public organisations. That is why we see such a powerful economic and cultural upswing and a growth of the political and labour activity of the masses in the Soviet Union.

Ladies and gentlemen, more than four years ago, in a speech in Bombay during my first visit to India, I described Soviet-Indian relations as a model of peaceful coexistence and co-operation. I am very happy to reaffirm this today, at a time when life affords such

striking examples of fruitful co-operation between the U.S.S.R. and India in their peaceful constructive activity for the benefit of our peoples, for the benefit of peace.

The increased prestige of the Republic of India and of its leaders, the prestige of Prime Minister Nehru, springs from the policy of neutrality pursued by the Indian Government, from the policy of non-adherence to military blocs. In that lie wisdom and strength. (*Applause.*)

Circumstances compelled the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to form a military alliance, the so-called Warsaw Treaty, to counter-balance the aggressive military alliances of the imperialist countries. But we have repeatedly declared, and do so now, that we would be glad to do away with all military blocs because what they lead to is not friendship among peoples but an exacerbation of international relations. (*Stormy applause.*)

We welcome the policy of peace, the policy of non-participation in blocs, which India is pursuing. (*Applause.*)

For our part, we are making every effort to ensure that the "cold war" is ended, that an atmosphere of trust is created between states, that military blocs and all armies and armed forces are abolished. We want genuine peace and friendship to set in among all the nations of the world.

Both our countries are working for peace and against the "cold war". General and complete disarmament is the most radical means of preventing war, of doing away with the war danger. As you know, a plan for general and complete disarmament was submitted by the Soviet Union to the United Nations last September.

We attach great importance to the fact that the Fourteenth Session of the U.N. General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution approving the idea of general and complete disarmament. (*Prolonged ap-*

plause.) General and complete disarmament will now be a subject of negotiations among the powers, and I wish to assure you that the Soviet Union will do everything it can for the talks to culminate in the drafting and signing of a treaty on general and complete disarmament. (*Applause.*) We are ready for such disarmament combined with the establishment of strict control. The settlement of the problem now depends on the Western Powers.

There is no doubt that implementation of the general and complete disarmament programme would mark the beginning of a new stage in the development of human society—of a world without war, without a race in nuclear and rocket armaments.

A durable peace in conditions of general and complete disarmament would have a most beneficial effect on the life of all peoples of the world without exception. It would make it possible to use all the world's resources for a fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of people and would open up tremendous opportunities for the all-round progress of mankind.

The establishment of a durable peace on earth would provide a powerful stimulus for the drastic elimination of poverty and backwardness, hunger and disease, ignorance and illiteracy, which have been evil companions of mankind throughout the millenniums of its existence.

According to estimates made by United Nations experts, the underdeveloped countries would have to invest $14,000 million annually in their economies to bridge the gap between themselves and the foremost industrial powers in a short time, whereas the arms race swallows up about $100,000 million annually. Surely it should be possible to set aside, from the $100,000 million which in the event of general and complete disarmament will be wrested from the forces of destruction, $15,000 million

or even $20,000 million in order to accomplish the historic task of delivering hundreds of millions of people from hunger and poverty! (*Stormy applause.*)

We hope that the forthcoming conference of the heads of government of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., Great Britain and France, which it has now been agreed to hold, will approach the settlement of major international problems, primarily that of disarmament, in a constructive spirit.

Firmly resolved to achieve general and complete disarmament, and desirous of doing everything to promote the attainment of an international agreement on this matter, the Soviet Government has been systematically, from year to year, reducing budget appropriations for military purposes. In the past four years alone, the strength of the Soviet Armed Forces has been cut unilaterally by a total of 2,140,000 men.

On January 15, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. enacted a Law on a Further Considerable Reduction of the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R. The Armed Forces of the Soviet Union are being cut by another 1,200,000 men, that is, by a third. After this reduction the strength of our armed forces will be 2,423,000 men, that is, it will be below the level which the Western Powers themselves proposed in 1956 for the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. after the first stage of disarmament. The Soviet Union, as you see, has decided to reduce its armed forces to an even greater extent than the Western Powers proposed and, moreover, has done it unilaterally.

By further reducing our armed forces, we say to the Western countries: Let us come to terms on disarmament, let us do everything we can to prevent war, let us compete in cutting armed forces and armaments and in destroying means of warfare instead of increasing them.

We Soviet people hope that the parliaments and governments of other countries, primarily those possessing the greatest military might, will follow our example and will in turn reduce their armed forces, thereby facilitating general and complete disarmament. (*Applause.*)

Ladies and gentlemen, vast and gratifying prospects are now opening up before mankind. Happiness and peace can and must be brought to all men on earth. But mankind must be freed from the nightmare of the arms race if this is to come about, must be enabled to breathe deeply of the fresh air of peace. For that, peace and friendship must prevail in relations among all nations, as they do in those between the Soviet Union and the Republic of India. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

It is gratifying to know that the Soviet Union and India have common interests in the great cause of achieving a durable peace for all men on earth. The Soviet people value highly the contribution India is making to the attainment of this noble aim. We attach great importance to the efforts which India and other peace-loving states are making for the speediest settlement of the problem of ending tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons for all time. (*Applause.*) We hope that the continued efforts of all peace-loving countries and peoples will in the near future make it possible completely to overcome the resistance put up by the forces that are preventing settlement of this problem and that want to go on contaminating the atmosphere of our planet with the radioactive fall-out of nuclear test explosions.

In conclusion, I should like to express the confidence that co-operation between our countries in the common struggle for peace, for general and complete disarmament, will be still closer and more fruitful in future. It is my firm belief that in the long run the forces of

reason, the forces of peace will triumph over the forces of war and will bring mankind a bright and happy future in a world of durable peace and progress. (*Applause.*)

Long live peace on earth! (*Prolonged applause.*)

May the great friendship between India and the Soviet Union flourish and grow stronger! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Thank you.

PRESS CONFERENCE IN JAKARTA

A press conference was held in Jakarta on February 29. It was opened by A. A. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. The following statement by N. S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., was first read.

Dear Friends,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Thanks to the kind invitation of the President and Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia, Sukarno, we have had the happy opportunity of visiting some regions of your country and meeting many people.

During our visit we have had important, frank and very useful talks with our friend President Sukarno and other statesmen of the Republic of Indonesia on a wide range of international issues and on questions concerning the further development of friendly relations and co-operation between our countries.

You would, no doubt, like to know whether we are satisfied with the results of the talks, with the results of our visit. Yes, we are very satisfied. As you already know, a Joint Soviet-Indonesian Declaration, a General Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation and an Agreement on Cultural Co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Indonesia were signed yesterday. These documents are imbued with a spirit

of mutual understanding and they open up broad prospects for co-operation between our countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, for the strengthening of peace and friendship among nations. We regard these documents as a major contribution to the common struggle of all peoples to end the "cold war" and relax international tension.

I have the pleasure of informing representatives of the press that the Soviet Government has invited President Sukarno to visit the Soviet Union again at his convenience. Our invitation has been accepted, and in this connection we express great satisfaction.

While in your country we received many written and verbal invitations to visit various cities and take part in meetings and folk festivals. I take this opportunity to express our heartfelt thanks to all who sent us invitations. We are very sorry, but it was just physically impossible to avail ourselves of all these friendly invitations.

Frankly speaking, one rarely sees anything more beautiful than the mountains, valleys and seas of Indonesia. Nature is fabulously generous in your country. I liked your wonderful land and, in particular, your industrious, hospitable and friendly people.

Your land is rich, but by itself nature does not give people food and drink, the more so if the natural resources are in the possession of foreigners. Ordinary folk lived in want beneath your luxuriant palms because for a long time it was the colonialists and not they who were the masters of their country. Long domination by the colonialists has left a grave aftermath—economic backwardness against which a tenacious struggle is needed. This struggle is not an easy one.

Your country has freed itself from the chains of colonial slavery. An end has been put to an intolerable situation where a huge country with a population of

90 millions was tyrannised by foreigners. Soviet people are always on the side of those who want independence, peace and prosperity, on your side, Indonesian friends. Every free nation wishes all other nations to be free. The recognition that all peoples have the right to national independence and independent development is the foundation of foundations of the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

Many countries of the East have contributed immensely to the advance of human culture. China, India, Indonesia and Burma have an ancient and rich culture. But later the development of the countries of Asia was seriously hampered. The European colonialists implanted their "civilisation" in Asia with sword and fire and held up for centuries the development of the countries subjugated by them.

For a long time many of the countries of Asia were nothing but a raw material appendage of a small group of economically developed colonial powers, which removed incalculable treasures from these countries. For many long years, the development of an extremely rich country like Indonesia, too, was artificially obstructed by the policy of colonialism, that terrible and shameful phenomenon in the history of mankind. The colonialists did their utmost to prevent industry from developing here, and access to science and culture was closed to the people.

But colonialism is breathing its last. In our time the countries of the East, which account for a large part of the world's population, play a prominent role in all the affairs of mankind, in the settlement of world problems, in shaping the destiny of the world. In future the peoples of the East will play a steadily bigger role. The sooner they acquire complete political and economic independence and lay the foundations for the rapid economic and cultural growth of their countries, the more effectively they will be able to accomplish this role.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union in respect of the countries of the East is clear and understandable. We stand for the broadest co-operation and render disinterested economic aid to these countries. The co-operation that the Soviet Union establishes with the countries of Asia in the economic, cultural and other fields helps to create normal relations between states and to strengthen peace. That is the Soviet Union's chief objective in international relations. The Soviet Union has never had any other objectives.

It goes without saying that aid can be given in different ways. There are people who are ready to "support" somebody else, to "hold out a helping hand", but later they take such a high interest for this that the "beneficiary" feels like kicking himself and sometimes even running his head into the noose. In the end the one who has received such "aid" grows poorer, while the one who has given it grows richer at the expense of the former. A part of the spoil is used for further "aid", and in this way riches are multiplied. Aid can also be rendered on a different principle—the principle of you can have what's useless to me. In international relations, you often come across this kind of "aid".

There is also real aid, which one country gives disinterestedly to other countries to consolidate their economy and become genuinely free and independent.

Every unprejudiced person can see today that the Soviet Union's programme of economic and technical aid enjoys increasing recognition. Our country's possibilities in this respect are growing. Here are some examples. Although the Republic of Indonesia has large deposits of iron ore and non-ferrous metals, it did not have an iron and steel industry of its own until lately. The Soviet Union will help Indonesia to build large industrial enterprises, including metallurgical plants, chemical factories and textile mills, and to use atomic

power for peaceful purposes. With Soviet assistance, India has built a big iron and steel works in Bhilai and is building engineering and other enterprises. Soviet geologists and oil experts have helped their Indian friends to find deposits of oil and to lay the foundations for an oil industry. You probably know that the Soviet Union is rendering similar friendly aid to other countries.

We sincerely want to help the economically underdeveloped countries to do away with the painful heritage of colonialism and to create the requisites for swift economic and cultural growth. The favourable credits extended by the Soviet Union are earmarked for financing big key projects of the national economy that are of paramount importance. All the means and material values allocated by the Soviet Union by way of aid have been produced wholly and exclusively by the Soviet people.

But all aid and all co-operation will prove useless unless mankind succeeds in settling the biggest problem, the problem of securing a lasting and durable peace, of guaranteeing a world without arms, without tension, without cold or hot wars. Accomplishment of the programme of general and complete disarmament is the key to the solution of this problem.

The year 1959 brought a relaxation into the international situation, and this showed that where there is goodwill, excellent results can be achieved.

The year 1960 is beginning propitiously. There is to be a meeting of the heads of government of the Great Powers. Experience shows that much depends on personal contacts between leading statesmen. The Soviet Union willingly participates in these meetings and contacts with the clear purpose of securing the preservation of a lasting and durable peace, of removing the danger of another war.

Ladies and gentlemen, friends, this is not my first

meeting with newsmen. I am happy that today I have the opportunity of talking with journalists who represent the young national press of the young Republic of Indonesia. Your people are faced with big and honourable tasks. The press can help the people to understand all affairs properly and share more actively in settling the problems confronting your country.

I should like to wish you success in serving your people, your country and the cause of peace. Allow me to express confidence that the press of Indonesia will continue to help consolidate Indonesia's friendship with the Soviet Union, with all peace-loving countries.

Let us cherish this friendship and develop it. This is what our peoples want and what the interests of peace demand.

I am now prepared to answer your questions.

* * *

Question by an Antara News Service correspondent: Could Prime Minister Khrushchov comment on what the press of some countries says about the Soviet Union planning to build a military base on Ambon Island in Indonesia?

N. S. Khrushchov: What can I say to that? There is the saying that one fool can ask so many questions that even ten wise men will be unable to answer them. (*Animation.*)

I want you to understand me correctly: this does not apply to the correspondent who asked the question. I consider all those present here to be wise people and, indeed, geniuses. (*Animation, shout of "Good!"*)

However, I want to speak to the point, otherwise it might be said that Khrushchov avoided giving a concrete reply. Those who have watched the policy of the Soviet Union know that, having abolished the military bases

it had in other countries, the Soviet Union is reducing its armed forces and advocates the abolition of all military bases on foreign soil, so that each country keeps its troops solely within its own boundaries.

Moreover, we advocate not only the abolition of foreign military bases, but also the complete disbandment of armies.

That is why the silly invention about a Soviet base on Ambon contradicts common sense and the sensible policy pursued by the Soviet Government.

Question by an Antara News Service correspondent: We are sure that at the coming Summit conference all the parties will make an effort to reach a successful settlement of the questions on the agenda. However, does Prime Minister Khrushchov consider that important international issues that prevent the establishment of durable peace on earth can be settled without the Chinese People's Republic participating in these talks?

N. S. Khrushchov: In my address to the Indonesian Parliament I spoke in fairly great detail on the question of the participation of the Chinese People's Republic, India, Indonesia, Japan and other Great Powers in the conference of heads of government. And not only these, but also other countries which are members of the United Nations and take part in settling international problems. However, the relations between countries that have taken shape today are such that some countries do not share in the work of the United Nations.

Indeed, People's China is for the time being not a party to the meeting of heads of government, which is to take place next May. But I consider that the problems to be dealt with at the Summit should not be frozen. Many of the questions which can now be settled largely concern the countries taking part in the conference—for example, the German question and a number of others. On the other hand, one meeting, naturally,

cannot cover all issues. That is why I think that the meeting scheduled for May 16 will make a good beginning if an effort is made by all the countries participating in it.

I think it will convince those who do not appreciate it now of the need of extending the composition of conferences of this kind, and in this way People's China will occupy her seat not only in the United Nations, but also at conferences of heads of government, just as India, Indonesia and Japan will occupy their seats. I regard these countries as being really great, along with the Soviet Union and the United States.

Question by an Antara News Service correspondent: We should like to have an idea of the size of the aid the Soviet Union is prepared and intends to render to new, economically backward countries so that they may set up industries of their own. Could we get concrete figures showing who has already received such aid and what appropriations have been assigned for the purpose? On what terms is this aid given?

N. S. Khrushchov: I could have informed you of the aid the Soviet Union has rendered and is rendering to economically underdeveloped countries. Unfortunately, I do not at the moment have the necessary data with me. But I do not think you would have the patience to acquaint yourself with all the figures, because a simple enumeration of data on the aid given by the Soviet Union would take a great deal of time. The Soviet Union is aiding many countries and, evidently, this aid will grow.

Now for the terms on which this aid is rendered. I imagine that you newsmen not only write but also read. I would, therefore, ask you to read, say, the agreement signed by the President of Indonesia and myself yesterday and published today, and you will see what these terms are. They are most favourable. We grant credits

not for profit but for the purpose of rendering fraternal aid. And this aid is appreciated on its merits by our friends, by the peoples of the countries that receive it.

Question by a correspondent of the "Harian Rakjat": International tension has lately begun to slacken thanks to the tireless efforts of the Soviet Union, the socialist camp and all the peace-loving nations of the world. However, as you have pointed out in your speeches, there still are thick-skulled leaders who continue to poison the international atmosphere. What, in your opinion, are the most vital tasks of the peoples of the world in the way of helping to make the Summit conference a success and to strengthen world peace?

N. S. Khrushchov: The Soviet Government regards the present international situation as favourable for the preservation of peace. A further improvement in the international situation will depend on how actively the peoples strive to have the policy of all countries develop along peaceful lines. We believe in this because we know that the peoples of all countries want peace and are exerting themselves in that direction.

As regards thick-skulled leaders, their thick skulls must be softened so that even they may grasp the new developments that guarantee peace among nations.

I have faith in human intelligence and believe that if you help to strengthen peace, that great goal will be attained.

Question by a correspondent of the "Harian Rakjat": The Indonesian people, who know by experience what Japanese imperialism means and who are, therefore, opposing the remilitarisation of Japan, were greatly interested to hear the criticism you levelled at the Kishi Government in your address to the Indonesian Parliament. Premier Kishi, however, sees your warning as "interference". Could you comment on this stand taken by Kishi?

N. S. Khrushchov: If our statement is taken as Mr. Kishi interprets it, then I can come back at him. I can say that he is interfering in our affairs because the treaty signed by Kishi in Washington, the treaty with the United States, provides for the retention of American troops on the Japanese islands, that is, for the continued occupation of Japan. Why, I ask, are American troops retained in Japan? I should imagine they are there not to combat the typhoons that sometimes rage in that area (*animation*), but are intended to be used first and foremost against People's China and the Soviet Union. Consequently, that is interference in our affairs. Since our affairs are being interfered with in this way, then we have a right to reply in the same way; we have opposed and will continue to oppose military blocs and the establishment of military bases on foreign soil. And I am sure that the common sense we are guided by will triumph.

Question by a correspondent of the "Bintang Timur": The character of the aid given formerly by the so-called "developed countries" has always had the aim of bringing greater profit to the countries extending it than the countries receiving it. For that reason, the so-called "underdeveloped countries" always look on such aid from abroad with distrust. In this respect, is the Soviet Union opening a new page with regard to the character, terms and aims of the aid it is giving to other countries, particularly to the so-called "underdeveloped countries"? We hope that Your Excellency will explain the character, terms and purpose of the aid the Soviet Union is extending to underdeveloped countries at present and will extend in future, seeing that the fulfilment of the Soviet Seven-Year Plan is at hand.

N. S. Khrushchov: The aid given to economically underdeveloped countries by the capitalist states and the aid given them by the socialist states proceed from

totally different principles. The capitalist states are guided by the law of their society, which is "you can't sell if you don't swindle"—in other words, help the weak today to make him ask your help again tomorrow. And so it goes on in a vicious circle. It is not aid but a desire to trap and subjugate, to turn a country into an object of exploitation by a state or a group of people.

A socialist state builds its life on different principles. We are prompted by feelings of fraternity and by the fact that all peoples are equal. In our country the means of production do not belong to some person or groups of persons but to the whole of society, to the people. That is why we want all peoples, all countries, to be happy. We are guided by the same principles in our foreign policy. We consider that economically strong countries must help the weak, the more so as they are weak not because they were doomed to this by nature, but because they have been plundered by the strong in the past. We are helping the underdeveloped countries to find their feet so that they may be able to satisfy the material and spiritual requirements of their peoples and to move ahead. That is one condition on which really friendly, fraternal relations can be secured between peoples, and not only wars, but all sorts of other conflicts excluded from the life of mankind. Although we take a certain interest for the services we render in the shape of aid, it is a fair interest, needed to cover the expenses involved in extending the credit.

Question by a correspondent of the Czechoslovak "Rudé Právo": What are your personal impressions, Nikita Sergeyevich, of your trip to three Asian countries, in particular Indonesia?

N. S. Khrushchov: I have the very best impressions of my trip to India, Burma and Indonesia. I spent most of the time in Indonesia. It is a really paradisiacal, a fabulous country, and it has impressed me very much.

I am confident that when Indonesia has recovered from the consequences of prolonged colonial oppression and developed her industry and advanced her agriculture, she will be a very rich and happy country. She has enormous deposits of iron ore, tin and other minerals, and has many other riches that have not yet been explored and brought to light. She has splendid natural conditions for agricultural development.

I am not envious of this, but rejoice at it as a friend or a brother. I wish the Indonesian people happiness and prosperity. They are a very talented and industrious people.

Question by an Associated Press correspondent: Is it true that you said you would insist on the Western Allies leaving West Berlin regardless of any concessions they might make to meet Russia's stand on disarmament? Did you make these statements to the Italian President Gronchi?

N. S. Khrushchov: That question is not put correctly enough—it sounds as though the Western countries will make concessions to the Soviet Union in the matter of ensuring peace and we must make a concession to the West on Berlin. That is wrong. Those are independent problems and each requires its own solution.

Are the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries the only ones interested in disarmament and in securing peace? All nations want peace to be secured. That is why the disarmament question must be examined and settled in such a way as to benefit all countries, all peoples and the cause of peace.

West Berlin is a different question altogether. It is a question of doing away with the remnants of the Second World War, a question whose settlement has been dragged out for 15 years since the end of the war. How much longer can one wait? A Summit meeting is to be held soon to consolidate peace, but then the vestiges

of the past war have not yet been removed. Such a situation runs counter to common sense. We shall, therefore, strive to eliminate the vestiges of the war, and shall try to persuade our Allies of the past war to sign a peace treaty with the two existing German states. If they do not understand this, or if they understand but refuse to do it, we shall sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic.

When a peace treaty has been signed with the German Democratic Republic, all the consequences of the war against Germany will cease to exist in the territory of the G.D.R., including West Berlin. West Berlin is in the territory of the German Democratic Republic.

Question by an Antara News Service correspondent: The Western countries are suggesting that a plebiscite be held throughout Germany to solve the problem of that country split in two. Would Prime Minister Khrushchov comment on that?

N. S. Khrushchov: We explained our position on this question some time ago.

We advocate non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The question of a plebiscite, of holding it in a particular country or group of countries, concerns nobody but the peoples inhabiting those countries. The Soviet Union and Germany are not even neighbours. If the question of a plebiscite arises, let the governments of the two German states get together, reach agreement and hold whatever they like. The Soviet Union will recognise and respect their decision. But we do not and will not participate in the settlement of issues of this kind, and we are against any countries interfering in the affairs of other countries.

Question by a London "Times" correspondent: Are you still envisaging the status of a free city for Berlin?

N. S. Khrushchov: Yes, and we see no other way out. We want a settlement on the question of West Berlin

such as will not create difficulties for anybody, and only want to stabilise the conditions that have taken shape in that city. There is a capitalist order in West Berlin. We do not want to interfere in the affairs of the population of West Berlin and do not demand that the social system there be changed. But we are seeking and will seek abolition of the occupation regime in West Berlin.

Consequently, we arrive at the conclusion that the only existing possibility is to give West Berlin the status of a free city. That is why we have taken and keep to this position, and believe it to be the most sensible one. We want our Allies to understand us correctly and to agree with us. That would be useful and would help to settle questions that require a solution.

