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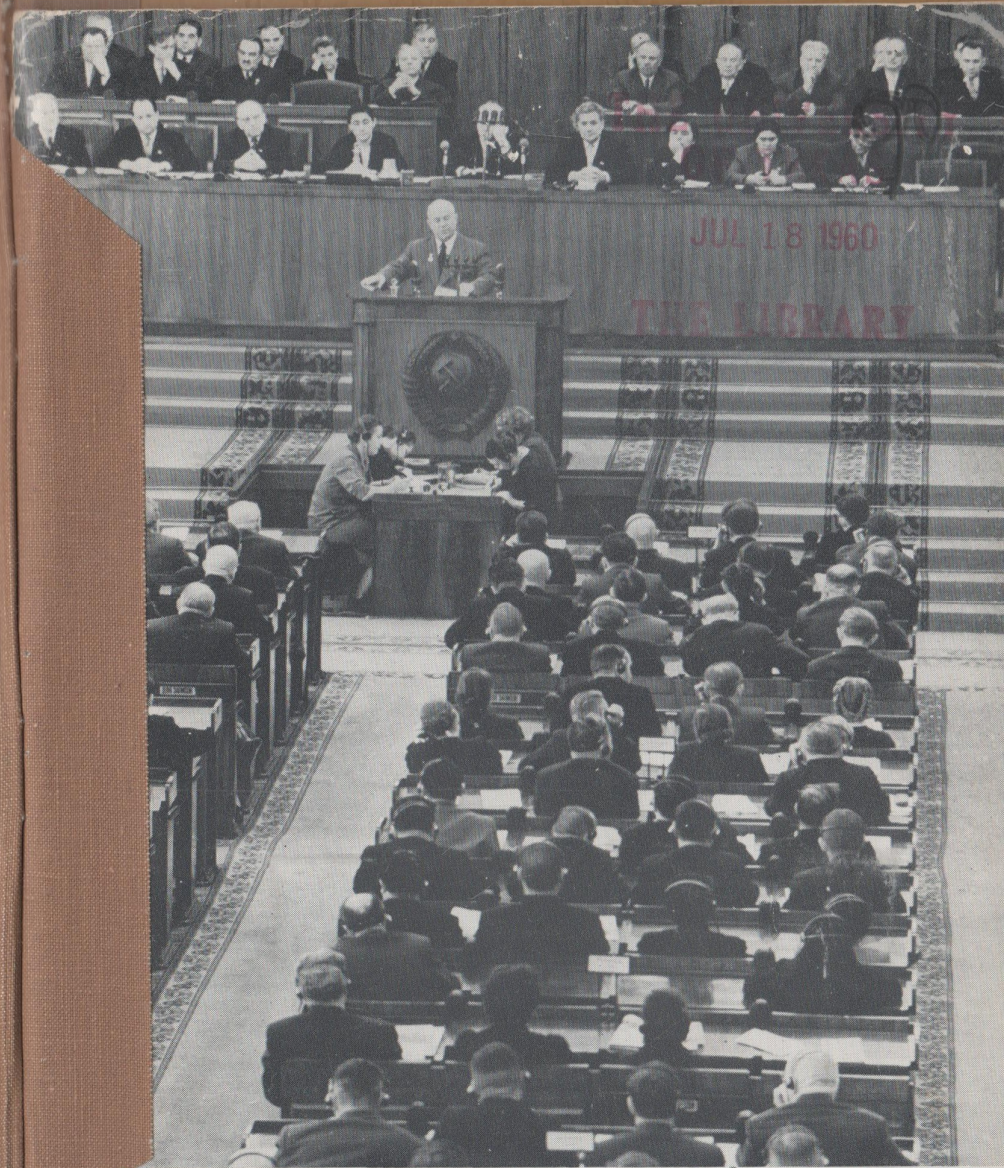
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THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

by NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV



N. S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, speaking at the Third Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the international situation and the foreign policy of the USSR.

Deputies applauding Khrushchev at the finish of his speech.



THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION
AND
SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

by

NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV

Report given at the Third Session of the
U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet on October 31, 1959

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THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND
SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

The following is the full text of the report on the international situation and foreign policy of the USSR made by Nikita Khrushchev at the third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on October 31, 1959.

Comrade Deputies, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have instructed me to make a statement to you on questions of the international situation and the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

The Government of the Soviet Union, guiding itself by the Leninist policy of peace, the decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-first Party Congresses and the directives of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, have consistently and persistently pursued a policy aimed at relaxing international tension and abolishing the cold war, a policy aimed at improving the relations between states for the consolidation of peace and the security of peoples.

We may note with a sense of satisfaction that thanks to the efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and all the peaceloving forces, there has lately been a noticeable improvement in the international situation. The main thing is that the tension in the relations between states has been noticeably relaxed and that prospects for the strengthening of peace throughout the world have become more favorable. Yet only recently the passions aroused by the cold war were so great that even a small spark could have produced a world conflagration. The foreign policy of some Western Powers was built on openly aggressive calculations, on the policy "from positions of strength." The inspirers of this policy wanted to impose their will on the peaceloving peoples, to solve international problems with the help of a stick.

Sometimes this approach to international affairs was styled a "policy of liberation," sometimes a "policy of pushing back" or "rolling back," but the substance remained the same. For to "liberate" someone who does not ask for and does not want such "liberation" is to impose one's order on others by force. No people has yet asked and never will ask Messrs.

Capitalists to "liberate" it from the socialist system, whose advantages and benefits it has already tasted, and to return it to the system of capitalist exploitation. And no people which has liberated itself from capitalist exploitation has ever expressed the wish to be "liberated" from factories and works, from the right to dispose of the entire wealth of its state, from the right to arrange its life as it wants. No free people has ever yet wanted its life to be controlled by a handful of those who rob it, who appropriate the fruits of the people's labor. But in some countries, those who still live by exploiting the people apparently do not want to realize this.

When these people spoke of "pushing back" or "rolling back," they meant something other than asking someone politely to move over, to make room. They meant direct military intervention in the affairs of the socialist and other peaceable states. From this stemmed the policy of a continuous arms race, illusory hopes of building up "nuclear supremacy," etc. All this affected also the terminology of the advocates of this policy: they spoke of "brink of war policy," of "massive retaliation," etc. They went so far as openly to threaten "preventive" war against the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

Now times have changed. Even some of the most active exponents of the "positions of strength" policy see its futility. Only the most belligerent Western politicians cannot make up their mind to discard the old formula. In some places one still hears reverberations of the past. Take, for instance, the much-to-be-regretted decision of the American Congress to hold the so-called "Captive Nations Week" and to pray for their liberation. In this case words other than "rolling back" were used, but the gist remained the same, the same appeal for interference in other peoples' affairs.

So you will see, from the policy of "rolling back" they have switched to praying to the Lord. What can it lead to? If the Western leaders pray to God to "liberate" the peoples of the socialist countries, and we, in turn, pray that He should liberate their peoples from capitalist rule, we shall thus put God in a quandary. What decision should He make, after all? It is clear that if He sides with the majority of people and takes a democratic position, the decision will be in our favor, in favor of

socialism! But this is, so to say, a digression from the gist of the report.

At the present time a more sober evaluation of the situation, a more reasonable understanding of the balance of forces of the international scene is gaining ascendancy in the West. And such an understanding inevitably leads to the conclusion that plans involving the use of armed force against the socialist world should be relegated to oblivion. Life itself demands that states with different social systems should know how to live together on our planet, how to coexist peacefully.

Why the International Situation Is Improving

What are the new causes of the recent changes in the international atmosphere?

