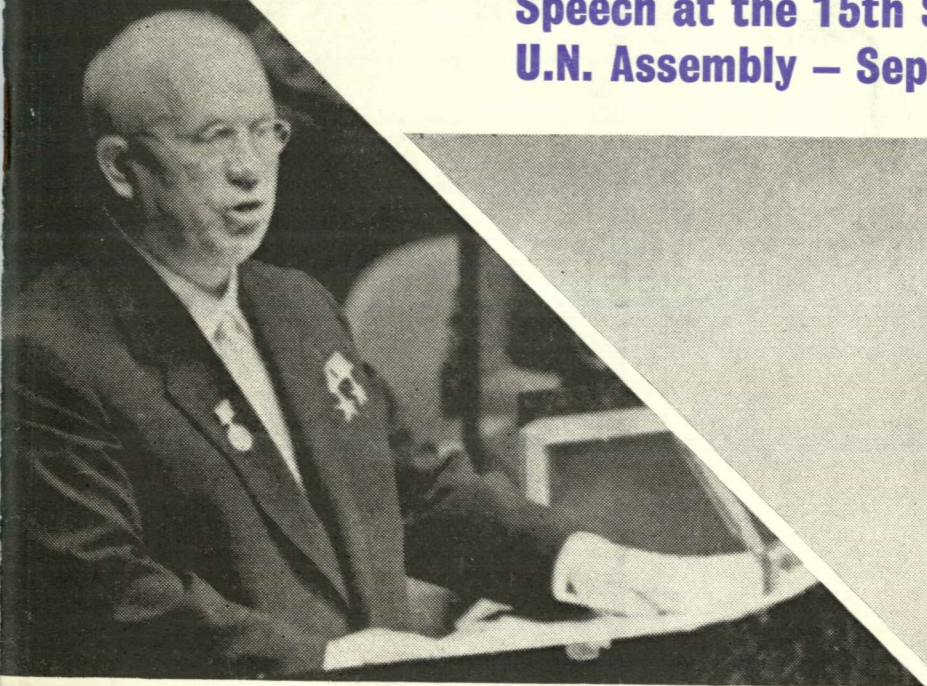


N. S. KHRUSHCHOV on COLONIAL FREEDOM DISARMAMENT

**Speech at the 15th Session of the
U.N. Assembly – September 23rd 1960**



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FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE TO ALL COLONIAL PEOPLES!

SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF TOTAL DISARMAMENT!

Speech by

N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

at the 15th Session of the United Nations
General Assembly, September 23, 1960



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Speech by
NIKITA KHRUSHCHOV
to the 15th Session of the
U.N. General Assembly

September 23, 1960

MR. PRESIDENT, esteemed delegates, I think that everyone who ascends this rostrum and looks around this hall appreciates what a high and responsible meeting he is addressing.

There is no more responsible meeting of representatives of States in the world than this ought to be. It is not in vain that it is called the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation. There is no need for me to decipher now the meaning of the name of this organisation. I would like to emphasise only two words, which stand among others—United Nations. Many nations are represented in this hall and they should be united not only within the walls of this hall, but also by the community of mankind's high interests.

Representatives of already almost 100 States have assembled here today to examine major international problems. The delegates from the new members of the United Nations will soon join us, and the walls of this hall will seem to slide apart to accommodate a still greater number of lands and countries. All of us can only welcome this event, because we indeed desire that all countries should be represented in the United Nations.

It is only natural that our thoughts are now concentrated on the thing that disturbs and worries mankind above all else. It is, perhaps, precisely here that the world stands out in all its variety and, of course, in all its contradictions. It is our fate to live in the most tempestuous but also in the most splendid time of mankind's development, and the people of the future will envy us.

A great deal which, only recently to some must have appeared eternal and unchangeable, has tumbled down as obsolete. The new, the more progressive and just has established itself. Our epoch is the epoch of the purposeful regeneration of the forms of existence of human

society, the epoch of the unequalled growth in power over the forces of nature, of the unprecedented ascent to a more progressive social order. But although we live in the 20th century, relapses into centuries now past—and, even more, vestiges of barbarism—are still to be observed. However, one of the principal features, the essence of this epoch, lies in the awakening of peoples who before were backward, down-trodden and oppressed.

Our age is the age of the struggle for freedom, an age in which the peoples are casting off the alien yoke. The peoples desire to live in dignity and they are fighting for that sort of a life.

Already the victory has been won in many countries and lands. All the same, one's mind cannot be easy, for we know that tens of millions are still languishing in colonial slavery and suffering grave hardships.

This is happening at a time which we call the period of great and promising scientific discovery. Man's own hands have created a spaceship, moving around the earth. He can already send people far beyond the boundaries of our planet. We have split the atom and are penetrating into the protein cell. We move on the earth's surface and above the earth at amazing speeds and the boundaries of our knowledge are so wide that we ourselves are surprised.

It might seem that everything was fine in our world. But who can say that our world is already fully and properly organised, that it knows neither poverty nor privation? It is worth while pondering once again over the fact

that, according to United Nations figures, hundreds of millions of people in various continents live in conditions of starvation and semi-starvation. Our world is not free from anxiety about the future, it sees what danger results from division into military blocs, and from the ever-intensifying nuclear arms race. The great achievements of human genius can be used to benefit or to harm mankind. This is the difficult choice which faces us.

Every thinking person will stop to ponder: What after all, does scientific progress bring to the people? What does the great twentieth century bring them? Some say justifiably that it has opened before the world new horizons, boundless possibilities for creating an abundance of material values and for comprehensively satisfying man's needs. Others, no less justifiably, point to the enormous danger of the fact that the achievements of science and technology can serve not only those high aims, but can also be used first of all for the production of monstrous means of destruction. Those means of destruction stand idle today—but in the long run they are manufactured for use.

In this argument between the optimists and the pessimists lies the reality of our life today. The main content of this reality is the struggle between two trends, two lines in international relations. I am not, of course, speaking here of the differences in social systems, for those are matters of the domestic affairs of peoples and States, matters which only they themselves can—and which they must—solve.

It is not today, or yesterday, that this disputed and complex line has made itself felt in international relations. Two clearly opposed viewpoints on world events had already emerged in the first postwar years. One line favoured relaxation of international tension, the ending of the arms race, the promotion of international co-operation and the exclusion of war from the life of society. What a noble and wonderful line! For doesn't man live on Earth for the victory of justice?

There is, however, another line—and we have no right to gloss over it. That is the line of heating up the cold war, the line which leads to the boundless accumulation of armaments, to the destruction of all the foundations of international co-operation, with all its ensuing dangerous consequences.

The two lines in international relations have long since been opposing one another. But whereas in elementary geometry parallel lines never meet, in international affairs these lines may clash and that would be a terrible moment. A mere ten or 15 years ago few could predict the outcome of the struggle between those two lines in international politics.

In 1960, however, in the year in which you and we are living, only the blind can fail to see that the view that peace must be preserved is

taking root in the minds of most people more and more clearly and visibly.

These peoples of all countries—workers, peasants, intellectuals and a part of the bourgeoisie, with the exception of a small handful of militarists—do not want war, but only want peace. For this reason peace can be ensured—if the peoples will fight vigorously to tie the hands of the militarists and the monopoly circles.

And it cannot be otherwise, because you can't make life fit simple geometrical formulas, because life itself relies on the real strength of the peaceloving States, upon the warm sympathy and support of the vast majority of mankind. It is for the triumph of peace and tranquillity, to serve peace and the security of the peoples, that the United Nations Organisation was founded, and we would like to hope that the decisions which the present session of the United Nations General Assembly will work out will bring us all nearer to peace and justice—the goal of all mankind.

There are no higher tasks than those which now confront the United Nations. It can adopt decisions of outstanding importance in averting the danger of a new war, in safeguarding the lawful rights and security of all peoples; it can help to establish fruitful international co-operation.

How serious the problems submitted for the consideration of this session are, and how acute they have become will be evident from the fact that a number of countries are represented here by statesmen who hold a leading position in their countries.

Esteemed delegates, we have started to discuss problems which are worrying all nations today. The possibilities of the United Nations have widened—and the greater is the responsibility which devolves upon it. I have already mentioned that the United Nations have been joined by a large detachment of young independent African States. I am glad of the opportunity of greeting the newly admitted member-States of the United Nations sincerely and cordially on behalf of the Soviet people, and I wish them well-being and prosperity.

It was not an easy road that led the representatives of these countries here. Their peoples had experienced oppression, privations and suffering. They came here after a determined struggle for their freedom and independence, and all the more hearty, therefore, is the welcome that we give them here today. We assure them that they have occupied their seats as lawful, fully-fledged members of the United Nations. The countries which have cast off the yoke of colonialism are a great and vigorous force for peace. From now on the young States of Africa and the Mediterranean will also add their important contribution to the solution of those serious and complex matters which confront the United Nations,

The policy of preparing for war and violating the sovereign rights of nations must be condemned and ended

ALREADY a year ago I had the honour of speaking from this high rostrum. That was a time when extremely promising possibilities of improving the international atmosphere had opened before mankind. Contacts between the leading statesmen of various countries of the world were increasing. The General Assembly adopted a resolution on universal and complete disarmament. The ten-Power disarmament committee started functioning. Agreement was reached to hold a Summit meeting. Definite progress had been made in the nuclear test ban talks. All this fired human hearts in all countries with great hopes.

No one can deny the fact that—as it still does—the Soviet Union spared no effort to ensure that international relations continued developing in this pleasing direction.

However, the sinister forces which profit from maintaining international tension cling strongly to their positions. They are a small handful, but they are influential enough and exert a great influence on policy in their States. That is why big efforts must be exerted to break their resistance. As soon as the policy of easing international tension begins to produce tangible results, they immediately resort to extreme means so that the peoples should not feel relief. They try hard, time and time again, to throw the world back to the dark times, to sharpen international tension still further.

We encountered a dangerous instance of the activity of those forces last spring when planes of one of the biggest member-States of the United Nations, the United States of America, treacherously invaded the air space of the Soviet Union and other States. More, the United States elevated such violations of international law into a principle of deliberate national policy.

The aggressive intrusion of American aircraft into our country, and all the consequent actions taken by the United States Government, have shown the peoples that they are confronted with a calculated policy of the United States Government, which seeks to replace international law by piracy and honest discussions between sovereign and equal States by treachery.

The whole world knows what a heavy blow that policy dealt the cause of easing world tension.

It was this policy which was the specific reason for the breakdown of the Paris Summit meeting, which was to have considered the outstanding problems of our time. Under different circumstances that conference could have laid the foundation for sounder co-operation among States. But some confirmed lovers of what does not belong to them will not profit from any number of lessons. They receive

a good thrashing, but think that all these setbacks are due only to lack of caution, or to the use of the wrong props. And they again force their way into other people's homes—but through a different entrance, with new skeleton keys.

Something of the kind is happening to those who organise the espionage flights of American aircraft. I do not know what were the lessons they derived from the U-2 plane, but exactly two months later, on July 1, they sent us another military plane, this one of the RB-47 variety.

This plane was equipped with guns and special intelligence gear. This plane intruded from the direction of the Kola Peninsula. For what purposes? For what reason?

I think that every sober-minded person will realise that this plane was bringing no pleasant cargo to us!

Incidentally, Mr. Eisenhower, the United States President, mentioned yesterday that an American RB-47 military plane had been shot down by Soviet forces. I do not intend to enter into arguments on this question—at the time we fully reported the facts of the incident and our standpoint.

It is strange, however, that—though I closely followed the President's speech—I did not hear him utter a single word about the U-2 plane, which was also shot down over Soviet territory. What is the explanation? Perhaps the President had forgotten about that plane?

What, indeed, is the United States of America up to when it sends its planes into the airspace of the U.S.S.R.? Perhaps it wants to cause the sort of incident following which only rockets would speak? One plane, another plane—and the setting for such an incident is essentially complete. Or perhaps, so far, this is only a policy of reconnoitring the forces of the other side?

Be it as it may, one thing is perfectly clear—by their actions the organisers of provocations are seeking to create conditions under which the peoples would live in constant fear. Such an atmosphere may suit the Government of the United States, but it can in no way suit the Soviet Union or the vast majority of other States. We have pressed, and will continue to press, for the ending of every manifestation of lawlessness in international relations.

The Soviet Union does not present any extraordinary demands. We are insisting only on the observation of the most elementary standards of international relations. We want nothing but strict observance of the United Nations Charter, which rules out methods of

violence, brigandage and aggression, and demands respect for the sovereign rights of all States as the basis of lasting peace on earth. Is that asking too much? And is that not the desire of all honest people on earth who are concerned about the fate of peace and the independence and sovereignty of their countries?

The allies of the United States of America sometimes reproach us for being too harsh in criticising the American Government. But to pretend kindness, to pat the organisers of international provocations condescendingly on the back would mean doing peace a poor turn. The struggle for peace implies the bold exposure of any actions fraught with war danger, no matter from whom they come. This has a very good and refreshing effect upon the international climate. Experience has shown that indulgence given to provocateurs, a lenient attitude toward them, in the final analysis leads to the unleashing of war. History knows quite a few such examples, so sad for the fate of the peoples.

The American spy-plane flights have been instructive, too, in another respect. They have made particularly clear the danger to peace which arises from the web of American military bases in which dozens of States in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America are entangled.

As a deep source of dangerous infection in the body, these bases destroy the normal political and economic life of the States on which they have been imposed. They interfere with the establishment of normal relations between these States and their neighbour countries. Indeed, what normal relations can one speak of if people in these neighbour countries cannot sleep peacefully, if they are in constant danger of a destructive blow as soon as the American brass-hats deign to stage new provocations?

The United Nations cannot remain deaf to the ever more insistent demands of the peoples, alarmed as they are by the scheming of the enemies of peace. The forms the popular peace movement take, and the results it achieves, vary in different countries—but its meaning, its reasons and purposes are the same. It is a movement of protest against the policy of war and provocations, against the exhausting arms race, against the imposition of an alien and hostile will upon the peoples.

Those who are willing to resign themselves to the present situation become fewer and fewer—because it is a situation in which any expression of the free will of the peoples, any attempt at an independent policy—be it that of Indonesia, Iraq, Guinea, neutral Austria or little Iceland, who is defending her economic interests—encounters furious resistance, evokes thunder from the Powers grouped around Nato—that kind of “Holy Alliance” of our day which has taken upon itself the ungrateful mission of stamping out the spirit of freedom wherever it appears on the globe.

Courageous Cuba has become the object of all sort of attacks, intrigues and subversion, economic aggression and finally of thinly disguised threats of intervention.

Highly enlightening is the history of relations between the United States of America and Cuba. It is well known that, before the victory of the people's revolution in Cuba, all branches of its economy were under the undivided rule of American monopolies, which were making tremendous profits by exploiting the Cuban working people and the riches of their fertile soil.

Some in the United States like to boast at times that their standard of life is higher than in other countries. There is no denying that the standard of life in the United States is higher now than in Cuba. But why? Is it because the Cuban people are less hardworking or because Cuban soil is not so fertile? No, the explanation is quite a different one, of course. The industry of the Cuban people and their love of their country, their soil, are well known. The reason is quite different. For a number of years it was not the Cuban people themselves but the American monopolies which enjoyed the fruits of the labour of the Cuban people. Is it surprising, for instance, that the income per head in Cuba in 1958 was about 85 per cent below that in the United States? This fact speaks eloquently for itself.

Now a different order has been established in Cuba. Having thrown out the dictator Batista, the Cuban people have freed themselves from foreign exploitation, have taken their fate into their own hands and have firmly told the United States monopolies: “No more plundering our country! We ourselves shall use the wealth produced by our labour and the riches of our land!”

Cuba's entire mythical guilt, therefore, consists in the desire of the freedom-loving and courageous Cuban people to lead an independent life. The United Nations must do its utmost to avert the menace of outside intervention which threatens Cuba. To allow another Guatemala would mean to unleash events whose consequences can hardly be foreseen by anyone today.

Tempestuous events have taken place on the African continent. The young Congo republic fell victim to aggression as early as the third day after the proclamation of its independence. Before the eyes of the whole world, the Belgian Government tried to deprive that country of its freedom, to take away the thing for which the Congolese people had been selflessly fighting for decades. An international crisis arose which brought back to everyone's memory the disturbed days of the autumn of 1956, the days of the Suez crisis. Once again an independent African State had fallen victim to unprovoked aggression, once again the generally accepted principles governing relations between States

had been flouted and a situation created which involved a serious threat to peace—and not only to the peace of Africa.

How absurd and ludicrous are the arguments resorted to by the aggressors to cover up their actions! They alleged that "chaos" would prevail in the Congo unless Belgian troops went there, that the Congolese people were not yet mature enough for independent life. Who could believe these allegations! There is an African saying that to fool the people is like trying to wrap up a fire in a piece of paper. The armed aggression against the Congo has been denounced by all Africa, by opinion throughout the world.

And it was not, of course concern about the lives of Belgian citizens in the Congo but the far more tangible interests of powerful monopolies entrenched on Congolese soil that pushed the Belgian Government into its mad attempt to force the people of this young State to their knees, to wrest away from them by force their richest province, Katanga. Raw materials for nuclear weapons—uranium, cobalt, titanium, and cheap manpower—that is what the monopolists are afraid of losing in the Congo. This precisely is the real basis of the conspiracy against the Congo, the threads of which lead from Brussels to the capitals of other big Nato Powers.

When the colonialists felt that the lawfully elected Government of the Congo Republic, which enjoyed the confidence of Parliament, had set a firm course toward carrying through an independent policy, that it was guided only by the interests of its own Congolese people, the colonialists immediately resorted to all means to overthrow this Government. The colonialists decided to instal a puppet government, which under the signboard of "independence" would in fact carry out the instructions of the colonialists.

As always, the colonialists did this by resorting to crude methods and direct intervention. Unfortunately they do this sinister job in the Congo through Mr. Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and his apparatus.

This is a disgraceful matter. The United Nations force which, at the request of a lawful Government, had been sent to assist this Government, occupied airfields, seized the broadcasting station, disorganised the life of the country and paralysed the activity of the lawful Government. These forces created the conditions for the treacherous activities of the puppets in Katanga, where forces were assembled and mobilised against the Government of Patrice Lumumba, a Government elected with observance of all the rules of democratic procedure.

The colonialists and their lackeys declare that Lumumba is a Communist. Of course Lumumba is no Communist—but he is a patriot

of his country, and honestly serves his people in their struggle for freedom from colonial oppression.

By your actions, however, you, Messieurs the colonialists, are helping the colonial nations to tear away the veil with which you cover the eyes of the peoples, with which you dim their consciences by spreading all kinds of fabrications about the Communists. All the people will realise—and very soon for that matter—that the Communists, the Communist Parties, are the parties that really express the will of the peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence.

Encouraged by certain forces, some American and British newspapers have raised a hue and cry that the Soviet Union has suffered a defeat in the Congo. What can one say about such none-too-clever contentions? First, we did not, and could not, suffer any defeat in the Congo, because we had no troops there; there was not, and could not be, any interference by us in the Congo's internal affairs. Now, as before, our position remains, and will remain, that the peoples of Africa and other continents fighting for liberation from colonial oppression should establish the kind of system they want at their own discretion, by their own will.