Question by a "New York Times" correspondent: Mr. Premier, press reports say you have set a date for a secret meeting with President Eisenhower. They have been denied in Washington. Could you make this question clear?

N. S. Khrushchov: I wonder where correspondents get information of this kind. But since it has come in, I am compelled to admit that I really had such a meeting with President Eisenhower yesterday. He came to Indonesia and we had a long talk. It was a very friendly talk. He flew back to Washington today. I admit it. *(General laughter, applause.)*

Question by a correspondent of the "Bintang Timur": What is the future of blocs that are helping each other, such as SEATO, CENTO and the various new blocs that are being set up?

N. S. Khrushchov: I am deeply convinced that the setting-up of these aggressive blocs is a silly idea, and like any other silly idea it must inevitably come to nothing. We—the Soviet Union and other peace-loving countries—are doing all we can to hasten that. In that

way we shall bring relief to the nations, and people will live more tranquilly and confidently.

Question by a correspondent of the "Pantja Warta": What maximum results do you expect from the conference of the Great Powers?

N. S. Khrushchov: In political questions, it is very hard to be guided by the concepts of a maximum and minimum, since there are no precise gauges for this sort of thing. But I believe in the good intentions of President Eisenhower, Prime Minister Macmillan and President de Gaulle. Personally, I expect useful results from the conference and we will do our utmost to achieve them. You will have to have a little patience, because there is really not very much time left before the conference meets, and you will soon learn everything.

Question by an INPS (Indonesian National Press Service) correspondent: Are the countries that get credits from the Soviet Union free in the choice of building projects for which they pay with money received from the Soviet Union?

N. S. Khrushchov: The terms on which the Soviet Union grants credit to economically underdeveloped countries do not provide for compulsory rules requiring the aid to be used in any particular way. The states receiving credits from us are free to choose how to spend the money and to build the enterprises they consider more necessary and useful for their people, for their country.

Question by an INPS correspondent: What are your impressions of your visit to Indonesia and your impressions of your talks with President Sukarno?

N. S. Khrushchov: I have the very best impressions of my stay in Indonesia, of her people and her riches. Above all of her people. They are a wonderful, industrious people.

We have had many talks with the President of In-

donesia, Mr. Sukarno. This is the third time we have met and my respect for this indefatigable political leader of Indonesia grows deeper each time we meet and talk. I can tell you that I am happy about the meetings and talks I have had with Mr. Sukarno and I hope we shall have more of these talks for the welfare of the peoples, for the good of peace.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I should in turn like to ask you a question and to discuss how best to continue this press conference.

There can be two decisions. The first is to consider the conference closed and that you have no further questions to ask me. The second is to recess the press conference and to resume it in Moscow. I invite you to Moscow. (*Laughter, animation.*)

Question from the audience: But will we get a visa?

N. S. Khrushchov: All you have to do is to apply to our Embassy. Anyone can come who wants to.

Question from the audience: Will we need an exit permit?

N. S. Khrushchov: I don't understand what you mean.

Voice: It is hard to get an exit visa here.

N. S. Khrushchov: We are always ready to receive guests and do not keep them when they leave. (*Laughter, animation.*) Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. I wish you success. (*Hearty, prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH AT A MEETING IN KABUL

March 4, 1960

Your Majesty King Mohammed Zahir Shah,

Your Highness Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Afghanistan Mohammed Daoud,

Dear friends, citizens of the Afghan capital Kabul,

Esteemed Mayor of Kabul,

We are very glad to be here in your country, at the kind invitation of our friend, His Majesty Zahir Shah, and the Royal Government. Here in Kabul we are among friends, among our good neighbours, with whom we have long been in good relations. The boundary between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan stretches for 2,500 kilometres. It is a boundary of peace and friendship, symbolising, as it were, the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social and political systems. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet Union is a great country, with a vast territory and a population of 212,000,000. Afghanistan is a comparatively small country. But never, in the relations between our states, has there been any hint of superiority on the part of the greater toward the smaller. (*Applause.*) On the contrary, our relations stand as a convincing example of frank and equal co-operation between a great and a small state. (*Stormy applause.*)

We value these friendly relations *(applause)*, value the fact that through all the history of the Soviet state and of your state, which won its independence bv struggle

against the colonialists and imperialist plunderers (*applause*), the clear sky of our relationships has not been clouded even by minor conflicts, and there has been nothing to shadow our friendship.

I should like once more to repeat that we value this very highly, because it shows the whole world that, granted goodwill and joint effort, countries with unlike social systems can coexist happily, not only without conflicts and tension, but in the most friendly relations with one another. (*Applause.*)

We are grateful to His Majesty Zahir Shah, the King of Afghanistan, and to his Government, for their wise and far-sighted foreign policy in the relations between our countries. (*Applause.*) The Soviet people and the Soviet Government respect and understand the efforts which the Afghan Government is making towards the development of the country's economy, culture and well-being, in order that success and prosperity may attend friendly Afghanistan. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet people and the Soviet Government confirm their sympathy and friendly understanding by concrete action. We are helping Afghanistan in various ways, and will continue to help in the building of various enterprises, roads and dwellings, in the advancement of the Afghan people's economy and culture. And we do this as a good neighbour assisting his neighbour. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The Afghan people may rest assured that, in their efforts towards the further development of the country, in their struggle to consolidate their political and economic independence, they will always have the firm support of the Soviet people. (*Stormy applause, shouts of "Zende bâd!"*)

Yours is a mountainous country. As yet, these mighty mountain ranges hide their varied mineral wealth from the eyes of man. This wealth is still little utilised in

Afghanistan, but it is surely there. And so we help the Afghan Government and people to prospect oil, gas and other minerals. (*Applause.*) We are confident that your mountains and valleys will yield up their secrets. Have we not found tremendously rich deposits of oil and gas in Soviet Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan, along our boundary with your country? The question arises: Can it be that all this wealth lies only along the border, only on Soviet territory? No, of course not. It lies in Afghanistan as well. It must be found, must be laid open.

What needs to be done, figuratively speaking, is to unlock nature's storehouses and make their contents the property of the people. We are confident that this will be done, that the industrious Afghan people will put their mineral wealth to good use. (*Applause.*)

Nor is the great wealth that man can put to use confined to mineral deposits. On the Vakhsh River, for example, not far from our boundary with you, we are beginning work on the Nurek hydroelectric power station, a very large station, with a capacity of 2,500,000 kw. (*Applause*). To give you an idea of the vast scope of the work we shall have to do, suffice it to say that a dam almost 300 metres high and almost a kilometre in length will have to be built in the gorge. But the funds thus spent will be more than compensated, as this project will provide water for over a million hectares of fertile soil warmed by the hot sun of Tajikistan.

This power station, as I have said, will be built not far from our border with your country. But you, too, have rivers that as yet spend their energy, as it were, to no purpose. The time will come when the Afghan people put these rivers to work. (*Applause.*) That, of course, will call for a definite effort, will require the overcoming of definite difficulties; but it is only by struggle, it is only by overcoming difficulties that prosperity and progress can be attained. (*Stormy applause.*)

In whatever country of the world they live, people are born to build, to create, to adorn the earth. That is why all the peoples of the world are fighting actively for peace. I come to your country after visiting India, Burma and Indonesia, and I am happy to be able to visit your country on my way home. (*Applause.*)

What has been the chief, the principal impression of my stay in the friendly countries of South-East Asia? Wherever I went—and we have already travelled, by air and otherwise, over 20,000 kilometres, and visited tens of towns, villages and workers' settlements—wherever I went, meeting people, seeing their faces, sensing their mood, I found beyond all doubt that people are eager for peace, friendship, prosperity, happiness. (*Stormy, prolonged applause. Shouts of "Long live Khrushchov!"*) There is still much to be done in the world if we are to advance more rapidly along the road of progress, and first and foremost an end must be put to the "cold war", to the policy of "positions of strength", of threats and blackmail. (*Applause.*)

With the development science and technology have reached today, when such fearful weapons have come into being as the nuclear weapons—hydrogen and atomic bombs; when intercontinental rockets have been built, capable of delivering their lethal cargo at any point on the globe, and there is no way of stopping or preventing their flight; in these conditions, particular importance attaches to a new type of diplomacy, to realistic, sensible diplomacy. (*Applause.*) "The diplomat is given his tongue to hide his thoughts," people used to say. But if such principles are applied in the diplomacy of our day, the result may be deplorable. (*Applause.*)

The hidden thoughts will not be revealed, but the peoples may be destroyed, inasmuch as diplomatic subterfuges, word-play and political trickery may lead to a still further heightening of international tension, and

even to war—and that means catastrophe for peoples and for states.

No, that is not what world public opinion, what the peoples demand today of their statesmen, of those to whom are entrusted the fates of hundreds of millions of human beings!

Work for peace—there is the law for statesmen and political leaders, for every honest person, whatever his post and whatever his political or religious views. And that means that in a world in which unlike social systems are in existence, only the peoples themselves are entitled to decide what social system suits them best. (*Applause.*) We must live in peace, because we have only one planet to live on, the earth; there is no getting away from this earth, and so we must learn to coexist in peace. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Union, as you know, consistently pursues a policy of peace. The Soviet Government has submitted to the United Nations its proposals for general and complete disarmament. (*Applause.*) It was not weakness that prompted us to do this. From the military point of view, as everybody knows, the Soviet Union is the most powerful state in the world. (*Applause.*) It was Soviet rockets that were the first to reach the moon, carrying pennants with the state emblem of the U.S.S.R. (*Applause.*) It was Soviet super-power rockets that arrived with wonderful precision at the designated area of the Pacific Ocean. (*Applause.*) But we do not want to use this fearful weapon; we have no desire to encroach on anyone. (*Applause.*) We were the first to speak for general and complete disarmament. (*Applause.*) The governments and the peoples of the majority of countries of the globe have come out in support of this humane proposal made by the Soviet Union.

Without awaiting concrete agreement with other states as to their acceptance of our proposals, we have undertaken a new unilateral reduction of the Armed

Forces of the Soviet Union, by one-third, which means, 1,200,000 men. (*Applause.*) A law providing for this reduction of the armed forces was adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. at its session in January of this year. We should like our good example to be followed by other countries. (*Applause.*)

It is pleasant to us that His Majesty the King of Afghanistan, his Government and the Afghan people look with approval upon our efforts directed towards general and complete disarmament, towards relaxing international tension. (*Applause.*) It may be said: Afghanistan is our friend, and that is why she approves our foreign policy. (*Applause.*) But it seems to me that even governments whose attitude towards us is, shall I say, restrained, or, to put it plainly, chilly—even they cannot ignore, cannot pretend not to notice our act of goodwill; for in so doing they will isolate themselves more and more from their own peoples. (*Applause.*)

Citizens of Kabul, dear friends, our relations are developing favourably. In future, too, we must continue to live as good neighbours, in peace and friendship, helping one another in developing our national economies and advancing our peoples' living standards and cultural development. (*Stormy applause.*)

Lofty mountains rise between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan; but they do not divide our peoples. (*Applause.*) The friendship of man with man can be higher than the highest mountains. (*Applause.*)

Long life and strength to Soviet-Afghan friendship! (*Applause.*)

May peace be triumphant for the good of all the peoples of the world! (*Stormy applause.*)

Zende bâd Afghanistan! Long live Afghanistan! (*Stormy applause. Ovation. Shouts of "Zende bâd Khrushchov! Hurrah!"*)

SPEECH AT A MEETING WITH FRENCH BUSINESSMEN AT THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN PARIS

March 24, 1960

Mr. President,
Ladies and gentlemen,
Allow me first of all to thank you, Mr. Desbrières, for the warm sentiments you have expressed in your speech, and all those assembled here for giving me this opportunity to meet and talk with French businessmen.

I know, ladies and gentlemen, that you belong to circles which have a serious influence on the policy of your country. Therefore, at this meeting, I should like to touch on certain general political problems besides purely economic ones.

Allow me to begin this talk by stating the point of view of the Soviet Government on certain international issues and expressing my views regarding the development of relations between countries with different systems in general, and between the Soviet Union and France in particular.

Soviet foreign policy is based on the principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. We have been striving to develop peaceful and friendly relations with all countries, and cooperation based on mutual advantage and conducive to the cause of peace.

The basic principles of the policy of peaceful coexistence were laid down by the founder of the Soviet state Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Lenin solemnly proclaimed a policy of peace and always underlined the necessity and tremendous importance of peaceful economic ties between Soviet Russia and the capitalist countries. "We may dispute," said Lenin, "we may quarrel, we may disagree in all kinds of ways—it is highly probable that we shall—but nevertheless, in the end, this basic economic necessity will assert itself."

We are undeviatingly continuing the policy of the great founder of the Soviet state and shall continue to do so.

Peaceful coexistence in our day is no longer just a political doctrine, not just a foreign policy programme of one state or a group of states. With the relation of forces in the world and the level of military technical progress being what they are, peaceful coexistence has become a reality and at the same time a compelling necessity for all countries, unless, of course, there is a deliberate desire to plunge mankind into the abyss of an atomic world war.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it has no warlike designs or plans, it has no intention of starting a war against anyone, it has no need of foreign territories, foreign riches and natural resources. Wars of aggression and aggressive designs are alien to our socialist system. The Soviet Union possesses incalculable natural wealth, which belongs to a talented and industrious people, who with great enthusiasm are devoting their creative energy to building up a peaceful happy life. You probably know what great successes our country has already achieved.

All the thoughts of the Soviet people today are directed towards fulfilling the big economic plan for 1959-1965. Our Seven-Year Plan provides for a further

powerful advance in industry and agriculture, a fuller satisfaction of the varied needs of the population, a considerable rise in the standard of living.

To give you a better idea of the scope of economic construction in our country I shall quote a few figures.

Under our Seven-Year Plan, steel output is to be raised from 55 million tons in 1958 to 91 million tons in 1965, oil from 113 million to 240 million tons, electric power from 235,000 million to 520,000 million kwh., cement from 33 million to 81 million tons. The manufacture of machines and equipment will be doubled, and the output of the chemical industry trebled. Bearing in mind that our plans are being systematically overfulfilled, we may be sure that industrial output in the Soviet Union during this seven-year period will at least be doubled.

We have achieved important successes in the development of agriculture. Grain production in the last six years has increased by over fifty per cent. There has been a sharp increase in marketable livestock production. During the last six years state purchases of meat have gone up over a hundred per cent, milk by nearly a hundred and fifty per cent. In the last two years the Soviet Union has already outstripped the United States of America in the total production of milk, and last year surpassed it also in the per capita production of butter. The Seven-Year Plan in the field of agriculture provides for an approximately twofold increase in the production of livestock staples.

The manufacture of consumer goods, such as foodstuffs, fabrics, clothes and footwear, is to be increased on the whole during the seven-year period by 65 per cent.

You will probably be interested to hear about the scope of house building in our country. During these seven years about 15 million modern flats will be built in the towns and industrial settlements, and 7 million dwellings in the rural districts.

The national income during that period will increase by approximately 65 per cent. The incomes of wage and salaried workers and collective farmers will increase by over 40 per cent side by side with a considerable increase in the number employed. This year will see all workers and other employees working a seven- and six-hour day, and beginning from 1964 we shall pass over to a six- and five-hour working day.

As a result of the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan, the Soviet Union will move up to first place in Europe in per capita industrial production and will come close to the production level achieved by the U.S.A. By that time we shall also have surpassed the present level of production of the United States in staple agricultural products as a whole and per head of population. After the achievement of the Seven-Year Plan targets it will take us only another five or even less years to catch up with and surpass the United States not only in the absolute volume of output but in per capita output as well. As regards the development of science and technology, we are confident that our scientists, who have achieved such brilliant successes in the creation of sputniks, luniks and ballistic missiles, will gladden us with something still more important.

Such, in general outline, is our Seven-Year Plan, such are the prospects of peaceful development to which we are giving our energy, our mind, our strength.

The fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan will signify a decisive step towards the creation of a material and technical basis for the communist society in the Soviet Union. This task is a very big one. You may not agree with our social views and ideals, but as men experienced in economic questions you will readily appreciate that applying in practice to all citizens the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs"—and that precisely is the basic principle

of communist society—will require a real abundance of material benefits, as well as a high degree of consciousness on the part of the citizens. All Soviet people are now working on the fulfilment of these tasks to improve the living conditions of man and meet his spiritual needs.

Industrial output in the Soviet Union in 1959 rose by over 11 per cent instead of the 7.7 per cent provided for under the plan. The successful fulfilment of the plan in 1959 has made it possible to fix higher economic targets for 1960 than those provided for by the Seven-Year Plan. In the second year of this plan total industrial output, in accordance with the new targets, will increase by 8.1 per cent. In the first two months of this year the planned targets have been topped by three per cent.

This shows that the figures of the Seven-Year Plan are realistic, and that the plan will not only be fulfilled but overfulfilled.

The Soviet Union's Seven-Year Plan is a plan for the building of a peaceful life.

To secure a lasting peace is the chief aim of the foreign policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. And we are proud of the fact that this aim falls in with the hopes and aspirations of the peoples who inhabit this planet.

But can peace be reliable and lasting if the colossal arms race is continuing and expanding, when the territory of Europe and other continents is covered with military bases, when planes loaded with atom and hydrogen bombs are flying about, and rockets with nuclear war-heads are poised on their launching ramps? Obviously, under such conditions, peace can hardly be considered safe. It is rather like a fragile china vase, which may break at the slightest impact. But if that vase breaks, the blood of millions upon millions of people

will flow. Today the situation is such that, even with the sincerest desire on the part of the governments to preserve peace, mankind may fall victim to an accident, a mistake, or an act of madness on the part of a few individuals. Can we put up with such a situation?

The Soviet Government is firmly convinced that such a situation can no longer be tolerated, that drastic measures have got to be taken while it is not yet too late to rid humanity of the threat of a nuclear war.

We submitted proposals for general and complete disarmament to the United Nations. The speedy destruction of all weapons under strict international control, I stress—under strict international control to which we fully agree—the abolition of all armies and all armed forces except the police to protect honest people against thieves and crooks—that is the most reliable way to a lasting peace.

As you know, the U.N. approved the idea of complete disarmament for all countries. The proposals of the Soviet Union were warmly supported by the peoples of all countries, and we shall press for an international agreement on such disarmament under collective control and for its practical implementation. We consider this plan quite feasible and workable, and are sure that the governments of all countries and all peace-loving people in the world will help in its implementation.

The problem of disarmament has an important bearing on the development of the economies of all countries. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that many millions of people in all countries are employed directly or indirectly in war industries. General disarmament will mean the complete cessation of war production, the conversion of all enterprises to peace-time production, a change-over to peaceful pursuits not only of people employed at war factories but of millions of soldiers who are now under arms.

All these problems are fairly complicated, but quite solvable. Similar problems, much greater in scale than these, confronted all states on the very next day after the Second World War was over. Nevertheless, tens of millions of people were then demobilised and the war economy was switched over to a peace-time footing. Does anyone regret that? Then why cannot we now solve the same problems, which have arisen as a result of the "cold war" and the arms race?

In the Soviet Union these problems can be solved and are being solved in a more organised way and more quickly because we have a system of planned control of the economy, and it is done without any adverse effect on the population and in the interests of the country as a whole. And, most important of all, we have no social groups or individuals who would consider it to be to their advantage to keep the war industries going and would resist their being switched over to a peace-time footing.

Of course, the situation in the capitalist countries is different from that in our country, and the regearing of the economy there is not unattended by difficulties.

The thing is that in our day, in the event of war being started—and that danger is growing daily as a result of the arms race—not only super-profits and the enterprises that yielded them, but the owners of those enterprises as well would most definitely perish. Hydrogen bombs make no distinctions between people according to their property qualifications or social standing.

I do not think, gentlemen, that what I have said can create the impression in anyone's mind that I regard businessmen, all representatives of the industrial and financial world in the Western countries as enemies of disarmament. I had no such thoughts, and do not share such gloomy ideas. Among the representatives of the business world in the West there are not a few influen-

tial and far-sighted people who appreciate the need for disarmament and realise that it can be carried out under present conditions.

As you doubtlessly know, the Soviet Union, right now, and without waiting for an international agreement on disarmament, has unilaterally undertaken a further considerable reduction of its armed forces. We are cutting them by a third, we are sending home 1,200,000 soldiers.

We have no intention and never did have any intention of attacking anybody or seizing anybody's land. And as regards the development of our peace-time economy, such a one-sided act in the field of disarmament will do a lot of good—it will save us 16,000 million to 17,000 million rubles a year. Besides, over a million young, energetic and capable workers will come to work on the fields, at the factories, electric stations, and building sites. All this, of course, will have its effect on the further rise in the standard of living.

We are firmly convinced that if the other Great Powers, instead of increasing their military budgets, take up the initiative of the U.S.S.R. and follow our example, the international climate will improve and an agreement on complete disarmament will be much easier to achieve. This in turn will make things easier for the population, who today have to bear the burden of the arms race.

I should like now to touch on questions directly concerned with Franco-Soviet relations. Frankly, gentlemen, the Soviet Government is a convinced supporter of close friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and France. We consider that good Franco-Soviet relations conform to the historical traditions and wishes of the peoples of both countries, and serve both the national interests of our countries and the general cause of preserving peace in Europe and throughout the

world. We express the hope that France's leaders share these convictions of ours.

Good relations between our countries, the foundations for which were laid in the distant past, are necessitated by important and constant factors. Soon after the October Revolution the more far-sighted of France's political and public leaders realised that there were many reasons for a *rapprochement* between France and the Soviet Union despite the difference in their social systems.

France and the U.S.S.R. are two Great Powers on the European continent, and that says a good deal. Neither France nor the Soviet Union have grounds for enmity or conflicts. I have already expressed that thought, and have not met a person who disagrees with it. We all know that even during the First World War the alliance between France and Russia played an important role in the struggle against German militarism. Later, if the French Government of the day had better realised the danger of German aggression, we could have avoided many of the painful consequences of the Second World War and indeed prevented the war itself.

In recent years the Soviet Government has often pointed to the danger of a revival of German militarism and revanchism, to the direct menace to the peace of Europe. We often declared that the Paris Agreements would not prevent the Bundeswehr from being armed with nuclear weapons. Now West Germany is starting to build its military bases on the territory of Spain. We are emphatically against it, more, we protest against it. We should like to hope that France and Frenchmen will understand us. The German revanchists are dreaming again of military campaigns along the old roads.

We cannot forget, gentlemen, that the security of our countries, of all the nations of Europe depends a great deal upon the concerted actions of our two states. We must do everything we can to put an end to the surviv-

als of the Second World War and prevent the menace of revanchist tendencies, which have arisen in West Germany.

Allow me also to make certain comments on the question of international trade.

If peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems is a necessity—and on that point, I hope, we are all agreed—then should we not draw from this the proper conclusions and try to derive from peaceful coexistence the greatest possible mutual benefit for the peoples of our countries. I think that this would be not only logical, but the only sensible thing to do.