The main reason lies in the growing might and international influence of the Soviet Union, of all countries of the world system of socialism. Mankind is fortunate in that in our time of great scientific discoveries and technical achievements there has appeared in the world, and is rapidly developing, the socialist system, since the desire for peace is organically inherent in socialism. And the quicker the forces of the socialist countries grow, the greater the possibilities for preserving and consolidating peace.

At the same time an increasingly greater role is played on the international scene by countries which freed themselves from colonial dependence, as well as by other countries vitally interested in maintaining peace and preventing new wars. In our time the voice of these countries situated on all continents of the globe cannot be left unheeded. Even in the capitalist countries themselves, peaceloving forces which stand for the ending of the "cold war," for peaceful international cooperation, are of late exerting an ever increasing influence.

Finally, ever wider public circles, including many statesmen of capitalist countries, are beginning to realize that in the present conditions, with the existence of nuclear and rocket weapons, war threatens an unparalleled loss of human life and destruction, particularly in those countries that would dare to touch off a new world war.

By their peaceful policy the Soviet Union and all the

socialist countries have opened to mankind the road of social development without war, on the basis of peaceful cooperation.

In our time the outstanding significance of the wisdom of the great Lenin's idea of peaceful coexistence is becoming increasingly clear to the peoples of all the world.

With the present balance of forces on the world scene, with the level attained by military technology, no one except those who are entirely out of touch with reality can suggest any other road of development of relations between states with different social systems than the road of peaceful coexistence.

The Necessity for Peaceful Coexistence

Not infrequently one hears Western leaders discoursing about whether the Soviet Union's proposals for peaceful coexistence should be "accepted" or "not accepted." In my opinion, such talk indicates failure to understand the core of the matter. The point is that peaceful coexistence in our day is a real fact and not anyone's request or wish. It is an objective necessity following from the present world situation, from the present phase of development of human society. Both principal social systems now existing on earth possess weapons which would cause fatal consequences if brought into action. Those who now declare their nonrecognition of peaceful coexistence and argue against it are actually advocating war.

Now the question is not whether there should or should not be peaceful coexistence—it exists and will exist, if we do not want the madness of a world nuclear-missile war. The point is that we must coexist on a reasonable foundation. One can hardly regard as reasonable the fact that nations are living in a condition in which although there is no war, and rockets are at all times in readiness, in which military aircraft carrying atomic and hydrogen bombs are continually plying the heavens. And it is a fact that these aircraft not only fly but sometimes crash together with their lethal cargo, as a result of various kinds of accidents. There were a few such cases in the United States. The fact alone that such cases do occur shows how dangerous it is to stockpile such weapons and to play with them.

The Soviet Government, the entire Soviet people proceed

from the Leninist principle of coexistence of states with different social systems, and are doing everything in their power to ensure a lasting peace on earth. People going to bed should not think that it is their last peaceful night, that a military catastrophe can break out any moment. We want peaceful coexistence on a reasonable foundation, we want state agencies and public organizations to work in that direction, to create conditions for cooperation between nations. This cooperation must be based on the principle according to which every country chooses for itself and borrows from its neighbor what it finds necessary without anything being imposed upon it. Only then will coexistence be truly peaceful and good-neighborly.

Naturally such coexistence of states with different social systems proceeds from the assumption of mutual concessions in the interests of peace. One might say that this calls for a realistic approach, for a sober assessment of the state of affairs, for mutual understanding and taking into consideration of each other's interests. This is a principled, but at the same time a flexible, position in the struggle for the preservation of peace.

The recognition of the existence of different systems, the recognition of the right of every people to settle independently all the political and social problems of their country, respect for sovereignty and adherence to the principle of noninterference in internal affairs, settlement of all international questions by negotiation—that is what coexistence on a reasonable foundation implies.

The principles of peaceful coexistence were well formulated at the Bandung Conference and later on were also approved by the United Nations. To put it plainly, peaceful coexistence means that states must meet each other halfway in the interests of peace.

Mutual Concessions Needed

Peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems in itself implies elements of mutual concession, mutual consideration of interests, since otherwise normal relations between states cannot be established.

In ideological matters we have stood and shall stand adamantly on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism. Ideological

questions cannot be decided by force; it is impossible to impose the dominant ideology of one state on another state. No sober-minded person ever accepted the view that ideological disputes or questions of the government system of one or another country should be settled by war.

Capitalists do not approve of the socialist social system. Our ideology, our world outlook, are alien to them. We citizens of the socialist states equally disapprove of the capitalist order and the bourgeois ideology. But we must live peacefully, resolving international problems that arise by peaceful means only. Hence the need for reciprocal concessions.

Naturally, neither side will yield on basic social questions, questions of ideology, which divide them. I mean concessions of a different kind. For instance, we receive visits from representatives of capitalist states who express their views in statements made in our country. We do not always agree with everything they say but we are tolerant of such statements. When we visit capitalist countries, we also make speeches and frankly express our views, and they too seem to be tolerant.

The principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems means noninterference in each other's internal affairs, a need for reciprocal concessions and compromises, accommodation—if you like—on the part of both sides in the sphere of relations between states in solving pressing practical issues for the preservation and consolidation of peace. V. I. Lenin taught us that the working class, both before and after winning power, must be able to pursue a flexible policy, consent to compromises, to agreements, when it is required by life, by the interests of its cause.

What does this mean as applied to present-day conditions? Take the disarmament problem, for example. The Soviet Government has submitted a proposal for general and complete disarmament. We consider that its realization would ensure peace to all peoples. But we are prepared to consider other proposals as well to achieve a mutually acceptable solution of the disarmament problem. This is a concrete instance of our readiness to make concessions when there is as yet no possibility of settling the problem as a whole, that is, to do as we think best.

On the other hand, capitalist states too make certain concessions. It will be recalled, for instance, that they recognized our Soviet state and then the majority of other socialist countries, even though the ruling capitalist circles are opponents of socialism. They have diplomatic relations with socialist countries, they negotiate with them, they participate together and discuss international problems in the United Nations. These also are concessions of course—adaptation, if you like—on the part of the capitalist states which are obliged to take account of the fact that countries of the world socialist system exist and develop.

When we speak of peaceful coexistence of socialist and capitalist states, we mean that neither of them should interfere in the other's internal affairs. It is only on this reasonable foundation that peaceful coexistence is possible.

In the relations between states with different social systems not a few questions are encountered today and will be encountered in the future on which it is necessary to meet each other halfway, to press for agreement on a mutually acceptable basis in order to prevent the development of tensions, to utilize every—even the smallest—opportunity of averting a new war.

But we should not confuse reciprocal concessions for the sake of peaceful coexistence with concessions in matters of principle, in what concerns the very nature of our socialist state, our ideology. In this case there can be no question of any concessions or any adaptation. Concessions on matters of principle, questions of ideology would mean backsliding to the positions of our opponents. This would mean a qualitative change in policy, a betrayal of the cause of the working class. Those taking this road will take the road of treason to the cause of socialism and, of course, must be criticized without mercy.

We are confident of the force of our truth, we carry this socialist truth, the advantages of socialism, high aloft for the whole world to see. We do not have to fear that peoples of the socialist countries will be tempted by the capitalist devil and will renounce socialism. To think otherwise is not to believe in the strength of socialism, in the strength of the working class and its creative abilities.