Second, we have always opposed, and shall continue to oppose, imperialist interference in the internal affairs of countries liberating themselves from colonial dependence—interference by such unworthy methods as have been applied in the Congo.

The colonialists are seeking to break up the lawful Government and Parliament, with the help of the countries that call themselves the free world; they want to celebrate victory. But they are celebrating too soon, because this is a pyrrhic victory. By their doubtful victory the colonialists are helping to open the eyes of the colonial peoples, who will see ever more clearly that the colonialists, granting formal independence, try hard to preserve colonial oppression.

The peoples will not stop halfway. They will muster their strength and act with still greater forethought, understanding that the struggle for independence is a difficult struggle, that many difficulties must be overcome on the road to genuine freedom; they will learn to distinguish genuine friends from enemies.

The struggle begun by the Congolese people cannot be halted. It can be retarded, slowed down. But the struggle will break out with all the greater vigour, and the people, overcoming all difficulties, will then gain complete liberation.

The Soviet State welcomed, and welcomes, the struggle of the colonial peoples for independence, and will do its utmost to give moral and material assistance to the colonial peoples in their just struggle.

The United Nations must demand the restoration of law and order in the Congo, so

that the Parliament, lawfully elected by the Congolese people, is able to function, so that conditions are created for the normal functioning of the lawful Congo Government, headed by Mr. Lumumba, which enjoyed, and enjoys, the confidence of the Congolese people.

The Soviet Government has placed the Congo question on the agenda of the Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly. The Assembly must rebuff the colonialists and their lackeys, must call Mr. Hammarskjöld to order and prevent him from abusing the position of Secretary-General, making him discharge his functions in strict conformity with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the Security Council resolutions.

In the opinion of the Soviet Government, a decision ought to be taken to leave in the Congo only the troops of African and Asian countries, and these troops should be on Congo territory only with the consent of the lawfully-elected Congolese Government, headed by Mr. Lumumba, and should be used only at the discretion of that Government in the interests of securing the normal functioning of the lawful Government and Parliament of the Congo Republic.

All countries which—not in words, but in deeds—want to see the Congo free and independent must refrain from any actions likely to prejudice the territorial integrity and independence of the Congo Republic.

We are confident that the Congolese people alone can cope with the difficulties that have arisen and will be able to restore order in their country.

We have all witnessed how many peoples have experienced ceaseless hostile actions, crude pressure exerted by a certain group of States seeking to ignore the legitimate interests and rights of other countries. This creates acute international conflicts, the danger of which is intensified by the ever-faster arms race.

It is quite obvious that international relations can no longer be developed on this basis,

for it would mean recklessly slipping into an abyss. It is the sacred obligation of the United Nations to come out in defence of the sovereign rights of States, for the restoration of firm legal foundations in international relations, and for an end to the arms race.

Unfortunately, the policy of violating the inalienable rights of the peoples still makes itself felt in the United Nations Organisation itself.

Let us take as an instance the question of the representation of great People's China. To oppose the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations only because the Socialist order of that State is disliked by the ruling circles of some Western countries—and above all by the United States of America—means to disregard reality, means not to want a relaxation of international tension, means sacrificing the interests of strengthening world peace and the development of international co-operation to the selfish political calculations of a handful of States. This situation prejudices peace and humiliates the United Nations.

This is shown, too, by the history of the question of the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations. This question, as you know, has been repeatedly discussed over many years. However, the Mongolian People's Republic has not been admitted to the United Nations. We believe it is high time to settle this issue and to admit the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations, so that it may take part in the discussion and solution of highly important international problems, on an equal footing with other States.

By its very nature and purpose, the United Nations Organisation must be a universal, world-wide organisation. The existence of the United Nations would become meaningless if it became a one-sided organisation, declining to the position of lackey to one military bloc or another.

End colonial regimes, fully and finally

MESSIEURS delegates, the emancipation and revival of independent life among peoples which for centuries have been kept off the highway of mankind's development by the colonialists is taking place for all to see—this is the great sign of our epoch. In 15 years alone, about 1,500 million people—that is, half the population of the earth—have cast off the chains of colonial oppression. Dozens of new national States have been formed on the debris of old colonial empires.

A new period in the history of mankind was ushered in when the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America began taking an active part in settling the destinies of the whole world,

jointly with the peoples of Europe and North America. Without acknowledging this irrefutable fact, there can be no realistic foreign policy, no foreign policy in step with the demands of the time or in conformity with the peace-loving aspirations of the peoples.

Is it imaginable that, in our times, major international problems can be solved without the participation of the People's Republic of China? Is it possible to solve these problems without the participation of India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Ghana, Guinea and other States? Let anyone who holds a different opinion on this subject try here, within the walls of the United Nations,

to disregard the opinion and voice of the representatives of the States of Asia, Africa and Latin America! It is true that the appearance of the new States of Asia and Africa in the United Nations has struck some Western countries with fear.

Further there was even some talk of restricting the additional influx of newly emerging States to the United Nations.

As for the Soviet Union, I will tell you frankly that we are satisfied at the appearance in the United Nations of a large number of new States. We have always opposed and will oppose any infringements on the rights of peoples who have attained national independence. What makes these States close to us is our common desire to preserve and strengthen peace, to create on our planet conditions for peaceful co-existence and co-operation among countries, regardless of their Government and social systems, in conformity with the peaceable principles proclaimed by the Bandung conference of Afro-Asian countries. The facts show that the liberation of nations and peoples from colonial oppression puts international relations on a sounder basis, increases international co-operation and strengthens world peace.

The peoples of the new States have proved convincingly that they are not only able to do without the control and guardianship of the colonial Powers, that they are not only able to administer themselves, but that they are also active builders of a new life, and incomparably more rational administrators and frugal masters of their wealth, of the riches of their countries, than the colonial authorities.

Early this year I had the opportunity of visiting India, Indonesia, Burma and Afghanistan. I must say that I was strongly impressed by their great progress in developing their national economy and culture. In these countries we saw big new projects, the construction of dams, roads, the building of new universities and institutes.

Could you see such a picture in the colonies, too? No!—they do not and cannot have anything of the kind. They are completely under the iniquitous rule of foreigners. The peoples of the colonial countries are not only denied the right to independence and self-government, but their national and human feelings and dignity are insulted and trampled upon at every step. Ruthlessly exploiting and plundering the colonies, the foreign monopolies are draining them of all their assets, barbarously robbing them of their wealth.

As a result of colonial rule, the economy of the colonies is extremely backward, and their working population drags out a miserable existence. It is in the colonies that we see the longest working hours, coupled with the lowest national income, the lowest wages, the highest

rate of illiteracy, the lowest expectation of life and the highest death rate.

There is no need to describe here in detail the disastrous, lawless position of more than a hundred million human beings who still languish in colonial slavery. The archives of the United Nations contain more than enough reports from various United Nations commissions, petitions and complaints describing the position of the population in those countries and territories where the colonial regime of administration persists under various names. These documents are an indictment of the disgraceful colonial regime. What is happening in these countries and areas rightly evokes the deep indignation of all honest people on earth. But the times when foreign oppressors could rule placidly have passed—even in those colonies which still exist today. While the old order remains in the colonies, people there are becoming new. They are growing increasingly aware of their situation and resolutely refusing to bear the colonial yoke. And when the peoples rise in struggle for freedom, for a better life, no power on earth can stem their mighty movement.

Look what is taking place in the colonies now! Africa is seething and boiling like a volcano. For nearly six years the Algerian people have been waging a heroic and selfless struggle for their national liberation. The peoples of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Ruanda-Urundi, Angola, Mozambique, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Sierra Leone, South-West Africa, Zanzibar, and also West Irian, Puerto Rico and many other colonies, are rising with ever-growing determination to struggle for their rights.

It should be clear to all that nothing and no one can stem the struggle of the peoples for liberation, because this is a great historical process, occurring with ever-increasing and irreversible force. It is possible to prolong for a year or two the domination of one State by another, but just as feudalism was once replaced by the bourgeois system, just as now the Socialist system is replacing capitalism, so colonial slavery will give way to freedom. These are the laws of humanity's development, and only adventurers can hope that, by mountains of dead bodies and millions of victims, they will be able to hold back the advance of the bright future.

An end must be put to colonialism, and not only because it brings disaster and suffering upon the peoples of the enslaved countries. It brings disaster and suffering, tears and privations also upon the peoples of the metropolitan countries. Who will say that French mothers, whose children are dying in the fields of Algeria, suffer less than Algerian mothers who are burying their sons in their native soil?

Now, when the blood of the colonial peoples is flowing freely, one cannot turn away, cannot

close one's eyes to this bloodshed and pretend that peace reigns in the world.

What kind of a peace is it when brutal wars are raging—wars which are unequal, in view of the conditions of the belligerents? The troops of the colonial Powers are armed to the teeth with all modern lethal weapons, while the peoples fighting for their liberation are armed with obsolete and primitive arms. But with all wars of extermination waged by the colonialists, victory will be on the side of the peoples which are fighting for their liberation.

In some countries, although sympathy for the struggle of the oppressed peoples runs high, they are afraid to spoil relations with the colonial Powers, and for this reason do not raise their voices against the wars of extermination, but reconcile themselves with colonialism.

Others are colonialists themselves and nothing should be expected from them. The allies of the colonial Powers in aggressive military blocs are supporting the colonial policy with all its crimes.

As for the majority of humanity, it has long since passed its final verdict upon the colonial regime.

The Soviet Union, true to its policy of peace and support for the struggle of the oppressed peoples for national independence, a policy proclaimed by the founder of the Soviet State, V. I. Lenin, calls upon the United Nations to raise its voice in defence of the just cause of the liberation of the colonies and to take immediate measures completely to abolish the regime of colonial administration.

The demand for the complete and final abolition of the colonial regime in every form and manifestation stems from the entire course of world history over the past few decades. This regime is doomed, and its downfall is only a matter of time. In practice, the question now is only whether the funeral of the colonial regime is to be peaceful or to be accompanied by dangerous adventures by those of its supporters who resort to extreme means. The events in the Congo are a fresh reminder of the existing dangers.

The United Nations, which is called upon to strengthen peace and the security of the peoples, is duty-bound to do everything in its power to prevent the outbreak of new armed conflicts in Asia, Africa and Latin America as a result of clashes between the colonial Powers and the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence. Great Powers may, of course, find themselves involved in the orbit of any such conflict, and then what was at first a local war will grow up into a universal, a world war. It is not enough to be on the defensive against colonialist schemes and go through one international crisis after another. It is essential firmly to safeguard mankind from these schemes.

to safeguard the world from colonial military adventures. It is imperative to stamp out colonialism once and for all, and throw it into the dustbin of history.

Who else but the United Nations should advocate the ending of the colonial regime of administration if, in conformity with the Charter, it is the duty of the United Nations to reaffirm faith in human right, in the dignity and value of the human personality, in the equal right of nations, large and small? How can one develop friendly relations between nations, on the basis of respect for the principle of equality and self-determination of the peoples—which is the purpose of the United Nations—while at the same time one tolerates a situation in which, as the result of the predatory policy of militarily and economically strong Powers, many peoples of Asia and Africa can win their right to settle their own fates only at the cost of untold suffering and sacrifice, only through armed struggle against their oppressors? How can one “achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for the fundamental freedoms for all without distinctions as to race, sex, language or religion”—I expect you noticed that I am quoting Article 1, Paragraph 3, on the purposes and principles of the United Nations—while at the same time closing one's eyes to that disgraceful feature of contemporary life, the colonial regime?

Isn't it time to go over to the last and victorious offensive against colonialism, just as civilised mankind a century to a century-and-a-half ago took the offensive against the slave trade and slavery and buried them, thus opening to the broadest scope not only the political but also the economic development of society?

The Soviet Government considers that the time has come to pose the question of the full and final abolition of colonial rule in every shape and form, so as to put an end to this disgrace, this barbarism and savagery.

When I was preparing this statement I knew that not all the participants in the General Assembly session would welcome the Soviet Union's proposals because, along with the representatives of free and independent nations, the session is attended by representatives of the colonial Powers. Can one expect them to acclaim our freedom-loving proposals?

Firmly abiding by the principle that the United Nations is the centre for concerted action by the nations to achieve the common objectives enunciated in its Charter, the Soviet Government submits to this session of the General Assembly a draft declaration, solemnly proclaiming the following demands:

One. All colonial countries, all trust and other non-self-governing territories should be immediately granted full independence and freedom to build their own national States, in

accordance with the freely expressed will and desire of their peoples. The colonial regime and colonial administration in every shape and form should be abolished completely, so as to give the peoples of such territories an opportunity of deciding their own destiny and forms of administration of their countries.

Two. All strongholds of colonialism, in the form of possessions and leased areas on other people's territories, should be abolished.

Three. The Governments of all nations should be called upon to base their relations with other countries on strict and undeviating adherence to the provisions of the United Nations Charter and to the present declaration of equality and respect for the sovereign rights and territorial integrity of all States without exception, refraining from any manifestations of colonialism, and claiming no exclusive rights or privileges for certain nations to the detriment of other nations.

Convinced that the full abolition of the system of colonial rule will be a supreme act of true humanism, and a giant stride forward along the road of civilisation and progress, we earnestly appeal to all Governments represented in the United Nations to support the provisions of this declaration.

The draft of the proposed declaration, drawn up by the Soviet Government, is a detailed elaboration of the considerations by which we guided ourselves in bringing this matter before the General Assembly. We ask that this draft declaration be distributed as an official document of the United Nations General Assembly.

Within the scope of my statement in the general debate, I would like to make the following points:

By taking action toward the final abolition of the colonial regime, the United Nations would not only create favourable conditions for localising and stamping out the present seats of war danger, places where an armed struggle is going on between the colonialists and the peoples fighting for their independence, but would also go a long way toward reducing the danger of new armed conflicts breaking out between the nations in those parts of the world. The peoples of the countries who are now suffering from the indignities arising from foreign domination would be given a clear and close prospect of peaceful liberation from the foreign yoke, while nations trying to hold on to their colonial possessions would be accountable to the United Nations and to world opinion for compliance with the provisions of the proposed declaration. Naturally, this prospect would become a reality if the colonial Powers did not avoid fulfilling the decisions of the United Nations.

Nor should anyone forget what great changes the abolition of the colonial regime would make in the life of the peoples of the enslaved countries. This would not only be a triumph of

elementary human justice and international law, which the United Nations is duty bound to seek in deeds rather than in words, but would also be an action giving the peoples—backward as a result of age-old oppression—access to the blessings of modern science, technology, culture and social progress.

It is difficult to overestimate the immense importance of the abolition of colonialism for the economy of the whole world. It is common knowledge that the economies of the colonies and trust territories are at present subordinated to the self-seeking interests of foreign monopolies, while the industrialisation of these countries is being artificially held back. Imagine for a moment that the situation has changed, and that these countries, and territories, having become independent, have got the chance of making wide use of their rich natural resources for industrialising themselves, and that their populations are better off. That would mean an immense expansion of the world market, which would certainly have a favourable effect not only on the economic development of the Eastern countries, but also on that of the industrially advanced nations of the West.

Economic and technical assistance, both within the framework of the United Nations and on a bilateral basis, might play a positive role in overcoming the age-old backwardness of the emerging free countries. This, of course, would require considerable funds. Where could they be found without burdening the population of the highly developed industrial countries? Again from this rostrum I call your attention to that source, disarmament. If only one-tenth of the present military expenditures of the Great Powers were appropriated for this purpose, aid to the under-developed countries would be increased by 10,000 million dollars a year. And consider that the cost of the entire integrated power project in the Inga area in the Congo—which will be one of the world's biggest, and can bring prosperity to an enormous area in Africa—is estimated at 5,000 million dollars.

It is also fitting to recall that the Powers which possessed colonies in the past are under a moral obligation to restore to the peoples of those countries which have gained their freedom at least a part of the wealth they took away from them by brutally exploiting their populations, and plundering their natural riches.

They might say that it is easy for the Soviet Union to advocate the abolition of the colonial administration regime because the Soviet Union has no colonies. Truly it hasn't! We have no colonies, just as we have no capital invested in other countries. But there was a time when many nationalities inhabiting our country experienced the grave oppression of tsarism, of the rule of the landlords and the bourgeoisie. The position of the fringe areas of the tsarist empire was hardly different from that of

colonies, because they were brutally oppressed by the monarchy and by capitalism. Whereas the monarchy had regarded the peoples of Central Asia, Transcaucasia and other nationalities which inhabited the Russian Empire as a source of enrichment, after the October Revolution—when these people attained full freedom—they rapidly developed their economy, culture and welfare.

Let us take, for instance, the Soviet Republics of Central Asia. Today Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Turkmenia and Tajikistan are fraternal Republics of Central Asia. These former backward colonies of tsarist Russia have become advanced Socialist Republics with a highly developed industry. Between 1913 and 1960 inclusive, the output of large-scale industry in those Republics has increased more than 60 times over. Such a once-backward country as Kazakhstan now produces as many manufactured goods per head as Italy, while power generated per head in Kazakhstan is greater than that in Italy and equal to that of Japan.

Before the Revolution, only seven million kWh of electricity were generated on the territory of Central Asia and Kazakhstan—one three-hundredth of that generated in the Russian Empire as a whole. Today the annual generation of electricity amounts here to 19,000 million kWh—which is nine times the power generation of all Russia before the Revolution.

The peoples of the Soviet Union are engrossed in peaceful constructive labour, successfully carrying out the Soviet Union's Seven-Year Plan of economic development for 1959-65. With the fulfilment of this plan, the total volume of Soviet industrial production will have approximately doubled within the seven years. On a national scale, power generation will have more than doubled, while in Central Asia the increase will be almost threefold.

Already now the Central Asian Republics generate about 800 kWh of electricity a year per head, which is considerably more, for instance, than in any of the Latin-American Republics. The Soviet Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan produce many times more electricity than such of their neighbour countries as Turkey, where power output per head is 95 kWh, Iran 36 kWh and Pakistan 11 kWh. The economic and cultural progress of other relatively small peoples of the Soviet Union, which are united in autonomous republics, has also been immeasurable. For instance, between 1913 and 1959, the output of the large-scale industry of the Yakut Autonomous Republic has increased 53 times over, that of the Komi Autonomous Republic 109 times over, of the Tatar Autonomous Republic 147 times over and the Bashkir Autonomous Republic 163 times over.

In the community of equal Socialist republics, the former marginal areas of prerevolutionary Russia, which faced extinction from undernourishment and disease, have become prosperous lands in which the standard of life has risen, as it has throughout the Soviet Union. The earnings of factory and office workers here are on a par with those in the other republics of the Soviet Union. On an equal basis with all Soviet citizens, they receive pensions, sick pay and other social benefits.

Even more striking is the cultural progress of the national Republics of the Soviet Union. It is well known, for instance, that before the revolution the illiteracy rate among the peoples of Kazakhstan and the Republics of Central Asia was almost 100 per cent. There were practically no people with secondary or higher education. The Soviet system has opened wide access to education and culture to all peoples. As in all the other Republics of the Soviet Union, illiteracy has been wiped out among the population of Kazakhstan and the Republics of Central Asia. One hundred per cent literacy has been attained here, as throughout the Soviet Union.