There is a saying "Better a lean peace than a fat victory". That's correct, of course, but not enough, I think. A good peace is much better than a bad peace, and we should strive for the former. We should try to convert peaceful coexistence from a mere absence of war into active co-operation among all countries in the field of economics, culture and science. Naturally, extensive economic contacts among the states will be of the greatest importance.

The "cold war" and the "policy from positions of strength" have proved a failure, but they have left the world a legacy of a rusty chain in the shape of artificial restrictions that hamper the free development of trade between the Western countries and the socialist world.

The Soviet Union stands for an expansion of foreign trade contacts with all countries. It suffices to point out that the Soviet Union's foreign trade in 1959 was eight and a half times greater than it was before the war. The foreign trade of the U.S.S.R. in 1959 alone showed an increase of 25 per cent over the previous year. Our trade relations are developing satisfactorily with Great Britain, Italy, Finland, West Germany and other European countries. The Soviet Union is now trading with more than seventy countries.

We hope to continue developing our economic contacts in the firm belief that trade between the different countries serves their economic interests and is a sure way of securing a lasting peace. More and more countries are beginning to discard the policy of discrimination and boycott, which is only harmful to themselves, and showing a growing willingness to expand trade contacts with us. And in trade, as businessmen say, success goes to the one who displays greater enterprise, snap, and initiative.

As to the artificial barriers which certain Western countries are still maintaining, they are simply barring themselves from a serious development of profitable trade with the socialist countries, whose population comprises over a third of humanity. You should have no difficulty in figuring out what a loss the countries of the West are sustaining through the now meaningless policy of discrimination in international trade.

Your countryman, Edgar Faure, aptly and correctly described the policy of discrimination, when he said, "We have deprived Russia of fountain pens, but she has created sputniks. Trade restrictions should be done away with. Lists of banned goods on dozens of pages are ridiculous." We agree with this entirely.

Today, as you know, the capitalist market of Europe, narrow enough as it is due to the restrictions imposed on trade with the socialist countries, is divided into different zones of isolated groups of states. This is anything but conducive to the development of normal trade relations between the different countries. Self-contained economic groupings often lead to political insularity and all kinds of complications in the relations between states. Naturally, every state or group of states may conclude economic agreements, but it can hardly be considered wise when such agreements are aimed against other countries. That is why the Soviet Union has al-

ways been in favour of economic co-operation on an all-European and international basis.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are strongly in favour of a wide development of trade with France. During the last six years the volume of trade between France and the U.S.S.R. has increased more than fivefold. But, of course, there is still plenty of room for a further extension of trade.

We think very highly of French industry and are interested in many of its manufactures. We are already importing from France all kinds of equipment, such as metalworking machines, plant for the metallurgical, chemical, food, light and cement industries and a number of other branches; tubes, cable, rolled ferrous metal. But the assortment and volume of our purchases can be substantially extended.

We have also bought from you equipment for sugar refineries, and for enterprises of the textile and knitted goods industries. Soviet specialists and workers have a very high opinion of the technical standards of the various equipment we have purchased in France.

Our country is developing not only heavy industry, but industry producing consumer goods. We are devoting a good deal of attention, for instance, to the development of the textile industry, the equipment for which calls for substantial renewal. France has a highly developed engineering industry producing machines for the textile and knitted goods industries, and could receive big orders for new plant from the Soviet Union. The same applies to equipment for the printing and publishing industry. Orders could also be placed for consumer goods.

We presume that the traditionally enterprising spirit of French business circles will not let them lag behind their colleagues in other countries in the matter of trade with the Soviet Union. An important condition is the

mutually profitable nature of the transactions and the removal of all obstacles in the way of developing our trade.

Soviet foreign trade organisations have established good contacts and are maintaining lively relations with French firms such as Renault, Fives-Lille (de Cie), P.I.C., Schneider-Creusot, Compagnie générale d'électricité, Compagnie générale de télégraphie sans fil, Péchney and others. On the other hand, France is buying in the Soviet Union quite a number of goods which she needs for her economy, among them considerable quantities of oil and derivatives, anthracite, coal pitch, asbestos, timber, manganese and chrome ore and other goods. However, I hope you won't be offended if I say that you still know little about the Soviet market and are doing little to study it and the opportunities there are for buying various kinds of goods in the Soviet Union.

As far as the volume of industrial output in our country is concerned, the Soviet Union today is forty pre-revolutionary Russias. Our country's potentialities are incomparably greater now than they were before. This applies to all kinds of raw materials as well as to manufactured goods. These conditions, which favour the development of trade, should be studied and taken proper advantage of. Thus, we could keep your engineering and shipbuilding industries fairly busy with our orders. But that would be possible if you, on your part, increased your purchases of different goods in the Soviet Union.

The Franco-Soviet trade agreement for 1957-1959, as you know, has been satisfactorily carried out. We now have a second trade agreement with France for three years, but there is every opportunity—and we tell you that frankly—for concluding a wider agreement for a longer term, for five years, say, and the volume of trade could be doubled at least.

Extended trade contacts with the economically underdeveloped countries could play an important role in the development of all international trade. A considerable part of the resources released as a result of the cessation of the arms race and the reduction of armaments, or still better, of complete disarmament, could be used for rendering aid to the economically underdeveloped countries.

To all those who claim that the reduction of armaments and disarmament could lead to an absence of orders for industry and to unemployment, we could say that economic aid to the underdeveloped countries and the development of trade with them would open up truly unlimited markets and vast new opportunities for industrial production in the highly developed countries, and, of course, would play an important part in normalising the relations between the ones and the others, and in putting them on a sounder basis.

All this, of course, gentlemen, is merely a few separate ideas which by no means exhaust the subject of what can be done to establish normal international co-operation, to extend trade and other economic contacts between our two countries, and to arrange stable and mutually profitable Franco-Soviet co-operation.

Allow me to express the hope that business circles in France will show a proper interest in these questions, which will yield a direct economic advantage and serve the highest national interests of our two countries, the interests of world peace.

I thank you for your attention.

(Khrushchov's speech was well received by the audience. The President of the Chamber of Commerce thanked him for it.)

FROM THE SPEECH AT THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE RUMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY

June 21, 1960

Comrades, international relations and questions of war and peace have always been a matter of deep concern to the people. That is only natural, for more than once in history the anti-popular policy of the imperialists, their wish to redivide the world, to seize new colonies, has plunged mankind into the horrors of devastating wars. But terrible though past wars have been, if the imperialists succeed in starting a new world war, the calamities it will bring will be incomparably more terrible. Millions of people may be burned alive in the flames of nuclear explosions, and for some countries atomic war will be nothing short of a catastrophe. This is why, in all their activities, the Marxist-Leninist parties consistently champion a wise policy of peace, the prevention of a new world war.

I hope you will understand why I repeat certain truisms. The development of world history has been such that there are now on our planet two social systems—the socialist and the capitalist. These social systems are antagonistic. We people of the socialist camp are sure that the hour of capitalism has struck, that capitalism is living its last. The apologists of capitalism are trying to lengthen its life by primping and dressing it up. You may recall that in the United States

I was all but accused of wanting to bury every capitalist physically. (*Laughter.*) The Communists know that capitalism will inevitably go under and are glad that its end will come. But they are not guided in what they do by any naïve sentiments or notions, and have no intention of burying the capitalists piecemeal. They know that capitalism is digging its own grave. (*Animation, applause.*)

More precisely, speaking of who will bury whom, it is the working class which, as Karl Marx put it, is the grave-digger of capitalism. (*Stormy applause.*) And I, being a member of the Communist Party, of the great and mighty working class, do not exclude myself from among the grave-diggers of capitalism. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) The working class in each country will proudly perform this historical mission of burying capitalism and building a new, socialist, communist society. (*Applause.*) The working class, the working people in each country, will thus themselves settle the matter of replacing the capitalist by the socialist system. The future belongs to the working class, to its ideas, which are embodied in Marxism-Leninism.

Having won power, the workers and peasants, and the working intelligentsia of all the socialist countries are building socialism and communism by their own labour. They are demonstrating by their achievements in the construction of a new society the victories working people in a country can gain after they take power. The greater our successes, therefore, the more they will inspire the working class in every country to wage a revolutionary struggle, and to storm capitalism.

The Communists think in realistic terms. They are aware that today, when there are two world systems, it is essential that relations between them should rule out wars. None but madmen and maniacs can today call for a new world war. As for people with a sound mind—

and they are the majority even among the rankest enemies of communism—they cannot but consider the fatal consequences of a new war.

All of you know that the Soviet Government and the governments of the other socialist countries have by deeds, by their actual policy, proved to the peoples of the world that they stand by the idea of the peaceful coexistence of states. Our proposals for effecting general and complete disarmament, discontinuing nuclear weapons tests and completely banning nuclear weapons, and the reduction of the armed forces of the socialist countries—I believe there is no need here to list all our peace moves—are concrete evidence of our desire to avert war and effectively cement peace.

We prepared earnestly for the Paris four-power conference of heads of government. As you know, the U.S. Government torpedoed that conference with its brazen provocative actions before it ever opened. Spy-pilot Powers' name—though, of course, he was no more than a venomous little gnat in the service of the Pentagon militarists—will go down in dishonour in the history of America with the names of those who sent him on that piratic flight.

What happened in Paris was not an accident but part of imperialist tactics. The imperialists, headed by aggressive U.S. groups, were and still are opposed to the policy of the peaceful coexistence of states.

I recall my talk with the U.S. Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Dillon, in Camp David. It was a Sunday, and the U.S. President had flown away in a helicopter to pray to God (*laughter*); he told me that Mr. Dillon wished to speak to me on economic matters and matters of trade.

The pious man must have prayed for the safety of Powers' flight. (*Laughter, applause.*) By the way, that may be said to illustrate the fact that these days God does not hear the imperialists. The U.S. President prayed

to God for the safety of the spy plane but we shot it down. Whom did God help? He was on socialism's side, so to say. (*Animation, stormy applause.*)

When I told Dillon during our talk that it was essential to create conditions for peaceful coexistence, he asked me a cynical question: "What is coexistence? I don't understand it."

Observe what a shameless man Mr. Dillon is. He and his like would no doubt prefer to exist alone, without the socialist countries. But the matter is well out of their hands. (*Animation, applause.*)

One may ask: If the imperialists oppose peaceful coexistence, why did they agree to the projected Summit meeting in Paris?

It should be borne in mind that in the imperialist countries the attitude to peaceful coexistence varies. The talks I had with President de Gaulle and Prime Minister Macmillan in Paris gave me the impression that they showed some appreciation for the need for peaceful coexistence; they even argued that in the future relations between countries with different social systems should be built upon the policy of coexistence.

Not all members of the U.S. ruling groups are yet so much as able to articulate the words "peaceful coexistence". Some of them, like Dillon for example, claim that they do not understand the meaning of those words. They refuse to shape their policy in the spirit of peaceful coexistence. But time is the best tutor, and it will teach those die-hards as well. They will realise sooner or later that the choice is between peaceful coexistence and a murderous war. Let them choose. Victory will be ours. (*Stormy applause.*)

As for the American people, it is to be expected that they will draw the proper conclusions and produce statesmen who appreciate the need for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

It should be borne in mind, moreover, that the imperialist countries are not monolithic. They have their internal contradictions. On the one hand, there is the working class, the labouring peasantry and the working intelligentsia, and on the other there are the monopolists, the capitalists, who stuff their pockets by exploiting the working class and all working people.

The peoples of those countries, especially the working class, the peasantry and the working intelligentsia, and even a section of the bourgeoisie, do not want war, or fear it. Some do not want it, others fear it. The slogans of struggle for peace, of struggle against war, appeal to the peoples. It was under the pressure of those popular forces that the imperialist governments were compelled to agree to a Summit meeting. But they were intent from the start on wrecking the conference and putting the blame on the Soviet Union.

Now the people who scuttled the conference shed crocodile tears. They mourn, as Judas mourned after he betrayed Christ. (*Burst of laughter, stormy applause.*) They crucified the conference and now claim that the Soviet Union was the culprit because it would not walk into the web spun by the imperialist powers.

We do not live in the times when the legend about Christ was born. We live in the twentieth century. Today, sober-minded spokesmen of the capitalist world recognise that the development of socialism cannot be stopped. And this robs certain gentlemen of their common sense. They commit acts which may be described as downright provocative. They are uneasy and run berserk. In these circumstances even those of them who would not like to start a war are liable to press the wrong button from sheer fright, and the consequences of this would be inescapable.

The awareness of the peoples has therefore to be aroused. Their vigilance has to be increased. The struggle

against aggressive imperialist policy, against the colonialists, has to be organised and intensified. The peoples fighting for their liberation from the imperialist colonial yoke have to be supported and helped. The peoples who have already won their political independence but are economically dependent have to be assisted, so that they may take strength, and to firmly carry out a policy promoting peace.

All this implies that we must expose the ulcers of imperialism, its vices, still more vigorously. To prevent a war, including a local one because it may develop into a world war, every people should in its own country bring pressure to bear on the government and make it observe the principles of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

The American imperialists committed a provocative act against the Soviet Union. But the aggressive spying incursion of the American plane also has what may be called a positive aspect. The positive thing is that the peoples of all countries, who do not want war and who are fighting against it in good faith, can now see better than ever that they must not indulge in illusions, that they must not relax their efforts in the struggle for peace and must not trust statements by people who do the imperialists' bidding.

Now that the policy of spy flights into Soviet air space has fallen through, U.S. aggressive groups are trying to justify their acts by claiming that the flights were essential for the country's defence, for the prevention of a so-called sudden attack by establishing the location of Soviet rocket bases. The decision to carry on with these spy flights in defiance of the projected Summit meeting was said to have been taken in view of their special importance for U.S. defence. What absurd humbug and what a shameless lie!

There is absolutely no excuse for treacherous spy flights, even though they may be imperative for defence, because incursions of war planes into other countries are a violation of sovereignty. They prejudice the defences of the country where the aircraft are sent, and that country has every right to take all the measures necessary for its protection. It is precisely flights like these and violations of sovereignty that may cause a new war.

The reference to the interests of U.S. defence made by U.S. aggressive circles does not hold water in any respect. I maintain that the information obtained through these spy flights is of no value to U.S. defence. We know well that the spy flights covered areas where we have no rocket bases. We know that two or three years ago photographs were made of ramps where we test our rockets. It was rocket-testing grounds that were photographed, and not strategic rocket bases. Let the American Senators who are now investigating the whole dirty affair call in experts if they cannot get at the truth by themselves. Or they may consult us on the subject if they like, and will then see that the U.S. planes did not fly over rocket bases, but over testing grounds. (*Animation, prolonged applause.*) Other objectives were also photographed, it is true, but they too have no relation to rocket bases.

Only people guided by the policy of "brinkmanship" can justify, by exploiting the national sentiments of the American people, an adventurist course that may spark off an armed conflict. People who play at war play with fire. We declare: If other methods of spying are used they will also be frustrated and fended off. (*Prolonged applause.*)

But let us for a moment assume that rocket bases were photographed. Could that benefit a country's defence in any way or help prevent a sudden attack? Not

at all. Information about the whereabouts of rocket bases cannot be of any value to a country concerned about its defences and is a prize only to a country planning an attack, a country that intends to strike first and therefore wishes to destroy rocket bases in order to escape retribution after the attack. True, modern techniques being what they are, rocket bases cannot be put out of action with one, two or a few blows; modern rocketry makes retaliation possible in any contingency.

It follows that locating rocket bases cannot safeguard a country from attack. And since the U.S. Government protests that it will not attack first, we ask why it must carry out these aggressive flights which upset normal relations between countries and provoke conflicts fraught with war.

If a government really advocates peace, if it wishes to settle international disputes by negotiation and not war, it will never resort to aggressive spy flights that lead to the very reverse—to aggravation and tension in the international situation—and that may set off a military conflict.

U.S. Government leaders stress that the war plane shot down on May 1 was unarmed. It was, indeed, a reconnaissance plane equipped accordingly with radar and cameras. But it could also have been carrying an atom bomb. It follows that we are now supposed to develop instruments that would tell us whether or not a plane is carrying nuclear weapons. Or should we perhaps query the pilot of a plane like that whether he is coming to the Soviet Union with an atom bomb or spying equipment? (*Burst of laughter, applause.*)

No, gentlemen, we are not going to spend money on investigations of that sort, or to ask pilots what they are bringing to the Soviet Union.

We know that if an aircraft intrudes into the air space of another country without permission, it is a

hostile act, a provocation, and that, consequently, that country has to defend itself. What are the means of defence? To shoot down the planes and strike at the bases from which they take off. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The people of the United States and of its allies who have made their countries available for U.S. war bases should realise that the policy of the United States is Dulles' policy, Adenauer's policy, a "brink of war" policy. Those who make such policy may plunge all the nations into the abyss of a third world war.

Comrades, it is now obvious to everybody that the United States, which torpedoed the Summit conference, had no constructive proposals to discuss at that conference. The Soviet delegation, on the other hand, did not go to the conference empty-handed. It had concrete proposals, and it was no fault of ours that they could not be discussed at that conference of heads of government. But now our proposals have been sent to the governments of all countries and submitted for examination to the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee.

If the Western Powers also had had a positive plan of some sort, they could make it public now, as the Soviet Union has done, by announcing their new disarmament proposals and thereby proving to the world that they really had something to offer when they went to Paris. Yet we hear no reasonable proposals from Western shores. All we hear from there is the old, jaded tune about the Soviet disarmament proposals being propaganda.

The whole world can see today who really prepared for disarmament and worked out proposals to achieve positive results, and who did not prepare for the Summit meeting, who intended to scuttle it and did so.

Although the Paris Conference was wrecked by aggressive U.S. groups, the urgent international problems still begging to be solved have not evaporated. To

achieve normal relations between countries and remove the possibility of a new world war, it is necessary to solve the problem of universal disarmament, destroy the means of warfare and disband the armed forces. It stands to reason that this should be done under appropriate international control. The remnants of the Second World War have to be eliminated, a peace treaty concluded with the two German states, and the West Berlin issue settled on that basis.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are prepared at any moment to send their representatives to sign a universal disarmament agreement, to sign a German peace treaty. We called on the Western Powers repeatedly to show their goodwill as well. But the aggressive circles of the United States did not want a solution of these problems. What they wanted was a provocation in order to torpedo the meeting and thereby preclude a discussion of pressing international issues.

What conclusion may be drawn from the breakdown of the conference? If the U.S. Government persists in the policy enunciated by Herter and continues the flights, that will no doubt have the direst of consequences for the cause of peace.

The statesmen who are now at the helm in the United States have shown that they are aggressive and uncompromising. They are so utterly blinded by hatred for communism that it robs them of the ability to make a sound appraisal of the conditions now prevailing in the world. The present leaders of the United States seem unable to properly shape relations between countries with different social systems.

It is not for us but for the American people to decide who should be elected next U.S. President. But our country and people, who want to live in peace and friendship with the American people, are naturally interested in their electing a President and forming a

cabinet that would realise and rectify the mistakes made by the present U.S. Government.

The Soviet Union and the United States are great world powers. It is history itself that has made them such. It depends largely upon our two powers how the international situation will develop further, whether towards a more durable peace or an aggravation of relations.

The Soviet Government did all it could for the relations between our countries, relations which had barely begun to look up, to go on developing. But the American leaders try hard to fling the world back to the worst days of the "cold war". Nor is this done haphazardly, but according to plan, as State Secretary Herter and the U.S. President have, in effect, admitted. For they have admitted that they sent the spy plane into Soviet air space deliberately. All governments and all sober-minded statesmen naturally realise that launching a spy plane and invading the air space of another country cannot improve relations between countries and further the solution of the issues that were to have been discussed at the Summit meeting.

What course are we to take in these circumstances? Are we to accept the "challenge" and abandon the efforts made by the peoples of our countries to achieve an international *détente*, elimination of the "cold war" and normalisation of relations between countries? No, that would be a mistake. If we did so, it would mean taking the cue from the imperialists, who make money from the "cold war" and the arms race. It would be just what they want. They would thus be rewarded, as it were, for their provocative acts. We must not let this happen. By bringing down the U-2 we not only brought down a spy and *provocateur*, but also brought down the American imperialists and the Pentagon militarists a peg or two. (*Prolonged applause.*)

All peoples want peace, the American people included. I did not doubt it before my trip to the United States, and it became still more obvious to me during my stay there. And though some people today fall prey to the hysteria induced by the breakdown of the Summit conference, by the lies and the slander, and by the concentrated effort of fanning the "cold war" the whole thing is transient and will sooner or later give way to a sounder atmosphere.

What happened was yet another convulsion of imperialism. Aggressive elements will go on provoking us. We representatives of the socialist world, of the working class, of the labouring peasantry, must therefore repel the militarists with courage and determination, and thwart their aggressive designs.

Reading the press of various countries and the letters I receive, I see that not all people, not even all those who favour coexistence and work for peace, have fully grasped the stand taken by the Soviet Government in Paris. Some ask me why we did not agree to participate in the Summit conference after President Eisenhower stated that he had called off flights over the Soviet Union. We are told: Why did you leave Paris? Had not the President satisfied the Soviet Union by stating that the flights would be stopped?

I should like to explain the matter once more. I do so to help people of goodwill who really want peace on earth to appreciate the attitude of the Soviet Union.

The President announced the discontinuance of flights at a preliminary meeting of the four heads of government in Paris. The wording he used was roughly this: "We, Dwight Eisenhower, grant you the following: We call off the spy flights over Soviet territory."

Judge for yourselves whether it was a tone fit for serious talk with representatives of a great and powerful socialist country. When we asked the President to

specify for how long the flights had been called off, he said for as long as he stayed in the White House. This statement is worthy of special note, to say nothing of the decision itself—to call off the flights. The United States President endorsed those flights; he allowed spy flights just before the Summit meeting. After we shot down the aggressor plane it was stated that the flights had been made in the interests of the United States, that there had been flights in the past and would be flights in the future. It was Herter who said so, but he referred to the President, and the President agreed with him.

When we came to Paris the President made the statement about calling off the flights. He made it under pressure of world opinion, and apparently under French and British pressure. But everybody who knows anything about politics should realise that since the President called off the flights, he can also call off the calling off, that is, permit flights again and endorse new planned invasions of Soviet air space.

The President's statement was an evasion, a half-measure. It was not an admission that aggressive policy was reprehensible. When they spoke of calling off the flights they seemed to be doing a favour to the Soviet Union. But we need no handouts; we have never accepted gifts from the imperialists. We do not accept them, and will never accept them. (*Stormy applause.*) We are not fighting for the security of our country alone, but for that of all sovereign countries. The Soviet Union demands that sovereignty be respected by all countries of the world and that none should dare to violate it.

The President has called off the flights. But what if he calls off his decision and the flights are resumed? What will we do then? We will shoot down the planes and strike at the bases from which they took off. (*Prolonged applause.*) But we want the U.S. Government to realise that banking on spy flights is adventurous

and that such flights are an act of aggression against the Soviet Union or any other country. That was why we demanded an admission that these acts were wrong, that an apology was due and that the culprits must be punished; we demanded assurances that they would never happen again. Any other sovereign country not a satellite of the United States would have done the same.

