

Soviet Policy on **GERMANY**

“We Propose Peace . . .”

●

Speeches of
N. S. Khrushchov

Chairman of the Council of
Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

and

Documents of the
SOVIET GOVERNMENT

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G E R M A N Y

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and Documents of the Soviet Government

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Note to readers

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**Memorandum presented by N. S. Khrushchov
to U.S. President Kennedy on Concluding a
Peace Treaty with Germany and Settling the
West Berlin Problem on this Basis**

(Published in the Soviet Press, June 11, 1961)

COMMENTS appeared in the foreign press to the effect that during their meeting in Vienna, N. S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, presented to U.S. President Kennedy a memorandum on concluding a peace treaty with Germany and settling the West Berlin problem on this basis. Wrong comments were made on these documents in a number of press statements and there were cases of distortion.

In view of this and for providing the public with a true notion of the memorandum the Soviet government deemed it necessary to publish its text in full.

1. The peace settlement with Germany, dragged out for many years, has largely predetermined the dangerous development of events in Europe in the post-war period. Highly important allied decisions on rooting out militarism in Germany, which the governments of the United States and the U.S.S.R. at the time regarded as an earnest of enduring peace, were implemented only in part, and are now virtually not observed on the greater part of German territory. Of the governments of the two German states that took shape after the war, only the government of the German Democratic Republic recognises these agreements and adheres to them. The government of the Federal Republic of Germany openly expresses its negative attitude to them, fosters sabre-rattling militarism and comes out for a revision of the German frontiers, a revision of the results of the Second World War. It seeks to build up a strong military base for its aggressive plans, to foster a dangerous hotbed of conflicts on German soil and to set at loggerheads the former allies in the anti-nazi coalition.

The Western powers permitted the Federal Republic of Germany to set about stockpiling weapons and building up an army obviously exceeding defence requirements. Other dangerous steps by the NATO powers were their permission to the Federal Republic of Germany to build warships of up to 6,000 tons' displacement, and also to use British, French and Italian territories for military bases of the Federal Republic of Germany.

2. The Soviet government sincerely strives for the elimination of the causes engendering tension between the U.S.S.R. and the United States and for a change-over to constructive friendly co-operation. The conclusion of a German peace treaty would bring both countries much closer to this aim.

The U.S.S.R. and the United States fought shoulder to shoulder against nazi Germany. It is their common duty to conclude a German peace treaty and thus create a firm guarantee that forces which could plunge the world into another still more destructive war will never rise on German soil. If the Soviet Union's desire to strengthen peace and to prevent the unleashing of another world war in Europe does not differ from the intentions of the United States government, it will not be difficult to reach agreement.

3. Proceeding from a realistic assessment of the situation the Soviet government advocates the immediate conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. The question of a peace treaty is the question of the national security of the U.S.S.R. and many other states. It is no longer possible to leave the situation in Germany without changes. All conditions for the conclusion of a peace treaty have long since matured and such a treaty must be concluded. The essence of the matter is by whom and how it will be concluded and will there be unnecessary outlays involved.

4. The Soviet government does not aim at prejudicing the interests of the United States or other powers in Europe. It does not propose any changes in Germany or in West Berlin which would benefit only one state or a group of states. The U.S.S.R. deems it necessary for the sake of consolidating peace to record the situation that took shape in Europe after the war, to formulate and consolidate *de jure* the immutability of the existing German frontiers, to normalise the situation in West Berlin on the basis of reasonable consideration for the interests of all parties.

For the sake of reaching agreement on a peace treaty the Soviet Union does not insist on the immediate withdrawal of the Federal Republic of Germany from NATO. Both German states could for a certain period remain after the conclusion of a peace treaty members of those military alignments to which they now belong.

The Soviet proposal does not link the conclusion of the peace treaty with the recognition of the German Democratic Republic or the Federal Republic of Germany by all parties to this treaty. To recognise or not to recognise one or another state is a matter for each government.

If the United States is not ready to sign a single peace treaty with both German states a peace settlement could be effected on the basis of two treaties. In this case the states, members of the anti-nazi coalition, would sign a peace treaty with both or with one German state at their discretion. These treaties need not have identical texts, but they must contain the same provisions on the major questions of a peace settlement.

5. The conclusion of a German peace treaty would also solve the problem of normalising the situation in West Berlin. West Berlin, deprived of a firm international status, is now a place where Bonn's revenge-seeking elements constantly maintain extreme tension and stage all kinds of provocations very dangerous to the cause of peace.

We must prevent such a development, under which the strengthening of West German militarism might lead to irreparable consequences due to the unsettled situation in West Berlin.

At present the Soviet government sees no better solution of the problem of West Berlin than its conversion into a demilitarised free city. Implementation of the proposal for a free city would normalise the

situation in West Berlin with due account for the interests of all sides. The occupation regime preserved there has long since outlived itself; it has lost any connection with the aims for the sake of which it was created, and with the allied agreements on Germany on the basis of which it existed.