Before the Revolution, there were no higher educational establishments in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan or Turkmenia. Kirghizia, Tajikistan and Turkmenia did not even have any secondary technical schools. In contrast to this, in the past academic year the higher schools alone had a student roll of 211,000, while 176,000 students attended technical and other specialised secondary schools. In this republic there is an average of 88 students at higher schools and 73 technical school students in every 10,000 of the population. And this ignores the large number of young people who have left their republics to study in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Kharkov, Saratov, Novosibirsk, Tomsk and other cultural centres. It will be recalled that in France there are only 40 higher-school students per 10,000 of the population, that there are 34 in Italy and 31 in Western Germany—three times fewer than in Soviet Central Asia.

One of the major conditions behind the successful economic and cultural development of the national republics is the growth in the numbers of skilled workers and well-qualified intellectuals.

Let me give some figures from the latest census in comparison with those of 1926 the year when the restoration of the prerevolutionary level of our economy was being completed. The total number of factory workers and salaried staffs in the national economy increased six times over for the whole of the Soviet Union during that period, and ten times over for Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

There was an even bigger increase in the number of skilled workers and specialists. Here are some figures showing the increase in certain

trades and professions :

	Whole U.S.S.R.			Central Asia		
	1926	1959 times	incr.	1926	1959 times	incr.
	(in 1,000s)			(in 1,000s)		
Metal workers	993	9,304	9	29	528	18
Chemical workers	44	395	9	0.23	16.6	72
Engine drivers	121	1,781	15	4	155	39
Drivers, tractor and combine-harvester operators	22	5,684	260	1.2	754	628
Engineers, technicians, agronomists	267	4,683	18	9.3	349	38
Teachers and other cultural and educational staffs	486	3,276	7	18	342	19
Doctors and medical staffs	199	1,702	8.5	7	147	21
Research staffs	14	316	23	0.36	26.5	74

Enormous achievements in economic, cultural and scientific development have been gained, of course, not only in the Republics of Central Asia, which were particularly backward before the Revolution, but in all the other Soviet Republics as well. All the constituent Republics, for instance, have set up Academies of Sciences, and have a large number of research establishments and schools of university standard. All the Republics have trained, skilled workers during the years of Soviet rule, and the numbers of their intellectuals have increased enormously.

Following the Great October Socialist Revolution, the bourgeoisie all over the world prophesied the inevitable downfall of the Soviets, on the grounds that Russia was an under-educated nation, and that its working class had no specialists capable of running the machinery of State and the country's economy. Experience has shown the correctness of Lenin's prediction that the Revolution would give an outlet to the initiative of the people, that Soviet power would produce leaders and organisers from among the masses of the people, and that the ordinary workers and peasants, with power in their hands, would learn to run the State and master all the achievements of modern science and engineering.

In the borderlands of Russia, the tsarist Government pursued what was in effect a colonial policy, which had little to set it apart from what one can see today in the colonial countries. The Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Tajiks and other non-Russian nationalities were scornfully called "aliens." They were treated as sub-human and mercilessly exploited. National strife, enmity and internecine warfare were fanned among those peoples, and all there was to prop up the tsar's empire was bayonets and oppression. When the peoples of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus were granted national freedom and equal rights with the other peoples of Russia, they showed their potentialities in developing their national economics and culture.

Now, did our country's progress suffer from the granting of independence and self-

determination to the peoples? Are there any squabbles or enmity between our peoples, or any disintegration of the State in our multinational country? No! There is nothing of the kind, nor can there be.

Under the constitution, each of our 15 constituent Republics has the right to form part of the Union or to secede from it if it so desires. The existence of 19 autonomous republics, nine autonomous regions and ten national areas makes it possible to preserve the national qualities and cultural individuality of every people and nationality.

All the nationalities of the Soviet Union have been brought together into an unparalleled united community. They have developed genuine friendship which none of the ordeals of the Second World War could break. The benefits from these great changes have accrued not only to the minority nationalities, but also to the Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians, the nations which make up the bulk of the Soviet population.

We are proud to say that the experience of Russia's borderlands has proved that it is perfectly possible for the Eastern countries to put an end within the lifetime of one generation to all backwardness, poverty, disease and ignorance, and to catch up with the economically advanced nations.

Now let me turn to different examples to illustrate the way the colonialists are carrying out their "civilising mission" in the colonies.

By the time the former colonies had gained their independence, the national annual income of Indonesia in per capita terms was, according to the official United Nations estimates, as low as 25 American dollars, while that of the Netherlands was 20 times that figure. Burma's income was 36 dollars and India's 57—or less than one-tenth of Britain's. The national income per head in Belgium by the time the Congolese people had won their independence was 13 times as high as that of a Congolese. In addition, the lion's share of this wretchedly low income was pocketed by the colonialists in the Congo, just as it was in other colonial countries.

Let us take the rate of power output, a most important index of a country's economic development. By the time it received independence, Burma was producing 4 kWh per head a year, India about 15 kWh, Pakistan 2 kWh, and Egypt about 50 kWh—whereas Britain was generating over 1,100 kWh per capita in 1947.

The colonialists kept the enslaved nations in ignorance and darkness. In 1950 literacy in Indonesia did not exceed 15 or 20 per cent. The rate of literacy in India was as low as 16 per cent even several years after she had won independence and undertaken some measures to expand the educational system. In Pakistan it was 14 per cent. By the time the countries

of French Indo-China had gained independence, France had 330 students per 100,000 people, while Cambodia had four. In Indonesia there was one doctor to every 67,000 people in 1948. Small wonder that the average expectation of life in all the former colonies is appallingly low compared with the metropolitan countries, because of the low standard of living and the lack of proper medical care. The average span of life in a number of those countries is no more than 35 years, that is almost half that of the countries which kept them in colonial bondage. This is a heritage of colonial order which is yet to be overcome. If the metropolitan countries did guide themselves by the interests of the colonial countries, and if they did give them the aid they are so fond of talking about, instead of robbing and exploiting them, then the peoples of the colonies and the metropolitan countries would have developed equally and would not have differed so strikingly in the development of their national economies, culture and well-being. Now what sort of co-operation is it when the living standards of the Western nations and the colonies cannot even be compared at all? This is no co-operation, but domination of one by another, in which some are exploiting the work and resources of the others and robbing them by pumping their national wealth away into the metropolitan countries. There is only one way by which the colonial peoples can end their poverty and lack of rights—and that is by abolishing the system of colonial rule.

The advocates of colonial rule are frightening the peoples of the metropolitan countries by the argument that the abolition of the colonial system would inevitably bring about a drastic worsening of the lives of the people of the industrially developed nations. This argument holds no water, quite obviously.

For one thing, such contentions reveal the true nature of their authors, who unwittingly admit that the metropolitan countries are continuing to rob the colonies and dependent nations, raking together fabulous profits in this manner. And this is, indeed, how things are. But it is also well known that it is the monopolies, first and foremost, not the large sections of the metropolitan populations, who get these super-profits. For it is not the metropolitan peoples but the millionaires and multi-millionaires that are holding on to the colonial regime.

And another thing, the experience of the development of the many countries which have gained their national independence amply shows that, with their national economies speedily developing, these countries have an incomparably bigger home market and can consume incomparably more manufactured goods from the more advanced countries, while at the same time, as their productive forces develop, they can export more raw materials and all kinds of products and goods essential to the economies

of the industrially advanced nations. This is a more progressive and reasonable system of relationship between nations, a system which helps the further improvement of the well-being of the peoples of the once economically backward colonial countries as well as those of the more advanced nations.

The entire course of history and economic and political development pass an inexorable verdict on the disgraceful colonial regime which has outlived itself.

Naturally, you cannot hope that our proposals for the abolition of the colonial regime, proposals which meet the immediate interests of mankind, will be welcomed by those who are still clinging to colonial order. I can foresee the criticisms of the advocates of the colonial regime. But even to those who are used to securing their prosperity at the expense of the oppressed peoples of the colonies we say: Think a little, and take a look at what is going on around you. The final collapse of colonial order will come soon, very soon indeed. And unless you get out of the way in good time, you will be swept away just the same. You cannot give a new lease of life to the condemned colonial regime, either by plotting or even by force of arms. All this can do is to put more teeth into the peoples' struggle against that thoroughly rotten regime.

But the advocates of the colonial regime are growing fewer in numbers, even in the colony-owning countries themselves, and it is not they who will have the final say in the end. This is why we appeal to the common sense and sagacity of the peoples of the Western nations and to their Governments and representatives at this supreme assembly of the United Nations: Let us agree on steps to be taken toward ending the colonial system and so to speed up this logical historical process. Let us do everything so that the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries shall become equal and capable of shaping their own destinies.

We welcome the sacred struggle of the colonial peoples against the colonialists and for their liberation. If the colonial Powers do not heed the voice of reason, and continue with their former colonial policy of keeping the colonial nations in submission, people who want the colonial regime abolished should give the utmost support to those fighting for their independence against the colonialists, against colonial slavery. Moral, material and other assistance should be provided to complete the peoples' sacred and rightful struggle for their independence.

The Soviet Union, for its part, has given assistance to the underdeveloped countries and will continue giving such assistance on an ever-increasing scale. We are sincerely helping the peoples of those countries to create their independent economy, to develop their native

industry—the mainstay of real independence and greater prosperity for the peoples.

Peoples who oppress other peoples cannot themselves be free. Every free people should help nations still oppressed to win their freedom and independence.

Let me express the hope that this session

of the General Assembly will be an historic landmark on the road to the full and final abolition of colonial order on our planet. This will be an act of great historical importance, one meeting the aspirations of all peoples fighting for national independence and of the whole of progressive mankind.

The disarmament problem must be finally solved

ESTEEMED Ladies and Gentlemen, last September I submitted the Soviet Union's proposals for general and complete disarmament to the 14th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, on the instructions of the Soviet Government. The monstrous destructive power of modern weapons, the unprecedented arms race and the stockpiling of immense stores of weapons of mass destruction by the nations imperil the future of mankind and compel a search for a basically new approach to the problem of disarmament. Our proposals are the practical embodiment of such an approach.

One could not but feel satisfied that the ideas we had put forward were unanimously approved by the United Nations and won the widespread support of the peoples all over the world. Being guided by the decision of last year's session of the General Assembly, the Soviet Union, along with other States, took a most active part in the discussions of the ten-Power disarmament committee, in which it pressed for an agreement on general and complete disarmament to be drafted. Without waiting for an international agreement on disarmament, the Soviet Union unilaterally reduced its own armed forces by 1,200,000 men—that is to say, by one-third—which, by general consent, helped to improve the atmosphere for disarmament negotiations.

Steadily and persistently following a peaceable policy, the Soviet Government solemnly declares at this session of the United Nations General Assembly that the Soviet Union maintains armed forces only for the defence of our country and for the purpose of honouring our commitments to our allies and friends in the event of aggression against them. The possibility of our armed forces being used for other purposes is ruled out, because that would be foreign to the very nature of our State and to the foundations of its peaceable foreign policy.

Our country is forced to maintain armed forces only because our proposals on general and complete disarmament have not been accepted to this day. We shall do everything in our power to ensure that general and complete disarmament becomes a fact and to relieve mankind of the arms race and the threat of a new and devastating war.

A year has gone by since the General Assembly approved its resolution on general and complete disarmament. This is a comparatively

long period, bearing in mind the pace of life nowadays, and one need not doubt that it has not been wasted by those who are engaged in making weapons and refining and inventing new instruments of death.

Yet not even an inch of progress has been made in the field of disarmament during the year that has gone by. What are the causes behind this situation, which is a most regrettable and disturbing one? Who is obstructing the fulfilment of the General Assembly's resolution on general and complete disarmament, which is perhaps the most important and outstanding decision the United Nations has ever taken? Who is keeping the disarmament deadlock from being broken?

The facts show that the stalemate on the question of disarmament can be attributed to the attitude of the United States of America and certain other countries which are associated with it through Nato.

Throughout the period during which the ten-Power disarmament committee was meeting, the Western Powers refused to get down to drafting a treaty on general and complete disarmament and did everything possible to avoid discussing the essence of the Soviet programme for general and complete disarmament, which the General Assembly had referred to the committee for detailed consideration. They put forward proposals which provided neither for general, nor for complete disarmament, nor for any disarmament at all, but only for measures for the control of armaments, that is to say, for control without disarmament. One could not fail to see, however, that to establish control without disarmament would be equivalent to setting up a system of international espionage which, far from contributing to the consolidation of peace, could make it easier for a potential aggressor to carry through his plans so dangerous to the peoples.

The danger lies in the fact that the establishment of armaments control while armaments are retained means, in point of fact, that each side will know the quantity, quality and location of the other side's armaments. Consequently, the aggressor side would be in a position to develop its armaments to a higher level so as to choose an opportune moment and launch an attack. We shall never accept armaments control without disarmament, because that would mean encouraging the aggressor. Our objective

is to ensure a lasting peace, and the only way to achieve that is through the abolition of armaments and armed forces under stringent international control.

In complete defiance of the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, the Western Powers indulged in utterly pointless talk in the ten-Power committee, trying to prevent any progress whatsoever in this matter, and to discredit the idea of general and complete disarmament in the eyes of public opinion throughout the world.

The Soviet Government, like the Governments of a number of other countries, had to suspend its participation in the work of the ten-Power committee, which the Western Powers had turned into a screen to cover up the arms race.

It was not an easy thing for the Soviet Government to take that decision, because it was our country which had taken the initiative in raising the question of general and complete disarmament and had exerted every effort toward getting the committee to adopt a constructive solution to this problem in full agreement with the General Assembly's resolution.

Yet to have stayed in the committee under the circumstances would have meant aiding the opponents of disarmament. It was impossible to tolerate the attempts to exploit the great cause of disarmament for purposes hostile to the interests of world peace.

That is why the Soviet Government brought the issue of disarmament before the General Assembly of the United Nations—for a considerable majority of that Assembly has no stake at all in the arms race and earnestly wants it to be stopped.

Taking into account the immense importance of the disarmament problem and the necessity of reaching a turning point in the talks, the Soviet Government suggested that the General Assembly should consider this issue with the direct participation of the Heads of State and Government invested with the necessary full powers. We have the satisfaction of noting that this suggestion has been duly appreciated by the Governments of a whole number of countries whose delegations to the General Assembly are headed by their most responsible statesmen. In bringing the disarmament issue before the plenary session of the General Assembly we are acting on the assumption that a full examination of this problem should lead, at last, to its solution or should at least give a more concrete shape to the disarmament negotiations, which should now be pursued with neutral States taking part, along with those belonging to the opposing military groupings.

The Soviet Government, being determined to facilitate the work of the General Assembly and to give a concrete character to the discussion on the problem of disarmament, is submit-

ting the "Basic Provisions of a Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament" to the General Assembly for consideration. We are asking the President of the General Assembly and the United Nations secretariat to distribute this proposal among the delegations as an official document of the General Assembly, as well as our supporting statement which expounds the Soviet Union's position on disarmament in greater detail.

The new Soviet proposal for general and complete disarmament, which is based on the provisions of the Soviet Government's proposal of June 2 of this year, submitted to all the Governments of the world for consideration, takes into account everything useful from what has been suggested during the past year during the discussion on this matter by political circles and public opinion in the different countries of the world. This proposal goes far toward meeting the Western Powers' position halfway, which, we hope, will contribute to an early agreement on disarmament.

We now propose, notably, that all means of delivering nuclear weapons to their targets must be scrapped in the very first stage of general and complete disarmament. We have worked out detailed measures for effective international control at every stage and have taken into account the suggestion of certain Western Powers that there should be an initial provision for the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments. A whole series of other modifications and clarifications have been made in our programme. All of these modifications, in our judgment, make the programme for general and complete disarmament more concrete, more realistic and more effective.

The detailed drafting of a treaty on general and complete disarmament is a complicated task, of course, and all the parties to the talks should work long and hard to carry it out. There may be all kinds of problems cropping up in the course of this work. It will take a flexible approach and a realistic view of the international situation to solve them.

But we should all be well aware that no flexibility will help to solve the disarmament problem, and all efforts toward this end will be wasted, just as they have been before, unless all the parties to the talks are guided by a sincere desire to make mankind's age-old dream of disarmament a reality.

However, such a desire on the part of the United States and its Nato partners was conspicuously absent in the ten-Power committee. It cannot so far be said that they have this desire now. One cannot, in this connection, fail to draw attention to the fresh attempts to sidetrack the whole matter which were made by the United States shortly before the General Assembly opened. Isn't it clear to anyone that this was precisely the aim of the United States

when it pressed for the United Nations disarmament commission to be convened just a few weeks before the session of the General Assembly was due to open?

The record of the ten-Power committee showed that the difficulties the committee had run into when tackling the practical problems of disarmament arose from the Western Powers' unwillingness to solve the disarmament problem. The Soviet Union's proposals, submitted to the ten-Power committee, are widely known, and they have been assessed by public opinion throughout the world as perfectly clear and feasible. It must be emphasised that these proposals have taken into account certain suggestions and wishes of the Western Powers. And, nevertheless, the United States' representative at the United Nations for disarmament, Mr. Lodge, claimed that what the Soviet Union was proposing meant "buying a pig in a poke." It may be asked, then: Hasn't Mr. Lodge, like a character in an Oriental fairy tale, chased himself into a poke which does not let him see what everybody else sees and understands very well?

We were surprised at another statement by Mr. Lodge, who opposed the disarmament issue being brought before the present session of the General Assembly.

He said, literally, that they believed world public opinion should hear all this and hear it at such a forum as the commission which deals exclusively with disarmament, and not just hear all this in the General Assembly, where it will be only one out of over 80 items. I know Mr. Lodge personally and I am surprised how little he appreciates his own job—for many years he has represented the interests of the United States of America in the United Nations. By the way, maybe this is precisely the reason—since the questions discussed at the General Assembly become unnoticeable to Mr. Lodge through being often seen—that he counts them by dozens and seeks to refer them as soon as possible to a subsidiary body in order to hide them from public opinion in a poke.

We respect all the commissions of the United Nations, but the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation is for us the highest and most representative and authoritative forum of the peoples. We hope that the representatives of States from all continents assembled here do not subscribe to such views and will not regard the question of disarmament as the 79th question. It is the key problem which agitates all mankind and it is strange that the United States representative in the United Nations does not understand this.

Even more open attempts were made in the United Nations Disarmament Commission to channel the discussions along a road on which no solution to the disarmament problem could be found. How is it possible to assess in any other way the proposals made by the United

States in the United Nations Disarmament Commission to the effect that the United States and the U.S.S.R. should each hand over to international observation 30,000* kilograms of fissionable materials intended for nuclear weapons or that those countries should gradually close down plants manufacturing such materials for military purposes? This was repeated, by the way, by the United States President yesterday.

Only an ill-informed person can believe that these proposals are aimed at reducing the threat of nuclear war. For the United States proposal envisages neither the liquidation of nuclear weapons nor the destruction of the stockpiles of those weapons, nor even a ban on their use. It is only a question of allocating a certain part of these fissionable materials from the total stockpiles established by the States for military purposes. However, it is universally known that such stockpiles of fissionable materials have now been established as are more than sufficient to destroy whole countries and peoples. It is not without reason that the United States, in putting forward its proposals, did not mention what amount of nuclear weapons and fissionable materials would remain at its disposal for further production after allocating 30,000 kilograms. If this had been mentioned, it would have become still more obvious that such a step would not substantially reduce the threat of nuclear war.