We do not intend to yield to provocations and to swerve from the general line of our foreign policy defined by the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. and reaffirmed in the Declaration of Communist Parties adopted in 1957, when we celebrated the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. I mean the policy of coexistence, the policy of promoting peace, easing international tension and ending the "cold war".

The thesis that war in our time is not inevitable, which was proclaimed at the Twentieth and Twenty-First Congresses of our Party, has a direct bearing upon the policy of peaceful coexistence. Lenin's propositions on imperialism remain valid; they serve and will go on serving us as a guiding star in our theory and practice. But we must not lose sight of the fact that Lenin advanced and developed his propositions on imperialism decades ago when many of the factors that are now decisive to historical progress, to the international situation as a whole, were absent.

Some of Lenin's propositions on imperialism go back to the time when there was no Soviet Union and none of the other socialist countries. Today the mighty Soviet Union, with its vast economic and military potential, is growing and gaining strength. So is the great socialist camp, which now numbers more than a thousand million people. The working class, which is actively fighting for peace in the capitalist countries,

is now better organised and more conscious politically. Factors like the far-flung peace movement are operating today. The number of countries working for peace among the nations is growing. Furthermore, it should be noted that imperialism no longer has the rear it had before in the colonial system.

Besides, comrades, how can we automatically repeat today on this score what Vladimir Ilyich Lenin said about imperialism many decades ago, and keep saying that imperialist wars are inevitable so long as socialism has not won throughout the world. We live at a time when the forces of socialism are growing and gaining strength and when more and more sections of the working people rally to the banner of Marxism-Leninism. (*Applause.*)

There may come a time in history when capitalism will survive only in a small number of countries; moreover, those countries may be as small as, say, a coat button. (*Animation.*)

What then? Should we then also look up in the book what Lenin said quite correctly for his time, and simply repeat that wars are inevitable inasmuch as capitalist countries exist?

It is quite true that the nature of capitalism, of imperialism, does not change, even if represented by small countries. We all know that the wolf is just as bloodthirsty as the lion or tiger, though he is incomparably weaker. That is why a man is much less afraid of meeting a wolf than a tiger or a lion. True, the lesser beasts of prey can also bite, their nature is the same, but their capacity is not. They are not as strong, and are rendered harmless more easily. (*Prolonged applause.*)

It is not wise therefore to repeat, without due account of the concrete situation, without due account of the changed balance of world forces, what the great Lenin said in entirely different historical circumstances.

If Lenin could rise from the dead, he would, as we say it, take such people by the ear and teach them how to get to the root of the matter. (*Animation, stormy applause.*)

We live at a time when Marx, Engels and Lenin are no longer with us. If we act like children learning to read, who compose words letter by letter, we are not going to get very far. Marx, Engels and Lenin created immortal works that will live down the ages. They showed mankind the way to communism. And we are following it firmly. (*Stormy applause.*) Taking Marxist-Leninist theory as a basis, we must think for ourselves, and study life thoroughly, analyse the contemporary situation and draw conclusions of benefit to our common communist cause. (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise. Cries of "Hurrah!"*)

One must not only know how to read, but must also understand correctly what one reads, and know how to apply it to the concrete conditions of our time, to take account of the existing situation, of the actual balance of forces. A political leader who does so shows that he is not only able to read, but also to creatively apply revolutionary theory. If he does not, he is like the man of whom the people say that "he reads books with his eyes shut". (*Laughter, applause.*)

There is every reason to say with confidence that war is not inevitable in contemporary circumstances. Those who do not realise this lack faith in the power and creative abilities of the working class. They underestimate the might of the socialist camp and lack faith in the great force of attraction of socialism, which has most conclusively demonstrated its advantages over capitalism.

Is the possibility of the imperialists' starting a war ruled out in contemporary conditions? We have said repeatedly, and say again: No, it is not ruled out. But

the imperialist countries cannot but take account of the might of the Soviet Union, of the socialist camp as a whole. The imperialists, quite understandably, do not want to start a war just to perish in it. They would like to destroy the socialist countries. This is why today even the stupid and doting among the imperialists will think twice about our strength before risking a military gamble.

Even that maniac Hitler would not have made the insane decision to go to war against our country if he had been sure that the war he started against the Soviet Union would end in defeat for his fascist hordes and he would hide away in a Berlin cellar and put a bullet through his head in the fifth year of the war. That's obvious enough. (*Stormy applause.*)

But what if the imperialists start a war? Has our socialist camp the resources to stop it? Yes, it has. Let me cite an example. When, in 1956, France, Britain and Israel attacked Egypt, our intercession put a stop to that imperialist war started by the aggressors to rob Egypt of her independence. We helped the people of Egypt who fought heroically for the freedom of their country. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The United Nations met at the time, condemned the war and demanded that it be stopped. When Britain, France and Israel began their predatory attack on Egypt they knew perfectly well that the United Nations would not approve of their aggression. But they expected that they would accomplish their foul business—that they would crush Egypt and achieve their imperialist goal—before a decision was taken, before the U.N. was through talking and admonishing.

Indeed, this would probably have been the case if there had been no Soviet Union and no socialist camp. But the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries took action. The Soviet Government sent messages to

Eden, Guy Mollet and Ben Gurion. It warned them that there was a country which could deliver a crushing blow if the aggression were not stopped. And exactly 22 hours later the war ceased. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) Eden, Guy Mollet, that so-called socialist leader and in effect a rabid imperialist-colonialist, and Ben Gurion, their errand boy, tucked their tails between their legs. (*Laughter.*)

That was how the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp did their duty. The war was stopped. Was this not a demonstration of the strength of socialism? And it occurred soon after the Twentieth Congress of our Party proclaimed the thesis that war today is not inevitable and that if it is started, we shall be in a position to thwart the adventurous designs of the aggressors and give developments the necessary direction.

It should be borne in mind that this occurred in 1956. Today, the Soviet Union has developed powerful weapons of which the imperialists do not have full knowledge in spite of their reconnaissance flights. (*Animation, applause.*)

Or take this other example of how in 1957 we prevented an attack on Syria by Turkey, which was being goaded into the gamble by the U.S. imperialists. And in 1958, after the revolution in Iraq, the Americans and the British massed their forces for an attack upon that country. The American imperialists went out of their way to incite Turkey, Iran and Pakistan against Iraq. They were preparing the attack in so great a haste that they even violated Austria's sovereignty, despatching their forces stationed in Germany right across neutral Austria to the Lebanon and Jordan. But they stopped short and did not risk an aggression against Iraq in face of the firm warning issued by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. They flew in, hung about a bit, and flew away,

as the saying goes, with nothing to show for it. *(Laughter, applause.)* And the Republic of Iraq exists and is growing stronger.

It should be stressed that in both these cases it was a matter of fending off an aggression which the United States, the strongest of the imperalist countries, was about to commit against Syria and Iraq.

The American imperialists with their adventurous policy have discredited themselves so badly that they are hated not only by the peoples of the socialist countries, but also by the peoples of the countries that are their allies.

Syngman Rhee, a bloodstained puppet, has been driven in disgrace from South Korea. Turkish ex-Prime Minister Menderes, an obedient executor of American orders, is in prison. Even in Taiwan, that American-occupied island, the U.S. Embassy was wrecked in spite of the savage terrorism of Chiang Kai-shek, an American lackey. You know well that millions of Japanese have come out against the American invaders, whom they despise and hate. In short, wherever the American imperialists are not yet being booted out, popular anger is rising and the forces of protest are maturing. And as you know, where lightning has flashed, thunder is sure to follow. *(Animation, applause.)*

You know, of course, that the Japanese people produced a powerful movement of protest against the ratification by the Japanese Parliament of the so-called Japanese-American security treaty and against the U.S. President's visit to Japan, and succeeded in having President Eisenhower's trip cancelled.

When the Soviet Government withdrew its invitation for President Eisenhower to visit the Soviet Union the reasons were understandable and clear to everybody. The President, too, must have known that if the U-2 spy flights over Soviet territory, which he had sanctioned, fell

through, his trip would be scrapped and he would not be welcome in our country. But he probably thought that the U.S. Government, which wanted to humiliate the Soviet Union in some way with its unpunished spy flights, would get away with it.

However, after the U-2 spy plane was shot down over the Soviet Union and President Eisenhower neither apologised nor condemned the spying reconnaissance flights; he left us no other choice but to cancel the invitation for him to visit our country.

All this is understandable, of course. The cause is understandable, and so is the effect.

But look what happened to President Eisenhower's trip to Japan. The U.S. Government was very self-confident when it insisted on the President's trip to Japan in spite of protests by the Japanese people and the abortive "rehearsal" by Mr. Hagerty, the President's assistant, who had to learn acrobatics to escape from the airport in Tokyo and from the "hospitable" embraces of the Japanese expressing their true attitude to this emissary of the United States. (*Burst of laughter, applause.*)

It would seem that President Eisenhower should have drawn practical conclusions from all this and made an appropriate decision. But he drew no such conclusions and kept insisting on his trip to Japan. Everybody knows what came of it.

Well, all we can do now is commiserate with him and appreciate his feelings after that public slap in the face. But, as the saying goes, you reap what you sow. (*Laughter, applause.*) And so far the U.S. Government has been sowing nothing but seeds of war. The U.S. President's trip to Japan was designed to support Prime Minister Kishi who had begun sending out SOS signals, calling on the Americans to save his government. Eisenhower meant his trip to Japan to be something of a lifebelt for Premier Kishi. The President and the U.S. Government did

everything in their power to reinforce Japan's pro-American government, which, instead of serving the interests of the Japanese people, follows in the wake of U.S. imperialist policy.

But the result was quite different from what Kishi and Eisenhower had expected. The Japanese people slammed the door shut in the face of the unwelcome American guest and demonstrated to the world their loathing of U.S. imperialist policy and of Premier Kishi, the U.S. protégé in Japan.

The right conclusion to be drawn from all this is to carry on just as perseveringly with the struggle against imperialism, against war, against aggressive military blocs, to work steadfastly for disarmament and the abolition of foreign military bases. The sooner the peoples realise the terrible danger that foreign bases in their countries present and the more stubbornly they fight for the closure of those bases, the sooner they will win peace and security for themselves.

The Japanese people, who have experienced the horrors of the first atomic bombings, react more sensitively than anybody else to the peril presented by American war bases. We, the Soviet people, understand this only too well, for we have gone through the most trying ordeal—the German fascist invasion of our country.

The policy of the American militarists, who are setting up their war bases in Japan against the Soviet Union and People's China, is one of the chief sources of international tension. By fighting against foreign bases in their country, the Japanese people fight for an easing of international tension, for a stop to the "cold war".

We wish the Japanese people success in having the unequal treaties and agreements that are imposed upon them repealed. We hope the Japanese Government will be guided by the vital interests of its own people,

and not the interests of other, imperialist, states. (*Applause.*)

We applaud the gallant struggle of the Japanese people and proffer them a hand of friendship! (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet Union pursued a policy of peace when it was alone in the face of a powerful camp of imperialist countries. We follow the same policy today when the peace forces are unquestionably superior to the forces of war and aggression.

Our attitude stems from the fact that we have deep faith in the stability of the socialist system, in our system, and that we are therefore confident of the future of socialism. No world war is needed for socialist ideas to triumph throughout the world. Those ideas will win out in peaceful competition between the socialist and the capitalist countries. (*Applause.*)

FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE FOR ALL COLONIAL PEOPLES, SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF GENERAL DISARMAMENT

FROM THE SPEECH IN THE GENERAL DEBATE AT THE FIFTEENTH SESSION OF THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

September 23, 1960

IV. PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IS THE ONLY REASONABLE WAY TO DEVELOP INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN OUR TIME

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The peoples of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government persistently strive to establish firm principles of peaceful coexistence in the relations between states and to make these principles the basic law of life for all modern society. Underlying these principles is not some "trick" invented by the Communists, but simple things dictated by life itself, namely, that the relations between all states must develop peacefully, without the use of force, without wars, without interference in each other's internal affairs.

I shall not be divulging a secret if I say that we feel no sympathy for capitalism. But we do not want to force our way of life on other countries. Let, then, those who make the policies of the states with a social system differing from ours also refrain from fruitless and dangerous attempts to dictate their will. It is high time they, too, recognised that the choice of a way of life is the internal affair of each people. Let us build our rela-

tions on the basis of the actual facts of reality. And that will be peaceful coexistence.

The fact that a force much greater than the desire, will and decisions of any government is acting in favour of the policy of peaceful coexistence cannot be disregarded. This force is the striving, natural and common to humanity, to prevent the ravages of a war in which the unprecedented means of mass destruction created in recent years would be used.

It is clear that the acceptance of the principles of peaceful coexistence does not mean that the relations between states have to be built entirely anew. Peaceful coexistence is already an actual fact and has won international recognition. The proof of this is that the General Assembly has of late twice adopted resolutions confirming the necessity for peaceful coexistence. Willy-nilly, even the states whose governments do not as yet want to declare their acceptance of the ideas of peaceful coexistence are forced in many respects to conform to them in practice.

Today the question is essentially one of how to make peaceful coexistence reliable and how to prevent any deviations from it, deviations which from time to time engender dangerous international conflicts. In other words, as I have said once before, we do not have much of a choice—it is either peaceful coexistence which would promote the best human ideals, or coexistence "at daggers drawn".

To show what peaceful coexistence actually looks like, we could point to the relations established between the socialist countries and the new states of Asia, Africa and Latin America that have liberated themselves from the yoke of colonialism and embarked on the path of independent policy. These relations are characterised by sincere friendship, great mutual sympathy and respect, economic and technical aid to the less developed

countries without any attempts to force any political or military commitments on them. The relations established between the countries of the socialist camp and the neutralist capitalist states as, for instance, Finland, Austria, Afghanistan, Sweden, and others, can also serve as a good example.

We believe that the ideas of peaceful coexistence can triumph even in those countries whose governments have not yet renounced either their hostile acts in respect of the socialist states or their gross pressure on the states which are not members of any blocs and pursue an independent policy. In these countries, too, the people are coming to understand more clearly the danger of the "cold war" policy and thoughtless brinkmanship.

During my last visit to the United States I met statesmen, businessmen, workers and farmers, scientists and trade union leaders. These meetings were of great importance to me and, I think, to those whom I met. I was convinced that the American people do not want war and that even in the highest circles of American society there are people who profoundly understand the necessity for living in peace and for excluding war from the life of man, people capable of defying deep-rooted prejudices.

I left the United States with the thought that there were real possibilities for driving the dismal shadows of suspicion, fear and mistrust out of the relations between our states, that the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. could march hand in hand for the sake of consolidating peace and establishing real international co-operation between all states. I must say that my conviction has not been shaken despite all that has happened between the United States and the Soviet Union in recent months. In our time it would be the greatest folly if the two most powerful countries were unable to come to terms with

each other. This should be done at least by virtue of the fact that relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. are of tremendous importance to the future of the world. The Soviet Government is prepared to continue doing everything to improve relations between our country and the United States of America.

The policy of peaceful coexistence presupposes a willingness to settle all outstanding issues without resorting to force, by negotiations and reasonable compromises. It is common knowledge that most of these issues were not settled during the "cold war" years and that this resulted in the creation of dangerous seats of tension in Europe, Asia and other parts of the world.

The international knots resulting from the Second World War have not yet been untangled. First and foremost among them is the need to conclude a peace treaty with Germany and on this basis settle the urgent question of West Berlin. The governments of the Western Powers are entirely to blame for the fact that no peace treaty with Germany has yet been signed because, to put it plainly, they have been sabotaging this problem for many years. These governments have made a practice of peremptorily rejecting all the Soviet Union's proposals to conclude a peace treaty with Germany while throughout the 15 post-war years they have failed to submit any proposals of their own.

As a result the situation in Europe remains unstable and is fraught with the danger of sharp conflicts. The absence of a peace treaty gladdens the revanchist and militarist forces of West Germany more than anybody else. They are taking advantage of it in order to move step by step towards the achievement of their aims that spell danger to the cause of peace. When the war was being waged in Korea and relations between the Great Powers were strained, they raised the question of forming the Bundeswehr and succeeded in doing so. Today

we are again witnessing the activation of F.R.G.'s ruling circles who hope that the present tense moment will enable them to lay their hands on rocket and nuclear weapons.

Despite the wrecking of the scheduled Summit conference, which was to have considered among other questions that of a peace treaty with Germany, we hold that there exist objective conditions for an agreed solution of the problems left unsolved since the last war. As we have already stated, the Soviet Government is ready to postpone a decision on the question of the German peace treaty in order to try to reach an agreement on this treaty at a Summit conference which the Soviet Union has proposed to call within the next few months. We should like to hope that the Soviet Union's efforts in this direction will meet with the support of the governments of the U.S.A., Britain and France.

The Soviet Union holds that it is most essential to settle the Korean question for the consolidation of peace in the Far East and throughout the world.

Only madmen can dream of settling the Korean question by force of arms.

The only sound proposal—to let the Koreans themselves settle the question of Korea's peaceful unification without any outside interference—is meeting with ever wider recognition. Immediate and complete withdrawal of all American troops from South Korea is here an indispensable condition because their presence poisons the atmosphere not only in Korea but all through the Far East and has made possible such shameful facts as the rigging of the elections in South Korea.

The proposal of the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic to create a confederation of North and South Korea is as reasonable as the proposal of the Government of the German Democratic Republic to create a confederation of the two German states.

This is the only way to make a good beginning for the peaceful unification of these states.

In recent years, at sharp turns in international life, the peace-loving states have repeatedly had to come forward in defence of the righteous cause and adopt effective measures to direct events into peaceful channels. The United Nations Organisation helped to rebuff the aggressors who were encroaching on the freedom and rights of Egypt; it also helped to call to order the interventionists in the Lebanon and Jordan. We should like to hope that UNO will successfully accomplish the important tasks dictated by the present, still troubled situation in the world.

Experience of the work of the United Nations Organisation has shown this body to be useful and necessary because it represents all states that are called upon to settle by negotiation and discussion all urgent questions of international relations so that they do not lapse into a state where conflicts and wars are possible. This is the positive side of UNO's activity. And this is, properly speaking, the main purpose for which the United Nations Organisation was founded.

However, in the course of its activities UNO has also revealed its negative aspects. The negative aspects have manifested themselves in the fact that some countries are so far succeeding in imposing their will and their policies on UNO to the detriment of others when particular questions are being decided in the United Nations Organisation. This does not further the chief purpose of the Organisation and does not help to adopt decisions that are in keeping with the interests of all the United Nations member states.

The U.N. executive machinery is also one-sidedly constituted. It often approaches the solution of problems from the standpoint of a certain group of countries. This is particularly true of the activities of the U.N.

Secretary-General. As a rule, the Western countries, members of the military blocs of the Western Powers, exploit this post in their own interests by electing as Secretary-General of the United Nations a person acceptable to them. As a result of all this the practical routine work of the United Nations and its Secretariat is in many cases conducted, to all intents and purposes, one-sidedly. The personnel of this Organisation is also selected one-sidedly.

The one-sidedness of the U.N. Secretariat in carrying out practical measures revealed itself with particular clarity in the events that came to pass in the Congo. In implementing the decisions of the Security Council the Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, sided in effect with the colonialists and the countries supporting the colonialists. This is a very dangerous thing.

We have arrived at the firm conviction that it is high time something was done to provide conditions for the better working of the United Nations as a whole, as well as of the executive, functioning body of this Organisation. I repeat, it is primarily a question of the Secretary-General and his staff. The necessity for definite changes and improvements should be particularly borne in mind for the immediate future.

For instance, we are now conducting negotiations on disarmament. So far the United States of America and its allies have been doing all they can to resist general and complete disarmament; they find all sorts of casuistic pretexts to frustrate or at least indefinitely postpone the solution of the disarmament problem. But we believe that common sense will prevail and that sooner or later all states will bring their influence to bear upon those who are resisting a reasonable solution of the disarmament problem. It has, therefore, now become necessary to adapt the United Nations' machinery to the conditions which will be called into existence in the

course of the implementation of a decision on disarmament.

Our proposals and the proposals of the member states of the military NATO bloc have revealed a common point of view that it will be necessary, upon reaching an agreement on disarmament, to organise armed forces of all countries under international control to be used by the United Nations by decision of the Security Council.

The Soviet Government holds that, if a correct approach to the utilisation of these international armed forces is made, they can really prove useful. But the experience of the Congo puts us on our guard. This experience indicates that United Nations' forces are being used precisely in the direction against which we gave warning and which we resolutely oppose. The Secretary-General, Mr. Hammerskjöld, adopted a position of only formally censuring the colonialists. Actually, in practice, he is carrying out the line of the colonialists, is opposing the legal Congolese Government and people and supporting the renegades who under the guise of fighting for the independence of the Congolese Republic are in fact continuing the policy of the colonialists and are apparently receiving a certain remuneration from them for their treachery.

What is to be done in this case? If this is the way the international armed forces will be used in practice, i.e., to suppress the liberation movement, then under these conditions it will naturally be difficult to agree on the organisation of international armed forces since there will be no guarantee that they may not be used for reactionary purposes alien to the interests of peace. We must guard against any other state finding itself in the position of the Republic of the Congo today. We are sure that other states also understand this danger. We

must therefore seek solutions which will prevent such occurrences in the future.

The Soviet Government has arrived at a definite conclusion on this score and wishes to set forth its point of view at the U.N. General Assembly. It appears that conditions have become such that it is now necessary to abolish the post of the Secretary-General who alone runs the machinery, alone interprets and executes the decisions of the Security Council and of the sessions of the U.N. General Assembly. It is expedient that we renounce the system under which all practical work in the intervals between the sessions of the General Assembly and the sittings of the Security Council is determined by the U.N. Secretary-General alone.

The United Nations Organisation includes states which are members of the military blocs of the Western Powers, socialist states and neutralist countries. It is necessary that the U.N. executive body should reflect the actual situation that obtains in the world today. This would be perfectly just and we would have a greater guarantee against the negative occurrences which have come to light in the work of the United Nations Organisation, especially during the recent events in the Congo.

We believe it reasonable and just that the U.N. executive body should not act through one person—the Secretary-General—but as a body of three persons invested with the high trust of the United Nations Organisation and representing the states belonging to the aforesaid three basic groups. It is not a question of this body's name, but of having in this executive body representatives of the states which are members of the military blocs of the Western Powers, the socialist states and the neutralist countries. Such a composition of the U.N. executive body will provide the conditions for a more correct implementation of adopted decisions.

In a word, we believe it expedient to replace the Secretary-General, who is now the interpreter and executor of the decisions of the Assembly and the Security Council, by a collective executive body of UNO consisting of three persons, each person representing a definite group of states. This will provide a definite guarantee that the U.N. executive body will not act to the detriment of any of these groups of states. Then the U.N. executive body will really be a democratic body and will really safeguard the interests of all the member states of the United Nations Organisation regardless of their social and political systems. This is particularly necessary today and will be still more so tomorrow.