The occupation rights, of course, would discontinue with the conclusion of a German peace treaty, no matter whether it would be signed with both German states or only with the German Democratic Republic, inside whose territory West Berlin lies.

The Soviet government advocates that the free city of West Berlin should freely effect its communications with the outside world and that its domestic order should be determined by the free expression of the will of its population. Of course, the United States, like all other countries, would have every opportunity to maintain and develop its relations with the free city. In general, West Berlin, as the Soviet government sees it, must be strictly neutral. It must not be tolerated, of course, that West Berlin should be further used as a base for provocative hostile activity against the U.S.S.R., the German Democratic Republic or any other state and continue to remain a dangerous seat of tension and international conflicts.

The U.S.S.R. proposes that the most reliable guarantees should be established against intervention in the affairs of the free city by any state.

As a guarantor of the free city, token contingents of troops of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union could be stationed in West Berlin. Nor would the U.S.S.R. object to the stationing in West Berlin of troops of neutral countries under United Nations auspices for the same purpose. The status of the free city could be appropriately registered at the United Nations and sealed with the authority of this international organisation. The Soviet side agrees to discuss any other measures which could guarantee the freedom and independence of West Berlin as a free, demilitarised city.

The West Berlin settlement must, of course, in every way take into consideration the necessity of respect for and strict observance of the sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic, which is known to have expressed its readiness to adhere to a relevant agreement and to respect it.

6. The Soviet government proposes that a peace conference should be called without delay, a German treaty be concluded and the question of West Berlin as a free city settled on this basis. If for one reason or another the governments of the United States and other Western powers are at present not ready for this, an interim solution could be adopted for a definite period.

The four powers will urge the German states to agree in any way acceptable to them on the questions pertaining to a peace settlement with Germany and reunification. The four powers will declare in advance that they recognise any agreement which the Germans would reach.

In case of a positive outcome of the talks between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany a single peace treaty would then be agreed and signed. If the German states are not able to agree on the aforesaid questions, measures will be taken for the

conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states or with one of them at the discretion of the countries concerned.

In order not to drag out the peace settlement, it is necessary to establish deadlines within which the Germans must explore the possibilities of agreements on questions falling into their internal competence. The Soviet government regards a period not exceeding six months adequate for such talks. This period is fully adequate for contact between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Democratic Republic of Germany and for talks between them since in the sixteen years since the war the understanding has matured of the necessity of liquidating the remnants of the Second World War in Europe.

7. The Soviet government is ready to examine any constructive proposals by the United States government on a German peace treaty and normalisation of the situation in West Berlin. The Soviet government will show the maximum of good will in order to solve the problem of a German peace treaty by mutual agreement between the U.S.S.R., the United States and other states concerned. The signing of a German peace treaty by all parties to the anti-nazi coalition and a settlement on this basis of the question of the neutral status of West Berlin would create the best conditions for confidence between states and the solution of such major international problems as disarmament and others. If the United States does not show an understanding of the necessity of concluding a peace treaty, we shall regret this since we would have to sign a peace treaty, which it would be impossible and dangerous to delay further, not with all states but only those that want to sign it.

The peace treaty will specifically record the status of West Berlin as a free city and the Soviet Union, like the other parties to the treaty will, of course, strictly observe it, and measures will also be taken to see to it that this status is respected by the other countries. At the same time this will mean the liquidation of the occupation régime in West Berlin with all consequences arising therefrom. Specifically, the questions of using land, water and air communications across the territory of the German Democratic Republic will have to be settled not otherwise than through appropriate agreements with the German Democratic Republic. This is but natural since control over such communications is an inalienable right of any sovereign state.

8. The conclusion of the German treaty will be a major step towards the final post-war settlement in Europe that the Soviet Union has invariably been striving for.

From N. S. Khrushchov's Speech Over Radio and Television on June 15th, 1961

PERMIT me now to turn to the German question which occupied an important place in our talks with President Kennedy. The Soviet government has repeatedly stated its position on this question. And the Western powers cannot complain that they do not know our proposals sufficiently well. We have done and are doing everything to convince the governments of Britain, the United States of America, France, and other nations which took part together with us in the war against Hitler Germany that the absence of a peace treaty with Germany has created a deeply abnormal and dangerous situation in Europe.

It has always been recognised that peace treaties should be concluded after the end of wars between states. This has already become a custom and, if you wish, a standard of international law. Instances of this can be found also in international practice since the end of the Second World War. Peace treaties with Italy and the other states that fought on the side of Hitler Germany were signed more than fourteen years ago. The United States of America, Britain and the other countries concluded a peace treaty with Japan in 1951, but the governments of the selfsame countries won't hear about the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

Can such a situation continue in the future? After all, the peoples of Europe are vitally interested in the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. It has been long awaited by the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia and all the other states bordering on Germany. This treaty is essential to both German states, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. The population of these countries lives in the hope that a line will be drawn, at long last, under the Second World War and the German people will maintain relations with neighbouring countries on the basis of mutual confidence.