The Soviet Government is profoundly convinced that it is only a radical solution to the disarmament problem, providing for a complete ban on nuclear weapons with the ending of the manufacture and tests of those weapons and the destruction of all stockpiles, which would accord with the task of ridding mankind of the menace of nuclear war that is hanging over it. It is precisely this aim that the Soviet Union, in consistently and resolutely advocating general and complete disarmament, is seeking to attain. One, in our opinion important, conclusion should be drawn from all this: in order to break, at long last, the deadlock on the disarmament problem, the General Assembly should call to order those who are seeking to obstruct a solution to the disarmament problem and who are seeking to replace businesslike discussions on disarmament by empty talk around this problem.

Soberly assessing the situation and the balance of forces existing in the world, the Soviet Government is profoundly convinced that disarmament is not only imperative in our day, but also possible. The struggle for peace has now become a great mobilising banner for the peoples. This cannot be ignored, even by those Governments that still suffer from the disease of craving for a policy of cold war and an arms race.

* 30 tons—Editor.

The United Nations has no other more important and pressing task than helping to translate disarmament into reality, to make, at last, a practical beginning in sending home the soldiers and destroying the weapons, including nuclear weapons and the means of delivering them.

A great aim is worthy of great energy.

The Soviet Government expresses the hope that all States interested in the strengthening of peace will display such energy and will spare no efforts to solve the problem of disarmament—the most important problem of our time. There is not a shadow of doubt that all the peoples of the world will profoundly appreciate a solution to the disarmament problem by the United Nations General Assembly.

Peaceful co-existence is the only reasonable way of developing international relations in our time

ESTEEMED Ladies and Gentlemen, the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government invariably strive for the full reaffirmation of the principles of peaceful co-existence in international relations, and for these principles to become the fundamental law governing the life of the whole of contemporary society.

Behind these principles lies no "dirty trick" invented by Communists, but a simple thing, prompted by life itself—that is, that the relations between States must develop peacefully, without the use of force, without wars, without interference in each other's domestic affairs.

It is an open secret that we have no sympathy for capitalism. But we do not want to impose our system on other countries by force. Let those who determine the policy of States with a social system differing from ours also renounce futile and dangerous attempts to dictate their will. It is time for them, too, to recognise that the choice of this or that way of life is the domestic concern of each people. Let us build up our relations, taking into consideration the hard facts of reality, and this will be peaceful co-existence.

The fact cannot be ignored that a force much greater than the desire, the will and the decisions of any Government is operating in favour of the policy of peaceful co-existence. This force is the natural and common desire of mankind to prevent the disasters of a war in which the unprecedented means of mass destruction designed in recent years would be employed.

Of course, acceptance of the principles of peaceful co-existence does not mean that one must begin building the relations between States entirely from scratch. Peaceful co-existence is, in fact, already a reality, and has obtained international recognition.

Evidence of this has been furnished by the fact that the General Assembly has recently twice passed resolutions reaffirming the necessity for peaceful co-existence. Willy-nilly, even those States whose Governments still do not want to subscribe to the ideas of peaceful co-

existence must in practice apply them in many ways.

The issue now is essentially that of how to make peaceful co-existence reliable, how to prevent the departures from it which now and then engender dangerous international conflicts. In other words, as I have said once before, our choice is not a large one—either peaceful co-existence which will promote mankind's finest ideals, or co-existence "with daggers drawn."

To illustrate what peaceful co-existence looks like in actual fact, one might point to the relations that have taken shape between the Socialist countries and the new States of Asia, Africa and Latin America that have cast off the yoke of colonialism and taken to the road of an independent policy. These relations are characterised by sincere friendship and great mutual understanding and respect, rendering economic and technical assistance to less developed countries without any attempt to impose on them political or military commitments. Another good example has been provided by the relations between the countries of the Socialist camp and neutral capitalist States such as Finland, Austria, Afghanistan, Sweden and others.

I believe that the ideas of peaceful co-existence can prevail even in those countries whose Governments have not yet renounced either hostile acts against the Socialist States or flagrant pressure on States not belonging to any blocs and carrying out an independent policy. In those countries, too, there is a growing realisation of the dangers of the policy of cold war and reckless brinkmanship.

During my previous visit to the United States I met statesmen, businessmen, workers and farmers, scientists and trade union leaders. Those meetings were of great importance for me and, I think, for the people I met, and I became even more convinced that the American people do not want war, that even among the most highly placed sections of American society there are people who are profoundly aware of the necessity for living in peace and excluding war from the life of society, people capable of defying established prejudices.

I left the United States with the idea that there were real possibilities for dispelling the dark shadows of suspicion, fear and distrust in the relations between our States, and that the Soviet Union and the United States could advance hand in hand for the sake of strengthening peace and establishing true international co-operation among all States. I must say that my conviction has not been shaken, notwithstanding everything that has taken place between the United States and the Soviet Union in recent months. In our times it would be the height of absurdity if the two strongest Powers were to fail to adjust their relations.

This must be done if only because of the tremendous importance the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the United States have for the fate of the world. The Soviet Government is willing to continue to do its utmost to improve the relations between our country and the United States of America.

The policy of peaceful co-existence presupposes willingness to settle all outstanding disputes without recourse to force, through negotiations and reasonable compromises. Everyone knows that most of these questions were not settled during the cold-war period, which led to the emergence of dangerous hotbeds of tension in Europe and Asia, and also in other parts of the world.

Some international knots—the aftermath of the Second World War—are still to be disentangled, most prominent among them being the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and a solution, on this basis, to the sore problem of West Berlin. If a peace treaty with Germany has not yet been concluded, the entire responsibility for this rests with the Governments of the Western Powers which, to put it bluntly, have for many years been frustrating a solution to this problem. These Governments have resorted to the practice of rejecting out of hand all Soviet proposals for the conclusion of a German peace treaty, while they themselves have made no proposals on this subject throughout the 15 postwar years.

As a result, the situation in Europe remains unstable and fraught with the danger of acute conflicts. The revenge-seeking and militaristic forces of Western Germany are rejoicing more than anyone else at the absence of a peace treaty. They are taking advantage of this to advance gradually toward the attainment of their aims, which are dangerous to the cause of peace. When war was being waged in Korea and the relations between the Great Powers were aggravated, they raised the question of building up the Bundeswehr and succeeded in this. And now, too, we are witnessing increased activity on the part of the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany, which hope that the present moment of tension will enable them to acquire nuclear rocket weapons.

Though the planned Summit meeting which

was to have discussed, among other questions, a peace treaty with Germany, was wrecked, we believe that objective conditions exist for an agreed solution to the problems that have remained unsettled since the last war. As we have declared before, the Soviet Government is willing to wait a little with the solution of the question of the German peace treaty in order to try to reach agreement on such a treaty at a Summit meeting which, the Soviet Union has proposed, should be convened within the next few months. We should like to hope that the Soviet Union's efforts in this direction will also be supported by the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France.

The Soviet Union considers that a solution to the Korean problem is imperative for the strengthening of peace in the Far East and throughout the world.

Only madmen can think of solving the Korean problem by armed force.

The only correct proposal—to let the Koreans themselves settle the question of Korea's peaceful reunification without any outside interference—is gaining increasing recognition. An indispensable condition for this is the immediate and complete withdrawal from South Korea of all United States troops, whose stay there is poisoning the atmosphere, not only in Korea, but also throughout the Far East, and made possible such disgraceful events as the rigging of the elections in South Korea.

Just as reasonable as the proposal of the Government of the German Democratic Republic that a confederation of the two German States be set up is the proposal of the Government of the Korean Democratic People's Republic that a confederation of North and South Korea be established. This is the only way of making a good beginning in the peaceful reunification of these States.

In recent years sharp turns in international affairs have compelled the peace-loving States more than once to defend a just cause and to take effective measures to direct events into peaceful channels. The United Nations helped to rebuff the aggressors who encroached on the freedom and rights of Egypt. The organisation helped to call to order the invaders in Lebanon and Jordan. We should like to hope that the United Nations will successfully accomplish the responsible tasks prompted by the present still alarming situation in the world.

Experience in the work of the United Nations has shown that this is a useful and necessary body, because it unites all States, which are called upon to solve through negotiation and discussion international problems that are ripe for settlement, and to avoid such a state of affairs as might result in conflicts and wars. That is the positive aspect of the United Nations' activity. And therein lies the principal purpose of the United Nations.

However, negative aspects have also been

brought out during the period of activity of the United Nations. A manifestation of the negative aspects is the fact that some countries are, for the time being, succeeding in imposing their will, their policy in the solution of this or that question in the United Nations to the detriment of other States. And this does not promote the main aim of the organisation, does not facilitate the adoption of decisions that would reflect the interests of all countries belonging to the United Nations.

The executive machinery of the organisation is also lopsided. It often approaches the solution of problems from the standpoints of a certain group of countries. This refers particularly to the activity of the United Nations Secretary-General. As a rule the Western countries belonging to the military blocs of the Western Powers use this post in their own interests, making a nomination for United Nations Secretary-General acceptable to themselves.

A result of all this is that in many cases in the practical day-to-day activity of the United Nations Organisation, its secretariat acts at its own discretion, in a one-sided way. The apparatus of this organisation is also staffed in a one-sided way.

Practical measures that were particularly sharply one-sided were taken by the United Nations secretariat in connection with the events in the Congo. Mr. Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General, in applying the decisions of the Security Council, has virtually adopted the standpoint of the colonialists and of countries that support the colonialists, and this is very dangerous.

We have firmly arrived at the conviction that it is time to take steps to create conditions for the better functioning both of the United Nations as a whole and of the executive, working body of the organisation. I repeat, this refers, above all, to the Secretary-General and his office. The necessity for certain changes and improvements must be borne in mind, especially if one considers the near future.

For instance, we are now discussing disarmament. For the time being the United States of America and its allies are putting up the utmost resistance to general and complete disarmament, finding all kinds of casuistic pretexts in order either to prevent, or at least delay indefinitely, a solution to the problem of disarmament.

However, we believe that reason will prevail and that sooner or later all States will bring influence to bear on those who put up resistance to a reasonable solution to the disarmament problem. It is therefore necessary, already at the present time, to adapt the apparatus of the United Nations to the conditions which will take shape in carrying out decisions on disarmament.

In our proposals and in the proposals of the countries belonging to the Nato military alliance, a single point of view has been brought

out on the necessity, after agreement on disarmament, for setting up an armed force of all countries under international control to be used by the United Nations in accordance with a decision of the Security Council.

The Soviet Government believes that, given a correct approach to the utilisation of these international armed forces, they can indeed be useful. But the experience of the Congo puts us on the alert. This experience shows that United Nations forces are being used precisely in the direction against which we have given warning and which we resolutely oppose. The Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, has adopted an attitude of mere formal condemnation of the colonialists. But actually, in practice, he follows the line of the colonialists, comes out against the lawful Government of the Congo and the Congolese people, and supports the secessionists who, on the plea of fighting for the independence of the Republic of the Congo, are actually carrying out the colonialists' policy and, apparently, are receiving certain remuneration from them for their treachery.

What is to be done in this case? If this is the way in which the international armed forces will be used—to suppress the liberation movements—then, naturally, under such conditions it will be difficult to arrive at an agreement on setting up international armed forces, for there would be no guarantee against them being used for reactionary purposes, foreign to the interests of peace.

Safeguards must be provided against any State finding itself in the situation in which the Republic of the Congo now is. We are sure that other States also realise this danger. Therefore solutions should be sought such as will preclude similar phenomena in the future.

The Soviet Government has come to a definite conclusion on this subject and would like to set forth its viewpoint in the General Assembly of the United Nations. The conditions appear to be ripe for abolishing the post of the Secretary-General, who is at present the sole administrator of the apparatus, the sole interpreter and executor of decisions of the Security Council and the session of the United Nations General Assembly. It would be wise to put an end to a situation in which the United Nations Secretary-General alone determines all practical work in the periods between sessions of the United Nations General Assembly and meetings of the Security Council.

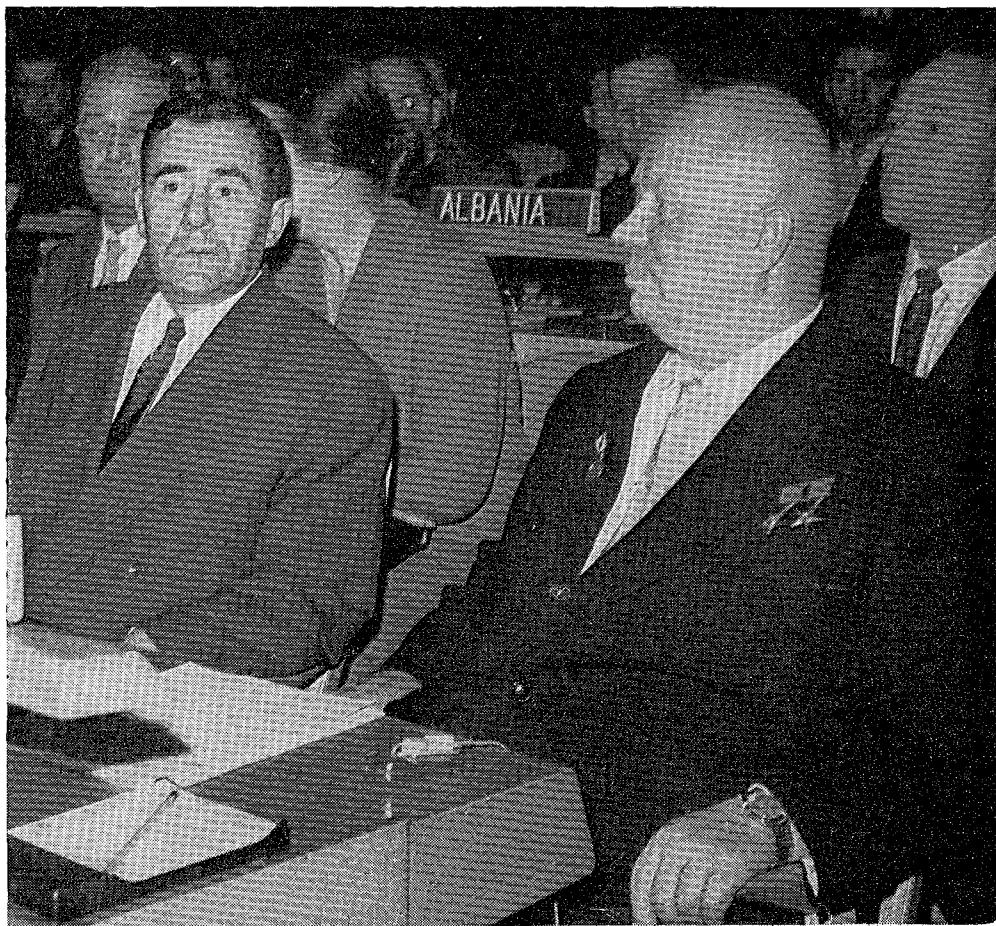
It is necessary that the executive agency of the United Nations should reflect the actual situation now existing in the world. The United Nations includes member-States of the military blocs of the Western Powers, Socialist States and neutralist countries. This would be absolutely fair and we would be better protected against the negative phenomena which have been observed in the work of the United