There are also other inconveniences which the members of the United Nations Organisation experience today. These inconveniences are caused by the location of the United Nations Organisation. It would seem that the United States of America, which calls itself a free and democratic country, should in every possible manner facilitate the work of the United Nations Organisation and provide all necessary conditions for the representatives of its member states. Experience shows, however, that the United States of America restricts and infringes upon the rights of the representatives of various states. For example, there have been cases when representatives of the young African and Asian states have been subjected to racial discrimination in the United States and, what is more, to bandit attacks.

The American authorities allege that the various restrictions of the rights of the representatives of the U.N. member states are due to the difficulty of ensuring their security. I wish to emphasise that we have a better opinion of the American people's hospitality than might be gained from such statements and restrictive measures. But we cannot disregard these statements nor can we disregard the inconveniences which are created for

the activities of the United Nations Organisation under these conditions.

The question arises—should we not think of choosing another place for UNO's headquarters which would provide better conditions for the fruitful work of this international body? Such a place could be, for example, Switzerland or Austria. I can tell you with full authority that, if it is found expedient to place UNO's headquarters in the Soviet Union, we can guarantee the very best conditions for its work and full freedom and security for the representatives of all states regardless of their political and religious convictions or colour of the skin, since in our country the sovereign rights of all states and the equality of all nations, large and small, are highly respected.

You all know that the Soviet Government once supported the proposal that the United States of America should be chosen as the locale of the United Nations Organisation. But recent events show that the United States of America apparently finds this burdensome. Perhaps we ought to think of freeing the United States of this burden?

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In addressing its proposals on very urgent questions of our time to the delegates of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation, the Soviet Government would like to emphasise their especial, extraordinary importance to the future of the world.

The importance of the disarmament question needs no special proof. This question is of such paramount importance that it must certainly be discussed at the plenary session of the General Assembly.

The question of abolishing the colonial regime is also so important a question that the need to discuss it at the plenary session of the General Assembly will ap-

parently meet with the complete understanding of all the delegations.

We hold that the question of the aggressive actions of the United States of America against the Soviet Union, which manifested themselves in the sending of American aircraft into the air space of the Soviet Union, has acquired extraordinary importance. In itself this is a fact that goes well beyond the bounds of permissible peace-time relations between states. But this question has acquired particular significance because the President of the United States of America, Mr. Eisenhower, declared the aggressive flights of American planes to be a normal thing allegedly essential to the security of the United States. Moreover, the Government of the U.S.A. has reserved for itself the right to send such planes in the future as well. This is why, since it is a question of violating the sovereign rights not only of the Soviet Union but also of other states, the question of the aggressive actions of the United States must be decided by the United Nations Organisation at its plenary session.

The continuance of such actions and, especially, their interpretation by the U.S. President as state policy may at any moment plunge mankind into a third world war. I therefore repeat that in the opinion of the Soviet Government this question, like the questions of disarmament and the abolition of colonialism, must be discussed at the plenary session of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation and not in committees.

* * *

The thing is that at the present session of the General Assembly the representatives of the overwhelming majority of the states of the world should voice their opinions on the cardinal problems that today agitate the

minds of people the world over, all those who are interested in the further development of freedom and democracy, and who dream of peace for themselves and for their children.

The Soviet Government hopes that the questions submitted for discussion at the present Assembly of the United Nations Organisation will meet with support and understanding since they are dictated by a sincere desire to ensure a better life and tranquillity on our planet.

Man indeed lives and works in order to make use of all his faculties, endowments and potentialities. In our time the world is diversified and yet indivisible. We are living on one planet and it depends on us how we arrange our affairs on it.

Today the human mind is working wonders. Tomorrow science and technology will offer still greater prospects. The thing is to make the great scientific achievements of our time serve the welfare of the peoples.

I believe you will agree with me that the attention of hundreds of millions of people is today focused on the meeting hall of the General Assembly. What do the peoples of very many countries expect from us? They expect truthful and honest decisions on the burning questions of the day. The peoples may err in the choice of governments. A particular historical situation may lead to injustice in any given country. But however complex the internal relations in states may be, it is inherent in people to hope for and believe in the best. People want to live and prosper and, what is more important, they want their children to achieve more and live better.

That is why we must all—I am speaking on behalf of the Soviet people—become imbued with the sense of our high and special mission. Mankind has made such progress that it can no longer tolerate any survivals of

the distressing reactionary past in its life. Mankind has made such progress that it realises the profound and serious danger of the improper, erroneous use of its scientific achievements for the arms race.

Then let us leave our heirs, our children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren, let us leave them a good memory of our time. Let them hold up the people of our time as an example and say: At one time the people of our earth were faced with difficult and most complicated problems, but they gathered at the Assembly of the United Nations and solved them, they were able to settle them in the name of a better future.

Then let us see to it that the Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation becomes an assembly not only of hopes but also of the realisation of these hopes.

The Soviet Government is prepared to do everything for the collapse of colonial slavery this very day, and that the questions of disarmament be settled in a concrete and businesslike manner this very day.

The Soviet Government is prepared to do everything in order that nuclear weapons tests be prohibited this very day, that these means of mass destruction be banned and destroyed.

It may be urged that these are complicated questions and that they cannot be settled at one go. But these are questions posed by life and they must be settled before it is too late. The solution of these questions cannot be evaded.

As I finish my speech I want to emphasise once more that the Soviet Government, guided by the interests of the Soviet people, the interests of the citizens of a free socialist state, proposes to you once again: Let us talk, let us argue, but let us settle the questions of general and complete disarmament, and let us bury the thrice accursed colonialism.

We cannot tolerate any further delay, we must not lose any more time. The peoples of all countries, whatever their social system, expect the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation to adopt, at last, decisions in keeping with their aspirations.

Thank you for your attention, Ladies and Gentlemen.

(The speech of N. S. Khrushchov, Head of the Soviet Delegation and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., was heard with great attention and was repeatedly interrupted by applause.)

SPEECH AT A LUNCHEON GIVEN BY CYRUS EATON FOR N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

September 26, 1960

Esteemed host, my old and good acquaintance, Mr. Eaton.

Dear Mrs. Eaton,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am pleased to be at this luncheon and to meet people I know, businessmen and public leaders of the United States and Canada. I have never been to Canada, but since the Canadians we see here have been invited by Mr. Eaton, I trust that they share many of the absolutely correct and sensible ideas of our esteemed host.

I take this opportunity to congratulate you from the bottom of my heart on the high award you have received—the International Lenin Prize "For the Promotion of Peace Among the Nations". We think very highly of your work for peace and are happy that you were honoured with one of the highest prizes awarded by the public to distinguished men of different countries working for a durable world peace. I am proud that I, too, have been awarded the International Lenin Peace Prize. It is a great honour for anyone, whatever social and political views he may have. (*Applause.*)

It is symbolic in a way that you, a most prominent representative of the capitalist world, and I, who am not among the least in the communist world, concen-

trate our common effort on the struggle for peace. This shows that, given the desire and the goodwill, people can and must join their efforts in the struggle for peace, in spite of differences of outlook, to ensure international peace.

In reply to your glowing speech, Mr. Eaton, I should like to begin by wishing you and Mrs. Eaton further success in your work for peace, and happiness in your personal life.

I wish to thank you, Mr. Eaton, for your kind invitation to visit the State of Ohio, where you wanted to show me the iron and steel works and your farm. I am sure that I would have seen many interesting things there. I hope and trust that the time will come when there will be no restrictions on my travel in the United States and I shall be able to avail myself of your invitation.

You and I are people of the same generation, Mr. Eaton, people who have seen a lot in life. Practically all of modern history has unfolded before our eyes, and we can therefore judge it, and draw definite conclusions, on the strength of our personal experience. You and I have different political, ideological and social views. But we have not lost the ability, for some years now, to understand each other reasonably well when we converse, to argue, to disagree over a number of questions, but not to declare war upon each other, not to frown when we meet.

Why is this so? Because, as you may well understand, Capitalist Eaton and Communist Khrushchov keep to their respective views when they meet and talk. I do not intend to convert Mr. Eaton to the communist faith any more, I hope, than Mr. Eaton would waste his breath trying to convert me to the capitalist point of view. (*Animation, laughter.*) But spokesmen of the capitalist and socialist countries must learn to understand

each other in order to settle inter-governmental issues by peaceful means and prevent armed conflicts and a new world war.

There is quite a number of examples of peaceful competition between capitalist and socialist countries, and of mutually advantageous co-operation between them. That is because a number of capitalist countries are headed by far-sighted political leaders who take a sober view of international developments and accept them as they are. They realise the need for mutually advantageous business relations with the socialist countries.

I agree with you, Mr. Eaton, that we have possibilities of living in peace and competing successfully in peaceful pursuits. Let history pass judgement and show which system is better.

Public leaders, newspapermen and ordinary people often ask me why I have come to New York in the autumn of 1960. I should like to speak about it again, although I think I have made it sufficiently clear in my speech at the U.N. General Assembly. The Soviet Delegation has come to New York for the U.N. Assembly in order to re-emphasise the vital necessity of general and complete disarmament under international control. I repeat, under strict international control.

Some Western leaders who seek to evade the disarmament issue and lead public opinion astray, say that we demand disarmament without control. The American press claims that in submitting the proposal for general disarmament I spoke but foggily about control. I do not know how to dispel the fog which is obscuring the vision of those who have befogged their own sight and mind. All sensible people can read what I have quite clearly said about international control and, what is more important, we are prepared to sit down at the negotiation table and help clear up the unclear points. But before sitting down to negotiate, firm concurrence

is needed that we have to resolve the disarmament issue and reach an agreement on disarmament under strict international control. What we demand is controlled disarmament, and not control over armaments. After all, control over armaments would not reduce the danger of a sudden outbreak of war. It would also be barren in the economic sense, because it would not ease the burden of the arms race, which is borne entirely by the peoples.

In his speech Mr. Eaton named $100,000 million as the sum spent annually on armaments. Well then, are we to carry on in a manner that will cause that figure to double or treble in a year or two, or in five years? Is it to be tolerated that immense human wealth created by billions of people should be wasted, or spent on stockpiling weapons of mass annihilation?

Sober-minded people, whoever they may be, cannot regard as normal this pointless and dangerous waste of wealth created by man. Was it not worth coming to New York to put up a stand once again for so just and noble a cause as cessation of the arms race and total abolition of the disgraceful colonial system, which degrades human dignity? Was it not worth crossing the ocean for the sake of improving the operation of the United Nations in behalf of peace? I think it was worthwhile.

The Soviet Government did not and will not stint effort or time to achieve disarmament so that the peoples are delivered from the fear of a third world war and from the burden of taxes for the preparation of a new war.

We have also submitted to the Assembly other questions, whose proper solution would help to improve the international situation and lessen the danger of a nuclear war.

In passing I should like to say a few words about cer-

tain over-hasty statements and reproaches cast at me over the proposal to reorganise the U.N. Secretariat. It has been said that Khrushchov is attacking Hammarskjöld and creating a crisis in the United Nations.

I have already said that criticism of Mr. Hammarskjöld as a person is not the main thing. The point is not that he personally shares the U.S. State Department's view on international events, but that his attitude affects the execution of U.N. decisions in the interests of one group of countries to the detriment of others. How can a man who maintains the standpoint of but one specific party enforce United Nations decisions? If the Western countries think Mr. Hammarskjöld a suitable nominee, we are not going to object if they name him to the appropriate post on the tripartite executive body we have suggested. But besides Mr. Hammarskjöld there must be a representative of the socialist countries and a representative of the neutral countries on that body. The U.N. executive body would thus reflect the actual balance of forces that has arisen historically in the contemporary world. It is alleged that the Soviet Union would in that case control two-thirds of the U.N. executive. The implication is that the neutral member would at all times back the stand of the socialist countries. But it seems to me that this argument does not speak for those who advance it. It only shows that the policy pursued at present by the ruling circles of the Western countries does not, apparently, meet with response in the neutral countries.

Mr. Eaton has said many correct things about the importance of improving relations between our countries, about the successes scored by the United States and about us in the Soviet Union having achieved a high economic standard. Everybody knows that the American people have accomplished much in developing their country. But we are not envious. We offer the United

States peaceful competition in economic development and the improvement of the people's welfare. I agree that this competition may be more effective if trade is improved between our countries. I have spoken at length during my previous visit to the United States about the benefits of such commerce without discrimination.

Peaceful competition covers the main economic indices and many other aspects of life. We should compete in producing more and cheaper steel, oil, grain and coal, and building more dwellings, schools, and scientific and cultural institutions, so that the people are better provided. We can also compete in baseball. We know that Americans like the game very much. We have a similar game. It is called *lapta*. I used to play *lapta* when I was a boy. But at a certain age, and chiefly because I was too busy, I had to give it up. To each his own. (*Animation.*)

We are proud that young Soviet men and women won the Olympic Games in Rome, but we likewise gave their due to the American sportsmen, who achieved outstanding results.

You have said, Mr. Eaton, that you are fond of farming, and you know farming. I am pleased that you appreciate my own interest in agriculture. I was, indeed, born in a village, and though it is a long time since I have been living in town, I do my best each summer to visit my native village during my vacations. I like to visit it. As everywhere else in our country, I see more and more changes for the better there. The land is cultivated better and made more productive, our towns and villages are becoming more attractive and more comfortable to live in. And the important thing is that people live better and better. They have confidence in the future. The competition between socialism and capitalism should be gauged not only by the aggregate

national product or the amount of it per head of population. It should also be gauged by achievements in the moulding of the human personality, so that man, who creates all riches on earth, should be the prime of all riches and should advance science and technology ever more effectively, making life on earth easier and more pleasant for all men.

You have asked me, Mr. Eaton, to see to it that the Soviet Government perseveres in its untiring effort to prevail upon statesmen to accept general and complete disarmament without reservations. I can tell you as a statesman and a man that this is one of the chief purposes of my life, and of the activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government.

We are happy that our actions in defence of peace, for disarmament, enjoy widespread support among people of different social and political views. If all nations concentrate on bringing about disarmament and exert pressure on the governments which resist it, they will achieve general and complete disarmament. The Soviet Government, for its part, will do everything to secure a disarmament agreement and thereby safeguard world peace.

We must work together to reach disarmament, drawing on the lessons and experience of human history, and then the world will breathe a sigh of relief.

The American press has been critical of our disarmament proposals. Some American journalists write in effect that Khrushchov has submitted a disarmament plan but is rather vague about control.

I should like to address myself to the members of the press if any are present here, and if not, I should like my statements to reach the press. We must reach an agreement on the important thing first, that is, on general

and complete disarmament under strict international control. And speaking of control, let me make the following suggestion: Submit your own definitions. I am sure we shall find a common language in questions of control. Because if an agreement is reached on general and complete disarmament there will be nothing to argue about in matters of control over the fulfilment of the general and complete disarmament commitments.

If we reach no understanding on disarmament and speak only of control, we shall get nowhere. But if we do reach an agreement on disarmament, on disbandment of armies, on destruction of means of mass annihilation, it will be easy at the same time to come to terms on control as well. I repeat, we are willing to examine any and all definitions of control for the sake of reaching agreement, of reinforcing the peace. (*Prolonged applause.*)

I should like to make the following offer. Until now we have not made much headway in our disarmament negotiations with the Western governments. Perhaps it would be a good idea to make the following experiment: let businessmen of all countries (the United States, Britain, Canada, France, the U.S.S.R. and other countries), journalists, lawyers and others get together and help the governments reach an agreement on disarmament. I should be glad to state my point of view to them if they were to invite me, and would hear out what they had to say. The heads of other governments would have to do the same. I think it would be a very useful experiment that would facilitate a disarmament agreement. After all, people in both the socialist and the capitalist countries want to live in friendship and to develop their economy; they want peace on earth and do not want war to threaten people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Thank you.

I offer a toast to Mrs. Eaton, to Mr. Cyrus Eaton, to all of you, ladies and gentlemen. (*All rise. Prolonged applause.*)

* * *

After Premier Khrushchov's speech, Cyrus Eaton said: "If you have no objections, the representatives at this meeting would like to ask you a few questions."

Khrushchov. If there are any questions, I am ready to answer them. One should not evade questions. (*Animation.*)

Question. Can the U.S.S.R. and Canada have contacts in selling similar goods, especially ore?

Khrushchov. You ask whether the Soviet Union can establish contacts with Canadian industrialists in producing and selling similar goods, such as ore. I reply briefly: Yes, it can.

We co-operate within the international organisation for the sale of tin, for example. Each country there has a quota established by common agreement. Why not extend this principle to other goods?

We are prepared to sign an agreement to that effect. Shall we sign it now or later? (*Laughter.*)

Voices. Now!

Khrushchov. Very good, we are willing.

Question. Don't you think, Mr. Prime Minister, that armaments spending could be substantially reduced through mutually advantageous free trade between the U.S.A., Canada and other countries, the Soviet Union included?

Khrushchov. My dear sirs, there is nothing the Soviet Government, the Soviet people, would like better than an agreement on the disarmament problem. For if we were to reach a disarmament agreement, we would not only stave off the threat of a new world war, but would also be able to increase civilian production many times

over for the good of the peoples. This is why we are prepared to co-operate in that sphere with all countries.

I can tell you that when I met the U.S. President last year we had candid talks. He once said to me: "The military often come to me and say, 'Give us money to produce this or that weapon. If you don't, the Russians will get ahead of us in armaments'." (*Laughter.*) The President asked me: "Is it the same with you?" I replied: "Just about the same. Soldiers and scientists ask the government for money to produce new rockets. And we give them the money. Within six months the same people come and say: 'We've designed still better rockets; give us money for them.' We say to them: 'Didn't we give you money recently for new rockets?' And they reply: 'Now we've developed still better rockets; give us the money or the Americans will get ahead of us'." (*Laughter.*)

So we have to give them money again. It's like the Russian story about the white bull—it goes on for ever and ever. (*Laughter.*)

There is no limit to the arms race. Let us stop this headlong rush to the abyss. Let us stop the arms race; the sooner we do it, the better. It will be for the good of our countries, for the good of all peoples. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Dr. Hill. Mr. Prime Minister, I am one of those who welcome your efforts and support your proposals for general and complete disarmament. Those proposals provide for international inspection and posts in different countries. Since our countries are vast in area, violations of the agreement are possible in their remote regions. I would like to know, therefore, how you would react to the idea of the population reporting to an international agency any suspected violations of the international disarmament agreement?

Khrushchov. I solemnly declare on behalf of the Soviet Government: We welcome all that Dr. Hill, who asked me the question, has said here, and I can undersign what he said. (*Prolonged applause.*)

At the end of the meeting Cyrus Eaton thanked Khrushchov heartily for finding time despite pressure of work to meet representatives of the business world of the United States and Canada.

Cyrus Eaton voiced the hope that Khrushchov would champion with his usual vigour the great ideas of peaceful coexistence and disarmament designed to cement world peace.

LET US JOIN EFFORTS IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

MEETING WITH JOURNALISTS AT THE UNITED NATIONS

October 7, 1960

The Press Group with the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. reports:

On October 7 the U.N. Correspondents' Association gave a luncheon for N. S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., who headed the Soviet Delegation to the Fifteenth U.N. General Assembly.

Mr. P. Saunders, President of the Association, bid Khrushchov a warm welcome on behalf of the members of the Association and thanked him for coming to meet the journalists accredited to the U.N. He said:

"Mr. Chairman, when we sent our invitation to you on the *Baltika*, we did not expect that you would be so generous with press conferences when you came here. We thought mistakenly that your acceptance of our invitation would give us some advantages. Now we see that it could have been interpreted as a kind of monopoly, to which you would certainly never have consented.

"I must say that your treatment of the press can only be described as most democratic.

"Having had the opportunity of observing you for several weeks at the General Assembly meetings and hearing many stories about you, I feel that the press

and you have something in common. You are said to be a man of moods. But, Mr. Chairman, moods are for us a source of information and, being human, we are not devoid of emotions, no matter how hard we try to be objective. You like publicity as much as we do, and we like you for it.

"But most of all we know you to be a great propagandist of the idea of coexistence. We are glad to welcome you among us who have translated the idea of coexistence into living reality. We represent different countries, and have different biographies. We have different political convictions. We write for newspapers and journals or work for radio stations representing a vast diversity of opinions. But there is a spirit of comradeship among us that could not be better. We do not argue about matters which are likely to divide us, and if there aren't too many extraordinary or evening sessions, we often discuss various questions among ourselves, trying to get a better idea of the cause of these difficulties. Thus, as you see, coexistence is no problem for us, although it may be a very difficult problem for the world.

"But we simply don't know whether you and others will succeed in realising the idea of coexistence on a world-wide scale. Nor how you will succeed. We hope that you will, perhaps, explain this to us among other matters.

"In conclusion, I would like to say in Russian, if my pronunciation isn't too bad: *Dobro pozhalovat.*

"Ladies and gentlemen, I present the Chairman, Mr. Nikita Khrushchov."

Mr. Saunders then gave Khrushchov the floor.

Khrushchov, who was warmly applauded, said:

Mr. President of the Association,
Ladies and Gentlemen, Comrades, Friends,

I am happy to meet you, the journalists who cover the United Nations. I often meet journalists. Yours is a difficult but noble profession. The press can help the peoples get a proper understanding of all the developments in this complex world of today. But the press can also help mislead the peoples if it is used for the selfish ends of certain quarters.

You are very busy these days. The Fifteenth Session of the U.N. General Assembly is the most momentous since the founding of the United Nations. It is to examine such all-important international issues as disarmament and the final abolition of the disgraceful colonial system. We attach prime importance to an agreed effective solution of these problems. All peoples are interested in disarmament, because it is the only way to avoid a new destructive war.

I need not prove to you that these and other issues can be resolved, given goodwill and the desire of all countries to co-operate in keeping with the principles of peaceful coexistence, renunciation of aggressive acts and observance of international law.

It is absurd in our day to try to saddle other countries with decisions by an automatic United Nations majority. The United Nations should take due account of the interests of all the existing groups of countries, those that belong to the Western military blocs, and of the socialist and neutral countries as well. The adoption of an appropriate structure for the executive bodies of the United Nations can help improve the work of that organisation.

I call on all of you to use the power of the press, your abilities, your influence, to create an atmosphere that will further the efforts of the United Nations. I call on you to write truthfully. Let the millions of your readers see a true and real picture of the contemporary world and the problems facing us all.

Thank you. Now I am ready to answer your questions. (*Applause.*)

P. Frederick, National Broadcasting Company. Mr. Chairman, do you think there is any hope of making progress in the field of disarmament even before the differences are mitigated and the misgivings and suspicion existing between the United States and the Soviet Union are eliminated?