The history of the Soviet state offers many examples of

Lenin's wise and flexible foreign policy aimed at the solution of the key problems of peace. So it was in the Brest peace period. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin set the task of concluding peace with Germany to give the young Soviet state an opportunity for peacefully building socialism. Lenin and the Party had to fight hard against Trotsky, who raised leftist objections at the time and put forward his notorious slogan of "neither peace nor war," thus playing into the hands of the German imperialists. It is a matter of record that Trotsky's adventurist position was utilized by German imperialism against the Soviet Union. The young socialist state had to overcome considerable difficulties. Such were the fruits of adventurism in politics.

Today, of course, the situation is entirely different, and I quote this example from history only to show Lenin's principled attitude in foreign policy and flexibility in its implementation.

Some bourgeois leaders, opposing peaceful coexistence, accuse the socialist countries, and primarily the Soviet Union, of being insincere in speaking of peaceful coexistence. It is said that we advance the slogan of peaceful coexistence only from temporary, tactical considerations because Marxism-Leninism allegedly proceeds from the proposition that war is necessary for the victory of socialism.

But these assertions are nothing but a distortion of the essence of Marxism-Leninism. Marxism has always waged an implacable struggle against militarism and never has regarded war between states as necessary for the victory of the working class. The most implacable and consistent struggle against predatory wars was waged by the Russian Bolsheviks led by Lenin. Recollect also such noted leaders of the working class movement as August Bebel, Jean Jaures and Karl Liebknecht, who were active fighters against militarism and war. Jaures paid with his life for his tireless work against the imperialist war of 1914. We Communists know that war is paid for with blood by the working class, the toiling peasantry, the whole of the working people, while capitalists wax rich on war. But at the same time the Communists said: "If the contradictions of capitalism have led to a predatory war for repartitioning the world, the working class, the people cannot remain indifferent." The First World War was an imperialist war for a repartition of the world.

The working class, according to Leninism, was to utilize this war in its interests, turn the imperialist war into a civil war, seize power and create a state wherein the working class, the working people would be the master, and then halt the war and work to make predatory wars altogether impossible.

The brilliant example of the practical application of these Leninist propositions by the Bolshevik Party during World War I is known to all the world. No one but the Bolsheviks, immediately after the establishment of Soviet power, addressed all the belligerents with the appeal to end the war and conclude a peace treaty. World War II was also unleashed by imperialist states for the purpose of seizing foreign territories, for the purpose of recarving the world. After the defeat of Hitler Germany, fascist Italy and militaristic Japan, great changes occurred in the world. Many countries of Europe and Asia broke away from the capitalist system and established the system of people's democracy, the socialist system.

Thus history shows that wars were unleashed not by Communists but by imperialists.

Efforts of the Soviet Government Toward Relaxation of Tension

When we speak about peaceful coexistence we do so sincerely, inasmuch as peaceful coexistence is the unshakeable foundation of the foreign policy of the Soviet state. As for the social system of one or another country, that is the internal matter of its people. We strictly observe the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

The policy of peaceful coexistence of states, invariably followed by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, is now meeting ever greater understanding in the West. Some headway is being made by such forms of East-West relations, which the Soviet Government has long since persistently championed, as negotiations on pressing international problems, exchange visits of statesmen, mutually profitable economic ties, cultural and scientific contacts.

And if it is now clear to all that a thaw is beginning in international relations, this of course in many respects is due to the efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Only within the last year and a half, that is, during the time the USSR Council of Ministers has been working in its present composition, the Soviet Government has advanced such important proposals as those to end nuclear tests, to set up atom-free zones, to do away with the remnants of World War II by signing a peace treaty with Germany, to call a meeting of the heads of government to consider the most pressing international questions and the proposal for general and complete disarmament.

The efforts of the Soviet Government have already yielded certain positive results. For instance, negotiations are now in progress on a nuclear-test ban. True, these negotiations are dragging out, but nevertheless definite progress has been made and we hope that they will be successfully completed shortly. You will recall that a conference of foreign ministers was called in Geneva to discuss the problem of doing away with the remnants of World War II, and although the conference did not bring about a solution of the problems it had discussed, it helped to clarify the positions of the sides and reduce the gap between them, and had a positive effect on the whole question.

The Soviet Government undertook a number of steps to improve relations with the biggest Western Powers—the United States, Britain and France. This year's visits of Comrades A. I. Mikoyan and F. R. Kozlov to the United States, followed by the visit of the United States Vice President Richard M. Nixon to Moscow, and the exchange of exhibitions—the Soviet Exhibition in New York and the American Exhibition in Moscow—helped to improve Soviet-American relations. The first cracks appeared in the ice of the cold war.

The exchange of views with British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan during his visit to the USSR played a noticeable role both in improving Anglo-Soviet relations and in clearing the general international atmosphere.

An especially important, far-reaching step toward a radical improvement of relations between the USSR and the USA and a general relaxation of international tension was the agreement on the exchange of visits between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the President of the United States.

During my visit to the United States I had meetings and

discussions with President Dwight Eisenhower, also with other statesmen, with representatives of the most diverse circles and the ordinary people of America. These meetings and talks convinced me that the vast majority of the people do not want war and do want an improvement of relations between our countries. Many prominent United States leaders, with the President at the head, understand these sentiments of the American people, are alarmed by the situation which has arisen as a result of the arms race and the cold war, and want to find ways to strengthen peace.

For our part, we tried to bring home to both those representatives of various circles in the United States we had met directly and to the American people as a whole that the Government of the Soviet Union and the entire Soviet people sincerely want peace and seek to improve relations between the USSR and the United States. It seems that we have succeeded in that to a degree, that the position of the Soviet Union is now being received with more understanding in the United States.

You know that during my meetings with President Eisenhower we exchanged views on a number of major international problems such as, for instance, general disarmament, the question of a peace treaty with Germany, the Berlin question and others, also on the development of Soviet-American relations. The results of the exchange of views are reflected in the joint Soviet-American Communiqué. I should like to add only that our discussions were highly useful and, in our view, were conducive to a certain mutual understanding and to an approximation of viewpoints in assessing the present situation as a whole in the approach to certain concrete, important questions, to the realization of the need to improve relations between the USSR and the United States.

This is a substantial contribution to the cause of consolidating universal peace and we prize it highly.

You are aware that recently an agreement has been reached on my meeting with the President of the French Republic, General de Gaulle. We believe that the meeting will be useful for the development of relations between the USSR and France, for the strengthening of world peace.

On the whole our relations with France are taking a normal

course, although its participation in military blocs spearheaded against us puts a certain imprint on its policy.

Objectively speaking, the interests of our states are not in conflict anywhere, and one cannot, of course, consider as accidental the fact that we were allies in both World Wars. Naturally, the positions of our countries on certain questions are affected by a different understanding of the existing situation. This difference, however, seems to be not fundamental but one that is fully surmountable. The Soviet people would like to live in peace and friendship with the French people, they wish France prosperity and greatness. Taking a long-range view, I do not see any hitches or obstacles that could seriously interfere with good, friendly relations between our country and the French Republic.

I should like to declare from the high rostrum of the USSR Supreme Soviet that we highly appreciate the realistic pronouncements of President de Gaulle and Prime Minister Debré about the immutability of the Oder-Neisse frontier. This unquestionably helps to consolidate peace in Europe.

Naturally, the Soviet people, like other peaceloving peoples of the world, are alarmed by the war which has been going on in Algeria for five years. The recent proposals of President de Gaulle to solve the Algerian question on the basis of self-determination by means of a popular vote in Algeria could play an important role in the settlement of the Algerian question. They will play such a role if they do not remain a mere declaration, if they are supplemented by real steps which, taking into account the rights of the population of Algeria to free and independent development, would at the same time ensure the accordance of mutual interests of both sides.