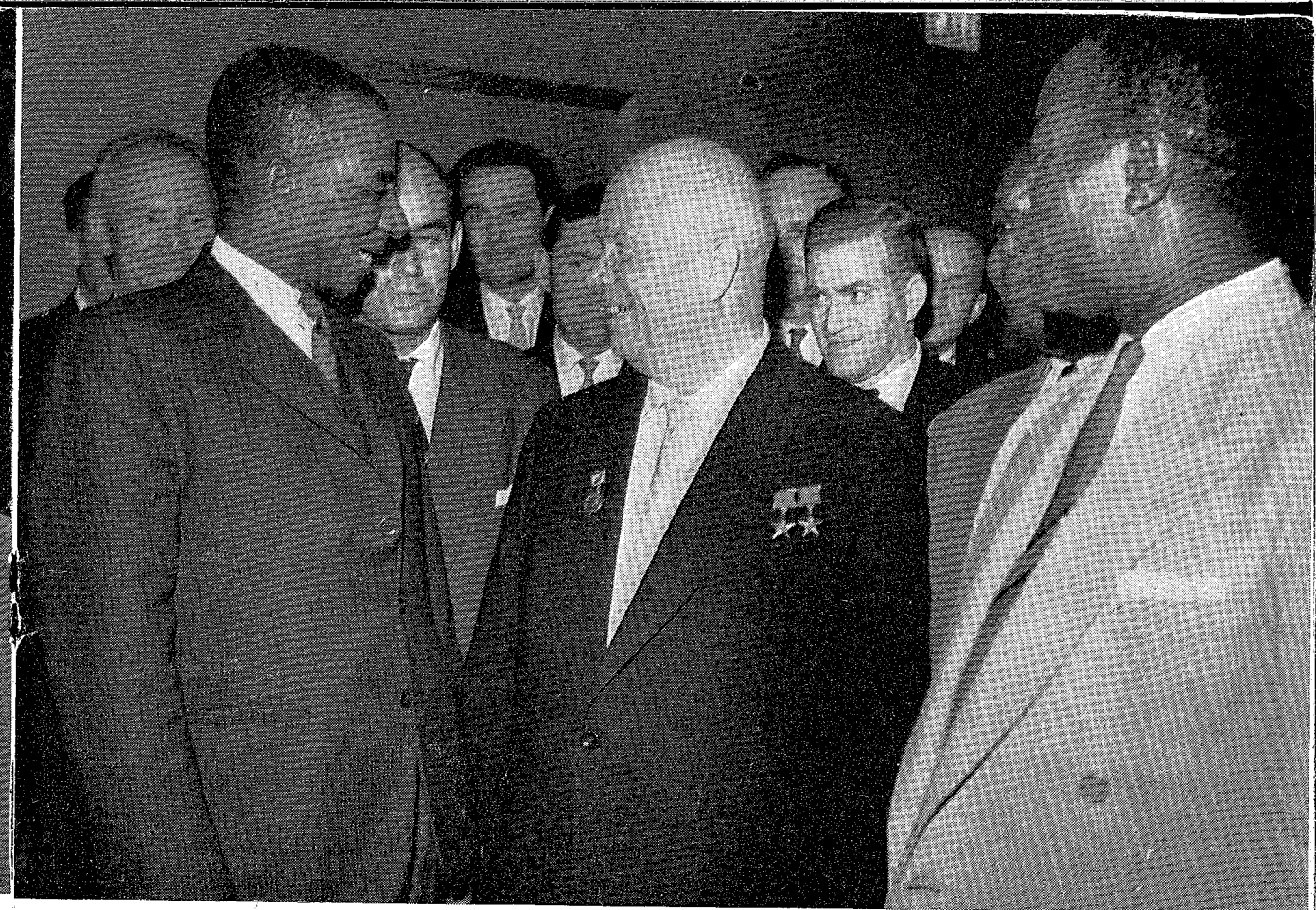
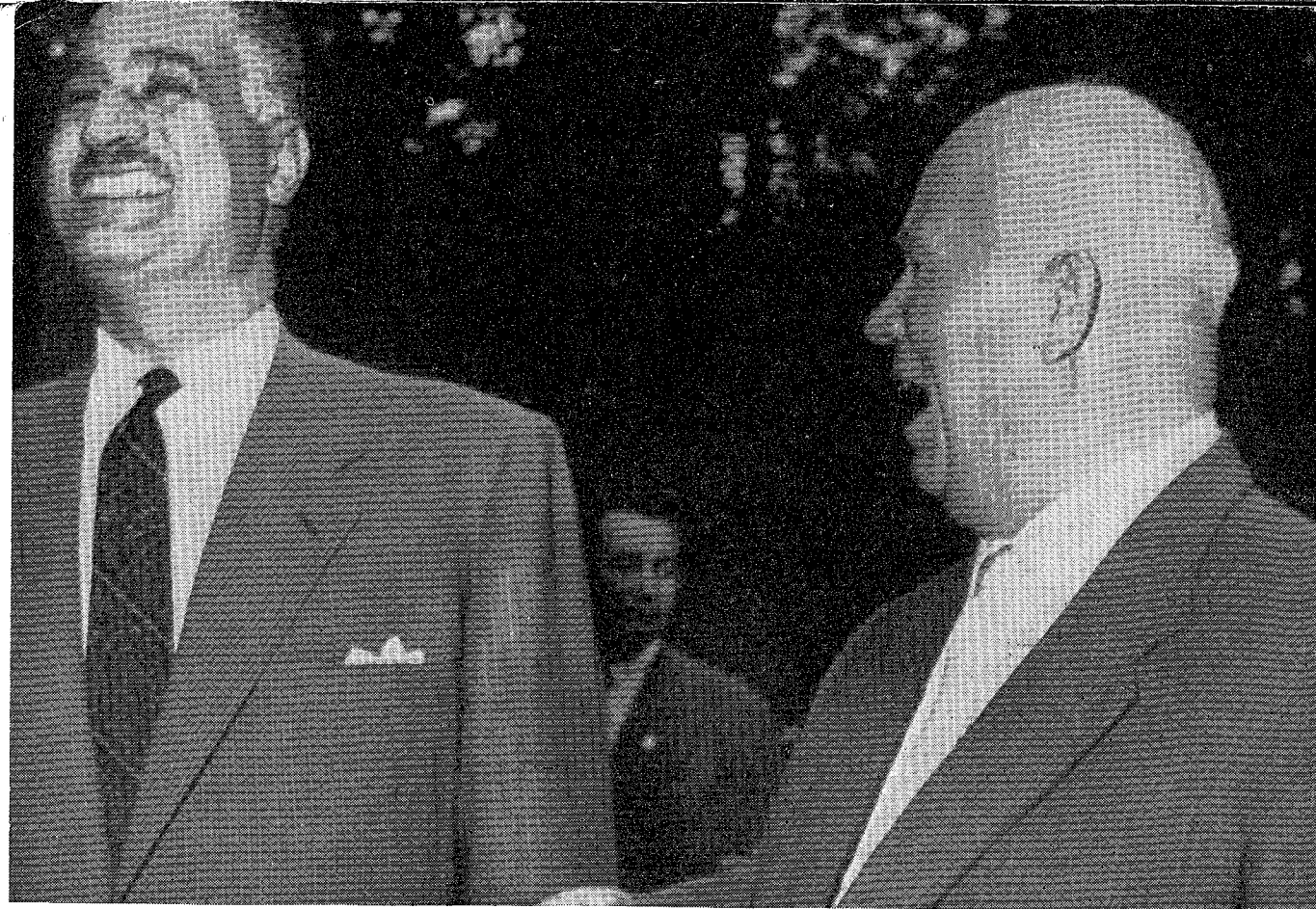


A welcoming gesture from Mr. Khrushchov as he arrives at the United Nations building in New York on September 20th. He is accompanied by the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Andrei Gromyko (left) and Mr. Nickolai Podgorny (right) head of the Ukrainian delegation.

Mr. Khrushchov and Mr. Gromyko at the Fifteenth Session.

The cover picture shows the United Nations building in New York, and, inset, Mr. Khrushchov addressing the Fifteenth Session.





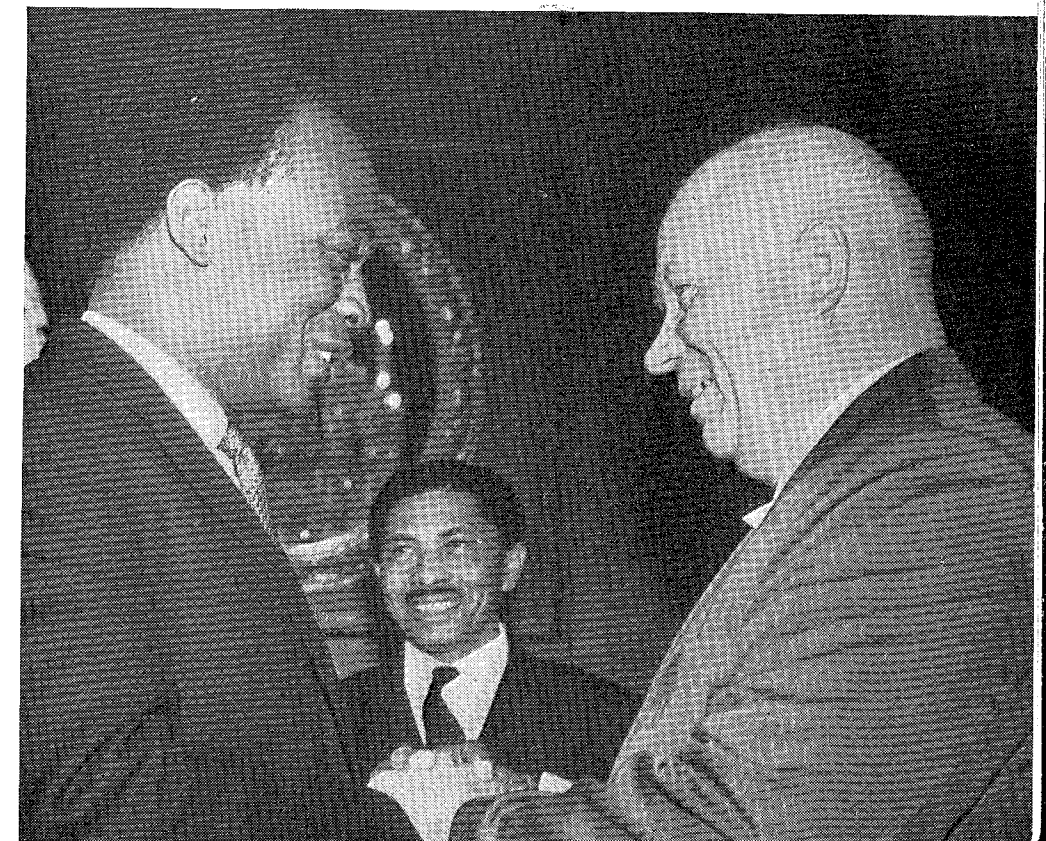
GREETING FRIENDS AT THE FIFTEENTH SESSION

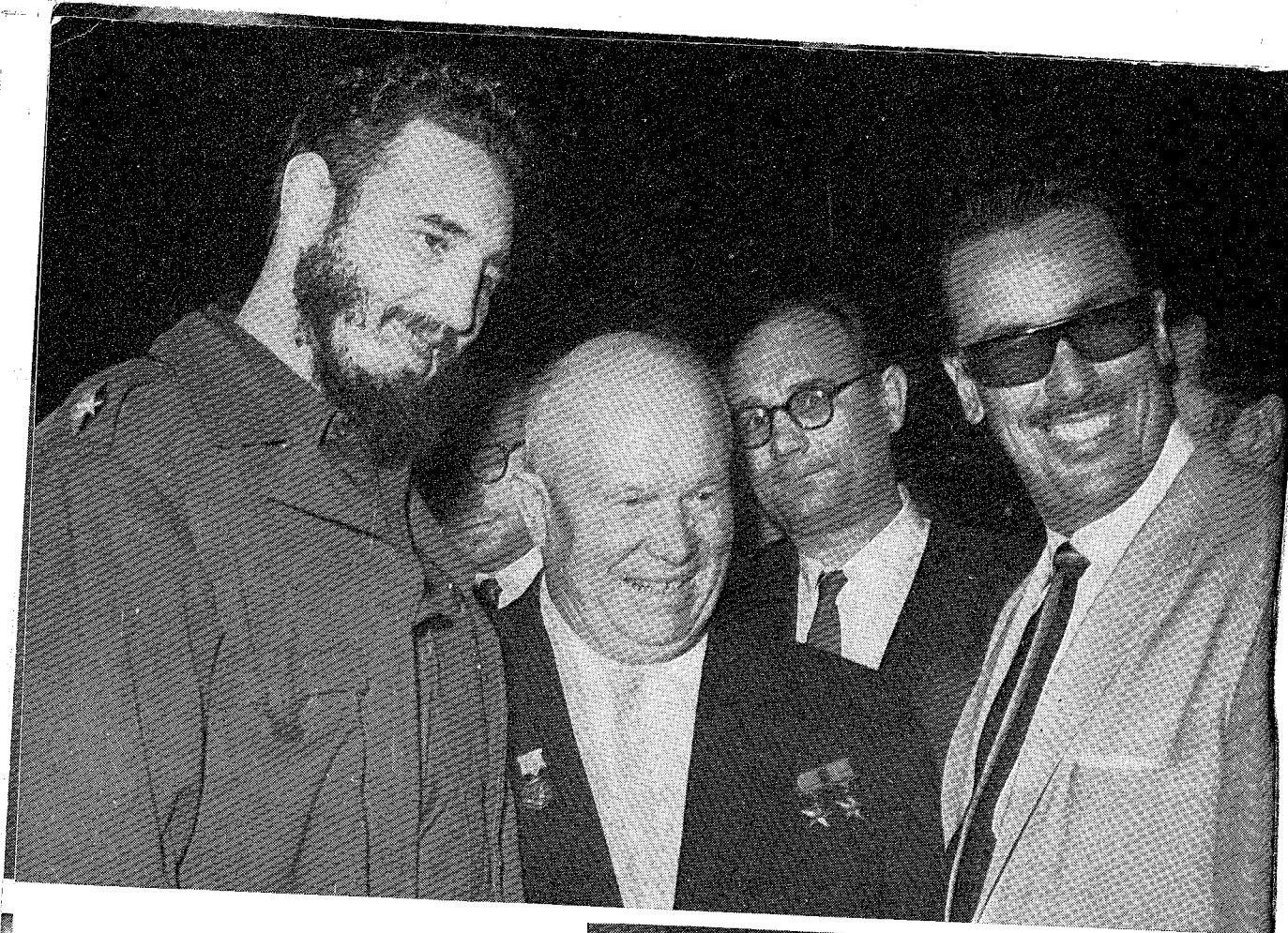
Top left: N. S. Khrushchov enjoying a joke with President Gamal Nasser of the United Arab Republic during their meeting at the Soviet delegation's Long Island residence, Glen Cove.

Top right: N. S. Khrushchov chats with Mr. Sylyanus Olympio Prime Minister of the Republic of Togo.

Bottom left: A meeting with Mr. Krishna Menon, the Indian Minister of Defence, at a reception given by the Togo Republic in New York's Hotel Plaza.

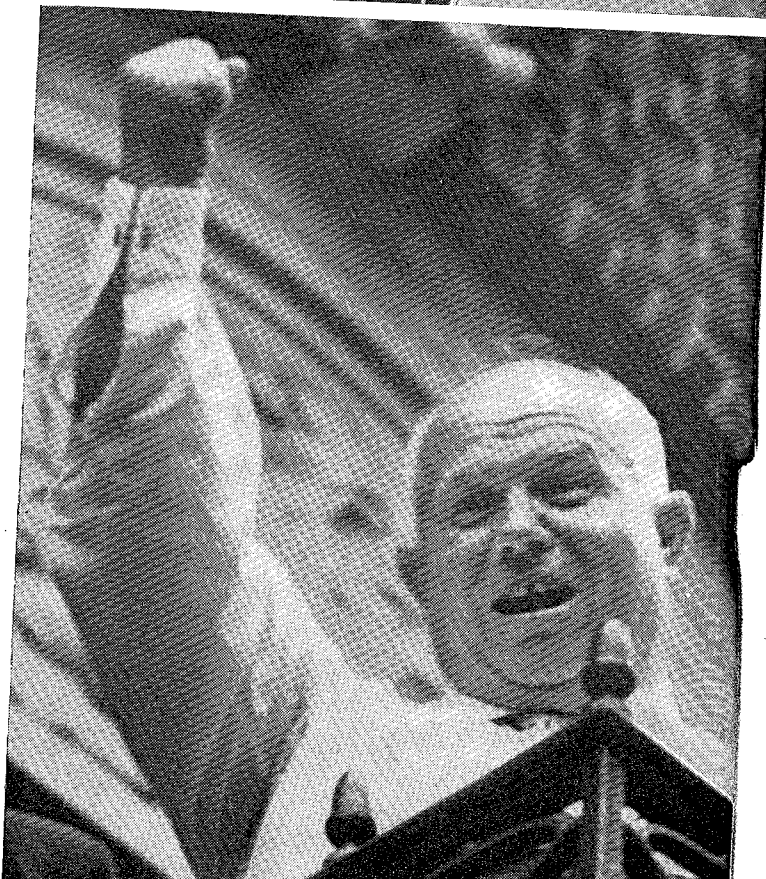
Bottom right: N. S. Khrushchov greets President Kwame Nkrumah of the Republic of Ghana, in the office of the Soviet delegation at the United Nations.





N. S. Khrushchov and the Cuban Premier Fidel Castro (left) before the opening of the Fifteenth Session. Earlier, Mr. Khrushchov had visited him at his Harlem hotel

Mr. Khrushchov, in shirt-sleeves, gives an impromptu "Press Conference" from the balcony of the Soviet delegation's headquarters on New York's Park Avenue.



Nations, particularly during the recent developments in the Congo.

We consider it wise and fair that the United Nations' executive agency should appear, not as one person—the Secretary-General—but should consist of three persons invested with high confidence of the United Nations—representatives of the States belonging to the three basic groupings already mentioned. The point in question is not the name of this agency but the necessity for member-States of the military blocs of the Western Powers, the Socialist States and the neutralist States to be represented in this executive agency. Such a composition of the United Nations' executive agency would provide prerequisites for the more correct enactment of the decisions taken.

Briefly speaking, we think that it would be wise to replace the Secretary-General, who is now the sole interpreter and executor of the decisions of the Assembly and the Security Council, by a collective executive agency of the United Nations which would consist of three persons, each representing a definite grouping of States. This would provide a definite guarantee against the activity of the United Nations' executive agency being detrimental to one of these groupings of States. Then the United Nations' executive agency would be a truly democratic body; it would truly safeguard the interests of all the United Nations' member-States, irrespective of the social and political systems of these or those States that are members of the United Nations. This is particularly necessary at the present time and will be even more so in the future.

There are other inconveniences now experienced by United Nations members. These inconveniences are due to the location of the United Nations headquarters. It would seem that the United States of America, which calls itself a free and democratic country, should have facilitated in every way the work of the United Nations and created all the necessary conditions for representatives of the States forming the membership of this organisation. Experience shows, however, that the United States restricts and infringes the rights of representatives of various countries. Cases are known, for instance, in which representatives of young African and Asian States have been subjected to racial discrimination in the United States and have even become victims of bandit attacks.

American authorities explain various restrictions of the rights of representatives of States in the United Nations by the alleged difficulty of ensuring their security. I would like to stress that we have a better opinion of the American people's hospitality than the one that may be formed as a result of such statements and restrictive measures. But such statements cannot be ignored, nor can one disregard the

inconveniences for the activity of the United Nations resulting from such conditions.

The question arises: Should we not consider choosing for the United Nations headquarters another place which would be more conducive to the fruitful work of this international body? Switzerland or Austria could, for instance, be suggested as such places. I can declare with full responsibility that should it be found desirable to locate the United Nations headquarters in the Soviet Union we would guarantee the best conditions for its work and full freedom and security for the representatives of all States, irrespective of political or religious convictions or the colour of their skins, because the sovereign rights of all States, the equality of all nations—large and small—are highly respected in our country.

You will remember that in the past the Soviet Government supported the proposals for choosing the United States of America as the site of the United Nations. But the recent developments go to show that the United States finds it burdensome. Shouldn't we consider relieving the United States of this burden?

* * *

Esteemed Ladies and Gentlemen, in addressing the delegates of the United Nations General Assembly with proposals on vitally important questions of our time, the Soviet Government would like to stress the special nature of these questions, which are extremely important for the fate of peace.

The importance of the disarmament problem needs no special proof. This problem is of such paramount importance that it must, of course, be discussed at a plenary session of the General Assembly.

Then, the ending of the colonial system is also such an important question that the necessity for discussing it at a plenary meeting of the General Assembly will apparently be fully realised by all the delegations.

We maintain that the question of the aggressive actions of the United States of America against the Soviet Union, as expressed in the sending of American planes within the boundaries of the Soviet Union, has acquired exceptionally great importance. This fact in itself transgresses the limits of the relations between States that are permissible in peace-time. But this question also acquires particular significance because the United States President, Mr. Eisenhower, has himself declared the aggressive flights of American planes to be normal and has alleged that they are indispensable for the United States' security. The United States Government has reserved the right to send such planes in the future, too. That is why the question of the United States' aggressive actions must be settled by the United Nations in plenary session, since the point in question is the viola-

tion of the sovereign rights, not only of the Soviet Union, but of other States as well.

The continuation of such actions and, in particular, their interpretation by the President of the United States as national policy, can at any moment plunge mankind into a third world war. Therefore, I repeat, in the opinion of the Soviet Government, it is imperative to discuss this question, too, like the questions of disarmament and the liquidation of colonialism, at plenary meetings of the United Nations General Assembly and not in committees.

The point is that representatives of the overwhelming majority of the States of the world should, at this session of the General Assembly, express their opinion on the cardinal problems which today agitate world public opinion, all the people on earth who are concerned for the further development of freedom and democracy and are dreaming of peace for themselves and for their children.

The Soviet Government hopes that the questions submitted for discussion at this Assembly of the United Nations will meet with support and understanding, because they are prompted by a sincere desire to ensure a better life and tranquillity on our planet.

Indeed, man lives and works in order to make use of all his energies, all his gifts and all his possibilities. The world today has many faces and yet at the same time it is an entity. We live on one planet, and it depends on us how we arrange matters on that planet.

Man's mind works wonders today. Tomorrow still greater prospects will open up in science and technology. The point is to place the scientific achievements of our age at the service of the people.

I think you share my view that in these days the attention of hundreds of millions of people is riveted on the meeting hall of the General Assembly. What do the peoples of the many, many countries of the world expect from us?—a just and honest solution to the pressing problems of our times. Peoples can make a mistake in choosing a Government. This or that historical situation can lead to injustices in any given country. But no matter how intricate the internal relations in States may be, it is in the nature of people to hope and believe in a better future. People want to live and prosper and—this is the main thing—want their children to fare even better.