The question seems to be clear. A peace treaty with Germany is indispensable. Moreover, of course, there can be no question of any new frontier changes. We proceed from the premise that the peace treaty with Germany will put a seal on what has already been established by the Potsdam Agreement. The government of the G.D.R. has repeatedly stated that it recognises as final the eastern border of Germany along the Oder-Neisse line, established by this Agreement, and regards it as a boundary of peace between the German and the Polish peoples.

Indeed, the governments of the Western powers, obviously, understand, too, how senseless it would be to raise now the question of a revision of Germany's boundaries. Their representatives have often told us this during our conversations. President of France General de Gaulle, for instance, publicly stated that the German people "must not question the present frontiers in the West, East, North and South." Even Chancellor Adenauer, this "cold war" herald and specialist in stirring up passions among states, came out with a statement to the effect that the

Federal Republic of Germany does not strive to alter the frontiers through war, through the use of force.

Then why not sign the peace treaty if everyone realises clearly that the present frontiers of Germany cannot be altered without war, and war, as the Western governments declare, is not wanted by them?

A simple operation, it seems—to put a seal on what actually already exists and what is long demanded by the peoples. What is it then that keeps the Western governments from this reasonable step?

The reason, obviously, lies in the fact that certain people pay lip-service to peace, while actually wishing to keep alive the smouldering coals of the Second World War, so as to choose a suitable moment to kindle the conflagration of a new war. For this purpose more and more new divisions are being formed in Western Germany, and Chancellor Adenauer is demanding atomic weapons for his army. What is the purpose of all this? After all neither a big army nor atomic weapons are needed to retain what Western Germany possesses today. However, there are forces there which still covet what does not belong to them and cannot resign themselves to the existing borders. What would an attempt to change the frontiers at present mean? It would mean war, and a thermo-nuclear war at that.

This is why the position of the enemies of a peaceful settlement with Germany cannot but put the peoples on their guard. They have the right so say: If you are for peace, prove this by deeds—sign a peace treaty and pursue your policy in conformity with it.

In the conversations with me, President Kennedy, and as a matter of fact, other Western representatives too, referred to the fact that the Western powers bear some sort of obligations to the residents of West Berlin and that these obligations cannot be affected even by the conclusion of a German peace treaty.

It is natural to ask, however, what obligations they feel must be maintained if all of them follow from the surrender of Hitler Germany and from the provisional allied agreements and, consequently, can be valid only until the peace treaty is signed? What is more, there are in general no special allied commitments with regard to West Berlin. The allied obligations applied to the entire territory of Germany and it was precisely these agreements that were grossly violated by the Western powers. They turned Western Germany into a militarist state, founded a military bloc directed against us, and in this bloc Federal Germany plays a primary part. The generals who commanded Hitler's troops, who committed atrocities in the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Yugoslavia, France, Greece, Belgium, Norway and other countries now hold a commanding position in NATO.

It has always been the case that after the signing of a peace treaty the conditions of capitulation lose force on the entire territory which the treaty covers, and throughout this territory the occupation terms are lifted. Consequently, West Berlin, which is situated on the territory of the German Democratic Republic, will, after the signing of a peace treaty, be free of all the conditions established as a result of the capitulation of Hitler's Germany and the introduction of the occupation régime there.

It should be said that when the question of a peace treaty with Germany, and consequently of the normalisation of the situation in West

Berlin arises, the representatives of the Western powers in many cases depart from legal grounds and start appealing to questions of prestige. But these attempts are beneath criticism. I should like to mention a fairly recent case.

We fought together with the United States against Japan, our peoples shed blood together. The Soviet army routed the main nucleus of the Japanese army—the Kwantung army in Manchuria. The Soviet Union together with the United States and the other countries that fought against Japan took part in drafting the measures for controlling Japan's post-war development. A Far Eastern commission was set up in Washington and an Allied Council for Japan with headquarters in Tokyo. In these bodies Soviet representatives took a most active part on an equal footing.

Then it came to the conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan. Our allies disregarded the views of the Soviet Union and signed a separate peace treaty with Japan. I shall not dwell on the reasons which at that time determined the position of the Soviet Union on the question of a peace treaty with Japan since now we are speaking of a different matter—of the way the United States treated its ally in that case. It unilaterally abolished the Allied council for Japan and deprived the Soviet representatives of all rights. Our representatives were virtually left in mid-air—they were pushed out of Tokyo by every means.

Yet we had certain rights and obligations which stemmed from the capitulation of Japan and were stipulated in the corresponding agreements. So you see that on that occasion the Americans disregarded both the rights of the Soviet Union and international agreements. Leaning on its superiority in atomic weapons, it sought to dictate conditions not only to conquered Japan, but also to its allies in the war against Japan.

More than two years ago we published our draft of a peace treaty with Germany. It contains nothing detrimental to the interests of our former allies, or, incidentally, to the Germans themselves.