Khrushchov. I think that if we abandoned the hope of reaching a disarmament agreement, it would mean condemning the world to a new war. It would mean that those who must think of peace and create conditions for peaceful coexistence admitted themselves beaten. This is why I am optimistic even now about the possibility of reaching an agreement on disarmament, and have stated repeatedly that such conditions exist.

It is difficult to say how ripe these conditions are at the moment, because the present session of the General Assembly coincides with a "stormy period" in the life of the American people. What I have in mind are the presidential elections. Everybody in the United States is today preoccupied with the matter, everything is dominated by it, and the men on whom the solution of the disarmament issue depends are thinking only of which nominee will be elected president. This is unfortunate, because the fact that one man or another is elected president has no decisive bearing on international problems, for it is an internal issue of one country. As I say, everything in the United States today is dominated by the elections, and we have to take that into consideration. But it is a transient matter.

We feel that everything should be done to safeguard peace; we must not sit back but must continue to work perseveringly for peaceful coexistence, disarmament, and lasting world peace. But the main thing in the struggle for enduring peace is disarmament, not control

over armaments, as suggested by the U.S. President, Mr. Eisenhower. Although I have spoken about it many times, I repeat and will continue to repeat till it is clear to everybody that disarmament, the destruction of arms, is the only way of avoiding war, while control over armaments is preservation of arms. And if arms are preserved, albeit under control, those who have arms can use them for aggressive purposes whenever they please. For this reason, all who really want peace must not fight for control over armaments, but for disarmament, for the destruction of arms under the strictest, broadest and most thorough international control.

In this connection, I should like to deal with yet another question. I should like to correct the report in the American newspapers about my meeting with Mr. Macmillan. The papers were not entirely accurate about the results of my meetings and talks with the British Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan.

We did indeed discuss disarmament and the possibility of reaching an agreement on that issue. Mr. Macmillan said that there was no need for haste in the matter, that we should bide our time until better conditions are created for trust between countries. A disarmament agreement could then be reached. Mr. Macmillan feels that it might take about five to ten years to create an atmosphere of trust, and that in the meantime it would be better to establish some sort of technical commission of experts to study these questions. In a nutshell, he suggests moving slowly, as numerous insects, snails and other sluggish creatures move over the earth.

I must say that it is a very dangerous thing to make the question of disarmament conditional upon a relaxation of tension and the establishment of trust, as some do. It means arguing about what came first, the hen or the egg. (*Laughter.*) What did come first—the hen or

the egg? I think that this question has not been answered to this day. Consequently, in the matter of a disarmament agreement, all talk about where to begin—creating an atmosphere of trust or disarming—is futile. I think that we should start with the main thing, that is, disarmament. Arms should be destroyed and control established so that nobody would arm. This would create the best possible conditions for sincere trust and fraternal relations between all peoples.

Now I should like to say something about the time required to establish trust. If we take a period of five to ten years—that is the period named—it goes against the utterances of the Western quarters themselves, because they say that a disarmament agreement should be reached as speedily as possible. The longer an agreement is delayed, the more countries there will be each year possessing atomic weapons and rockets. And if there are more countries possessing atom and nuclear bombs and missiles, a disarmament agreement will become still more difficult to reach. It would seem that in line with this Western logic we should hasten disarmament. But Mr. Macmillan says: Wait five to ten years. This means that at present we must doom our negotiations to sterility. It follows that the negotiations have been started by myself, the grandfather, and that my grandchildren are supposed to conclude them! (*Laughter.*) That is a chain reaction for which all mankind will have to pay dearly.

I must say that I have many grandchildren, and I hope that my grandchildren will follow in their grandfather's footsteps. But I, the grandfather, still want to do everything I can for my grandchildren to live in a peaceful environment and to be grateful to us for winning peace.

Chairman. The next two questions are similar, so I will read them to you together.

D. Newman, "New York Herald Tribune". Would you agree to a vote based on the majority principle—two-

thirds of the United Nations—to settle the question of whether or not Mr. Hammarskjöld is to remain Secretary-General of the United Nations and to adopt a decision concerning your proposal for a three-man executive body?

A. Torren, "Expressen". Mr. Chairman, you said in your speech to the General Assembly on Monday that you would draw the appropriate conclusions from the existing situation if the Secretary-General did not resign. Mr. Hammarskjöld replied that he would not abandon his post. Could you say what conclusion you have already drawn, or intend to draw?

Khrushchov. The two questions are related, but they are not the same.

About Mr. Hammarskjöld's statement that he will not give up his post. You may recall that in my speech I said: If Mr. Hammarskjöld had knightly qualities, he would give up his post. But I was not sure that he possessed those qualities, and in that respect Mr. Hammarskjöld has fully borne out my opinion of him.

Now for settling the matter by a two-thirds majority.

If the decision of which you speak were adopted by a two-thirds majority, or even by a 99 per cent majority, we would not agree with it.

The majority principles which you establish by two-thirds in settling matters in dispute are quite acceptable inside a country, when dealing with internal questions—political, economic, etc. But here we are dealing with a complicated international matter. It is a matter to be decided by the countries belonging to the United Nations. After all, it is not a parliament, but an international forum established to settle issues in a way that will not harm any country represented at the forum.

If you like, I will put the matter more bluntly. Suppose the delegates of U. N. member countries suddenly

hit on the "grand" idea of resolving to abolish the socialist system in the Soviet Union. What would happen if everybody voted for it except ourselves, the representatives of the socialist countries? What would we say to that? We would say what we Russians usually say in such cases: "Get out! You took the decision, so live with it; as for us, we will live under our socialist system as we have lived so far. And whoever pokes in his nose—excuse me for the coarse but rather lucid expression—will get a punch in the face."

Gentlemen, a very serious question has been raised here. That is why I want to say more about it, and beg you to ponder on it thoroughly. It is the countries of the imperialist, colonial bloc that so far control the biggest number of votes in the United Nations, which consists of imperialist, socialist and neutralist countries. We, the socialist countries, are today a minority in the United Nations. But that is a changing situation. Today we are in the minority, and tomorrow—we predict this to you—you will be in the minority. Consequently, you must not abuse your temporary majority in the United Nations in order to impose your decisions on the minority because, I repeat, it is not a parliament. What we discuss there are not the internal problems of a particular country, but international problems, with due respect for sovereignty and without interference in the affairs of other countries. This should be borne in mind and serve as the point of departure. Then the matter will be properly settled.

Besides, I ask you to give serious thought to our proposal concerning the structure of the United Nations. We do not demand an equal number of seats with the Western countries on the Security Council or in the Secretariat today. We do not ask for a majority. All we ask for is our share.

The world population is three billion. The socialist

countries represent a population of more than one billion. This means more than one-third. But we are not small about it and will not weigh the matter on scales to the last gramme. We agree to one-third. The imperialist, colonial powers have less than one-third of the world population in their countries, but we say to them: a third for you too. The neutralist countries have more than one-third; to them we also say: one-third for you.

In that manner all the three groups of countries would be represented on the executive bodies of the United Nations, which is an international organisation: the capitalist countries—those of monopoly capital, and the colonial powers; the socialist countries—countries of the genuinely free world, the freest of the free; and the neutralist countries. And all of them would have their share, their one-third. This would provide equal conditions for all the three groups of countries. International matters could then be solved without prejudice to any one group. Is that not sensible?

We do not ask for privileges, but for the share to which we are entitled.

By trying to bend us to your will by a majority and make us settle matters on unequal terms, you will compel us to uphold our interests outside the United Nations, instead of by voting in the U. N., that is, to depend on our strength, on our might. And that, as you must realise, adds strain to relations.

Our proposals have a sound basis. We want an easing of international tension. We want peaceful coexistence. We want peace and friendship. You, on the other hand, insist on dominating us, the socialist countries and the neutralist countries. It follows that you favour continuing the "cold war" and embittering relations. Think about it, gentlemen! If you don't think about it today and if you misunderstand it, I hope you will understand it tomorrow, because there is no other way out.

The choice is this: either we develop our relations with the purpose of eliminating international tension and "cold war" and strive for peace and friendship, or seek to add further to the strain, which may culminate in God knows what, since any added tension and intensification of the "cold war" may develop into a hot war.

Those who want peace and friendship between peoples must show consideration for the interests not only of their own country and their group of countries, but also for the interests of the socialist and neutralist countries.

We do not want to impose our socialist system upon you. Live as your conscience tells you, but let us live as ours tells us. Let us not interfere with the neutralist countries either. Let them live as their conscience tells them.

We don't ask anything for ourselves at the expense of other countries. We only want equal conditions for all. We want to work on for the common cause—the safeguarding of world peace.

S. Burke, Canadian Radio. You have said that the main goal of the Western countries in the Congo is to retain control over the raw materials available there, especially uranium. How can you justify this statement, considering that uranium, the basic product of Katanga, is available in the world in extremely great quantities and big uranium mines in Canada, for example, are closing down?

Khrushchov. Sir, you want to impose on me the idea that the colonialists seize colonies and destroy people to help them end their brief sojourn on this earth sooner and go more quickly to paradise. (*Animation.*)

It is absolutely immaterial to me whether the colonialists are after uranium, after cobalt or after the devil himself. They go there to plunder the colonial peoples, to fatten at their expense, to exterminate the peoples of the

enslaved countries. When the Belgian colonialists came to the Congo its population was more than twenty million. And now, when the colonialists have left it after a stay of many years, the population, far from increasing, has shrunk to nearly one half. Why? Are less children born to Negroes? No. They probably have more children than Europeans. But they live in appalling, inhuman conditions, and for that reason their children do not survive. They die, and those who do not die in childhood, do not live long. They do not live as long as people in normal human conditions. Or take the Australians. Mr. Menzies has spoken at the General Assembly. He could have told us the story of how Australia was conquered, how the colonialists hunted and exterminated people there as they would wild beasts. They have exterminated nearly all the indigenous population. And that is called civilisation! The peoples will never forget that kind of "civilisation". Hatred for the tyrants will live down the centuries.

We oppose the policy of the colonialists. We protest with all our being against this policy and will do everything in our power for the accursed, moribund colonial slave system to go out of existence more quickly, and for all peoples to win freedom and independence.

R. Hottelet, Columbia Broadcasting System. What, in your opinion, have you achieved in New York—in the United Nations and outside it?

Khrushchov. A timberman measures the quality and quantity of his labour in certain units. In the past the Russians had *sazhens*, now they don't have them. I used to be a fitter and had certain measures by which to gauge my labour. My father was a miner and he, too, had his gauge. Now I am a political leader. I am no timberman. Or rather, I am timberman and politician at once. To measure the quantity and quality of my labour during my short stay in the United Nations by

some specific unit seems impossible. I'll say one thing: he who thinks that our effort has been wasted does not understand what is going on.

We have sown good seeds here, seeds of peace and friendship. We have exposed lies and sown seeds of truth. And no matter how loud some may shout today to drown the voice of truth, they cannot outshout it. The truth cannot be killed. The truth will triumph. When will it triumph? Have patience.

We never cease the battle for the truth. We started it and we will continue it. Victory will be ours. I ask you to remember: the truth will win because lies cannot live long; people will see through a lie no matter how well it is made up, and no matter how artfully it is presented by photographers, film makers, newspapermen and artists. The features of a lie will show through all the same and will arouse repugnance, while the truth will attract the hearts of the peoples. The truth is with us. The truth will win! (*Applause.*)

S. Molie, Radio Tunisia. You here in New York and other Soviet leaders in Moscow have had official talks with leaders of the Provisional Algerian Government. This was interpreted to mean that the Soviet Government has recognised the Algerian Government de facto.

Would you like to comment on this and, in particular, to tell us what assistance you propose to render to the Algerian people in their struggle for independence?

Khrushchov. You are right in saying that it follows from our meetings and conversations that we recognise the Provisional Algerian Government de facto. I think that we are not alone in recognising it. It has been recognised by many countries of the world and, primarily, it has been recognised by the French President, de Gaulle, who has entered into negotiations with representatives of this Provisional Algerian Government.

I have already answered similar questions in the past.

I have said that we Soviet people sympathise with all colonial peoples fighting the colonialists for independence. How then can we exclude so great a nation as the Arab nation, which is fighting for its independence, for its freedom? We hail its struggle. We have extended and will continue to extend all the assistance we can, all the assistance that will benefit the Algerian people in its struggle for independence and freedom.

M. Ferrara, "l'Unità". What is your opinion about the vote on the resolution of the five neutral countries?

Khrushchov. We have set forth our attitude to that resolution in my letter to its authors, which has been published. I think there is hardly any need to go back to the question now.

A. Fletcher, World-Wide Press Service. Since the Soviet Union is vigorously advocating the development of the underdeveloped countries, is it going to increase its subscriptions within the framework of the U. N. aid programme as the U.S.A. has promised to do?

Khrushchov. We have stated our stand on this score repeatedly. We contribute to the assistance given to underdeveloped countries through the U. N. But we prefer, pending a disarmament agreement, to keep our assistance through the U. N. at about the present level. After a disarmament agreement is concluded it will be perfectly feasible to save funds as a result of disarmament, and we shall consequently be able to increase our aid to underdeveloped countries by agreement with other countries. But we prefer to render assistance mainly on a bilateral basis, that is, to reach agreement with underdeveloped countries and to extend disinterested assistance to them in accordance with that agreement.

Now for President Eisenhower's statement concerning aid. I would say that if as much as one-tenth were returned of what the imperialist countries have plundered

in the underdeveloped countries—and they fleeced them to the bone—if they return as much as one-tenth, this would still be too little. But I do not nourish any hopes that assistance from the imperialist countries will increase. It is one thing to talk and quite another to do. Capitalism is only capable of plundering. It cannot render real help, because that goes against its nature.

Hence, gentlemen of the press, you must not only be able to read, but also to understand what you read. I say this to you because this is what my experience suggests to me. Take Britain. How wealthy she is, and how poor India! How rich is France, and how poor the African countries which France has plundered! How rich is Britain, and how poor Ceylon!

Is poverty a national feature of those countries? It is not. It is a social, a political phenomenon. Plunderers came, plundered the peoples of the oppressed countries, and then have the cheek to say: You must be grateful to us for plundering you, because we brought you civilisation. Well, as they say, God save us from such friends, our enemies we'll manage ourselves. It applies here too—God save us from such civilisation, and we'll surely manage civilisation ourselves; we'll conquer this civilisation!

Furthermore, India was at a higher level when Britain conquered it. Britain did not depend on civilisation, but on the strength of the plunderer. On the right of might. They call that right! And now they are striking a righteous pose. That, you know—but I suppose you've had enough. *(Laughter.)*

S. Ginsbourg, Agence France-Presse. The Chinese Communist Party paper, *Jenminjihpao*, has again come out in support of the opinion that wars are inevitable so long as capitalist society exists, and that the atom bomb is a "paper tiger". Would you care to comment on that statement?

Khrushchov. I did not read the paper. *You* read it and expect *me* to comment on it. Fancy my position. You did the reading and *you* must do the commenting. And I'll comment on it after I read it. *(Laughter.)*

Correspondent of the South Korean Don Hwa Agency. Mr. Chairman, would you say something to us about your projected visit to North Korea? What is the purpose of your visit there at this time? *(Laughter.)*

Khrushchov. Gentlemen, I don't understand why you reacted with so much merriment to the question posed by this journalist. Probably because the gentleman comes from South Korea. I see no reason for such merriment. I have every respect for the gentleman's question.

You see, there was Syngman Rhee in South Korea. We opposed him and his regime. Syngman Rhee is no longer there, nor is the regime he headed, although the present regime in South Korea does not differ from the previous one. But while there may be one regime today and another tomorrow, the Korean people will always be there. We believe in the good inherent in each people, the Korean people included. It is a freedom-loving people which fought heroically against the Japanese occupation. But the people in the south of the country are in a worse position than those in the north. The North Koreans are in a better position, both geographically and politically, than the Southerners, but we believe that the South Koreans will pull up to the Northerners.

You ask when I will go to the Korean People's Democratic Republic. We are deciding on the date with Comrade Kim Il Sung, since I have been detained in America. It will be announced later.

But I should like to convey my best wishes to the people of South Korea through you, a South Korean journalist, if you dare to pass on my good wishes. We should like the Korean people to decide for themselves upon the socio-political system in South Korea. We

wish the people of South Korea independence and complete freedom, and hope the whole Korean people will be master of its own fate and wealth. *(Applause).*

Boyd, "Washington Star", and other correspondents. Has the Soviet Union any suggestions on how to put life into the activities of the U. N. Outer Space Committee?

Khrushchov. Some time ago we submitted our proposals and are prepared to join such a committee if our wishes are given consideration. We consider the proposals of the United States one-sided. The U.S.A. ignores the interests of the socialist countries, and wants to boss the committee. If you want to boss in space, and not in the committee, you are welcome to it. There's room enough there. Boss it, and we'll boss it too. (*Laughter.*)

T. Hamilton, "New York Times". In your conversations with Mr. Macmillan you have, I believe, suggested holding a Summit conference early next year and a special session of the General Assembly after President Eisenhower's successor assumes office. Could you tell us in greater detail when, in your opinion, this conference should take place and what it should examine?

Khrushchov. Yes, the report is quite true. When I met Mr. Macmillan—we met twice in New York—we touched upon these matters in our conversations.

Mr. Macmillan assured me that a Summit conference would take place. I maintained the attitude which we have already stated in the past: We favour a Summit conference in order to settle the matter of a German peace treaty and the concomitant question of West Berlin as a free city. But I also advanced other issues.

I said in my talks with Mr. Macmillan that we should perhaps submit the question of a German peace treaty at once to a peace conference of all countries that

fought against Hitler Germany, and there conclude a peace treaty. Those who will want to, will sign it.

I suggested this with a view to hastening the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, because the matter has been dragging on too long. Mr. Macmillan assured me that a conference of the heads of government of the Great Powers would take place and that we would be able to discuss the matter there. If that is so, we will keep the word we gave after the Summit conference in Paris was scuttled in May by the United States.

The note contains yet another question—about an extraordinary session of the U. N. General Assembly. I did indeed raise this point in my talk with Mr. Macmillan. Mr. Macmillan did not deny that such a session would be useful. I have already stated the matter to you.

We think, as we thought before, that the disarmament problem is the question of questions. There do not seem to be any specially favourable conditions at the present Assembly to achieve fruitful results on that question. Firstly, we must consider the fact that the discussion of the matter in the U. N. is taking place at the height of the U. S. presidential election campaign. In these circumstances, America does not seem to be able to participate actively in the discussion of this all-important matter. That is one reason.

Secondly, some people claim that there are many questions that have to be discussed at the plenary session of the Assembly.

We have always considered and still consider the disarmament problem to be the prime issue—a problem that takes precedence over all others. For this reason, in view of the considerations I have mentioned, it appears useful to convene an extraordinary session of the General Assembly and to discuss just one question at

it—the question of getting agreement on disarmament, and establishing international control over disarmament.

I have spoken about the matter not only to Mr. Macmillan, but also to statesmen of other countries.

When would it be advisable to have it? I would say that we could convene in February or March. Some said that perhaps in April—this suited them better. It would be a good thing to convene the Assembly in Europe. Eighty per cent of the countries gravitate geographically to Europe. We would therefore prefer the extraordinary session to convene in Geneva. But if the members of the session wanted to gather in the Soviet Union and did us the honour, we would gladly receive the Assembly in Moscow or Leningrad. The most normal of conditions for its work would be created there.

I think people who really want a disarmament agreement and a secure peace—and all should want it—must feel as we do and must co-operate in such a decision.

H. Shapiro, United Press International. Will the status quo in Berlin be maintained until the next Summit meeting?

Khrushchov. The question is worded too generally. Firstly, will there be a Summit conference? If the question is put as Mr. Shapiro has put it, it follows that I am to give assurances that the status quo will be maintained. But it is unknown in what year and on what date there will be a conference. It would mean being left without a German peace treaty for ever. If the question is understood as we understand it and there will be a Summit conference after the presidential elections, we will keep our word faithfully. But if we see that there is no desire to hold a Summit conference, the countries which consider it necessary to conclude a peace treaty will ultimately convene and sign one. And then the occupation regime for West Berlin will end.

Chairman. I would like to conclude with a question outside the political sphere. The question is put by Mr. Murray of the *Irish Times.*

Could you say for sure that you will send a man into the earth's orbit this year?

Khrushchov. Do you want to sign up as the first volunteer. (*Laughter.*)

Correspondent. Together with you.

Khrushchov. I am not fit due to my age and weight. *(Laughter.)*

Correspondent. That applies to me too.

Khrushchov. I don't know you, that is why I said so. I didn't want to offend you. Moreover, there is nothing offensive about it. I can only tell you that we have many people who want to fly into space, and they are training diligently. Everyone wants the honour of flying first.

We consider such a flight to be very important and of great scientific value. That is why a sporting approach is out of place, and naming a date and sending a man into space definitely on that day means handling this all-important question as a sporting proposition. We set no such task. We will send a man into space when appropriate conditions for his flight have been created; after all, we want to preserve the life of the man who flies into space. When this will be I cannot tell, because it is primarily a matter for the scientists to decide. It is not difficult any longer to send a man into space; the main thing is to get him back.

I have heard our esteemed chairman say that this question was the last. Allow me, therefore, to make the concluding remark.

To begin with, I want to thank our esteemed chairman—the President of the U. N. Correspondents' Association—and to thank all of you for treating my friends and myself to an excellent meal. (*Animation.*) It is up to you to say, but in any case I have done my best

to repay your bread and salt. (*Laughter, applause.*) I should also like to thank you, ladies and gentlemen, friends, comrades, for your reception and to wish you the very best of success in your work.

Let us join our efforts in the struggle for peace. I am a Communist. I shan't be betraying a secret if I say that there are other Communists here besides myself. I can see them. They are present here. (*Animation.*) But most of the people present here are not Communists. Yet we should be of a single mind in one thing—that we are all human beings and that those living on earth want to live. I repeat, let us join our efforts in one matter, the struggle for peace. Questions of the social and political organisation of a society are the internal affair of the people concerned, while the cause of world peace is a common cause of the peoples.

So let us concentrate our attention and our efforts on achieving the common goal—peace on earth. And to secure peace on earth, to prevent an accident, an agreement must be reached on disarmament between all countries. If we succeed, ladies and gentlemen, I am convinced that we shall be remembered down the centuries. And our children and grandchildren will say: Our fathers and grandfathers were not so stupid; no matter how badly they got along with each other, no matter how much they argued and quarrelled, they understood the main thing—they prevented war and ensured peace.

This would be enough for every man with a conscience—his conscience would be clear. (*Applause.*)

INTERVIEW GIVEN TO THE MUTUAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM CORRESPONDENT L. HOWARD

October 13, 1960

On October 13, right after N. S. Khrushchov, head of the Soviet Delegation, made his statement at the Fifteenth U. N. General Assembly before his departure home, Liza Howard, a correspondent of the Mutual Broadcasting System, asked him for an interview to be broadcast over the American radio network.