That is why all of us—and I say this on behalf of the Soviet people—must fully realise our high and special mission. Mankind has advanced so far that it cannot tolerate the vestiges of the grievous reactionary past in its life. Mankind has advanced so far that it understands the profound and serious danger of an incorrect, erroneous application of scientific achievements in the interests of the arms race.

Let us leave a good memory of our time to our successors, our sons, grandsons and great-grandsons. May they cite the people of our time as an example and say: "Some time ago difficult, complicated problems confronted the people on earth. And they, meeting at the Assembly of the United Nations, solved them, were able to solve them for the sake of a better future."

Let us act in such a way as to make the 15th session of the United Nations General Assembly an assembly, not only of hopes, but also of the fulfilment of those hopes.

The Soviet Government is willing to do its utmost to have colonial slavery topple down already today, and to find a specific and businesslike solution to the problems of disarmament already today.

The Soviet Government is willing to do its utmost for a ban on nuclear-weapon tests, for the prohibition and destruction of those means of mass destruction already today.

It might be said that these are complicated problems and that they cannot be solved at one go. But these problems prompted by life must be solved before it is too late. The solving of these problems cannot be evaded.

In conclusion, I should like to re-emphasise that the Soviet Government, guided by the interests of the Soviet people, the interests of the citizens of a free Socialist State, proposes again and again to all: Let us talk, let us argue, but let us solve the problems of general and complete disarmament and let us bury colonialism that is cursed by mankind.

No more delays, no more stalling is permissible. The peoples of all States, irrespective of their social system, expect the General Assembly of the United Nations at last to take decisions such as will accord with the aspirations of the peoples.

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for your attention.

DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

THE States that set up the United Nations Organisation based its Charter on the lofty and humanitarian ideals of the equality and self-determination of nations and peoples.

Born in the period of the victorious conclusion of the Second World War, the United Nations embodied the hopes that the inequality and enslavement of some nations and peoples by others would disappear, together with the barbarity and atrocities of fascism and militarism. But not all the hopes of the peoples were justified.

Such a vital problem of our times as the complete emancipation of mankind from the disgraceful colonial system inherited from the past has not yet been solved.

Our epoch is the epoch of the speedy regeneration of society, an epoch of the reaffirmation of the most progressive and just forms of life, a flight to man's unprecedented control over the forces of nature. The time has come for the complete and final liberation of the peoples languishing in colonial servitude. That is why the member-States of the United Nations solemnly express their convictions, intentions and demands for independence for the colonial peoples and countries.

Peoples oppressing other peoples cannot themselves be free. Every free people must help all the peoples who are still oppressed to win their freedom and independence.

Great regeneration of enslaved peoples

THE rapid liberation and emancipation of countries and peoples is a significant feature of our time. Within the lifetime of the present generation two-thirds of the population of the world lived under the conditions of a colonial regime. At the end of the First World War the fetters of colonial and national oppression were cast off in a number of countries. The banner of national independence, raised high over the world, has now become the banner of hundreds upon hundreds of millions of people on all continents. The time has come for the liberation and regeneration of nations, peoples and tribes which only recently were downtrodden and oppressed. Dozens of new States have joined the family of independent countries. The democratic ideas of the equality and self-determination of nations are being translated into reality.

The myth of the colonial peoples' inability to administer, to construct and to create has been smashed to pieces.

No one can say now that the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America cannot administer their own affairs. Gigantic forces have been awakened to build a new and independent life and have taken heart. The settlement of international problems is today inconceivable without the participation of the liberated peoples of India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Ghana, Guinea and other States, large and small. No one can now say that the liberation of countries and peoples from the yoke of colonialism results in an extension of the zones of conflicts and clashes between countries. On the contrary, national liberation has led to an extension of the zones of peace, while colonial oppression and colonial policy have led, and continue to lead, to wars.

Nobody can argue any longer that the liberation of nations will bring about a decline of the economy, commerce, trade or agriculture. On the contrary, experience shows that it is precisely the political liberation of the colonial peoples and the formation of new independent States which pave the way to genuine advances of the national economy.

No one will now dare to argue that the liberation of peoples from colonial oppression will, as has been alleged, bring about a cultural decline. Life has shown that liberation is followed by rejuvenation, progress and the blossoming of a unique national culture, the advancement of public education, the improvement of health services, the training of skilled specialists belonging to the nation concerned, and opportunities for the enrichment of world culture.

Not only the peoples of the East, but the peoples of the West also profit from the liberation of the nations that were previously oppressed. The cause of the peoples' freedom, of equitable relations between peoples, and of the preservation of world peace is being placed on firmer ground.

But the abolition of the colonial system has not yet been completed.

The United Nations member-States cannot be indifferent to the fact that more than 100 million people continue to languish in colonial captivity in the ancient lands of Africa and Asia, on the islands of Oceania, in the lands of the Caribbean area, etc. The peoples of these countries have the right to independence and national sovereignty, but in spite of this they are still denied their rights, still fettered. Violence and lawlessness still reign in these countries, where the supreme law is the profit-

ing of foreigners, whose interests mean everything, while the inalienable rights of man, of the people, mean nothing.

The exercise of their sway by foreign administrators, who despise and rob the local population, the oppression of tribes, derision of the national customs, inequality and incomplete equality of the indigenous inhabitants, humiliating disregard of their vital interests, infringement of national and human dignity—all this deeply incenses every honest-minded person.

The whip of the overseer whistles there, and the axe of the executioner chops off heads in those lands.

The peoples of the colonies do not want to live in slavery, in subjection, and they are fighting for their rights and independence, for everything that other nations enjoy. However, the selfish interests of the imperialist Western circles get in their way and obstruct the fulfilment of the just aspirations of the peoples.

Colonial wars, punitive expeditions, concealed plundering of the peoples by the monopolies, military and secret trials, reservations, colour bars, jails and concentration camps—these are some of the methods with the help of which the legal and illegal colonialists wish to stamp out everything living, independent and national in the colonial States.

The African peoples' conference held in Accra has justly condemned all this as colonial fascism.

Those who are in favour of perpetuating the old colonial rule still rely on cruel measures of punishment in the colonies.

Of course, these measures complicate the process of liberation. But doesn't life go at its own pace? Did ruthless massacres, perpetrated for decades, prevent the liberation of Indonesia? Did the murder of tens and hundreds of thousands of people in Indo-China save colonial domination there? Can the crimes committed against the peoples of Africa today stem the irreversible process of the liberation of the African peoples?

The colonial system cannot be saved by any forces of oppression or despotism.

In speaking of those who have been killed on the road to freedom, we cannot say that they are dead. No, they are alive in the memory of the peoples, they will live for ever as heroes of the struggle for national liberation.

Colonialism is in its death throes. But in its last hour it can cause much suffering and inflict many losses. It can take a heavy toll of lives in the colonies and in the metropolitan countries; it can destroy much wealth created by the work of many generations.

The United Nations appeals to all the peoples of the world and to all the Governments, urging them not to remain indifferent observers of the sufferings of the colonial peoples.

Can we turn a deaf ear to the groans of the people of Kenya, where for the past eight years

the colonial authorities have been killing the local population, who are herded into reservations, jails and concentration camps; to the sufferings of the people of Oman, who are victims of the aggressive war that is being waged against them? Who can remain calm seeing how reprisals are continuously being made against the population of Nyasaland, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Ruanda-Urundi, South-West Africa, Tanganyika, Uganda and West Irian?

In our age of progress and great discoveries of scientific genius, and of unlimited expansion of man's powers over the forces of nature, a situation cannot be tolerated in which France is waging a colonial war in Algeria, resorting to aviation, artillery, tanks, napalm bombs and other means for the mass annihilation of the Algerians, who for nearly six years have been fighting valiantly for the freedom and independence of their country.

Hundreds of thousands of Algerians have been killed; many Algerian towns and villages have been burned down and destroyed; one-fifth of the country's population has been driven into concentration camps. Many sons of France are losing their lives in the struggle for an unjust cause.

Can such a situation be tolerated any longer? No, it cannot be tolerated, if we cherish the interests of the great cause of peace, the interests of humanity and progress.

For the sake of what are bloody wars waged against the peoples by those who do not wish to denounce the colonial system? For the sake of what are the peace-loving aspirations of the oppressed peoples repressed? Sometimes it is said that this is done in the interests of "civilising" the less-developed countries in order to prepare them for self-government.

But this is a lie which is clad in the garments of truth.

What civilisation have five centuries of tyrannous colonial rule brought to the African nations of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, whose area equals more than half of Western Europe and has a population of 11 million? They have brought them poverty and lack of rights, forcible confiscation of land soaked with the sweat of many generations, the eviction of farmers into hungry and arid areas.

Arbitrary rule, hunger, ignorance and disease reign in these countries, where slavery and forced labour still exist. There is not a single higher educational institution there and secondary education is practically non-existent.

Why has Portugal the right to perpetrate in our time such lawlessness in the colonies? On what grounds?

During half a century of Belgian colonial domination in the Congo its population decreased by more than 50 per cent as a result of punitive expeditions, hunger and disease.

When the independence of the Republic of

the Congo was proclaimed, very few people in that country knew how to read or write.

The situation in the other African colonies is not much better.

Of course roads, airfields, ports, mines, collieries and a few schools have been built in these or other areas of the colonies, but all this serves the purpose of exploiting the native population and robbing the natural resources of the colonies.

The allegation that the colonial system is needed in order to prevent clashes and fratricidal wars among tribes and peoples in the colonies is a deliberate lie. The events in the Congo show that colonialism lives by strife and by

artificially instigating contradictions among tribes and peoples.

It strives to undermine their common struggle for liberation. The motto of the colonialists is still: "Divide and rule!"

What is inscribed on the banners of the Asian and African peoples fighting for national freedom and independence? Inscribed on them are the Bandung and Accra slogans of peace and unity. Being indifferent to the voice of justice, the colonialists are striving to preserve the arbitrarily mapped frontiers which divide nations and tribes and also areas of Africa which economically gravitate together: so violating the unity and integrity of many countries.

Independence of the colonial states and peoples is the demand of our time

THE United Nations Organisation appeals to the peoples and Governments, regardless of where their homeland is—in the East or in the West, in the North or in the South—to raise the question posed by life itself today: Does the rotten colonial system conform to the ideals of the peoples and the possibilities of this age?

It suffices to compare the development during the past century of the independent nations of Europe or North America with the development of the colonial States of Africa to see that the road of colonialism is that of regression, that of gradual extinction, destruction and degradation of the forcibly enslaved countries.

Whereas in the economically advanced countries a high level of industry, transport, agriculture, science and culture has been reached, nuclear-powered ships have been built and artificial celestial bodies have been launched into outer space, Africa—that land of fabulous riches—lags behind and has been turned into a continent of hunger, the main implements in its agriculture, as they were a 1,000 years ago, being the hoe, the wooden plough and sharpened poles, while a primitive system of farming is employed there which leads to the exhaustion and erosion of the soil.

There is a gaping chasm between the independent States with an advanced industry and the colonial countries. Yet there was a time when Asia and Africa produced great civilisations, which enriched the cultures and civilisations of other nations.

Indeed the main aim of the colonial system is to make tremendous profits for the great foreign monopolies which have captured key economic positions in the colonies, and to drain them of their riches and assets by any and every means. Therefore the entire economy of the colonies is an economy of exploitation. Being subordinated primarily to the narrow interests and requirements of the market of certain more highly developed industrial countries, that

economy develops slowly in a malformed, lopsided direction.

Only after the liberation of Ghana was it recognised that her future lies, not in the production of cocoa alone, but in establishing a modern industry associated with the large-scale development of the great sources of hydro-electric power which are available there and of the extremely rich deposits of bauxites, and that therein lies her main value from the point of view of world economy.

Under the colonial system no use could be found either for the tremendous hydro-power resources of the Congo Republic, the potential of which is nearly equal to the present volume of the generation of electricity in all the West European countries combined. And it is a fact that the use of these resources alone would make it possible, not only to develop on a full scale the tremendous mineral resources in the Congo Republic and to raise the level of its agriculture, but also to transform to a considerable extent the entire economic face of the countries of Central Africa and greatly increase the prosperity of their population.

It has been scientifically proven that all the countries of the African continent and of other continents possess tremendous, diverse and to a considerable degree unexplored riches. They could be made to serve the peoples of those countries and, consequently, to serve all mankind.

The colonial system deliberately and artificially perpetuates the economic backwardness of the colonies and obstructs their industrialisation and the rational utilisation of the available resources. This results in an unparalleled waste of public wealth, a tremendous waste of labour, in the preponderance of a parasitic single-crop economy in the colonial countries adapted to the selfish requirements of the metropolitan countries.

Taking into consideration the present-day

level of industrial and technical development, the latest achievements of science, farming and culture, it is possible within a comparatively short space of time to make all these tremendous riches serve the peoples. However, in order to utilise them, it is essential in the first place to grant the peoples the right to independent existence, to abolish the colonial system, to render economic assistance in the development of these riches.

As a result, it will be possible to increase the prosperity of the local population, to increase the capacity of the home market, to put an end to present ignorance and to the shortage of skilled national personnel, to the preponderance of the single-crop economy in the colonies. Colonial forms are incompatible with the solution of such tasks, just as they are incompatible with the great technological achievements which are an inalienable part of modern civilisation.

It is not the peoples that profit from the exploitation of colonies, but mostly the great foreign monopolies—billionaires. Colonialism exacts a high tribute, from both peoples of East and West. Oil and coffee, rubber and cotton, copper and bananas, various raw materials and foodstuffs imported from the colonies are sold at prices tens of times above those at which they are purchased on the spot. The monopolies plunder the people twice—in the East when they buy and in the West when they sell colonial goods and raw materials.

Moreover, they are forcing the peoples of the colonies to maintain foreign troops and administration in peacetime—that is, to say for their chains. At the same time the monopolies are imposing increased taxes upon the taxpayers of the metropolitan countries, to pay for punitive expeditions and colonial wars, and thus to force the peoples of the metropolitan countries also to pay for the chains in which the monopolists, the colonialists, hold other peoples. Indeed, they bury on the fields of devastation the freedom of their own people together with the independence of other nations. This in itself is a grave indictment of the colonial system.

Meanwhile, if member-States of the United Nations and, naturally, those in the first place which in their time imposed the chains of colonialism on many peoples, displayed at least a minimum understanding of the pressing needs of these peoples, they would find the ability to meet those needs. One of the main sources lies in the solution of the disarmament problem and in the curtailment of countries' military expenditures.

It is well known that the States which form the military and colonial North Atlantic bloc alone spend 62,000 million dollars a year on the arms race. If only half this sum—spent each year on purposes which are non-productive and dangerous to peace—were used for the development, for instance, of the African

countries, it would be possible to carry out such great technical projects as the Great Inga, Konkuré, Zambesi and Volta power dams and irrigation systems, to build industrial plants, and to transform agriculture. The liberated peoples of Africa would have been able to create schools, universities, hospitals everywhere, to build roads and carry out other programmes, as a result of which agriculture, too, could be raised to a higher modern level.

At the same time, if the African and other colonies were freed from the chains of colonialism, that would help the development of their natural resources, would increase their demand for European and American machinery and other manufactured goods, would result in increased exports of raw materials for the industry of Europe and America, raising the level of employment and the utilisation of productive capacities and ensuring higher living standards for the peoples of the highly developed industrial countries.

Every honest person and every Government which sincerely stands for the equality of peoples, for the carrying out of the great aims and principles proclaimed in the United Nations Charter, cannot fail to see that colonialism has outlived its time, and is today a disgrace to mankind.

The complete and final abolition of colonialism would be the prologue not only to social progress, but also to a rapid technical advance in industry and agriculture comparable to the powerful impetus given to the development of the social productive forces by the ending of the slave trade.

The abolition of colonialism would be a major factor in easing international tension. Armed conflicts and wars which have occurred since the Second World War—wars such as those in Indonesia, Indo-China and Algeria; the aggression against Egypt; the foreign intervention in the Lebanon and Jordan; the conspiracies against Syria and Iraq; and others—took place precisely in accord with efforts to obstruct the liberation and national development of the young States of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Throughout the past century, indeed, most wars and armed conflicts have in some way or other been associated with colonialism, with the struggle of the Great Powers for the division and redivision of the colonies.

More than once the peoples have felt to their own costs the grave danger of colonial wars growing up into a new world war. Now the intervention against the Congo Republic has aggravated the international climate, and has endangered peace in Africa—and not only in Africa. Can you ignore the fact that, in present conditions, with the existence of nuclear and rocket weapons, the flames of war kindled on one continent may instantly envelop the entire globe?

Many of the major centres of present-day

international tension—in the Middle and the Far East, in Africa and Latin America—are also largely a product of colonial policy. Not infrequently colonies and the other so-called “non-self-governing territories” are used as military bases by foreign Powers, or as nuclear test ranges.

Can such a situation permit people to feel secure, relieve them of the fear of war, show them a way out of the poverty, hunger and disease which remain the lot of the peoples of the countries which have the status of colonies and trust territories? Along with the big colonies and trust territories, certain Powers have also retained footholds in various areas of the world such as Western Irian, Okinawa, Goa, Puerto Rico and elsewhere—not to speak of Taiwan [*Formosa—Ed.*], with regard to which the United States has committed an aggression, by occupying this territory of the People's Re-

public of China. Why do highly developed industrial Powers need such footholds and “possessions” on foreign soil? Aren't they a direct survival of the era of former colonial domination? What would Europeans and Americans say if some Asian or African countries should demand footholds in the countries of Western Europe or North America?

There can be no two opinions but that these footholds are retained to threaten the national independence and security of the peoples of the adjacent areas. Like the trading stations at the dawn of colonialism which served as bases for later extension of the colonial regime of oppression in Africa, Asia and America, now, at the time of the disintegration of colonialism, the imperialists are trying to use the remaining footholds and colonies to exert crude pressure upon the independent States of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The disgraceful colonial regime must be buried

THE member-States of the United Nations making the present Declaration consider that every Government which, not in words but in deeds, stands for peace and progress must respect the lawful rights of all peoples without exception in their demands for equality, justice and independence. Either these demands will be recognised by all States, or the oppressed peoples, with the support of their many friends throughout the world, will take their destinies into their own hands and win freedom and independence, sweeping away the artificial obstacles raised before them by the colonialists. It is the prime duty of all peoples to give them a helping hand in their sacred struggle for independence, against colonial oppression.

That variant of the colonial regime, the trusteeship system, has also outlived itself, together with the entire disgraceful system of colonialism.

The present trusteeship system—a direct survival of the League of Nations' mandate system—was, according to the United Nations Charter, to promote the development of the trust territories toward self-government and independence. Fifteen years have passed, however, since the Charter was adopted, but only four trust territories out of 11 have attained independence.

To this day no definite dates have been established for the granting of independence to the trust territories, including the biggest of such territories—Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi and New Guinea.

Disregarding the principles of the United Nations, the “trustee” Powers in fact maintain a colonial regime, ruthlessly exploiting the population, plundering their natural resources, victimising those who have addressed petitions to the United Nations, impeding the economic

and political development of the trust territories.