It is known that France and Algeria are linked by close historically developed ties. Naturally, if these ties in the future are built on a new, mutually acceptable basis with a genuine observance of voluntariness and equality, it might promote the establishment of peace in the area. The past years have shown that attempts to settle questions of this kind by force, against the will of the peoples, are fully hopeless, and we shall be glad if realization of this prevails in the Algerian question in France. The Soviet Union did not conceal and does not conceal that its

sympathies are with the peoples fighting against colonialism, for independence and national freedom. It is not hard to see that a peaceful settlement of the Algerian question would enhance the international prestige of France as a great power.

Adjustment of Outstanding Issues— A Way to Further Improvement of the International Situation

Comrade Deputies, we have succeeded in achieving a certain improvement of the international climate in general and opening the road to talks on concrete measures to clear the cold-war log jams in the relations between states. We are now entering the phase of such talks. All this does not mean, of course, that difficulties have been eliminated in international relations or, at least, in the relations between the USSR and the United States. The residue of many years cannot, of course, be removed all at once. Such miracles do not happen. Much remains to be done yet to melt properly the ice of the cold war and to achieve a substantial improvement in the relations between states.

But the needle of the international barometer is clearly moving—though not as quickly as we would like—from “Stormy” and “Rain” to “Fair.”

It should not be forgotten that unlike the natural change of the seasons of the year, the international weather does not change by itself. To achieve clear and stable weather in the relations between states, systematic, active and peaceful actions are necessary on the part of all governments, and especially the peoples, which would induce their governments to act in the name of peace. The peoples are vitally interested in a relaxation of international tension, in strengthening peace on earth. Therefore, they should know well how the international situation is shaping up in order to press their governments to pursue a peaceful policy.

What does this mean in practice? This means, first of all, that it is necessary to solve, at last, the question of disarmament, to halt the arms race. If we want to ensure a stable peace, we can no longer leave the knots in international relations that are a legacy of the Second World War and of the cold-war

period that followed it. These knots must be unraveled and untied.

Western Europe

Here it is necessary to bear in mind the need to solve the long-ripe question of concluding a peace treaty with Germany. The serious differences on the question of Germany between former allies in the anti-Hitler coalition, the revival of militarism and the revanchist trends in West Germany, the tension in the relations between the two German states are all making the situation in Europe unstable and fraught with dangerous consequences. All these problems would be largely solved by the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German states actually in existence, and this in turn would settle the Berlin question.

The Soviet Government's position on the German question has been set forth more than once, and there is no need for me to speak in detail about this. I also explained our position during my conversations with President Eisenhower, and as you will recall, agreement was reached on the desirability of resuming talks on the German question.

I cannot fail to say that in general the situation in Europe is still rather alarming. Large armed forces of both sides are concentrated in the area, and they are in direct contact. Numerous foreign air and naval bases are located in Western Europe, and on top of this nuclear-rocket bases are being established there. Despite worldwide public protests and contrary to the interests of peace, the West German Army is being equipped with nuclear and rocket weapons. Therefore, the danger of, say, a new military explosion should not be forgotten for a moment.

We have repeatedly advanced proposals toward relaxing the situation in Europe and ensuring the security of all peoples living in the area. We are ready both for far-reaching steps in this direction and for any reasonable partial measures. We only want headway to be made so that the situation in Europe may improve and the European knot not remain tangled and tied.

The Middle East

The Middle East continues to remain a trouble spot in which the situation is fraught with all kinds of complications. True, there is no outright military intervention by imperialist

states in the internal affairs of the countries of the area at present, as was the case only recently, but the situation there is still far from normal.

It should be said frankly that the situation there is not made better by the fact that the territory of some states is still used by foreign powers—and, partially, to an even greater extent than before—as a springboard in military preparations against a third power.

I have already had occasion to speak of the harm the countries belonging to aggressive blocs cause to universal peace by making their territory available for the construction of foreign military bases. I should like to return to this question again today.

Indeed, is it possible to speak of any contribution to peace by a state which has made the provision of its national territory for foreign nuclear-rocket bases spearheaded against the Soviet Union as all but the basic principle of its policy? Such a country as Turkey, which is our neighbor in the south, belongs to both NATO and CENTO. It is only SEATO that it has not yet joined—probably because of the distance. But if so-called aid is promised, not even the distance will deter them. True, to promise "aid" is not yet to give it. It seems to me that if a sum were merely promised to the ruling circles of Turkey, they certainly would gladly join SEATO and any other "ATO."

But what is the main result of Turkey's participation in military blocs? Turkish territory has been turned into a veritable military depot where, on top of everything, foreign rockets with nuclear warheads will be stationed now. There is hardly any need to say that in the first instance this undermines the security of Turkey itself.

We have spoken more than once of the danger of this foreign policy of Turkey and submitted specific proposals toward the establishment of good-neighbor relations between our states. We sincerely want our relations to be built in the spirit of friendliness and cooperation typical of the fairly recent past when the policy of Turkey was shaped by such an outstanding leader as Kemal Ataturk.

As for our relations with another southern neighbor, Iran,

they leave much to be desired. The Soviet Government has in recent years carried out a number of extensive measures toward the establishment of good, friendly relations with Iran. But the leaders of Iran, contrary to the national interests of their country, preferred to bind themselves by military commitments both within the CENTO military bloc and outside it, commitments spearheaded against the Soviet Union.

Incidentally, about the name of this bloc which was called the Baghdad Pact in the past. In view of the lessons of the recent past, lessons grievous for the forces of aggression, this bloc is now called the Central Treaty Organization, CENTO for short. This is very significant. There is a good proverb: "A scalded cat fears cold water." The Baghdad Pact fell through. And its guiding spirits dare not call it the Ankara or Teheran Pact now, but have selected a neutral name, CENTO.

Well, we can understand them. They now have greater confidence that, at any rate, the name will remain.

It must be clearly stated that this policy does not conform to the interests of strengthening peace and improving Soviet-Iranian relations. The direction of Iran's policy must in the future be judged by the concrete deeds of those who shape it.

And yet both Turkey and Iran have every opportunity for making their contribution to the relaxation of tension in that part of the world and improving the relations with peaceable neighboring countries.

The People's Republic of China

The attitude of the United States and some other Western Powers to the People's Republic of China (PRC) is a source of grave concern to world public opinion. People's China is a great country which has a population of 650 million and unquestionably plays a tremendous part in international life, but the ruling circles of the West would like to turn China into a second-rate power. The West is still seeking to create the impression that there are two Chinas and not one. Every school-boy knows, however, that there is only one China and that the capital of the Chinese People's Republic is Peking. No one has ever heard of China called Taiwan, and there never has been and never will be a capital of China called Taipei.

Moreover, because of the position of the United States and its allies, the rights of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations still have not been restored, though this is against all common sense. China fought against Japan on the side of the Allies. It is one of the founding members of the United Nations and one of the five permanent members of the Security Council. But now its place in the United Nations is occupied by impostors whom the victory of the Great Revolution in China, the will of the Chinese people have deprived of the right to represent China. These people have no more right to speak in the name of China and the Chinese people then, say, Kerensky, finishing his life in exile, has the right to speak in the name of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government.

It is known that China's old decadent regime was overthrown ten years ago by the victory of the People's Revolution and that the Chiang Kai-shek government was booted out. The Chinese People's Republic was set up. The Government of the Chinese People's Republic enjoys such prestige and trust in the country as no government ever had in the entire centuries-old history of China. The Soviet Union has the friendliest of relations with the Chinese People's Republic and its government. Now when the Chinese People's Republic has entered the second decade of its existence, when major political, social and economic transformations have been accomplished in it, and when outstanding successes have been scored in the development of its economy and culture, the proponents of the senseless "two Chinas" position appear especially ridiculous.