The Soviet Union, which suffered greater losses than all the rest of the allies in the anti-Hitler coalition taken together, proposes the conclusion of a peace treaty in order to normalise the situation in Europe, to normalise the relations with both German states. Meanwhile the United States, Britain and France, together with Federal Germany, do not want to sign a peace treaty; they seek to preserve an indefinite and dangerous situation. They refuse to abolish the remnants of the last war through the conclusion of a peace treaty and insist on keeping the occupation régime and their troops in West Berlin.

Every person, if not deprived of common sense, understands that the signing of a peace treaty is the way to improve relations between states. The refusal to sign a peace treaty, and the perpetuation of the occupation régime in West Berlin are directed at continuing the cold war; and who can say where lies the borderline between a cold war and a war in the full sense of the word? Surely it is clear that a cold war is a period of preparation, of accumulating forces for war.

I speak of all this so that everyone should understand the gravity of the danger incurred by any further delay in the conclusion of a German peace treaty.

When we suggest signing a peace treaty with Germany and turning West Berlin into a free city we are accused of wanting, allegedly, to

deprive the Western powers of access to this city. But that is a wrong and groundless argument. The granting to West Berlin of the status of a free city would mean that all countries of the world wishing to maintain economic and cultural ties with this city would have the right and possibilities to freely exercise these ties. Of course, an agreement would have to be reached with the country across whose territory pass the communications that link West Berlin with the outside world. This is normal. Otherwise the sovereignty of the state inside which West Berlin is situated would be jeopardised.

The governments of the Western powers claim that they have pledged to defend the freedom and well-being of the population of West Berlin. In the four-power agreements on Berlin, however, nothing is said of these obligations of the United States, Britain and France.

The idea of ensuring freedom for the population of West Berlin can in itself raise no objections from anybody. None other than the Soviet Union suggests that the political and social régime in West Berlin should be the one which its population wants.

That means that no hand is lifted against the freedom of West Berlin, nor are there any obstacles to access to the city. We have repeated in the past and repeat again: a peace treaty will create all the necessary conditions for ensuring the liberty of the free city of West Berlin and its unhampered ties with the outside world.

Naturally, in solving the question of access to West Berlin it is essential to abide by the generally-accepted international standards, that is to use the territory of the country through which the roads of access pass only under agreement with its government.

Such a situation is recognised as normal by everyone. So why should it be considered abnormal to ask the consent of the German Democratic Republic to pass through its territory to West Berlin? After all, the ground routes to West Berlin pass through its territory, the waterways also run through its territory, as well as the air routes. Consequently, after the conclusion of a peace treaty, countries wishing to maintain ties with West Berlin will have to reach agreement with the German Democratic Republic on access to West Berlin and communications with this city.

We are not suggesting anything unusual. That is the way it has been in relations between all equal states for hundreds of years, perhaps even many hundreds of years. We did not invent this, it exists not only *de facto*, but also *de jure* and has long ago become the general rule.

When the Soviet government suggests concluding a peace treaty and normalising on this basis the situation in West Berlin, it wants only peace, it wants to remove from relations between states everything that causes friction and could cause a dangerous conflict.

It is not the socialist countries, but the Western powers, that are throwing a challenge to the world, when, despite common sense, they declare that they do not recognise the conclusion of a peace treaty and will seek to preserve the occupation régime in West Berlin, which they—if you please—conquered. That is not a policy of peace, that is trampling on the most elementary standards in relations between states. It is a desire to preserve a state of extreme tension in international relations, and, moreover, it is a threat of war.

The Soviet Union and our friends do not want war and we will not

start it. But we will defend our sovereignty, we will fulfil our sacred duty to defend our freedom and independence.

If any country violates peace and crosses the borders—ground, air or water—of another it will assume full responsibility for the consequences of the aggression and will receive a proper rebuff.

The world press has published many comments on our meetings and talks with President Kennedy. Among these comments there are many sensible statements made in the United States, in Britain, in France and in West Germany, not to mention the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist countries.

But there are hate-ridden persons, deprived of common sense, who oppose negotiations with the Soviet Union and call for a crusade against communism. They are organising new provocations all the time. And it was by no means accidental that numerous gatherings of revenge-seekers at which belligerent speeches were made by Adenauer and other leaders of the Bonn government were timed in Federal Germany to coincide with the Vienna meeting.

The opponents of a normalisation of the international situation have launched a new big provocation in West Berlin, where from the beginning of June committees of the West German Parliament have been meeting, and where a session of the Bundesrat is scheduled for June 16th, although West Berlin has never been a part of Federal Germany. Evidently in West Germany itself a shortage of "Lebensraum" for provocations is being felt.

To what lengths of folly can persons blinded by their hatred for socialism go is revealed by the statement of the Canadian-American inter-parliamentary group published a few days ago. These parliamentarians howl like hyenas and threaten nuclear war. They have not seen war on their territory. I do not know whether they personally took part in a war or not, but it is absolutely clear that they have no idea what a modern thermonuclear war is like, if they are pushing their countries, and with them others, into a conflict. Now any war, even if it begins as a conventional, non-nuclear war, can develop into a devastating nuclear-rocket war. The peoples should put strait-jackets on the madmen who are pushing the world towards war.