Nowhere has the trusteeship system justified itself and it must be buried, together with the entire colonial system—which has outlived itself.

The regime of colonial oppression has left mankind the grave legacy of numerous difficult problems. The tragedies in the Congo, as well as in a number of other areas of the world, arise where the peoples are waging a just struggle for their rights and demanding a rational solution of the problem of relations between the native population and settlers from other continents. The division of peoples and nations into privileged and “inferior” beings—that is racism, a justification of criminal genocide; that is one way of heaping new crimes on old, of fanning mutual hatred and provoking continuing bloody conflicts between countries and peoples.

The colour of peoples' skins may be different, but the colour of their blood is the same. And no single people can lay claim to domination over other peoples. The bonds and relations between people formed in colonial times must be replaced by new relations, based upon the principles of equality, friendship and mutual respect, regardless of the social and political systems of the countries, regardless of the world outlooks and political views of their peoples or the colours of their skins. The peoples of the colonies must get real and not fictitious independence, which in fact keeps them under a modified colonial regime.

What they are demanding is not just increased freedoms within the framework of the colonial system, but the basic abolition of that system, freedom to advance, to dispose of their own destinies, to use their own wealth, to enjoy the fruits of their own labour. Any form

of enslavement, any manifestation of "guardianship" or "charity" is deeply insulting to the dignity of the peoples.

Life itself poses now the choice between stagnation and progress, between slavery and freedom, between the division of peoples and their unity, between war and peace.

The United Nations considers it its duty insistently to urge the Powers which have colonial possessions to enter into negotiations on an equal footing with representatives of the peoples of the colonies, and to come to terms on the granting of freedom and independence to the colonial countries.

Specific and early dates must be fixed for negotiations, and the possibility of pressure and aggression by the colonial Powers must be

If, nevertheless, these Powers remain deaf to this appeal, if they hold up the liberation of the colonies, if they suppress the liberation movement of the colonial peoples, the peace-loving peoples must give every moral and material assistance to the peoples who are fighting for their independence.

The member-States of the United Nations base themselves on the belief that every country and every nation has the inalienable and full right to independent existence. They are convinced that the abolition of the colonial regime would not result in the estrangement of the countries of Africa and Europe. On the contrary, it would lead to still closer co-operation

between them. Such unity and co-operation of the peoples, however, is possible only as a free and mutual gift.

The more consistently and straightforwardly the great principles of international co-operation—principles of equality, sovereignty and territorial integrity, of non-interference in one another's internal affairs, of mutual advantage, peaceful co-existence and economic co-operation—are carried out, more durable will be the mutual understanding and concord of the free and equal States of the world.

Only along this road, using the great achievements of modern science and culture, will the countries, of the West and East, North and South, march onward to progress, to a genuine peaceful community of nations. Only in this way can the high provisions of the United Nations Charter on the right of nations and peoples to self-determination be put into effect.

Moved by an eager desire for the earliest establishment of mutual good will and concord among countries and peoples, as well as between the native population of the non-self-governing territories and those who have settled in those territories and want to live there on an equal footing with all the citizens of those countries, the United Nations member-States, which have affixed their signatures to the present Declaration, appeal to all peoples, regardless of their language, the colour of their skins, their religion or political convictions :

May our word be heard by all peoples on earth!

ALL of us live on one planet. It is on this planet that we are born, work, raise our children and hand down to them what we have achieved in life. Although various States exist on earth, all people are born as citizens, equal in their dignity.

The entire course of the development of history has now posed the question of the complete and final abolition of the colonial regime in all its forms and manifestations. And this must be achieved, not at some future date, but immediately and unconditionally!

Consequently, the United Nations member-States solemnly proclaim the following demands :

One. The immediate grant to all colonial countries, trust territories and other non-self-governing territories of complete independence and freedom to build their own national States, in conformity with their peoples' freely expressed will and desires.

The colonial regime, the colonial administration in all its forms, must be abolished completely, so as to enable the peoples of such territories to decide their own destinies and form of government for themselves.

Two. Similarly, to end all footholds of

colonialism in the form of possessions and leases of foreign soil.

Three. The Governments of all countries are enjoined, in the relations among States, to observe strictly and unswervingly the provisions of the United Nations Charter and of the present Declaration on the Equality of and Respect for the Sovereign Rights and Territorial Integrity of all States without Exception ; and not to permit any manifestations of colonialism, any special rights or advantages for some States to the detriment of others.

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Following the high principles of the United Nations Charter, member States of this organisation cannot but regard the abolition of the colonial system as a most important phase in international life. In itself this act will be a major prerequisite for the development of genuinely friendly relations among all States and peoples ; and, consequently, for the attainment of the great goal of ensuring a firm and lasting peace on earth.

It is the sacred duty of every State and every Government to give assistance in the speediest and complete carrying out of this Declaration.

STATEMENT ON THE DISARMAMENT QUESTION BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE USSR

Submitted for consideration to the 15th Session of the U.N.
General Assembly

THE Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has submitted, for consideration by the United Nations General Assembly, the disarmament question and the question of the present situation with regard to the carrying out of the resolution on this subject passed by the previous session of the General Assembly.

The disarmament problem is the central problem of today, and—to a great extent, if not basically—the preservation of peace depends on its solution.

This is now recognised by all States. Nevertheless, the Soviet Government is deeply alarmed by the fact that no progress has been made to far in solving this problem.

States have by now already accumulated, and are continuing to accumulate, huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons and the means of delivering them to a target anywhere on the globe.

This in itself creates a serious danger to peace, since the countries possessing nuclear weapons include some which have proclaimed brinkmanship and gross violation of the sovereignty of other countries as their State policy, not hesitating to resort to methods that are usually used only in time of war.

In a situation in which countries have huge stocks of nuclear weapons at their disposal, every further step along the road of the arms race also increases the danger of a so-called accidental outbreak of war. Inaccuracy in the work of a radar system may entail incorrect interpretation of radar signals and this may lead to the beginning of military operations and, consequently, to catastrophe on an unprecedented scale. Misinterpretation of an order by pilots who, according to statements of the United States Government, are making routine flights in bombers carrying atomic weapons, may lead to these bombs being dropped on the territory of another State, with all the inevitable consequences. Some defect in the electronic mechanisms of combat nuclear rocket systems may also trigger off the chain reaction of a military conflict.

If the nuclear arms race continues, it will become more and more difficult to prevent such "accidents." The arms race is one of the main factors increasing distrust and suspicion in relations between States, and poisoning the international atmosphere. The "cold war," hated by the peoples, is the product of the arms race, makes ending it more difficult, and makes

it increasingly dangerous to countries and peoples.

Ending the arms race is a way of strengthening peace. The solution of the disarmament problem would also have a tremendous economic effect. Disarmament would release enormous material and financial resources, which could be used for the benefit of mankind.

Over 100,000 million dollars were again burnt in the gigantic furnace of war preparations in the course of the year that has passed since the 14th session of the United Nations General Assembly, a session which unanimously approved the idea of general and complete disarmament. A simple calculation shows that these funds would have been enough to carry out the radical technical and economic reconstruction of the whole African continent; that money would have been sufficient to provide food for hundreds of millions of hungry people for the whole year; 1 per cent of the total sum of States' military outlays would suffice to build and provide all the necessary equipment for more than a 100 universities in the countries which are greatly in need of skilled specialists.

The sums which are now consumed in building one American nuclear submarine would be sufficient to erect at least fifty 100-flat blocks, or 10,000 houses. This is what mankind is losing as a result of the arms race!

In view of the fact that the talks on specific disarmament measures—talks which went on for many years—were always led into a blind alley by the Western Powers, a year ago, at the 14th session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Soviet Union proposed an entirely new approach to the solution of this problem, and put forward *the idea of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.*

The raising of the question of general and complete disarmament was prompted by life itself, since in the age of nuclear weapons and powerful missiles, partial, half-hearted disarmament measures cannot fully eliminate the danger of war.

Only general and complete disarmament can ensure the accomplishment of this great task. Only general and complete disarmament can safeguard lasting peace and tranquillity for mankind.

Raising the question of general and complete disarmament, the Soviet Union which—as is universally acknowledged—is now militarily

one of the strongest Powers in the world, on its own initiative proposed the renunciation of this military might for ever, ending it completely—if the other Great Powers would do likewise. If the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the other Western countries are ready for this, all that remains to be done is to come to terms on how best to carry the decision out.

If they are not ready, that means that you cannot believe their statements that they desire peace and need weapons only for defence against possible aggression.

Therein lies the crux of the problem of general and complete disarmament raised by the Soviet Union.

This new approach to the solution of the disarmament problem flows from the very nature of the Socialist system in our country. The founder of the Soviet State, V. I. Lenin, described disarmament as the ideal of Socialism.

Socialist States, indeed, need armaments for no other purposes than defence against possible attack from the outside and for the maintenance of world peace. The Soviet armed forces have no other tasks—indeed, cannot have any other tasks—for the foreign policy of Socialism is peaceful and humanitarian.

And if the Western Powers renounced armed forces and armaments, got rid of the means of waging war, the Socialist States would have no need of armed forces and armaments, no reasons would remain for the maintenance of rocket forces, the army, navy, air force and anti-aircraft defence. For the successful building of Communism in the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries, nothing of this is needed. We have rich mineral resources; our people are industrious; science and technology serve our cause well.

War is not needed for the victory of Communism, because the struggle for Communist ideas is not waged between countries; that struggle is waged inside each country between classes. It is slander against the Socialist countries to accuse them of wanting to impose their ideas on other countries and peoples by war.

At the 14th session, the Soviet Government did not confine itself to raising the question of general and complete disarmament; it submitted for the consideration of the United Nations at that time a specific programme for such disarmament. Striving to facilitate in every way the solution of the problem of disarmament, and to create the most favourable situation for negotiations on that question, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. adopted a decision to reduce the armed forces of the Soviet Union by 1,200,000—that is, by a third; that decision is at present being precisely carried out.

Now, when a year has passed since the Soviet Union raised the question of general and com-

plete disarmament, it can be said most categorically that the idea of general and complete disarmament has won the support of all peoples; they want to translate this idea into reality as quickly as possible.

And this is understandable, for the peoples of all countries—not only the Socialist but also the capitalist countries—want peace, want a world without arms, a world without wars between States. War is needed neither by the Soviet nor by the American, neither by the British nor by the French, neither by the Chinese people nor by the peoples of Africa, neither by the peoples of Asia nor by the peoples of Latin America or of Australia.

The peoples' will for peace found its expression in the resolution on general and complete disarmament adopted at the last session of the General Assembly; unanimously adopted, as everyone remembers not a single State opposed the resolution; everyone supported it. Even those States that have stepped up, and are still stepping up, the arms race, States which, as experience has shown, do not at all intend to abandon the policy of brinkmanship, even those States did not venture at that time to come out openly against general and complete disarmament.

In its resolution, the General Assembly proclaimed that the question of general and complete disarmament is the most important question now confronting the world; and it urged Governments to exert all their efforts toward achieving a constructive solution to this problem, also expressing the hope that the measures leading up to the aim of general and complete disarmament under effective international control would be worked out in detail and agreed upon in the shortest possible period. This laid down the general direction of the disarmament talks. It was resolved to hold the discussions within the framework of a ten-Power committee.

The peoples of the world pinned their greatest hopes on those talks. They wanted to believe that now all States, and above all, the Great Powers—which have the most powerful armaments—would adopt a new approach to the disarmament problem and would at last come to terms on its practical solution.

A year has passed and, unfortunately, it must be pointed out that this year has been wasted so far as disarmament is concerned. That is an alarming outcome which cannot be ignored.

What happened? Why, in the year since the General Assembly adopted that resolution, has it been impossible to make any progress in carrying it out? Why did the discussions in the ten-Power disarmament committee produce no positive results? To answer these questions, one must consult the facts. And the facts show that two opposing lines, two standpoints, were distinctly and clearly brought out during the

discussions in the ten-Power committee, as had been the case in the past.

One of them was in accord with the demands of the peoples for the earliest possible solution of the disarmament problem. The other was diametrically opposed to that demand, and was a poorly camouflaged attempt to prevent disarmament.

The line of struggle for general and complete disarmament was followed in the ten-Power committee by the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Bulgaria, that is, by the Socialist States. The line of opposing a solution of the disarmament problem was followed by the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Italy and Canada, that is, by the Western Powers, members of the Nato war bloc.

Our position during the talks was absolutely clear-cut. The Socialist States proposed that one should take up the matter as quickly as possible, work for a practical solution of the problem, discuss in a businesslike manner the problem of general and complete disarmament and draft the appropriate treaty.

In so doing the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries adopted a flexible attitude throughout the talks. The delegations of these countries in the committee expressed willingness to listen attentively and to show proper respect for all the observations, proposals and suggestions of the Western Powers on the Soviet programme for general and complete disarmament that might be designed to facilitate the early accomplishment of this important task. The Soviet Government proved its readiness by deeds. It was ready to consider any other realistic disarmament programme.

When we learned from the talks with General de Gaulle, the President of France, that the French Government regarded it as advisable to begin disarmament with the destruction of the means of delivering nuclear weapons to their targets, the Soviet Government treated this idea very seriously and after carefully considering it, introduced an essential amplification to the programme of general and complete disarmament. The revised programme envisaged that all means of delivering nuclear weapons to their targets should be destroyed already in the first stage of general and complete disarmament. The Soviet Government accepted this, being guided by a desire to speed up agreement, though it is generally admitted that the Soviet Union is superior in the most up-to-date and effective means of delivering nuclear weapons, namely, intercontinental ballistic missiles.

The Soviet Government met the Western Powers halfway on a number of other questions as well.

The United States and other Western countries pressed the Soviet Union for a more specific, more thorough disclosure of the system of control in our programme of general and

complete disarmament. The Soviet Government has also taken this argument into account in the revised Soviet proposals. The plan for setting up a control system and the introduction of international control over all disarmament measures has been set forth most thoroughly, including many details. Now no one can any longer assert, unless he wants to deny the facts, that the Soviet Union is evading the introduction of strict international control over measures for general and complete disarmament.

It goes without saying that the Soviet Government stands for control over disarmament, but resolutely objects to all attempts at imposing control over armaments, i.e., control without disarmament, which, as everyone realises, would be only a legalised system of international espionage.

For the establishment of armaments control with armaments being retained means, in point of fact, that each side will know the quantity, quality and location of the other side's armaments. Consequently, the aggressor side would be in a position to advance its armaments to a higher level in order to choose an opportune moment for attack. We shall never accept arms control without disarmament, as that would mean encouraging the aggressor. Our objective is to ensure a lasting peace, and the only way to achieve this is through the abolition of armaments and armed forces under stringent international control.

If, for instance, agreement is reached on the destruction in the first stage of all means of delivering nuclear weapons to their targets, the dismantling of foreign military bases on the territories of other countries and the withdrawal of foreign troops from those territories, then appropriate measures of control over the implementation of these measures must be worked out.

The same holds good for the next stages of disarmament.

That is the stand of the U.S.S.R. on questions of general and complete disarmament under effective international control which the Soviet Government took during the discussions in the ten-Power committee and still takes today.

No one can deny that this is a constructive attitude, based on the desire for an early agreement on general and complete disarmament.

However, all the efforts of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist States aimed at making the ten-Power committee, in keeping with the General Assembly's resolution, take up a practical solution to the problem of general and complete disarmament came up against a stone wall—the negative attitude of the United States and other Western Powers. Our partners in the talks obstinately refused to begin drafting a treaty on general and complete disarmament

and evaded in every way a discussion of the Soviet programme of general and complete disarmament on its merits.

In order to mislead the world they say "Yes" on disarmament questions, but when the disarmament problem is examined concretely, they exert every effort to prevent an agreement on disarmament.

For its part, the United States of America presented proposals envisaging neither general nor complete disarmament, nor disarmament in general, but only measures of control over armaments—that is to say, control without disarmament. This also fully applies to the so-called "Western plan" of March 16, 1960, and the so-called "new" American proposals put forward by the United States after the suspension of the proceedings of the ten-Power committee.

What did the Western Powers suggest? They suggested the introduction of control over rockets, control over artificial satellites, control over the atomic industry, control over the location of armed forces, financial control, ground control, control by aerial survey—and all this while the States would retain all their armed forces and armaments, including nuclear weapons and all means of delivering them to their targets.

Such a presentation of the question is perhaps of interest to those who, in preparing military gambles, are interested in collecting secret information on the armed forces and armaments of other States, but it has nothing in common with disarmament. One cannot fail to see that the introduction of control without disarmament, far from helping to strengthen peace, on the contrary, would make it easier for a potential aggressor to carry out his plans, dangerous to the peoples.

Control without disarmament, however, was the only topic the Western Powers wanted to discuss in the ten-Power committee. As the only specific measure for the first stage transcending the limits of control, they proposed that the numerical strength of the armed forces of the United States and the U.S.S.R. be restricted to 2,500,000 men, although it is well known that the strength of the armed forces of the United States is precisely at that level and the Soviet armed forces will, after the conclusion of the unilateral reduction by one-third, number 2,423,000 men—that is to say, less than the Western Powers have suggested. Why, then, have they suggested levels of 2,500,000 men?

It is difficult to assess such a position otherwise than as the Western Powers' unwillingness to agree to disarmament. Furthermore, not only did the Western Powers reject any businesslike discussion in the ten-Power committee on the Soviet programme for general and complete disarmament, not only did they fail to put forward any proposals which would have been in keeping with the provisions of the

resolution of the General Assembly on general and complete disarmament, but they even went back on their own proposals as soon as the Soviet Union accepted them.

It must be pointed out, for instance, that although France suggested that disarmament should be started by abolishing the means of delivering nuclear weapons to their targets, her representative on the ten-Power committee virtually took to the line of abandoning this proposal as soon as the Soviet Union had accepted it, and he began advocating, not the liquidation of, but only control over, the means of delivery. It does not take an expert to understand the fundamental difference between liquidation, destruction of rockets, military planes, warships and other means of delivering nuclear weapons to their targets, and the establishment of control over them.

The French Government's abandonment of its proposal for the priority liquidation of means of delivering nuclear weapons to targets is all the more incomprehensible since France is known to be far from holding first place in rocketry—the most up-to-date means of delivery.

Even Western Germany, which is to be supplied with strategic rockets by the Pentagon, will soon outstrip France. Hence, if agreement were reached to scrap the means of delivering nuclear weapons to their targets, France would not only not lose by this, but would even gain, since she would then be in the same position as Powers that now outstrip her as regards the means of delivery. The legitimate question arises: Are not Nato commitments more important for France than a solution to the disarmament problem?

It is clear that owing to the negative attitude of the United States and its allies on the question of general and complete disarmament, the ten-Power committee could not do a useful job in carrying out the General Assembly's resolution.

Moreover, the committee began turning into its opposite—from an organ for disarmament talks into an organ for covering up a continued arms race.

It is sufficient to say that at the time when the disarmament talks were being held in the ten-Power committee, military appropriations continued to be increased in the United States; the building of American nuclear rocket bases was stepped up in the United Kingdom, Italy and a number of other States; a new military treaty with the United States was imposed upon Japan in defiance of the will of her people; preparations began for the supply of Polaris strategic nuclear rockets to the West German revenge-seekers and militarists, and steps were taken to expand the production of chemical and biological means of mass destruction. The arms race was steadily stepped up in other Western member-States of Nato as well.