Contrary to obvious facts and the trend of historic development, the United States continues to cling to the remnants of the overthrown Chiang Kai-shek regime. It has helped the Chiang Kai-shekites to entrench themselves on Taiwan and is protecting them by force of arms. Attempts are thereby being made to prevent the completion of the revolutionary-liberation process in the country and the extension to Taiwan and other Chinese territories of the state system that now exists throughout the rest of the Chinese territory.

The interference in China's internal affairs, the attempts to "correct" geography and create the artificial situation of "two

Chinas" run counter to the peoples' desire to abolish the cold war and are creating tension in the Far East.

China was among the questions discussed at the talks I had in the United States. I set forth the Soviet Government's views on both the so-called Taiwan question and the question of China's rights in the United Nations. Shortly afterward, however, Secretary of State Mr. Herter and his assistant, Mr. Dillon, launched something like a psychological attack against the Soviet Union in their speeches, seeking to twist the nature of the relations between the USSR and China, to cast doubt on the sovereignty of the Chinese People's Republic in questions of domestic and foreign policy.

I do not know how it is said in English, but in Russian such attempts can be called bovine logic. Indeed, who does not know that People's China is a great sovereign state, that its government pursues an independent domestic and foreign policy. And the Americans themselves are perfectly right in ridiculing the views expressed by representatives of the Department of State. For instance, noted American columnist Walter Lippmann correctly emphasized that such statements could only prejudice the cause of improving international cooperation and that it did not behoove American statesmen to make official public comments on the relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. Messrs. Herter and Dillon should know that such maneuvers cannot produce any results when it comes to the Soviet Union and People's China.

As to the essence of the question, it will be recalled that after the defeat of Japan, Taiwan (Americans prefer to call it Formosa) was restored to China. China's rights to Taiwan have been recorded in the Cairo Declaration, which bears the signature of the late President Roosevelt of the United States, and in the Potsdam Declaration, which bears the signature of former President Truman, as well as in the Act of Surrender of Japan. At that time the United States Government acknowledged that Taiwan was restored to China and that thus the problem was finally solved. In 1950, while Truman was still President of the United States, he declared that Taiwan was restored to China and that the United States and other Allied

Powers agreed that the Chinese Government should exercise its authority over that island.

Thus, the so-called Taiwan question is one of relations of Chinese with Chinese, a purely internal matter of China. No international complications would have arisen were it not for the interference in China's internal affairs, were it not for the artificial situation created on Taiwan by the military support and protection of the remnants of the Chiang Kai-shekist regime by the United States of America.

We are confident that Taiwan and other islands will be reunited with the rest of China. Any threats or implied threats in this matter are entirely futile. One should bear in mind that not infrequently even a small country cannot be restrained by threats if it seeks to realize its national aspirations. More futile are the threats in the case of such a great country as the People's Republic of China.

Those who speak of the USSR's responsibility for China's actions should know that the People's Republic of China needs no one's tutelage. The People's Government pursues its own policy and represents with dignity its people, the People's Republic of China.

Should we speak, however, about the Soviet Union as the ally of the People's Republic of China, in that case we are ready to bear this responsibility. The Soviet Union sympathizes with and understands the desire of the Chinese people and the PRC Government to restore to the Chinese state Taiwan and other islands belonging to China but occupied by foreign troops. On that question we fully support and will support the Government of the People's Republic of China until a solution to this question is assured, because legal and moral right is on its side.

Other Far Eastern Developments

Among other Far Eastern problems the question of Korea merits attention. The country is split into two parts. The present situation on the Korean peninsula is such that a military conflict could hardly break out there now. True, senile Syngman Rhee is still trying to whip up war hysteria. But the Korean Democratic People's Republic (KDPR) takes a calm view of his threats and is confidently building socialism. Both the economic

and political situation in the KDPR is good now, the country is successfully healing the wounds caused by war and gaining strength from day to day.

Entirely different is the situation in South Korea. The economy, specifically agriculture, is continuing to decline. South Korea is ruined, and even Syngman Rhee cannot but reckon with the fact that his subjects are not eager at all to start war against their brothers in North Korea. Furthermore, Syngman Rhee understands, apparently, that if he touches off a war against the KDPR it could easily develop into a big war. And he is perfectly aware of the fact that it is not only South Korea that has allies, the KDPR has them too.

Should we speak about the main force which determines the policy of South Korea, our impression is that the United States of America is not seeking an armed conflict there. Now in that corner of the globe, too, the balance of forces is not in favor of those who would like to solve ideological questions by war or any other non-peaceful means.

Thus favorable conditions are arising to prepare gradually a final settlement of the Korean problem. The matter should begin with the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea. We are confident that should there be no foreign troops in Korea, should there be no external interference in its affairs, the Koreans themselves will sooner reach agreement on a gradual rapprochement of the North and South, which in turn would create the prerequisites for restoring the national unity of Korea on a peaceful, democratic basis.

Of late the question of the situation in Laos has assumed some unsavory connotations. How did this question arise? Circles well-known to everyone, which are more concerned with extending the aggressive SEATO bloc than with strengthening peace in Southeast Asia, first secured the suspension of the activities of the International Commission for Laos, set up by a decision of the Geneva Conference of 1954. After that the same circles started complicating the situation in Laos itself where, in gross violation of the Geneva agreements, they started persecuting the former Pathet Lao forces and even used arms. Although the hostilities in Laos are on the scale of one platoon against another, undue hue-and-cry was raised all over the world.

As for the Soviet Union, we do not want even the smallest hotbed of war to exist in Laos, since that would add grist to the mill of the aggressive forces. With a reasonable approach and observance of international agreements, the skirmishes taking place there could be easily eliminated and the situation normalized. The main point, however, is that the Great Powers should not interfere in the internal affairs of other states, since otherwise untoward results may be produced.

We regret very much the incidents which occurred recently on the frontiers between two states which are our friends—the People's Republic of China, with which we are bound by inviolable bonds of fraternal friendship, and the Republic of India, with which our friendly relations are successfully developing. We especially deplore the fact that there were casualties on both sides as a result of these incidents. To the parents and relatives of the victims nothing can make up for the loss. We should be glad if the incidents on the Sino-Indian frontier were not repeated and if the existing disputable frontier questions were solved by friendly negotiation to the mutual satisfaction of both sides.

I believe I need not speak about the Soviet Union's relations with all countries. I mention here only the pivotal questions, the points which to some degree trouble the present-day international situation. In other countries and points of the globe no particular changes occurred of late.

I can only say that we have every reason to be satisfied with the relations established between us and most countries, especially those with which the Soviet Union's friendly relations are growing and gaining in strength. But we should like to improve relations, to seek complete mutual understanding which would develop into friendship even with those states with whom we have not attained the required degree of mutual understanding as yet.

The achieved easement of international tension has resulted in an extension of our ties both with the countries of the East and the West. We must firmly pursue our Leninist peaceloving policy and we shall pursue it with unswerving determination.

The Disarmament Problem Must Be Solved

Comrade Deputies, during my visit to the United States, on behalf of the Soviet Government I submitted to the United Nations a proposal for general and complete disarmament.

You are aware of the great positive response this proposal of the Soviet Union evoked in all countries of the world.

We Soviet people consider the disarmament problem the most important problem of our time. Whither mankind will go—toward peace or toward war—depends on our ability to find a solution to that problem. It seems that in our day there are no two different opinions on that score.