The head of the Soviet Government granted the request. The interview took place on the same day at United Nations Headquarters. It lasted more than an hour.

The interview was attended by N. V. Podgorny, head of the Delegation of the Ukrainian S.S.R., K. T. Mazurov, head of the Delegation of the Byelorussian S.S.R., Soviet Foreign Minister A. A. Gromyko, and others.

During the interview Khrushchov replied to many questions. He was assured that the interview would be broadcast at once.

It was learned later from a report in the "New York Post" that only a small part of Khrushchov's interview had been broadcast. The tape recording of the rest of the interview was confiscated and Liza Howard was punished by the radio company.

Liza Howard stated that the Mutual Broadcasting

System was at first "very happy" to get the interview, but was criticised for broadcasting it and "yielded to pressure. I was made the scapegoat... I appreciate the difficulties of the company, but the matter affects truth, honour, decency and, above all, freedom of speech".

The fact is fresh evidence of the morals prevailing at present in the United States, which advertises its way of life and its democracy as a model of the "free world".

But what kind of a "free world", what kind of a democratic country is it where an interview given by the head of government of a great country is not allowed to be broadcast and those who obtained the interview by assignment of the radio company are punished for it?

Below is a transcript of Khrushchov's conversation with the correspondent of the Mutual Broadcasting System on October 13, 1960, in New York, taken down by the press group.

Correspondent. You possess all the qualities of a speaker at election meetings.

Khrushchov. Thank you. Mr. Lodge has told me as much.

Correspondent. But in this case I am voicing the opinion of many people. If you could run in the elections in this country, you would probably run as the Democratic Party candidate.

Khrushchov. For certain reasons, I will abstain from expressing my sympathies.

Correspondent. I am not speaking from the standpoint of political considerations, but from the standpoint that you, it seems to me, would be more suited to run as the Democratic Party candidate.

Khrushchov. I would, of course, favour most the nomination of Adlai Stevenson, whom I highly respect. He is an intelligent man.

Correspondent. (Points to a pile of questions laid on

the desk.) As you see, I have prepared for the interview. I would like to ask you a few questions.

Khrushchov. Go ahead, I am ready.

Correspondent (*addresses radio listeners*). I am interviewing Mr. Khrushchov. The United States public shows great interest in Nikita Khrushchov. We Americans keep asking what he wants and what he is after. (*Turns to Khrushchov.*) Please, tell us what you think about it.

Khrushchov. Here is how I see these things. Our country, the Soviet Union, is rich and powerful. By the will of the people I have been put at the head of the Soviet Government. Our Government has a definite attitude to matters of international politics. We have met more than once with representatives of the United States and other countries, allies of the United States, but unfortunately we have been unable to find solutions for pressing problems that would ensure lasting peace on earth.

A formidable propaganda machine has been built up in the United States. It is always seeking to deceive the masses by alleging that there is no progress in our negotiations because the Soviet Union is intractable. Those who make these charges place the blame on me, saying that this state of affairs is due to Khrushchov. That is probably why this sort of atmosphere and this sort of talk arises around Khrushchov's person.

Yet I am a most ordinary person. You probably know it. I was a worker and so was my father, and my grandfather was a peasant. I have a big family—several grandchildren and even a great-granddaughter. My only concern is to serve my people faithfully and to do everything possible to achieve an agreement with the United States and the other powers on disarmament, to ensure lasting peace on earth.

But I would like to be properly understood. We sin-

cerely want disarmament. If the United States Government agrees to sign a disarmament treaty with us and to put it into practice, we are prepared to accept any kind of international control on any terms. It would then be all right to fly and drive and walk wherever one pleased; all modes of communication could then be used to establish international control. But this would only be possible in the event of genuine disarmament, of the destruction of arms.

The United States and Britain maintain a different attitude, one diametrically opposed to ours. They stand for control over armaments.

I would ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to appreciate the fact that control over armaments is not disarmament; it implies that arms are to be retained and controllers put over these arms. Think it over and you will see what a difference that makes. We want disarmament, that is, destruction of all arms. We want control to be established over disarmament so that nobody may retain armaments secretly. People would then go to bed with a light heart and say "good night", as it is customary. In the event of real disarmament, no one would imperil their security and their sleep at night. It is quite a different thing when arms are retained and controllers put over them. In that case a country may disagree with something, draw incorrect conclusions and begin preparing for war. Controllers will then be of no avail. And nuclear war, or push-button war, as some people call it these days, will cause people great misery.

That is what I am. I am an ordinary man and I want happiness for my people. I do not want to interfere with the happiness of your people. I want all peoples to live in peace and friendship.

Correspondent. Mir i druzhba, peace and friendship—I need no interpreter to understand that.

The whole problem of disarmament is very compli-

cated and very many proposals have been made for its solution in the past. Lots of material has piled up. It may be said now that the issue has become a tortuous labyrinth and many people have only a faint idea of the substance of the disarmament proposals made, and of the difference between them.

You say: "Accept our proposals and we will accept any kind of international control." And the Western Powers say: "We want disarmament, but we want control first." So I would like to ask you a question: "How are we to clear this hurdle and make progress?"

Khrushchov. I have just spoken at the General Assembly and made a statement on that score before my departure from New York. I would therefore ask the listeners who want to know our concrete proposals to read that statement. It will probably be published tomorrow. But I can give the gist of our proposals now.

The disarmament problem is not complicated but simple. It is being complicated deliberately.

Correspondent. Pardon me for interrupting you, I want to ask you one specific question before you go on. It is a question which I have thought about again and again, and which is connected with what you are saying now—it is the debate on whether the Russians will start a war or not.

Running through all the basic communist writings, the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, is one theme, namely, the final victory of communism throughout the world, and affirmations to the effect that all means are fit to achieve this goal. Have you abandoned those basic conceptions or do you still regard all means good enough for that end? If this were so, it would mean that modern weapons could be used to gain the goal of establishing communism throughout the world.

Khrushchov. Those are incorrect statements about the standpoint of the Communists, and about their goals.

Those who think so do not understand the substance of Marxist-Leninist theory.

I will tell you about it in brief. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin never called for wars of conquest. Marxism has always opposed such wars.

Correspondent. Does that mean I am wrong when I say that all means are good for the goal?

Khrushchov. Of course you are. I'll speak about it. As is known, Marxism is not opposed to all wars—we are against unjust, imperialist, predatory wars. I think you understand what I am talking about. For example, when one country goes to war against another in order to plunder and subjugate its people, we consider that war unjust, predatory and imperialist. It is a war against the people. We definitely oppose such wars. They bring the people nothing but ruin, bloodshed and tears.

Correspondent. Does this mean that if a war is waged against imperialism that war can be justified?

Khrushchov. No, you have misunderstood me. Have patience, and I'll tell you everything.

What do you mean by "war against imperialism"? Can any country say that it is waging a war against imperialism and thereby justify its war against another country? Marxism-Leninism opposes wars of conquest and supports wars of liberation. How is one to know whether a war is a war of liberation or an imperialist war? Arbitrary interpretations are out of place in this. There are objective criteria to define a war and its nature. I will cite a concrete example to demonstrate it.

There is a war on in Algeria. The French are fighting against Algeria. Algeria is fighting against France. It is one war, but the war which France is waging against Algeria is an imperialist war, a predatory war; on the other hand, the Algerians are waging a war against France for their independence and freedom, and on their part it is a war of liberation.

Correspondent. And a justifiable war?

Khrushchov. Precisely. We consider a war waged by the people for their liberation a just and sacred war of liberation. We have always said openly, and say now, that our sympathies are with those who fight for their freedom and independence. France's war against Algeria is an imperialist, colonial war. The French imperialists want to retain that colony. The Algerians fight in this war against France for their liberation. They want independence, they want the wealth of Algeria to belong to Algerians. For the Algerians this war against the French imperialists is a sacred and just war of liberation. There you have the difference in the definition of wars illustrated by a single specific example.

There are wars of conquest, imperialist wars, and there are wars of liberation. The war waged by the French is an imperialist, predatory war, and the war fought by the Algerians against France is a sacred, popular war of liberation. We sympathise with the war waged by the Algerians against the colonialists and wish victory to the people of Algeria.

Correspondent. Allow me to go on to a few more questions of exceptional interest to the American public. It would be better, I feel, if we could deal with the greatest possible number of questions rather than dwell at length on a particular question.

Khrushchov. I should like to give one more example concerning just and unjust wars. Permit me to speak about it, because the question is of interest to very many people not conversant with Marxist-Leninist theory.

In its day America waged a sacred war against Britain. Who headed that war? Washington did. It was a sacred war of the American people for their freedom and independence. The Americans revolted and took up arms against the colonialists of Great Britain. In that war Britain fought as an imperialist and colonial power.

It wanted to retain its hold upon America, to oppress and exploit the American people.

The American people fought under Washington's leadership against the British colonialists. The war waged by the Americans was a sacred war, a war of independence, for sovereignty. Our sympathies, the sympathies of all progressives, were with Washington, with the American people. All progressives wished victory to the American people, and the people gained that victory. All freedom-loving people of the time hoped Great Britain would lose that colonial and predatory war, and Great Britain did lose it. There you have a second example.

Correspondent. In the 18th century, when that war was fought between America and Britain, there were no missiles and hydrogen bombs.

Khrushchov. That is an entirely different question—a question of what means are used to wage war. I was giving you an exposition of the Marxist definition of the nature of wars. I was telling you of our attitude to wars, of the wars we consider just wars of liberation and the wars that are colonial, imperialist, predatory—wars we are working against, because they bring misery to the peoples.

Correspondent. We did not pre-arrange it, but Mr. Khrushchov seems to have penetrated my questions and is helping me to go from one question to the next.

Khrushchov. I am willing to answer all the questions you may want me to answer.

Correspondent. You have referred to freedom. All Western spokesmen say that the real battle fought in the world today is fought between freedom and communist tyranny. In saying this they lay the main stress on the absence of a free press in your country, on the absence of free elections, on your refusal to have opposition parties, etc. I know that you say the communist

peoples are free peoples. There is evidently some misconception. What is your definition of freedom?

Khrushchov. That's a very interesting question. If I had the opportunity of speaking about it, I would give a most exhaustive answer to all the questions.

Correspondent. I think it is a question of interest to absolutely everybody, and I am sure it is also of interest to my listeners.

Khrushchov. I even regret that I have not furnished exhaustive replies to all your earlier questions. That would have taken a lot of time. If I'm allowed to go back to them, I will answer the earlier questions, or people may say I dodged them. I do not want to dodge them, I never dodge and have never dodged questions put to me.

There are different conceptions of freedom. Every class—and society consists of classes—conceives freedom as its class interests prompt it. Bourgeois philosophers deny that class contradictions are irreconcilable. But they do so deliberately. We Marxists say that there is capitalist society and that it consists of antagonistic classes—of classes that possess capital, big industrial enterprises, banks, and land, and of classes that have nothing but a pair of hands. The United States is such a classical capitalist country.

The bourgeoisie came into being at the time of the feudal system—and social estates were prevalent under the feudal system, the uppermost class being the aristocracy, the kings, landlords and gentry. Merchant capital appeared, and then industrial and financial capital, and often the owners of this capital were not aristocrats. The result was that some came to have capital while others had power. Then the bourgeoisie proclaimed the slogan, "liberty, equality, fraternity", demanding equal democratic rights for the gentry and the ordinary people. Naturally, the bourgeois did not

seek equal rights for all ordinary people, but chiefly for those who had capital.

Correspondent. This, it seems, is where we begin to differ, because when you speak of capitalism you proceed from its economic structure, its economic basis, and make this the point of departure in your references to the mode of government in society. We, on the other hand, think that economy has no bearing at all on the freedoms and rights existing in a country. Those are things which are unrelated, because, we think, whatever the government, whatever mode of government exists in a country, this has no relation to freedom of elections, the right to have your own opinion, to freedom of the press, to the right to stand in the street, as we do in this country, and shout: I'm against Nixon or Kennedy, or any other nominee. This has no relation to government. I think that freedoms of that kind can exist in any country, regardless of the social system. Why should we proceed from the economic basis?

Khrushchov. You are raising very interesting questions, but evade hearing out the answers to them. True, it takes time, and perhaps your time is limited and therefore you have asked me a first, second and third question, but avoid letting me answer them. I will tell you why we think so.

Correspondent. I don't want to interrupt you, but supplementary questions may arise in the course of our conversation. And I would like to put questions that are of interest to the American listener so as to help him get a better idea of these matters.

Khrushchov. I am quite aware of it. Your time is evidently restricted. But please appreciate the difficulties of the person who is answering your questions. I cannot render all of Marx's *Capital* in a mere five minutes.

Here is what I want to suggest. If your time is limit-

ed, let me have your questions and I give you my word of honour that I'll answer all your questions in writing and send the answers to you. If you like, I can have my answers recorded on tape and sent to you from the Soviet Union. I shall not evade a single answer, because it is my earnest desire to have the American public understand us correctly, to have it understand that we revolutionaries oppose predatory, imperialist wars. The matter of social system is the internal affair of the people of the country concerned. It is the people who decide whether they want to live under capitalism or communism. Only adventurers can wage wars of conquest; as for honest people, for Marxists, they have never said that they recognise wars of conquest. If we were to start a war against America because there is no communism in America, it would be an aggressive war. We have never intended, and do not intend, to start that kind of war.

I am highly interested in your questions. Why? You apparently reflect the ideas of many Americans, the questions that trouble them, and I would like to speak about them. Among other things, I would like to tell Americans that, far from wanting to fight because there is no communism here—fighting for communism is an internal affair of the people—we want to destroy armaments and disband armies, so that no one can go to war. But it would be a big mistake to think that the advance of communism will cease if armaments are destroyed. The development of communism in society is governed by its own specific laws. As society develops there emerge people who are opposed to the old order and they launch a struggle to reorganise society. The old forms in a society die out like cells in a body, and new ones develop to replace them. The social body, like the living one, develops and changes shape incessantly: as one element dies, another arises and grows.

There was the feudal system, and it was succeeded by capitalism. A new epoch has come now. Socialism and communism, the highest phase in the development of society, is coming to replace capitalism. Such is the objective law of the historical progress of society.

Correspondent. Allow me to ask you a few more questions.

Khrushchov. I should like to complete my reply on communism.

Correspondent. You spoke about the development of human society. Our society in the United States has also gone through various periods in its development. We started out with a very loosely organised society with negligible elements of government control, and then went on to another stage, the stage of a welfare state, when trade unions appeared and systems of social security, and various rights and privileges were furnished and guaranteed to the people by the government, etc. And all that time we witnessed a decline in the influence of the American Communist Party. I know that millions upon millions of listeners are highly interested in Mr. Khrushchov's reply to the question why, in his opinion, the influence of the American Communist Party has been declining.

Khrushchov. But I have not replied to the questions put to me earlier. I regret it very much. But I will not dodge the question you have just put to me, and will try to explain it.

I should like to reply to all the earlier questions because if the listeners get no answers to them they may think I am dodging the issue. I wish to say once again that I am prepared to answer any questions and regret very much that the management is restricting my time. That, incidentally, is an illustration of what your freedom of speech, your freedom of the press, is like in reality. I want to state my views freely, and you wish

to hear them freely, but you have no premises of your own here. They were given to you for a short time, and you are now told: Wind up or the radio will be switched off. There's the free world for you! There's your freedom of speech! He who has capital and owns the means, the paper, the newspapers, the journals, the radio, is in control. It is freedom for capital, and not freedom for the people.

Who shapes your public opinion? Hearst does. He has 30 to 50 papers. There are other similar companies. The Communists in your country are the most just of people, but they have no capital; they cannot buy a big house, nor the machines, paper and ink to print papers with big circulations and state their ideas freely. The monopolies, on the other hand, publish thousands of papers and circulate them daily in many millions of copies. The monopolists are also the bosses in Hollywood. Their film fare hits you in the eye and ear, so to speak; it conditions people's minds. The entire propaganda machine of monopoly capital is concentrated on misguiding the people.

So far the monopolists in America have been achieving their purpose. But it is noticeable even now that their influence is waning, is beginning to spend itself. In the meantime, the American Communist Party will grow, and win greater support each year among the workers and among the intellectuals, among the thinking people of America.

Correspondent. No, I won't let them switch off the recording machinery.

Khrushchov. No, you are helpless against capital.

Correspondent. I am a very strong woman.

Khrushchov. You may be strong physically and in spirit, but capital is stronger than you. The dollar is in command here; it has unrestricted freedom.

Correspondent. I would like to observe that Franklin

Roosevelt was elected President four times in spite of the fact that 90 per cent of the newspapers, which were controlled by the Republicans, were against him.

Khrushchov. That was Roosevelt. But what happened after Roosevelt? I cannot criticise your affairs, because that is the business of the American people, an internal American question. We take our hats off to Roosevelt, we think highly of him. During my first visit to America last year I went to Roosevelt's grave to pay homage to him. We revere the memory of Lincoln. We respect the memory of Washington and the other great Americans. I have spoken about this more than once.

Correspondent. Thank you very much, Mr. Khrushchov, for giving us this time. I think that it has been very important for all the American people, because tension in the world today is so high and there are so many unsolved problems that it is very important for the people to hear you, and to learn your opinion on various matters.

Khrushchov. I should like to say why we revere Washington. He was a courageous man who would not tolerate colonial slavery. He led the American people's struggle against the British colonialists, and achieved victory. It was a sacred war and it's only fair that one should respect and take one's hat off to the heroes who led the people in that war.

Correspondent. I would not be a journalist if I did not do what other journalists do, and did not say to you: Allow me to ask you a last question.

Khrushchov. Please do.

Correspondent. I take you at your word and want by all means to ask you to answer my questions in Moscow, as you have suggested, and to send us your answers.

Khrushchov. I will do so with pleasure.

Correspondent. But I would like to prepare the questions more thoroughly, to have them neatly retyped.

Khrushchov. Very well, you may delay the questions and touch them up a bit. That is quite in order. I appreciate your position.

Correspondent. You can see that I am playing fair. I put these questions to one side, and these to the other.

Khrushchov. I am more than fair. I have nothing in my hands, not a single scrap of paper.

Correspondent. It is often said that the current session of the General Assembly is a historic one, that all the Great Powers of the world will no longer be able to use the small countries for their perfidious ends, that now the newly emerging countries will speak up in a firm voice whenever world problems come up for discussion. Would you like to comment on this?

Khrushchov. I agree with you that the Fifteenth General Assembly is something of a cross-roads in the life of the United Nations. The question is whether the United Nations will grow stronger through a proper approach to the solution of all-important international issues and an understanding of the changed conditions, or whether it will fall apart. If a certain group of countries goes on trying to impose its views on the United Nations and exerting pressure on other countries, insisting that the United Nations adopt decisions that satisfy one country or group of countries, that group of countries no longer has the opportunities it had before. It may still succeed in having some resolution it likes passed by the United Nations, but it cannot have the resolution carried out because that calls for the consent of all countries, or for the use of force to make them submit. Yet no single country or group of countries possesses such force.

That is why, in solving international questions, the existing balance of forces between the groups of countries, which has emerged in the recent period, must be

taken into sober consideration. We call the group of countries headed by the United States the group of imperialist countries, countries of the Western military blocs and colonialists. The second group of countries consists of the socialist countries, which make up more than one-third of humanity. The third group, the neutralist countries, are countries which do not belong to any blocs.

We need to work for decisions that would not prejudice the interests of any of these three groups of countries. I am speaking, naturally, about the solution of international problems, of such problems as peace, disarmament, international security, abolition of colonialism and others, on which the international situation hinges, on which it depends whether the international situation will develop towards a more durable peace or whether these pillars will be undermined, which will inevitably lead to war.

Correspondent. I thank you once more for agreeing to this interview.

Khrushchov. I thank you too, and yet I regret that the restrictions imposed by monopoly capital have not given me an opportunity to answer all your questions.

I thank you for having prepared your questions. If there had been no time restriction, I would have been able to give more exhaustive replies to your questions as I understand them. I am sure that they would have been interesting replies and that to some extent they would have satisfied your listeners.

Thank you, and thanks to all the American radio listeners who are trying to understand our policy correctly. I assure the Americans that we want peace and friendship to exist between our peoples, that we sincerely do not want war and want friendship between the peoples of the United States and the peoples of the Soviet Union, friendship between all the peoples of the world.

Correspondent. I would like to say before I hear the translation that everybody understands three words, those good words with which we may end our talk—*mir, druzhba,* and *spasibo.*

Khrushchov. I should like you to specify in what form you wish to get the replies to your additional questions. Would you want them recorded on tape for radio transmission? I should like to know whether I will not be wasting my effort and whether my answers will not become food for mice only. If the replies recorded on tape are broadcast, the public will hear them.

Correspondent. I think it will be best if you have your answers recorded on tape for radio transmission.

Khrushchov. Very well. And if you were to come to Moscow, we would have the time and facilities for an interview. Have you ever been to Moscow?

Correspondent. No.

Khrushchov. Come to Moscow and there I will give you the answers recorded on tape.

Correspondent. I think I will gladly consent and accept your proposal. I want very much to go to Moscow, although I have two small children, but I would take them along.

Khrushchov. Bring them with you. I'll show you all my family, I'll show you my children, my grandchildren and my great-granddaughter.

If you like, my grandchildren can also give you an interview, though I cannot vouch for their replies.

Correspondent. It's a deal. I want to say that I have a daughter. She is four and a half. She shows a great interest in the current U.N. session and has found a way of learning history. When I ask her who is the head of the Soviet Government, she says "Khrushchov". When I ask her who is the head of Czechoslovakia, she replies "Novotný"; who is the head of the Hungarian Delegation—"Kádár". She has learned all the names.

And there is one more thing I want to tell you—I assure you it is not propaganda. Someone asked her: "How long will Khrushchov stay in America?" She replied: "This is a free country and he can stay as long as he likes."

Khrushchov. She'll grow up and learn to know this freedom better, and then my grandchildren will probably have a chance to continue this talk about freedom with her.

Come to Moscow and we'll show you real freedom.

Correspondent. So the next meeting will take place in Moscow?

Khrushchov. Very well. Thank you and good-bye.

THE WORK OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION AT THE FIFTEENTH U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FROM THE SPEECH AT A MASS MEETING IN MOSCOW

October 20, 1960

II. GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT, THE WAY TO LASTING PEACE

Comrades, the Soviet Union has stated repeatedly that the disarmament question is the pivot of all the vital international problems of our time.

For many decades mankind has been struggling with the problem of delivering the world from destructive wars, from the arms race and from competition in perfecting means of annihilation. In the past hopes of this were futile. With the undivided domination of the world by the exploiting classes, with a society rent by irreconcilable class contradictions pushed to the extreme by imperialism, with the colonial oppression of more than half of humanity, interminable wars between countries for a redivision of the world were a constant companion of society.