The peoples of Europe know what war is. We had to take part in two world wars. Twenty years ago a war was forced on the Soviet people, the most sanguinary and difficult war in our history. The enemy reached the threshold of Moscow, he reached the Volga, occupied and devastated a considerable part of Soviet territory. But the Soviet Union withstood the drive of the enemy and won that war. We came to Berlin and punished those who had unleashed the war.

We do not want another world war—we want peace. The Soviet people have achieved good mutual understanding with the Germans of the German Democratic Republic, the best of relations have developed between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, the conviction has grown that we should be friends, not enemies, and that this friendship is useful and advantageous to both peoples. The Soviet people wish to have good relations also with the Germans of West Germany.

Our people want to be friends with the French. We fought together with them against Hitler's Germany, and each of us has learned from his own experience what fascism means, what war means. We want

friendship with the British, the Americans, Norwegians and other peoples of the anti-Hitler coalition together with whom we fought for peace on earth. We have no reason to quarrel with any people, we want to live in friendship and concord with all peoples.

To that end the Soviet Union is proposing to sign a peace treaty with Germany jointly with other countries. And this peaceful step is called a threat or even an act of aggression! Such talk can come only from those who seek to slander or distort our intentions, to poison the minds of the peoples with lies.

We ask everyone to understand us correctly: the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany cannot be postponed any longer, a peaceful settlement in Europe must be attained this year. We call on all countries that fought against Germany to take part in the peace conference when agreement will be reached on its convention.

The question now is not whether to sign a peace treaty or not, but whether the peace treaty will be signed with the two existing German states—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany or with one of the German states—whether all countries that fought against Germany will participate in the peace settlement or only a part of them.

The governments of some countries have announced in advance that they will not take part in a peace conference. The Soviet Union will, of course, regret it if some countries evade the signing of a German peace treaty. We have always wanted all countries of the anti-Hitler coalition to take part in the peaceful settlement of the German question.

But, even should certain countries refuse to take part in the negotiations on the conclusion of a peace treaty, this will not stop us and, together with other countries which desire it, we shall sign a peace treaty with the two German states. Should Federal Germany not agree to sign a peace treaty, we shall sign it with the German Democratic Republic alone, which has long declared its desire to conclude a peace treaty and has agreed to the formation on her territory of the free city of West Berlin.

There are some in the West who threaten us, saying that if we sign a peace treaty it will not be recognised and that even arms will be brought into play to prevent its implementation. Evidently they forget that times are different now. If even in the past the "positions of strength" policy was useless against the Soviet Union, then now it is more than doomed to failure. The Soviet Union is against the use of force in relations between states. We stand for a peaceful settlement of controversial questions between states. However, we are capable of giving a rebuff to any use of force and we have what is needed to defend our interests.

From N. S. Khrushchov's Speech at the Moscow Public Meeting to Mark the Twentieth Anniversary of the Beginning of the Great Patriotic War—June 21st, 1961

SIXTEEN years have already elapsed since the end of the war, but no peace treaty has been concluded with Germany so far. Every sober-minded man or woman knows that people striving for peace end a war by signing a peace treaty and create all conditions for ending the state of war at the earliest possible date. The Western powers do not want to end war by signing a peace treaty which would be the normal thing to do. They strive to preserve the state of war with Germany. What for? For peace? Certainly not! When peaceful settlement is artificially delayed, more than that, when those who propose to conclude a peace treaty are threatened with war, the peoples must treat the situation seriously. They must block the way to those who push matters towards the unleashing of the third world war in which not scores but hundreds of millions of people may die.

Who is interested in the absence of a German peace treaty, what forces are preventing its conclusion?

Certainly not the German people or the peoples of Europe who experienced the horrors of two world wars within the last few decades. The conclusion of a peace treaty is opposed by those forces in West Germany which think of revenge and are hatching plans for new military gambles. But it is clear to everyone that what matters is not only the Bonn militarists and surviving Hitlerites. The schemes of the revenge-seekers are encouraged and supported by the ruling quarters of the Western powers.

Having ended the war, the peoples of the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition hoped and believed that Germany, which was the initiator of the two world wars, would never again become a hotbed of militarism and aggression.

And what do we have in fact? West Germany has become now an influential member of the aggressive military NATO bloc. Hitler's generals not only command the Bundeswehr, but also hold key posts in the NATO forces; they are in command of those French and British soldiers whose fathers fought and died in battles against the nazi invaders. In France and Britain, with the consent of the governments of these countries, units of West German troops are being instructed and trained for new campaigns. Militarists of the Federal Republic of Germany have already got hold of rocket weapons and are insistently demanding atomic weapons for the Bundeswehr.

Recently we have discussed all these questions in detail with the United States President, Mr. Kennedy, in Vienna.