Never before in the history of mankind have the peoples had to give such a great share of their labor to the manufacture of the means of destruction as they do now. The arms race has become all-embracing. The armies are growing, the so-called conventional armaments are increasing and improving, the stockpiles of nuclear bombs and rocket weapons are continually mounting. The *New York Herald Tribune* reported that from July 1945 to the end of last year about 250 nuclear explosions were staged, the aggregate power of which amounts to approximately 100 million tons of trinitrotoluene. The power of these explosions is many times greater than that of all the bombs, mortar and artillery shells exploded during World War I and II combined. But one should consider that the prototype samples of nuclear bombs exploded thus far represent a very small share of atomic and hydrogen weapon stockpiles. This is the pass to which mankind has come because of the arms race!

Only recently great distances such as the oceans formed natural barriers to the spreading of wars from one continent to another. The First and Second World Wars mainly devastated Europe. Some states still could play safe beyond the oceanic expanse or in remote areas. They were able not only to avoid destruction and other disasters of war but even made tremendous profits out of war.

The situation is different now. The most terrible weapon of destruction, the nuclear weapon, can be delivered to any point on the globe in a matter of minutes. A new war would spare no one and would inflict untold loss of life, destruction

and suffering on mankind. There would be no difference between the front and the rear, between soldiers and peaceful civilians.

To bar the road to war it is necessary to effect general and complete disarmament. It is to this end that the Soviet Government submitted to the United Nations the proposals you all know about.

What is the substance of the Soviet program? We propose to effect a general and complete disarmament of states in a very short period, approximately four years. This means that all armed forces should be disbanded, all armaments destroyed, all military production stopped. The nuclear, chemical, bacteriological and rocket weapons would be banned and destroyed once and for all. The war ministries and general staffs would be abolished, the military bases on foreign territories would be liquidated, no one would undergo military training any more. Expenditures for military purposes in any form would cease.

The states would only have small contingents of police or militia, of agreed size, to be used for the maintenance of internal order and security of the citizens and carrying only small arms.

We propose the establishment of rigorous, effective and all-embracing international control so that no one could violate the agreement on general disarmament.

General and complete disarmament would mark the beginning of a new stage in the development of human society, a world without war.

General and complete disarmament would also mean a tremendous improvement in the well-being of all peoples. The scrapping of military expenditures would release tremendous material resources for the expansion of the peaceful branches of economy in all countries, large and small. Considerable means could be devoted to advancing the economy and raising the living standards of the population of the economically backward countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Many factories, power stations, irrigation networks, homes, schools and hospitals could be built there. The scientists of all countries would receive tremendous additional opportunities to work for the benefit of the world, for the benefit of the peoples, for extending scientific research in most diverse spheres—in technology, medi-

cine, space exploration, etc. They could pool their efforts for the realization of many majestic scientific programs.

Response to the Soviet Disarmament Proposal

If an attempt were made to sum up, if only in a preliminary way, the world public's response to the Soviet disarmament proposals, it could be said that our proposals have stirred up the broadest sections of the populations in all the countries of the world. The Soviet Government's disarmament proposals have been approved by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China and have won unanimous support in all socialist countries.

The problem of disarmament is not merely an object of talks now between diplomats and study by experts. It is a major issue of public struggle in which the vast majority of mankind is taking part.

During my visit to America I discussed the problem of disarmament with President Eisenhower. I am pleased to note that Mr. Eisenhower spoke of the need to seek a solution of the disarmament problem. We consider that the reaction to the Soviet proposals by the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Macmillan; the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru; the President of Indonesia, Mr. Sukarno; and others, has positive importance for the coming talks. It is gratifying to note that a majority of delegates at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly demonstrated, in one way or another, their positive attitude toward the idea of general and complete disarmament.

Great interest is shown in our disarmament proposals by the public, political and business circles of different countries. We welcome, specifically, the statement by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, and thank him for his correct understanding and support of the Soviet proposals for general and complete disarmament. It is especially valuable that this was made by an Archbishop, the head of the Anglican Church, who recognized the humanity of our proposals from a Christian position. It is to be expected that he will be followed by other believers, by clergymen of other religions, if they are really guided by what their religious teaching says about peace be-

tween peoples, about the impermissibility of war between nations.

Naturally, the favorable reception given to our proposals by the broad public circles does not mean that there are no large obstacles in the path of the coming disarmament talks and that there will not be any. We are realists and we are well aware that far from all are happy about our proposals for general and complete disarmament. There still are champions of the arms race and the cold war in the world today, there still are influential capitalist monopolists who coin huge profits from the arms race. They have no scruples about using any means in an attempt to prevent general and complete disarmament, and they are already at work. True, the world public's affirmative reaction to the Soviet proposals does not permit them to speak out openly against these proposals. They act in a roundabout way, twisting the substance of these proposals and spreading deliberate lies about them.

Some people in the West are trying to cast doubt on the sincerity of our proposals. But we are already familiar with such spurious tactics.

The Soviet Government always has been a champion of disarmament. From the very inception of the Soviet state we have stood on positions of struggle against militarism, for disarmament. In the very first days of the October Revolution V. I. Lenin called for an end to war. The Soviet Government disbanded the army and we adopted the system of the militia. But when we were attacked, we were obliged to establish an army to defend the country. These measures, by the way, were forced on us by no one else but Germany, Britain, France, the United States and Japan because they sent their troops to our country and rendered military and material aid to the enemies of the Revolution. The Soviet people were compelled to arm themselves to defend their revolutionary gains and the country's independence.

Later, when the League of Nations was set up, the Soviet Government submitted comprehensive proposals for disarmament and the destruction of weapons. These proposals were made by the Soviet representative Litvinov.

Now we have put forward proposals for general and complete disarmament on a new basis, taking account of the new

situation and the new balance of forces obtaining in the world today.

In the past, some people rejected our proposals, saying that only the Soviet Union stood to gain by them, because it was weak at the time. True, the Soviet Union was then the only socialist country and, unquestionably, immeasurably weaker than today. But even then, in submitting our disarmament proposals, we guided ourselves by the humane ideas of preserving peace on earth.

Today the balance of forces is entirely different. In World War II, our allies and we routed a powerful enemy. After the war the Soviet people successfully rehabilitated their national economy and achieved an unheard-of advancement in the economy and culture, science and technology, and a rise in the well-being of the broad masses of the working people. The Soviet Union is universally recognized as a mighty world power. Today the Soviet Union is no longer alone. There exists a great camp of socialist states. No one can say in these conditions that our proposals for general and complete disarmament are dictated by weakness. We have everything necessary for defending our country against any encroachment from without and for giving a shattering rebuff to an enemy. We can not only ensure noninterference in our affairs but also help the fraternal socialist countries protect their gains, their freedom and independence.

Therefore, when we submit disarmament proposals today, it is perfectly clear that they really are dictated by humane ideals and are designed to preclude war which can inflict terrible suffering in this age of thermonuclear weapons. We do not want to use for military ends the advantages we have and which will increase with the further development of the socialist countries.

The whole of our policy, founded on Marxist-Leninist theory, is permeated with concern for man, for the happiness of the peoples. For this reason we are against war.

Efforts to Discredit the Soviet Disarmament Proposal

There are leaders in the West who are loathe to abandon the old views and assert that one must have force and, from

positions of force, dictate one's will to the weak. They are trying, on the sly, to sap the people's faith in the reality of the Soviet proposals. They distort our proposals for control even though it is clearly stated in both my speech at the United Nations General Assembly and in the Declaration of the Soviet Government that, provided universal disarmament, we are ready to have universal control.

A careful study of our proposals will show that the Soviet Government proposes the establishment of strict international control over all disarmament measures. For every stage of disarmament we propose an appropriate stage of control. We also propose that controllers be present on the territory of states from the very start of the disarmament process and until its full completion, and also after disarmament, so that no state could secretly prepare for war. We want the volume of control to correspond to the nature of disarmament measures.