And all this was done under cover of the ten-Power committee. On the one hand, they stepped up the arms race and feverishly carried out more and more military preparations, and on the other, without bringing forward any proof, expressed in the ten-Power committee their concern for disarmament and for the continuation of the talks. It became more and more obvious that the United States and its Nato allies were still seeking to flood the disarmament problem with empty talk.

The Soviet Union and the other Socialist States were thus confronted with the question: Is there any sense in continuing the proceedings of the committee? And when the Soviet Government examined the situation created by the fault of the United States and its allies, it was compelled to draw the conclusion that it was necessary to suspend its participation in the ten-Power committee and to raise the question of the need for examining the disarmament problem in the General Assembly. The other Socialist States that were members of the committee reached the same conclusion.

It was not easy for the Soviet Government to take this decision, since it had sponsored the programme of general and complete disarmament and was striving for the maximum flexibility during the talks on the implementation of this programme and was persistently fighting for the talks to be useful, to make progress. Nevertheless, we had to take this step. To act otherwise would have meant helping those who do not want any disarmament, those who are continuing to push the world toward war.

Now that the United States of America and its allies have brought the disarmament talks to deadlock in the ten-Power committee, the General Assembly must most seriously approach an examination of the existing situation and take the necessary measures to eliminate the obstacles standing in the way of a solution to the disarmament problem.

This requires a direct and open statement by all States of the world to those who obstruct the success of the disarmament talks:

It is high time to discard stratagems and subterfuges; a solution to the disarmament problem cannot be postponed any longer; the drafting of a treaty on general and complete disarmament cannot be delayed any more!

In order to speed up a solution to the disarmament problem the Soviet Government is submitting for the consideration of the United Nations General Assembly a proposal, "The Basic Provisions of a Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament," which is attached to this statement.

The Soviet Government believes that this proposal provides a good basis for drafting and concluding a treaty on general and complete disarmament. In this proposal, the Soviet

Government takes still further account of the wishes of the Western Powers, considers their position on a number of important questions—such as their statements that it is desirable from the first stage, to combine measures in the field of nuclear disarmament with measures for the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments. With this object in view, the Soviet Government suggests that a substantial reduction in armed forces and conventional armaments should be provided for already in the first stage.

Wherein lies the essence of the Soviet proposal?

The Soviet Government proposes that all States should carry out in three consecutive stages over a period of four years, or another agreed period, the complete and final abolition of all their armed forces and armaments.

All disarmament measures should be strictly controlled so that no State could evade the fulfilment of its commitments under the treaty on general and complete disarmament and, consequently, so that not a single one of them could take advantage for aggressive purposes of the abolition of the armed forces and armaments of other States.

In the first stage, to last about a year or a year and a half, the manufacture of all existing means of delivering nuclear weapons to the target shall be stopped and all stocks shall be destroyed. In the same stage, all foreign military bases on alien territories shall be closed down and all foreign troops withdrawn from those territories. The numerical strength of the armed forces of States shall be substantially reduced, with a ceiling of 1,700,000 for the U.S.S.R. and the United States. Conventional armaments shall be reduced accordingly.

The implementation of all these measures would mean that within a year or a year and a half after the entry into force of the disarmament agreement, no State would any longer have any military missiles or military aircraft capable of carrying atomic and hydrogen bombs, or any warships adapted for this purpose, or any other means that could be used for delivering nuclear warheads to their targets.

No foreign missile, air, naval or any other military bases will remain on the territories of the States. All foreign troops will have been withdrawn from the territories of other countries, whether these are occupation forces or forces stationed on other people's territory under certain agreements. There will be a tangible cut in the armed forces and in the conventional armaments of the States.

It is no exaggeration to say that when these measures have been carried through, the world will sigh with relief, because that will have put an end to the arms race, eliminated the danger of a surprise nuclear attack by one nation on another and substantially reduced the danger of the sudden outbreak of an armed conflict in

general. All this would be bound to have a favourable effect on the international situation as a whole.

However, the carrying out of the disarmament measures proposed by the Soviet Government for the first stage would still not remove the danger of war altogether. For even with this done, countries would still have at their disposal nuclear weapons and other means of wholesale annihilation. Without the means of delivery, however, it would be impossible for nuclear weapons to be used to the detriment of other nations.

Consequently, it is necessary to scrap the means of delivery and establish control so that no such means may be manufactured. The States would still have considerable armed forces and conventional armaments, that is to say, they would still have the means by which war can be started. Therefore the Soviet Government proposes that immediately upon completion of the measures of the first stage, to be carried through under strict international control from start to finish, and after the international control agency and the Security Council have made sure that all the States have fulfilled their commitments for this stage, the States should go over to carrying through further large-scale disarmament measures under the second-stage programme.

The measures which the Soviet Government proposes for the *second stage* should include the full prohibition of nuclear, chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction, coupled with the ending of the manufacture and the scrapping of stocks of these weapons, as well as a further reduction in the national armed forces, with attendant cuts in armaments and military equipment.

With these large-scale measures carried out, the world would have no more weapons of mass destruction and armed forces and conventional armaments would have been substantially reduced. Obviously this would reduce to the minimum the possibility of armed conflicts breaking out between the nations.

And yet this is not a complete and final solution to the problem now confronting mankind. If States retain some, even limited, armed forces, that will mean that the war danger has not yet been excluded from the life of society. And if this is the case, how can one be sure that the arms race will not be resumed and the world will not eventually return to the present situation?

The Soviet Government maintains that in the *third stage* a further advance must be made in disarmament, and the abolition of the armed forces and armaments of all States must be completed, military production must be discontinued, War Ministries, general staffs and also military and paramilitary institutions and organisations of all kinds must be abolished, and

allocations for military purposes must be stopped.

After the completion of the third stage of general and complete disarmament, States will no longer have either soldiers or weapons and consequently the war danger will have been eliminated finally and for ever. Then the age-old dream of the peoples—a world without arms, a world without wars—will have come true.

As regards the internal security of States, this would be ensured by strictly limited and agreed contingents of police or militia. If necessary, States would place such contingents at the disposal of the United Nations Security Council, to safeguard international security.

Such are the main points of the Soviet proposal: "Basic Provisions of a Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament."

The Soviet Government expects the members of the United Nations to approach the proposal on "The Basic Provisions of a Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament" with full seriousness and responsibility. The Soviet Government expresses the hope that the discussion on this proposal in the General Assembly will make it possible to start solving the disarmament problem in a practical way without delay and will give a more specific direction to the talks on this question in an appropriate working body. As regards the composition of such a working body, it seems necessary that, in addition to the States belonging to the military groupings now in existence, it should also include States adhering to the position of neutrality, which should be given broader scope in discussing disarmament questions.

It is also desirable that all the main areas of the world should be represented on such a disarmament agency.

The Soviet Government takes into account the fact that the drafting of a treaty on general and complete disarmament will make it incumbent on all taking part in the talks to show patience and flexibility, and to give due consideration to the interests of all parties. The Soviet Government, as in the past, is prepared to take part in such talks. It understands that the peoples of the whole world, who enthusiastically desire a radical solution of the disarmament problem, are eagerly waiting for practical measures of general and complete disarmament to begin.

Of course, it would be an important step toward ensuring success in the disarmament talks to restore the lawful rights of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations Organisation. This would enable great China to share in discussing disarmament questions.

The peoples of the whole world imperatively demand a speedy solution to the disarmament problem. They expect the United Nations

General Assembly to say its weighty word on this vitally important matter. Good will and firm determination are indispensable for solving the disarmament problem. The Soviet Government calls upon all members of the United Nations to approach from these positions the

consideration of the disarmament problem—the most burning and pressing problem of our time.

N. KHRUSHCHOV,
*Chairman of the Council of
Ministers of the U.S.S.R.*

September 23, 1960.

BASIC PRINCIPLES OF AGREEMENT ON GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

Proposals submitted by the Soviet Government

THE Governments of the States represented in the disarmament talks, guided by the resolution "on general and complete disarmament" of November 20, 1959, of the 14th session of the United Nations General Assembly, find it necessary, with a view to relieving mankind of the danger of a new war and safeguarding lasting and unbreakable peace on earth, to undertake without delay a practical solution to the problem of general and complete disarmament and, to this end, have decided to draft a treaty on general and complete disarmament to incorporate the following basic provisions:

1. General and total disarmament implies:

The disbanding of all national armed forces and the banning of their restoration in any shape or form;

Prohibition and destruction of all stocks, and the ending of the manufacture of all types of weapons, including atomic, hydrogen, chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction;

The scrapping of all means of delivery of weapons of mass destruction to their targets;

The abolition of all kinds of military bases, the withdrawal and disbanding of all foreign troops from the territory of any State; the abolition of all forms of military service; the ending of military training of the population and the closing down of all military educational establishments; the abolition of war ministries, General Staffs and their local agencies, together with all other military and paramilitary establishments and organisations;

No more financing for military purposes, either out of the national budgets or by public organisations and private individuals.

With general and total disarmament completed, the States shall have no more than strictly limited police (militia) contingents, agreed upon for each particular country, and armed with light firearms and designed to maintain internal order and protect the personal safety of the citizens.

2. General and complete disarmament shall be carried through by the contracting parties within the same agreed and strictly specified time limit, with the disarmament process taking place gradually by three successive stages, on

the understanding that at none of these stages shall any State obtain any military advantages over other States through the process of disarmament.

A conference, to be attended by all nations, shall be summoned to consider the accession of other States to the agreement on general and total disarmament.

3. All the disarmament measures shall, from start to finish, be carried out under strict and effective international control, namely:

(a) A preparatory committee shall be set up once the treaty is signed to carry through practical measures toward establishing an international organisation for control over general and total disarmament.

(b) The control organisation shall be set up within the framework of the United Nations the moment the treaty comes into force. It shall consist of all the signatories to the treaty, whose representatives shall meet periodically at conferences, to consider problems related to the enforcement of effective control over disarmament. The conference shall elect a control council consisting of permanent and non-permanent members, which will have its local bodies. The control council shall consist of representatives from the Socialist countries, representatives from the nations now forming part of the Western military and political alliances, and representatives from the neutral nations. Control council decisions, except in otherwise specified instances, shall be taken on matters of substance by a two-thirds majority, and on procedural matters by a simple majority of votes.

(c) The control council shall exercise the actual administration of the control system, draft instructions and study and interpret incoming reports in good time. Countries shall inform the control council of their armed forces and armaments.

(d) The control organisation shall have its staff in all countries which are parties to the agreement, this staff being engaged on an international basis, with due account for the principle of equitable geographical distribution, and in accordance with the provisions of the treaty.

The control organisation shall station its inspectors on the territories of the States so that

they may begin discharging their functions the moment the States begin to carry out disarmament measures. Each signatory to the treaty shall undertake to ensure timely and unobstructed access for controllers and inspection groups within its territory to any point where disarmament measures, subject to supervision, are under way, or to any area where on-the-spot inspection of such measures is taking place. The parties to the treaty shall offer all the necessary means of conveyance at the expense of the control organisation for the transit of the control organisation's staff within the limits of their territory.

(e) The staff of the control organisation will enjoy such privileges and immunities on the territory of each party to the treaty as are required for the independent and unobstructed exercise of control over the enforcement of the disarmament treaty.

(f) The groups of international controllers shall include specialists, depending on the nature of the units to be disbanded or the types of armaments to be destroyed.

(g) The controllers' contact with the control council shall be through the existing channels of communication, with such privileges as would ensure prompt delivery of reports and orders.

(h) All the expenses of the international control organisation shall be defrayed through finance contributed by the signatories to the treaty. The scale of national contributions shall be specified in the text of the treaty on general and total disarmament.

At every stage the control organisation shall have powers commensurate with the scope and character of the disarmament measures.

The basic measures for disarmament shall be distributed over the three stages of the general and complete disarmament programme in the following way:

First stage

1. All means of delivery of nuclear weapons shall be withdrawn from national armed forces, their manufacture stopped and their stocks destroyed.

These include strategic, operational and tactical missiles, guided rockets of all types, all military aircraft capable of carrying nuclear weapons;

Surface warships capable of being used as carriers of nuclear weapons;

Submarines of all types and classes;

All artillery systems, as well as other facilities capable of being used as carriers of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

2. The armed forces of all States shall be reduced down to specified limits with a ceiling of 1,700,000 men for the armed forces of the United States and the U.S.S.R. The armaments and conventional ammunition thus released shall be destroyed, and the military equipment scrapped or used for peaceful purposes. The

military expenditures of the States shall be reduced accordingly.

3. All foreign troops will be withdrawn from other countries' territories within the boundaries of their national frontiers. All foreign military bases and dumps of all purposes, both those freed after the withdrawal of the troops and the reserves, will be closed down.

4. From the very beginning of the first stage until the final destruction of all means of the delivery of nuclear weapons, the orbiting or placing in outer space of any special devices, as well as the sailing of warships beyond the boundaries of territorial waters, and the flights of military planes capable of carrying weapons of mass destruction outside the boundaries of their national territory, are prohibited.

5. The launching of rockets is carried out only for peaceful scientific purposes and in accordance with criteria established in advance and mutually agreed upon and is accompanied by agreed check-up measures, including on-the-spot inspection of the ramps for launching such rockets.

6. The States possessing nuclear weapons undertake not to hand over such weapons, or information necessary for their production, to the States which have no such weapons. At the same time the States having no nuclear weapons undertake to abstain from manufacturing them.

7. The States will cut their military expenditures accordingly.

8. The following control measures are to be taken at the first stage: International on-the-spot control is to be established over the liquidation of rocket weapons, warplanes, surface warships and submarines and other means that can be used as carriers for atomic and nuclear weapons.

International inspection groups are to be dispatched to military bases and the places of location of foreign troops on other countries' territories, to supervise the closing down of those bases and the withdrawal of military personnel and troops within the boundaries of national territories; control is also to be introduced in airfields and ports to ensure that these airfield and ports are prevented from being used for military purposes. Simultaneously, rocket-launching ramps are to be destroyed under the supervision of the international control organisation, except those which are to be retained for launching rockets for peaceful scientific purposes.

The control organisation will have the right to inspect freely all enterprises, factories, mills and shipyards which were formerly used, fully or partially, for the manufacture of rockets, planes, surface warships, submarines and other means of delivering nuclear weapons, in order

to prevent the organisation of the clandestine production of armaments, which could be used as carriers of atomic and nuclear weapons.

Permanent control groups may be set up under an agreement at certain plants and installations.

International on-the-spot control is provided over the disbanding of troops and the destruction of armaments.

The controllers' tasks will be: to supervise the strict and timely fulfilment of the decisions on the disbandment of units and detachments, the removal and destruction of material of conventional armaments, military equipment and stocks of ammunition, to submit reports to the control council and the Government of the country in which they work.

The control organisation shall have unobstructed access to the documents dealing with the national budget allocations for military purposes, and also to all the decisions of national legislative and executive bodies on this subject.

The international inspection teams, delegated by the control organisation, shall have the right to make a comprehensive inspection of rocket devices launched for peaceful research purposes and to be present at the launchings.

9. The first stage shall comprise a joint study of the measures for stopping the production of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and for the abolition of the stocks of these weapons, which shall be carried out in the second stage.

10. The first stage shall be completed within about one year, or a year and a half. The international control organisation shall sum up the results of the implementation of the first-stage measures, to report them to the signatories of the treaty and also to the Security Council and the United Nations General Assembly.

Second stage

1. Full prohibition of nuclear, chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction, coupled with the ending of production and the scrapping of the stockpiles of these weapons.

2. The armed forces and armaments shall be further reduced down to the limits, subject to agreement. The military expenses of the countries shall be cut down accordingly.

3. The following control measures shall be carried out during the second stage:

Representatives of the control organisation shall make on-the-spot inspections to supervise the destruction of all the available stocks of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. The control organisation shall have the right to inspect all enterprises engaged in extracting atomic raw materials, or producing or using atomic nuclear materials or atomic energy. Permanent control groups may be set up, by

agreement, at certain enterprises and installations.

On-the-spot inspection shall be continued in the exercise of international control over the disbanding of forces and the destruction of armaments.

4. The second stage shall comprise a joint study of the following measures subject to enforcement during the third stage:

(a) Measures to ensure observance of the treaty on general and complete disarmament after the completion of all the measures provided for by this treaty;

(b) Measures to safeguard peace and security in accordance with the United Nations Charter in conditions of general and total disarmament.

5. Just as in the case of transition from the first stage to the second, the international control organisation shall sum up the results of the enforcement of the second-stage measures, so as to report them to the signatories to the treaty, as well as to the Security Council and the United Nations General Assembly.

Third stage

1. The abolition of the armed forces of all nations shall be completed. States will have no more than strictly limited police (militia) contingents, agreed upon for each particular country, and armed with light firearms and designed to maintain internal order and protect the personal safety of the citizens.

2. All the remaining conventional armaments and ammunition, both in the armed forces and in the depots, shall be destroyed and the military equipment shall be scrapped or put to use for peaceful purposes.

3. Military production shall be discontinued at all plants and factories, this including the cessation of the production of conventional armaments, with the exception of strictly limited production of light firearms intended for the police (militia) contingents which the States will retain after completing the programme for general and complete disarmament.

4. The War Ministries, general staffs and all the military and paramilitary establishments and organisations shall be abolished, and so shall all kinds of annual camps of reservists. In keeping with their constitutional procedures, countries shall enact legislation to forbid the military training of the youth and to abolish military service in any form.

5. There shall be no more finance provided for military purposes in any form, either by State agencies or by private individuals and public organisations. The finances released in the process of general and total disarmament shall be used for reducing taxes on the population or abolishing them altogether, for subsidising the national economy and for providing

economic and technical assistance to the under-developed countries.

6. The third stage shall comprise the following additional control measures :

The international control organisation shall send controllers for on-the-spot inspection of the abolition of the War Ministries, general staffs and all military and paramilitary establishments and organisations, and the ending of military training and any other form of military activity.

Control shall be established over the discontinuation of military spending.

The control organisation may, when necessary, establish a system of aerial surveillance or aerial photography over national territories.

7. With the programme for general and total disarmament completed, the control organisation shall continue in being and shall exercise constant supervision over the way in which States fulfil the commitments they have assumed. The control council shall have the right to send mobile inspection teams to any point and to any establishment on national territories.

The nations shall inform the control organisation of the points of deployment of police (militia) contingents, their strength at every point (area), as well as of all the movements of sizable police (militia) contingents in the neighbourhood of national frontiers. International inspection teams shall exercise comprehensive control to see that the strength of the police (militia) and their armament are kept within the limits agreed upon for each particular country.

8. Other measures drafted to ensure the enforcement of the total disarmament treaty shall come into effect.

9. Measures shall be carried through to safeguard peace and security in accordance with the United Nations Charter. The nations shall undertake to place units from the police (militia) contingents remaining at their disposal at the service of the Security Council whenever necessary.

As the programme of disarmament and reduction of the military expenses of the States is carried out, part of the resources thus released shall be used for economic assistance to under-developed countries.

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