We explained to him in detail why the conclusion of a German peace treaty can no longer be delayed indefinitely. This treaty must put a seal on the situation which has arisen after the Second World War. Essentially we want nothing else. The position of the Soviet government on this question is known to all the world. It was stated comprehensively in the

memorandum which was handed to the United States President and published later on in the press. I dwell in detail on the German question in my recent radio and television speech and, I believe, there is no need to expound our proposals again in all detail.

What is the Western reaction to our position?

The proposals of the Soviet government attracted great interest and evoked broad response in all countries. All people who are interested in strengthening peace recognise the need for solving the question of a peace treaty with Germany, realise that this question is not only ripe but even overripe. They support our proposals which are aimed at a peaceful settlement of the German problem and offer a good basis for this.

At the same time one must say that the ruling circles of the Western powers still oppose the conclusion of a German peace treaty and would like to turn the German question into a touchstone for a test of strength.

Today I should like to warn those who, like Chancellor Adenauer, in reply to peaceful proposals of the Soviet Union, call for "standing firm" or even threaten to "administer a rebuff".

On more than one occasion we reminded the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany about the merits of reason. Is it possible, gentlemen, that you have forgotten the inglorious experience of your predecessors and would like to repeat it? You may try to repeat it, of course. But that would be the beginning of your end. Now times are not what they were twenty years ago. Now, not only German revenge-seekers, but all those who would try to support them in a new adventure against us, would share the fate of Hitler.

These words should not be taken as a threat. They are an appeal to reason. It is high time to understand at last that the Soviet Union is different now, that the world is different and that the balance of forces and armaments is also different.

Therefore, Mr. Chancellor, do not try to frighten us with your "firmness." You say that if we conclude a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic you will stop at nothing. This indicates only the weakness of your position.

Everybody knows that we do not want war. But if you really threaten us with war we are not afraid of such a threat. If you do touch off a war, that will be your suicide.

It goes without saying that some unreasonable person may commit suicide. His relations will weep over him, but humanity will not suffer from that. But when statesmen invested with high authority play with fire, threaten to plunge their country into the maelstrom of war, they stake not only their own lives, but also the destiny of the peoples. By dragging West Germany into an adventure you are pushing the people of your country to suicide.

Soviet people do not want war, and just for this reason we strive to remove what can cause its outbreak. For the sake of this, at the end of this year, we, together with other peace-loving states, will sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic.

It is not war, not an alliance of some countries against others for the purpose of building up forces for war that the Soviet Union is offering. We want one thing only—lasting peace. It is to strengthen peace that it is essential to conclude a peace treaty, and thus eliminate the remnants

of the Second World War. This we openly proclaim, and want one and all to understand us correctly. The Soviet Union wants to sign a peace treaty with Germany together with our former allies.

Contrary to the noisy ravings of those who would like to keep up international tension, we do not threaten West Berlin at all when we urge the conclusion of a peace treaty. We should like sincerely to come to terms on this question, too, with those countries with which we fought together against Hitler Germany and with which we have common commitments with regard to Germany.

We propose a free city status for West Berlin. We have no intention of changing the social and political system in West Berlin. This is the internal affairs of its population. Neither the Soviet Union nor the German Democratic Republic intend to restrict the links between West Berlin and all countries of the world. In conformity with international law, however, there must be respect for the sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic, across whose territory run the communications connecting West Berlin with the outer world.

On the question of West Berlin the governments of the United States, Britain and France adhere to the positions of yesterday.

Even Western political leaders have to admit this. Mansfield, leader of the Democratic majority in the United States Senate, declared in his speech of June 14, 1961, that he could not agree with the position of the Kennedy Administration which fails to recognise the enormous changes that have occurred since the war in both parts of Germany and in Europe and which is fraught with the danger of a nuclear war. He stressed that courage is not to stand stubbornly on untenable positions, but to seek agreement with other parties concerned on a businesslike basis. This is a correct approach and we can only welcome it.

Senator Mansfield does not deny that with appropriate international guarantees the free city idea is the most suitable in the present conditions. He has suggested that the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic sign such a decision and make their contribution to its realisation.

It is true that Mansfield then loses his sense of reality: he demands that the free city status should be applied not only to West Berlin, but also to democratic Berlin, which is known to be an integral part of the sovereign German Democratic Republic, its capital. Why further complicate the task of normalising the situation in West Berlin, difficult as it is?

The Soviet Union proposes that in search for a solution the *de facto* and *de jure* situation now obtaining be taken as point of departure. No one demands to break the existing way of life of the West Berlin population; no one is going to intervene in its affairs. But the Soviet Union is not to be expected to agree to infringement of the territorial integrity of the German Democratic Republic, or of her sovereignty.

We propose that such a peace treaty be concluded with Germany as would not infringe the rights and interests of any of the parties, would not give some states an advantage over others. The Soviet Union only proposes to record what has long since taken shape and exists in reality. We propose *de jure* consolidation of the existing frontiers of Germany.