We are also agreeable to the establishment of appropriate agencies, apparently under the aegis of the United Nations, to ensure effective control over strict observance of the sacred disarmament commitments assumed by the states.

In his speech during the celebration of United Nations Week, Mr. Harriman was skeptical about the Soviet Government's proposals. Our proposals seem to have made a strong impression on him. Apparently, he does not accept them in his heart and, for this reason, has taken upon himself the ungainly role of a worm trying to undermine confidence in the Soviet proposals.

Hardly had discussion of the disarmament question begun when skeptics pushed to the forefront the question of what international forces should be set up to replace the national forces. Reading between the lines, one arrives at the conclusion that what is meant, perhaps, is the establishment of international forces that will be under the influence of the countries which today, because of the policy blocs, have a majority in the United Nations. This very much resembles the policy of knocking together military blocs such as NATO, SEATO and CENTO. This policy in no way conforms to the interests of disarmament. We are for disarmament, but for honest disarmament.

If all countries are disarmed, will have no weapons or

armies, no one will be able to start a war. The question arises, why then should one have supernational armed forces?

We believe that if complete and general disarmament is effected, it will be possible to find forces of major influence, to take various measures and sanctions on decision by the United Nations with regard to one country or another which might risk starting a conflict.

Those who advocate the formation of international armed forces have only one purpose—to hold back countries from accepting our disarmament proposals. Paying lip service to the idea of disarmament, they in fact want to preserve the old state of affairs, i.e., to live on a powder keg, to live in fear of the use of nuclear weapons. It is to be hoped that common sense will prevail. Sooner or later, reasonable decisions will be taken which will enable the people to live in friendship, to trust each other and not to interfere in the affairs of other states.

The foes of peace resort to another stratagem in order to discredit the Soviet disarmament program. They allege that the position of the USSR on disarmament is that we advance the principle "all or nothing," that is, that we propose general and complete disarmament and do not agree to anything else. This does not accord with reality.

Our proposals state, black and white, that if the Western Powers are not willing to accept general and complete disarmament, we regard it as possible and necessary to come to terms, if only on partial steps toward disarmament. The Soviet Union believes that such measures include a ban on nuclear weapons and, above all, the cessation of their tests, the setting up of zones of control and inspection with a reduction of foreign troops on the territories of appropriate countries in Europe, the creation of an atom-free zone in Central Europe, the liquidation of foreign military bases on alien soil, the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO member-states and the countries party to the Warsaw Treaty, and so on.

The Soviet Government, of course, is prepared to examine and discuss amendments to our proposals, just like any other proposals designed to solve the disarmament problem. However, it must be emphasized that the question of disarmament has become particularly important and acute today, and at the

same time an urgent matter. The welfare and security of the peoples, the question of war or peace, depend on its solution.

It is pleasant to note that the Political Committee of the United Nations, thanks to the understanding reached between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, approved the proposals on the question of general and complete disarmament. The draft joint Soviet-American resolution on this question was warmly supported by the representatives of Britain, France and other countries. As you know, it was announced officially that the other 80 delegations of the United Nations member-states had subscribed to this joint draft as co-sponsors. We warmly welcome this unanimous decision. However, we must not entertain delusions concerning what has been achieved, for there are still forces that will do everything in order to prevent realistic measures on general and complete disarmament.

There are worms that do not destroy a tree directly because they cannot do anything but gnaw at it, destroy its bark, depriving the tree of nutrition. And the tree rots at the roots. That is how some politicians will seek to gnaw at our proposals for general and complete disarmament.

It is necessary to expose the opponents of disarmament, to give them a vigorous rebuff in order to realize the bright hopes of the peoples.

Negotiations—the Only Reasonable Way to Solve International Problems

Comrade Deputies, it is now clear that the problems facing the world can be solved only if one proceeds from positions of reason and not from positions of strength. These problems must be solved by the only reasonable method—the method of negotiation. I should like to emphasize the great importance of the mutual understanding reached with President Eisenhower of the United States that all unsettled international problems must be solved by peaceful means, through negotiation and not by the use of force. If one speaks of the method of negotiation, the convocation of the heads-of-government conference is of paramount importance. We discussed with President Dwight D. Eisenhower the question of convening a heads-of-government conference, or, as it is called, a summit meeting, and I must say

we reached mutual understanding on this question. It is common knowledge that President Eisenhower declared after our conversation that the exchange of opinion eliminated many of the earlier objections to the meeting. Mr. Macmillan, the Prime Minister of Britain, in turn, declared more than once that he was in favor of a conference of the heads of government. The Soviet Government is fully in accord with the view that it is desirable to call such a meeting as soon as possible. We hope that the governments of the other powers will also assume a constructive approach to this question.

Certain Western statesmen voice the opinion that a heads-of-government conference should be held when the principal disputed problems are solved preliminarily, and claim that only in this case will a summit conference be effective. But this can be said only by those who do not reckon with the actual state of affairs or those who wish to mislead people little versed in politics. If the basic questions were solved before the summit meeting, this would not be a conference for solving urgent problems, but a get-together for fishing (and I am not an angler and do not catch fish), concert-going, etc., that is, a pleasant pastime.

We must look life squarely in the face and understand realistically what is needed precisely from the summit conference. Today it is necessary to solve the most urgent questions.

It is common knowledge that the Geneva foreign ministers conference and other international meetings have already considered some of them, but without finding a solution. Moreover, in some cases the situation was even strained.

What can we do then? We have already said more than once that the most complicated international questions can be solved only by the heads of government, who are vested with great powers.

Only they are able to clear up the accretions and abnormalities piled up in international relations during the long years of the cold war. Precisely today we are living through a period when a summit meeting is needed. The sooner this meeting is held, the better it will be for the cause of peace.

What questions, to my mind, should be discussed at a summit meeting?

Obviously these must be the unresolved questions which arouse the greatest alarm in the world and prevent the further easing of international tension. The question of disarmament, which agitates all the world, should, of course, occupy an important place. We believe that in the interests of strengthening peace the conference should consider the question of concluding a peace treaty with Germany and the situation in West Berlin. The conference could also discuss other international questions of common interest.

The success of a summit meeting would be promoted by a firm resolution of all states not to take any steps likely to worsen the situation before the meeting, likely to increase mistrust in relations between the parties, to sow seeds of suspicion.

As to the Soviet Union, it will promote in every way the further improvement of the situation before the summit meeting.

Let Us Continue to Strive for a Peaceful World

Comrade Deputies, the Soviet Government believes it its duty to the people and all mankind to strengthen the achieved relaxation of tension in international relations, to steer a course leading from relaxation to the complete elimination of international tension, to turn the achieved relaxation into a lasting peace.

For these purposes it is necessary to pursue an active policy of improving international relations;

To strive, step by step, for the solution in practice of all the pressing international questions so as to give the peoples a peaceful life;

Not to relax vigilance with regard to the forces and quarters trying to turn the march of international events back to the road of cold war and the aggravation of international relations;

To show the peoples constantly the insolvency, harm and fatality to mankind of this bellicose position of the militarist quarters.

If all the forces coming out for the peaceful settlement of international relations are brought into play, if the leading quarters shaping Western policy realize the impossibility of pursuing any other policy in our time than the policy of peace-

ful coexistence, if the peoples raise their weighty voice against war, decisive steps will be taken shortly to eliminate the military danger, and a bright, radiant road to peace will be opened up to mankind.