Before the emergence of the world socialist system all attempts to get rid of wars were but well-intentioned illusions and day-dreams. And sometimes they served as a means of deceiving people. It may be recalled, for example, that during the First World War the bourgeoisie contended that the war had to be won by the Entente in order to end all wars. But we know that the First World War was followed by quite a few other

wars and that, ultimately, the fascists, abetted by the U.S., British and French imperialists, started the still more destructive Second World War.

Now that science has discovered unprecedentedly powerful means of destruction, any new world war would bring mankind incalculable calamities and suffering. We are sure that mankind will not perish in the event of a new war. It will only shake off once and for all the decayed capitalist system, which engenders wars. But the question is whether it is necessary for the new to win at such a terrible price. Does the establishment of the new system upon the ruins of the past have to be paid for with the blood of hundreds upon hundreds of millions? Is there no other way?

All sensible people realise the need for conditions that would rule out the possibility of wars being waged for the enrichment of some countries at the expense of others. Marxists-Leninists think such conditions are attainable.

We Marxists-Leninists understand the complexity of the questions of war and peace very well. Wars began with the division of society into classes. The danger of war, and the grounds for it, will be eliminated once and for all when the division of society into rich and poor, into haves and have-nots, into exploiters and exploited, is destroyed, when a social system is established that is not based on the brutal bourgeois principle: man is to man a wolf.

That world will have nothing in common with the capitalist world where it is a law for the strong to plunder and exploit the weak. In the imperialist countries those who have capital have everything. And the ordinary people, who work and who create all the material and spiritual values but have no capital, are deprived of the means of production and suffer exploitation and discrimination.

The U.S. ruling circles describe the so-called American way of life as a model for the "free world". But what kind of freedom is it? It is freedom to exploit, freedom to plunder, freedom to die of hunger in the midst of plenty, freedom to be jobless while there are unused production capacities. Freedom in the United States is freedom for monopoly capital to oppress the working people, to fool people with a bi-partisan system and impose its will upon its partners in the military blocs. Such a society creates grounds for wars between countries, because it is typical of monopoly capital, of imperialism, to strive for reaction within the country and for expansion and aggression without.

It would have been impossible to preserve peace if imperialism had retained undivided sway. But the situation has changed since the emergence of socialism, the new social system that is coming to succeed capitalism. The socialist system is a progressive system. It establishes new laws in relations between people, new laws in relations between nations and countries. We are convinced that all mankind will come to socialism, to communism—to a harmonious society that has no antagonistic classes and is based on the most humane of principles—man is to man brother and friend. (*Prolonged applause.*)

After the working class and the labouring peasantry triumph there will be no social, national or other causes for war in any country. This will be when the socialist, communist system prevails throughout the world. All mankind will be a true commonwealth of equal peoples.

This has been said a long time ago, and has been proved scientifically by the founders of Marxism-Leninism.

Elimination of the capitalist system is a rock-bottom question of social development. But only adventurers can imagine that it is possible to achieve a change of

social system by starting wars between countries. Social revolutions are not exportable. They cannot be carried either on bayonets or in rockets. Just as we cannot tolerate the idea of anyone imposing a foreign and alien way of life upon us, we do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, because the way of life of each nation is its inalienable right. The question of what social conditions it wants to live in depends on the people, on internal development and the ripening of conditions in a given country. What is to be in a country—socialism or capitalism—is not a question of intergovernmental relations, nor one to be discussed at an international forum like the United Nations, where countries with different social systems are represented. It is a question which the people of a country must decide for itself.

It is essential to take account of concrete reality, of the world as it is. The contemporary world consists of socialist countries, of capitalist countries involved in the U.S. military blocs, and of countries that are uncommitted to any military blocs and pursue a neutral policy. Consequently, it is essential to look for solutions to the main international problems that would take account of present conditions, of the simultaneous existence of opposed social systems in different countries, so as to rule out, even in these circumstances, the possibility of a new world war. A nuclear war would cause unprecedented destruction of towns and factories. It would cause the death of hundreds upon hundreds of millions of people. It would destroy wealth created by the labour of many generations and would affect all countries, all peoples. Its consequences would be disastrous to the lives of future generations.

We would commit a crime with respect to the present and future generations if we reconciled ourselves to such an unenviable fate instead of trying to avert a

world war. It would also be unpardonable because socialism has placed such strength, such possibilities for defence, in the hands of the working class and all working people as we could never dream of before the emergence of the socialist countries.

Such is our attitude to the issue of war and peace.

It would be naïve to think that the capitalist countries would agree to disarmament if they were stronger than socialism. The situation today is such that the world socialist system is, at the least, no weaker than the countries brought together by the United States in the aggressive military blocs of NATO, SEATO and CENTO. At present the socialist countries possess means, never heard of before, of influencing the capitalist countries and, if you will, of forcing them into a disarmament agreement.

Moreover, if we consider the national liberation movement of the peoples, the popular movement for disarmament and peace in all countries, and the fact that a certain section of the bourgeoisie today favours peace, we shall see that not only our material possibilities for crushing retaliation against any attack upon the socialist countries, but also the support which our struggle for peace and the termination of the arms race has from the peoples of the world, speak in favour of disarmament.

This is why in proposing general and complete disarmament, the Soviet Government has real political, economic and moral factors to support it. A world war can be prevented if the peoples fight with determination for peace, for general and complete disarmament, for the destruction of the means of warfare under the strictest international control.

Is all that possible? Yes, it is. No one will deny that it is difficult, but a war, if it ever breaks out, will be still more difficult for the peoples. Hence, the question

is: Are we Communists to give in to these difficulties and so follow the lead of the imperialist forces that favour the continuation of the arms race—and the arms race, if it continues, will lead to war—or are we to work hard to raise a dam, a barrier to such a course of events? (*Applause.*) We oppose fatalism. We oppose passivity in the matter of war and peace. The possibilities of the imperialist forces that favour war preparations should not be underestimated, and, still less, overrated. As long as the imperialist countries exist and as long as monopoly capital with its inherent tendency to aggression, to imperialist wars, rules them, the threat of a new war will exist too. But it is this force that we can and must counter with a still greater force—the readiness of the peoples to prevent war, their desire to thwart all imperialist aggression with a firm hand. (*Applause.*)

Such a force opposing imperialism exists. It is the socialist countries, which are guided in their policy by the interests not only of their own peoples, but of the peoples of all countries, of all working people. And these forces do not draw on socialist humanism alone. They also draw on their socialist economy. They have their own powerful armed forces to defend the state interests of the socialist countries.

Our strength derives from the fact that the interests of the socialist countries coincide with the interests of the working people of all countries, the working people of the capitalist countries included. The working people of the capitalist countries favour peace and peaceful coexistence. In addition to all this there is the ever-increasing number of new countries that have cast off colonial oppression and that, as a rule, choose to stay out of blocs, i.e., adopt a policy of peace, thereby exploding the one-time rears and reserves of imperialism. And although the imperialists try to use the neutralist

course of a number of countries for their own ends and the neutralist countries sometimes sing a note in their chorus, that is a temporary phenomenon.

There can be no neutrality in questions of war and peace, because all peoples want peace and, consequently, all peoples must fight for peace against the threat of a new war. The forces of peace and the forces of war will move apart ever faster. And this process will add to the forces upholding peace.

The peoples of the neutral countries are faced with a historical choice. The imperialist camp is trying to drag them into the arms race, to make the manpower and the material resources of those countries serve war. Imperialism offers them nothing to eliminate the economic backwardness they have inherited from their colonial past. Imperialism does not stop its attempts to interfere in their internal affairs in order to place a new colonial yoke on them.

The socialist community of peoples offers the young states a different course—staying out of the arms race, developing their economy and culture, and barring interference in their domestic affairs.

Need I say what choice the peoples will make? They will, beyond question, choose the path of peace and freedom, and not the path of war and re-enslavement. And that choice adds immensely to the forces working for peace.

The growth of socialism and the peace forces has tipped the balance of world forces against imperialism. It would be wrong to apply parliamentary criteria in appraising the present demarcation and correlation of the forces of socialism and peace, on the one hand, and those of imperialism, on the other. It is not the number of states ranged on the one side or the other—the side of socialism or the side of imperialism—that determines the balance of forces in the final analysis.

When assessing the balance of forces one must consider many factors—the economic and military potential, the population and other factors of a material and moral character. Plain arithmetic may be very misleading in this.

The arithmetical yardstick does not yield a clear picture even in appraising the balance of forces within a country with antagonistic classes. Everybody knows, after all, that it is not the number of seats in parliament that determines the actual balance of forces between parties and classes in a capitalist country.

The constitutions and electoral laws in the bourgeois countries are so patterned as to give immense privileges to the dominant exploiter classes, and not to the exploited classes, the working classes. This may be illustrated by the example of France where the Communist Party polled 3,888,204 votes and won 10 seats in the latest parliamentary elections, while the U.N.R., a Rightist bourgeois party, had 3,608,958 votes and yet won 188 seats. Compare 10 and 188 seats! This, so to say, parliamentary method is no good if a reasonably accurate assessment is to be made of the balance of forces within a bourgeois country.

What is it, then, that holds up power in the bourgeois countries? Why is it that the proletarian parties, which have enormous support in the masses, often lack a corresponding number of deputies in parliament? Simply because the bourgeoisie uses various election tricks and maintains its rule with forces of suppression—the police, army, court and legislation, all of which are made to serve monopoly capital. This is what holds up the power of the bourgeoisie. That power is maintained by the ruling classes being in possession of the means of production, ideological indoctrination, and suppression of democracy and the progressive revolutionary move-

ment. That is what constitutes the dictatorship of monopoly capital.

He who uses parliamentary methods of that sort to assess the balance of forces between the socialist and imperialist countries is very likely to be misled by the figures and to get the wrong picture. For how else is the fact to be explained that the young socialist state born of the October Revolution was able to assert its right to existence although it was the only one in the world, and was weak and still finding its legs? Fourteen countries marched against us at the time. Our land was tormented by troops of the United States, France, Britain, Germany, Japan and other countries. The young Soviet Republic smashed those forces, and drove them out.

We must always bear in mind Lenin's advice: politics is not arithmetic. At the time the Soviet country was sustained not only by its internal forces, the working class and the labouring peasantry, but also by the international working class and the progressive sections of society in the bourgeois countries. This was as far back as 43 years ago.

Today the situation is entirely different. The Soviet Union has grown into an immense force. Our economy is flourishing. We have a powerful and well-equipped industry capable of producing the required quantity of the latest means of defence. We have an efficient machinery of state. We have a big army of competent engineers, technicians and scientists who can cope with any task. We have a first-class modern army equipped with nuclear weapons and missiles. The whole world knows of the great progress made by Soviet science and technology. (*Applause.*)

Furthermore, we are no longer alone. There are other countries in Europe and Asia that have taken the socialist path and are making good headway along it. These

new socialist countries have already achieved tremendous successes in the development of their state, in the construction of socialism and in the building of their armed forces.

As I have said, more than a third of the neutralist countries once belonged to the rear of the imperialists, whom they supplied with manpower and raw materials. Imperialism has lost these reserves, and will never succeed in turning them back to their colonial past.

All these factors have to be considered in assessing the balance of forces. It will then become clear that at present the forces of peace are not weaker but stronger than the forces favouring war. We must be clear on this point in order to make a realistic appraisal of our forces and not underrate our own possibilities of upholding the policy of peace. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Soviet Union has always stood for the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. But we do not beg for this peaceful coexistence. We propose this policy on the basis of a sober analysis of the balance of forces prevailing in the world today.

All peoples will come to socialism and communism. That is an objective law of social development. Some may say that since our forces are not less, but even greater than those of our adversaries, why not settle the issue by war? Why not hasten historical progress? But you cannot drive history like a horse.

When bourgeois politicians say that the Soviet Union needs peaceful coexistence merely as a temporary expedient, that we Communists are only biding our time to start a war and thereby change the political and social system in other countries, we say to them: You lie. Marxism-Leninism maintains that it is the class struggle within the country in question that tips the balance of forces in favour of a particular class. And when the revolutionary proletarian forces are grown, the prole-

tariat settles the matter of political power and social system as it sees fit, that is, in the interests of the proletariat, of the revolutionary class, and does so in one way or another depending on the prevailing concrete conditions and on the methods used against it by the old ruling classes.

If we were to assume that war between the socialist countries and the capitalist countries is an objective necessity in settling internal political and social problems, we would merely be playing into the hands of the enemies of socialism. The enemies of socialism would use it against Marxism-Leninism, against the socialist countries. They would then be able to say: There you are, what kind of progressive system is it, what kind of progressive theory, if it has to be forced upon the peoples?

Socialism is strong because it is a vital necessity, because it meets the most cherished interests of the people. This is proved by all the practice of socialist and communist construction. Socialist ideas do not have to be spread among the masses by force. This is a truth known even to schoolchildren, but a truth which our adversaries, the enemies of communism, try each time to distort.

What can better win sympathy for socialism than the example of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries? Everybody knows how backward tsarist Russia was. And everybody can see how advanced and powerful our country has become in the years of socialist development. What was a backward country has become a mighty, highly developed socialist power. Socialism has created conditions inconceivable under capitalism for economic development, for cultural and scientific progress. Our enemies, too, have already admitted it.

The force of example is a great force. The better prog-

ress we make and the higher the standard of living in the socialist countries, the sooner we shall win the minds over to socialism. And that is a force which arithmetic cannot measure. (*Applause.*)

Going back to the question of the possibilities the socialist countries have of preventing a new war, we must say that this important matter cannot be settled by the number of countries working for peace and the number involved in the Western military blocs. We know that there are many more capitalist countries at present than socialist countries. If we proceed from an arithmetical calculation, it can lead us astray in politics.

The present balance of forces enables us to raise the disarmament problem and to work for its practical solution. The idea of complete and general disarmament is a powerful means of rallying the peoples for the struggle to maintain peace and prevent a new war. For this reason it is the duty of each individual and each people to uphold that idea, to fight for it, to fight for peace. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Government has worked out its attitude to disarmament in detail and has set it forth before the United Nations. Its proposals have been sent in writing to all countries. The object of these proposals, as I have already stated in New York, is to pave the way for an agreement on general and complete disarmament. We make the provision that all means of delivering nuclear weapons to the target are to be destroyed in the very first stage of disarmament, with the simultaneous closure of war bases in foreign territory, the abolition of air forces, etc. We also provide for the banning of nuclear weapons, of their manufacture and testing, and for the destruction of all nuclear weapons stockpiles. We are for genuine disarmament under international control.

Mr. Macmillan, Britain's Prime Minister, speaking in

New York, said something to the effect that the disarmament negotiations may last five to ten years.

But the arms race is continuing. Three or even four countries possess nuclear weapons today. What will their number be in five or ten years? Many countries will have these weapons.

We oppose "bagpiping" in so important a matter as disarmament and will not be party to deceiving the peoples by means of interminable negotiations. Though Mr. Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, is a Scotsman, I have no intention whatsoever of offending him by referring to bagpipes. To a Scotsman the bagpipe is a national musical instrument, while I speak of bagpipes in the sense of dragging out the examination of important matters. (*Animation.*) Our proposals are absolutely realistic. We insist on negotiations that would yield useful results, and we oppose negotiations that do no more than befog the mind and deceive the peoples.

Some individuals in the West say that the Soviet Union submitted its proposals to the Assembly for propaganda purposes. We do not fear those charges, for we are not calling for war, but for shaping conditions conducive to lasting peace. We are going to carry on with that kind of propaganda. It does no harm to the peoples. But if the Western Powers fear peace propaganda, we are prepared to dispense with speeches.

We have put forward our all-embracing proposals for disarmament. Let the Western Powers submit theirs. Let us sit down at a table and discuss what is acceptable and what isn't point by point, in a business-like fashion.

I should like to add that the responsibility for safeguarding peace and, hence, for reaching an agreement on disarmament and the destruction of armaments must not be placed solely upon the countries that have nuclear weapons. That is incorrect and dangerous.

None of the peoples are indifferent to the solution of the disarmament problem. If any of the industrially underdeveloped countries which do not have sufficiently strong armies shirk co-operation in solving the disarmament problem, they will aggravate, rather than reduce, the threat of having the peoples of their countries and the rest of the world plunged into the disaster of an unprecedented nuclear war. Each people, big or small, and each state, strong or weak, must today show the same interest and the same determination in the effort to solve the problem of disarmament and of the destruction of weapons as they show in the struggle for their freedom and independence.

A few days ago Mr. Macmillan, the Prime Minister of Britain, spoke at the congress of the Conservative Party. He voiced his satisfaction at having attended the General Assembly, that "remarkable gathering", as he described it, attended by representatives of nearly 100 countries. He admitted in his speech that mankind was faced with the choice of following the path of violence or the path of negotiation in settling disputed matters. Mr. Macmillan favoured negotiations of questions in dispute for the sake of easing tension.

The Soviet Government is in accord with that attitude, and we have repeatedly stressed that the policy of peaceful coexistence is not a stratagem, but the general Soviet line in foreign affairs, bequeathed to us by the great Lenin. We have maintained it in the past, and will maintain it in the future. (*Stormy applause.*)

But concrete deeds are wanted on the part of the Western Powers if Mr. Macmillan's statement about the desire to ease tension is to become more than a mere good intention. Mr. Macmillan admits that on the question of disarmament discussions "never come to the point". That is a revealing confession. If, as Mr. Mac-

millan has said, the British Government really wants "disarmament and control to go hand in hand, so that disarmament and control are present at all stages", we are in accord with it.

The Soviet Government has always advocated genuine disarmament, and does so now. It has proved this through deeds, having several times unilaterally reduced its armed forces. If the same genuine desire to disarm is shown by Britain and its allies—the United States, France, and the others—the biggest and most important obstacle to a disarmament agreement will be removed, and the road to disarmament will be open.

If everything you have said, Mr. Macmillan, was said with the purpose of solving the disarmament problem, let us get down to business at last and not delay the solution of this most urgent problem indefinitely.

If this is your opinion and that of your allies, let us have your amendments to our proposals, or your own all-embracing proposals if you don't like ours just because they were submitted by the Soviet Union. It is of no consequence to us who the author is to be. What we are concerned with is reaching a disarmament agreement, which would deliver mankind from the threat of a disastrous world war. (*Applause.*) Disarmament is the main thing for us, and not who was the first to submit relevant proposals. Before my departure from New York I made a special statement on disarmament at the Fifteenth Session of the U.N. General Assembly. Our proposals have been published in the press and are known to the public.

We also submitted to the United Nations a draft of the "Basic Provisions of the Agreement on General and Complete Disarmament", which also contains provisions for a rigid and elaborate system of international control and inspection to ensure observance of the terms of the agreement.

People in the West like the expression, "to put the cards on the table". We are not playing at disarmament. But if they like it, we have put our cards on the table.

It is now the turn of the Western Powers. True, after we left New York they submitted new proposals to the Assembly. One of these—that of the United States, Britain and Italy—is supposed to contain principles for the solution of the disarmament problem. Another—that of Britain—envisages the establishment of a committee of experts to examine—guess what!—the question of control.

As a speaker Macmillan calls for a concrete approach to questions of disarmament. But when it comes to action that concrete approach is missing. Try and make these people out. But reality will teach them. It will also teach Mr. Macmillan and his like. The wind isn't blowing in our faces. We say to them: If you gentlemen want to test the might and endurance of the socialist state once more, we'll show you where to get off. (*Animation. Applause.*) We are strong today, and tomorrow we will be still stronger, and you'll never see the day, gentlemen, when you can gloat over our weakness. We, the Soviet workers and peasants, and our scientists, are going to give you cause for chagrin each day and each year over the growth and consolidation of the socialist forces, the growth of the forces of communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

This is a brief digression from my prepared statement, but I think it will do no harm to people who do not wish to listen to reason today.

One might think the fifteen years we have been discussing questions of disarmament, those of control included, were not enough.

Both proposals made by the Western Powers show that they are still unwilling to approach the solution of the disarmament problem in earnest, that they continue

to use the disarmament negotiations, including the discussion at the current Assembly, as a screen for the arms race policy. For how else are we to interpret the proposal I have mentioned concerning principles of disarmament since it does not contain a single word about the removal of war bases from foreign countries and not a word about when, within what time limits, the various disarmament measures are to be carried out. In substance it is a proposal for control over armaments, which President Eisenhower called for at the General Assembly, and not disarmament under control, which the Soviet Union has been urging for many years.

The Western proposals in question bode no good for the future.

If the Western Powers refuse to take the path of general and complete disarmament, we shall be entitled to deduce that they are not willing to disarm at present but do not wish to admit it frankly to their peoples, because the Western peoples, the peoples of the United States and Britain, and the other peoples of the world want disarmament. The Soviet Union will persevere in its efforts for disarmament, for a durable peace and the security of nations.

I repeat, we stand for genuine disarmament and anyone who advocates the same thing can find a common language with us.

The peoples pin great hopes upon the United Nations. They want it to settle the outstanding international issues and achieve a situation in which world peace would be reliably safeguarded.

But I must say that if matters go on as they do now, the United Nations will achieve no tangible results. The U.N. cart has cut a deep rut, it is bogged down in that rut and will find it hard to get out of it.

If you only saw the way many delegates speak and behave at the General Assembly, you would come to

the conclusion that the United Nations may not live up to the hopes pinned on it by the peoples.

The auditorium is often nearly empty. The seats assigned to some of the delegations are occupied by delegates "on duty". They do not, in effect, participate in the work of the Assembly, and evidently sit there for the sole purpose of voting if a vote is taken. That kind of man "on duty" representing his delegation is like a robot or automatic machine that operates according to a pre-set programme. He does not have to think and strain himself. All that is required of him is to vote "yes" or "nay" on the question concerned. It is absolutely impossible to influence his psychology, for he acts strictly in keeping with the instructions received beforehand.

This adds to our conviction that we were right in appealing to the heads of government of the U.N. member countries to treat in all earnest the vitally important international issues facing the world, such as the question of abolishing the colonial regime, restoring China's legitimate rights, the acts of aggression committed by the United States, and other questions, and above all the most important international question, that of disarmament, upon which the maintenance of world peace chiefly depends.

It is beyond question that all these problems cannot be solved at one session of the General Assembly. This is why the presence of heads of state or heads of government should become a regular practice at the General Assembly if they really want to ensure lasting peace.

As I said in New York, the disarmament problem will hardly be solved at this session of the Assembly. We consider it necessary, therefore, that an extraordinary session be called to discuss the matter. Such a session, we believe, could be convened in March or April of next year. If the heads of state or government who come to

that session arrive at a solution in principle of the problem of general and complete disarmament under strict international control, it will apparently have to be followed up with supplementary work by a smaller group. The heads of state or government could, for example, give directions for the work of a fifteen-nation committee, whose establishment we have proposed.

But I repeat that the basic questions of principle in the field of disarmament cannot be settled without the participation of heads of state or government, because too much suspicion has accumulated between states and the difference in approach to the solution of the problem is too great. A sound and bold approach and sober statesmanship are called for to guide the United Nations cart along the right path. Who can do it? Only those who are invested with the full trust of their people and government.