It is possible that the present frontiers do not please the West German revenge-seekers, but they have only themselves to blame. It was not we who began the war for the revision of frontiers. The present frontiers of

Germany took shape as a result of the defeat of Nazi Germany, as a result of the defeat of those who had unleashed a predatory war. The new frontiers restored historic justice which had been violated by the ancestors of the present-day German militarists.

We are told that the peace treaty we are going to conclude with the German Democratic Republic will be a separate treaty. In my radio and television speech I have already said that the United States of America, while signing a peace treaty with Japan, did not take us into consideration, though we had been its allies in the war against Japan.

Thus it showed that it regarded itself entitled to sign a treaty without us, though our rights, as one of the victorious countries, were irrefutable.

Now, we in our turn want to exercise on the German question the same rights which the United States and its friends exercised on the Japanese question. We follow suit—no more.

As regards those who try to threaten us with war if we sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, they will bear the entire responsibility for their actions.

I should like to repeat that all sober-minded people, no matter how embittered they are against communism, against the Soviet Union, must understand that we live now in 1961 and not in 1941. We have all necessary means of defence. And we shall use these means not for attack, but only in order to defend our homeland, the peaceful life of the Soviet people, the peoples of all socialist countries, who together with us stand on positions of peace and uphold peace against the machinations of the West German revenge-seekers and their patrons.

From N. S. Khrushchov's Speech at a Soviet-Vietnamese Friendship Meeting on June 28th, 1961

THE Soviet Union is proposing that all the countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, on the one hand, and the two German states, on the other, should sign a peace treaty, thereby drawing a line under the Second World War. The past must not be allowed to interfere with the present-day life of the peoples, to hang like a heavy weight on the legs of the peoples who wish to go forward. The militarist and revenge-seeking forces must not be allowed to stir up the vestiges of the conflagrations of the Second World War, exposing Europe and all the world to the danger of a new, still more destructive war.

The Soviet government proposes that the post-war boundaries in Europe be safeguarded from the encroachment of revenge-seekers and that the situation in West Berlin be improved. We propose to record in an international document the commitment of Germans never to encroach upon the independence, freedom and sovereignty of other nations and to live with them in peace and friendship without resorting to force or to the threat of force. The peace treaty will not place any country in a privi-

leged position with regard to another. It will conform in equal measure to the interests of all states.

There are some rash heads in the West who obviously lose their balance at the prospects of the consolidation of peace in Europe. The Western press raises much noise about the proposal to conclude a peace treaty and to solve on this basis the West Berlin issue. Some people suggest using economic sanctions if a peace treaty is concluded, that is to discontinue trade with us. Trade is a purely voluntary business. Everyone trades if it is beneficial for him. If it is disadvantageous for the West, it is free to take any decision. Threats of discontinuing trade cannot, of course, prevent us from signing a German peace treaty.

Others even speak of breaking off diplomatic relations with us. There is nothing new in that, either. The West has already tried to live without diplomatic relations with us and even not to recognise the Soviet state. That venture fell through then. It is not difficult to see that an even more scandalous failure awaits the authors of such a venture in our days.

The greatest hotheads urge that mobilisation be carried out and that other measures of a military nature be adopted. Gentlemen, such measures have also been taken against us. We were not only threatened, but attempts were even made to break us by force. Our Red Army was steeled in battles against the imperialist states. More than forty years ago we did not flinch either before threats or intervention and we defeated the military ventures of the imperialists.

The Soviet Union has defeated Hitler's Germany, which was the mailed fist of world reaction. We have defended our freedom and independence in the struggle against many enemies. It would be absolutely senseless to expect that a policy of threats and force with regard to the Soviet Union could yield some kind of fruits for the imperialists.

Sabre-rattling, of course, is not a new thing and does not require much brains. The Soviet people will not be frightened by it and will not be stopped in their desire to do away with the vestiges of the last war and to conclude a German peace treaty. The Soviet Union speaks with all nations in the language of reason and friendship. The argument of threats has long become outmoded and must be filed in the archives. It is high time to learn this lesson. But if a "positions-of-strength" language is imposed upon us we shall have the wherewithal with which to answer. If the enemies of peace and peaceful coexistence carry out mobilisation just the same, we shall not allow them to catch us unawares. We are taking the necessary measures and, if need be, shall take additional steps to strengthen our security.

We tell the lovers of military ventures: You are raising your hand against the people's right to live in peace, which they have won at the cost of many millions of lives in the struggle against fascism, and which they wish to legalise in a German peace treaty. But you, gentlemen, will not be able to intimidate us—the peace treaty will be signed!

On the road to the easing of tension we shall, apparently, have to go through some stage of "cooling" in Europe. It will be artificial cooling, because there are no weighty reasons for it. But it is, apparently, wanted by international reaction and the revenge-seeking forces in West Germany. The Western powers cannot get out of the quicksands of brinkmanship, into which Dulles and Eisenhower have led them. They

stubbornly strive to pursue this fruitless policy today contrary to logic and common sense, contrary to their own interests.