The Soviet Government, on its part, will do its utmost for the accomplishment of this great task. Permit me to express the confidence that the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will approve the foreign policy course of the Soviet Government.

Comrade Deputies, the further struggle for the consolidation of peace, for strengthening the foundations of peaceful coexistence between states with different political systems calls for great efforts by the Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist camp, all peaceloving peoples. The consistent peaceloving policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries is enlisting increasing support from the peace forces of the world. The stronger and the more united the great family of nations, the more successful and rapid will be the accomplishment of the task of strengthening world peace. It is with profound satisfaction that we can declare that all countries of the world system of socialism are united as never before. United, they are striving for the accomplishment of their historic task to rid mankind of war and to safeguard the advance of the peoples along the road of peace and social progress.

The Soviet people, jointly with all peoples of the socialist countries, recently celebrated the glorious tenth anniversaries of the People's Republic of China and the German Democratic Republic, and the fifteenth anniversary of the establishment of a people's government in Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria. A new life is being built successfully in all socialist countries.

Permit me, comrades, to convey on your behalf, on behalf of the Soviet people, warm greetings to our brothers in the People's Democracies and to wish them fresh successes in building socialism!

The Soviet Union is confidently advancing, successfully accomplishing the tasks of building communism set by the Twenty-first Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Our Soviet homeland is rapidly making progress. The plan of the first year of the Seven-Year Plan period is being successfully fulfilled and overfulfilled. The current session of the Supreme

Soviet has examined the National Economic Plan and the State Budget for 1960, the second year of the Seven-Year Plan.

The first year of the Seven-Year Plan period has been marked by fresh, big achievements in the advance of industry, farming, culture and science, and a rise in the living standards of the people. As you know, the state plan for the first nine months has been considerably overfulfilled by industry. According to preliminary estimates, the annual plan will be overfulfilled by industry approximately four per cent, which will yield more than 40 billion rubles' worth of production, over and above the plan. Socialist agriculture is also advancing. The forthcoming plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will discuss questions related to the further development of this important branch of the national economy.

The unprecedented growth of political and labor activity, of creative enthusiasm, of the communist awareness of the Soviet people, their monolithic cohesion behind the Communist Party are the principal, the most remarkable and most joyous of all our achievements. Therein we see the mainspring of all our successes, a guarantee of the full victory of communism.

Each day brings us joyous tidings of more and more victories of the Soviet people. How can we fail to rejoice, to take pride in such exploits of the Soviet people as the successful launching of three space rockets that aroused the admiration of all mankind in one year, 1959, alone. The entire Soviet people are glorifying the men of science and labor who blazed a trail into outer space.

These days our remarkable scientists have presented one more splendid gift to their country. They properly paid court to the moon, and she responded favorably, permitting them to photograph the side which she always kept a mystery.

We rightly take pride in the Soviet scientists that persuaded the moon to remove her *yashmak* (a kind of double veil worn by Mohammedan women when not in their private quarters), a vestige of the past. Under the influence of the advance of Soviet science and culture, the moon discarded her *yashmak*, began to march in step with our time and disclosed her face to Soviet scientists, to all the Soviet people. And they enabled

the whole world to get acquainted with the enriched mysteries of this celestial beauty. Of course, by her permission. We are no Peeping Toms.

Permit me, from this lofty rostrum, on behalf of the Soviet Government, on behalf of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, on behalf of the Central Committee of our Communist Party, warmly to congratulate the heroic scientists on this glorious scientific exploit.

Permit me to wish them fresh successes, discoveries and just as splendid achievements to the glory of our great country of victorious communism, in the name of the triumph of peace on earth.

Dear comrades, the third session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has convened on the eve of the forty-second anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Soviet people under the glorious banner of the October Revolution are firmly advancing along the road indicated by the great Lenin, advancing toward the full victory of communism!

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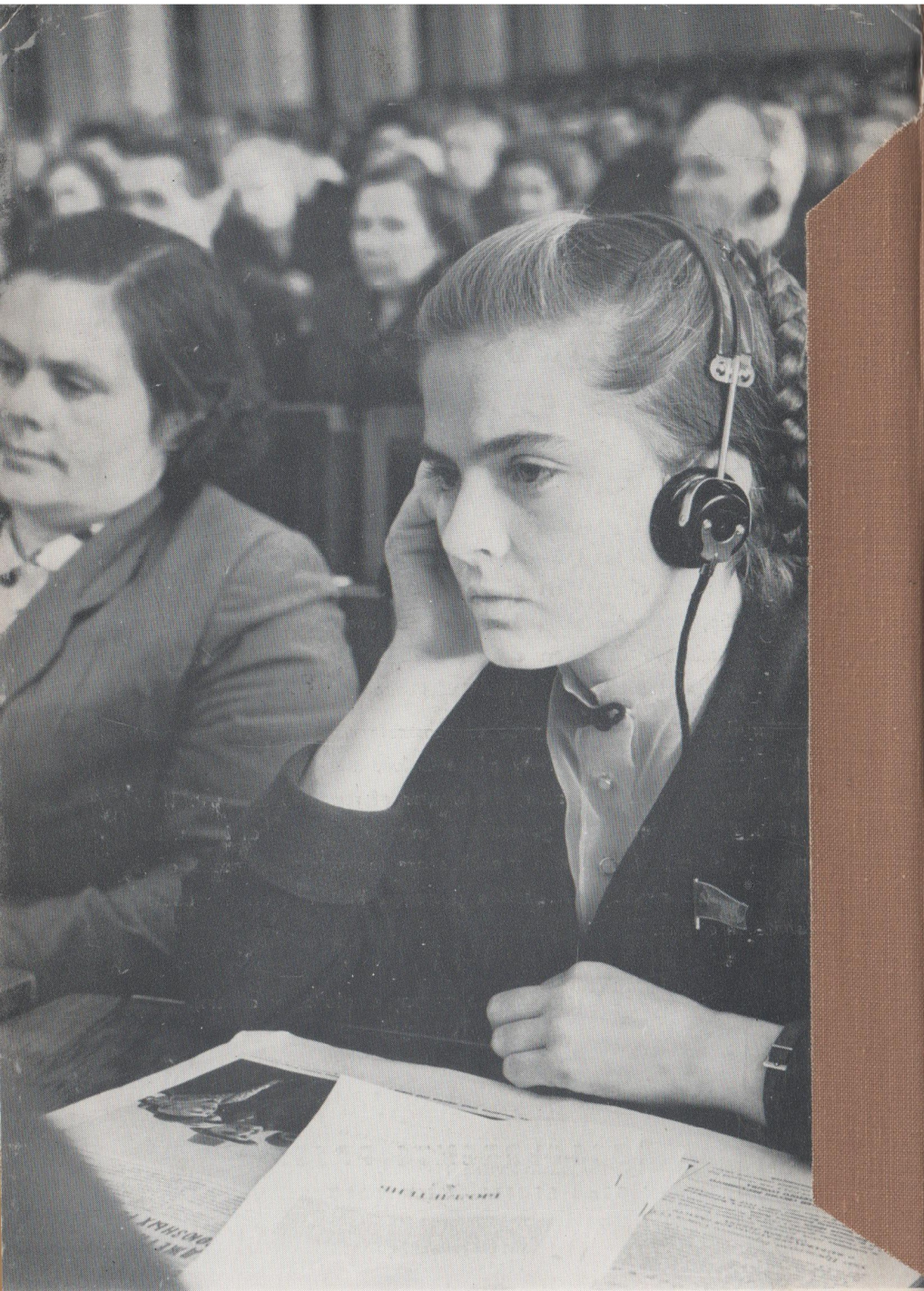
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