The Western statesmen declare that the military strength of the capitalist and socialist camps is now balanced. But then a balanced international policy should be pursued, that is, relations should not be aggravated and no threats should be made. Unfortunately, there are no signs of common sense in the Western policy, common sense which should stem from the recognition of the obtaining correlation of forces in the world.

What is more, the forces are not equal: we hold that the forces of socialism and peace are much mightier than the forces of imperialism and war. We rely not only on our economic and military might, but we are backed by the righteous cause of our people, the truth of all the peoples and all states that abide by positions of peaceful coexistence and the peaceful solution of all disputed international questions.

The conclusion of a German peace treaty is the most peaceful of all peaceful decisions.

It would seem that the Foreign Minister of West Germany von Brentano should also realise that today it is 1961 and not 1941. But he calls for the use of forces, lives and is guided by the war-like ideas of his predecessor von Ribbentrop, who was a "von" under Hitler. I shall not recall the sad end of this "von". But is it not too early for the "von" under Adenauer to forget the end of his predecessor von Ribbentrop?

Mr. von Brentano is making unwise, incendiary speeches. He is courting disaster for the German people, the other peoples of Europe and Asia, who are fed up with war. Brentano is striving to intimidate us, but achieves quite the opposite. The calls of Bonn revenge-seekers for force further strengthen our resolution to uphold the just cause of peace. The ruling quarters of the Federal Republic of Germany would like to perpetuate the post-war disaccommodation, not for peace, of course, but for building up forces and choosing a moment for unleashing a new military adventure. In order to do away with a dangerous seat of war, the peace-loving nations are stubbornly striving for a German peace treaty.

The Western powers are exerting great propaganda efforts to distort the essence of the Soviet proposals for a peaceful settlement in Germany. They speculate with particular frequency on the so-called right of Germans to self-determination. They oppose the peace treaty with the right to self-determination, striving to pose as champions of the national rights of the Germans.

Let us not stop to show how unconvincing such words are when they come from those who have done practically everything to undermine Germany's unity and then deepen the country's division.

It is well known that the imperialist powers interpret the people's right to self-determination and the question of reunifying the divided nations as they wish. When it is a question of Germany they refer to the right of peoples to self-determination, demanding the reunification of Germany, although two states with different social-economic systems exist there. But despite this they raise the question of reunification just the same because they hope that their ideas will triumph in a reunified

Germany, inasmuch as the population of West Germany is much larger than that of the German Democratic Republic.

But what happens to their "abiding by principle" in upholding the right of peoples to self-determination and reunification when it comes to other countries. We can refer, for instance, to the question of Vietnam's reunification. I have already said that under the 1954 International Agreement general elections were to be held in Vietnam within a two-year period with a view to determining the further course of this nation's development. But the Western powers, above all the United States, have done everything to prevent those elections. They have achieved this and Vietnam is still divided into two parts. Why did the imperialists do this? Because they know that the people of South Vietnam have preserved their loyalty to democratic principles and, if given the right to express their will, they would, doubtlessly, come out for reunification with their brothers in North Vietnam on the same social-political basis as the one existing in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. What is the value after this of the Western approach of principle to the question of national unification?

The right of nations to self-determination is a national question. Germany's unification in the present conditions, however, is above all a social and class problem. The Germans were divided due to the different development of separate parts of the former German Empire and the establishment of two states with different social-economic systems. A capitalist system exists in one state—the Federal Republic of Germany—and a socialist system in the German Democratic Republic.

Unification of two states even with a similar system is far from an easy task. In any case it cannot be solved from the outside. A requisite for such unification must be the desire of the population to live in a single state, a definite unanimity of views and interests on basic internal and external problems.

What can be said then about the unification of states with differing social systems? Is it not clear that their unification is a much more difficult matter, in which dictation and attempts of subjecting one state by another are intolerable.

The unification of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany into a single state can be achieved only through talks and co-operation between the governments of these states themselves. The other nations must not interfere in this internal affair of the Germans.

The government of the German Democratic Republic has proposed more than once to the government of the Federal Republic of Germany to meet and negotiate ways for overcoming Germany's division. The German Democratic Republic has put forward the well known proposal that a German confederation be set up, which would make it possible to pool the efforts by both German states on major questions, common to all Germans.

But West Germany has refused, through Chancellor Adenauer, to conduct talks with the East Germans. It demands that the great powers should reunify Germany, that they should throw the German Democratic Republic back from positions of building socialism. This is swallowing up and not reunifying. Do the militarist and revenge-seeking forces of

West Germany really think that it is possible to achieve this with our aid, that is with the help of the socialist states? They themselves can hardly believe such calculations to be practicable.

Socialist Germany exists and is developing. She is our ally and can always rely on our aid and support.

We are threatening nobody by proposing to conclude a German peace treaty and to solve, on this basis, the question of West Berlin. I wish to say once again that the social-economic order in West Berlin will remain such as its population wishes. We propose to establish reliable international guarantees of non-interference in the affairs of West Berlin: let the four great powers be the guarantors and keep some contingent of their armed forces in the free city, or such guarantees could be provided by the armed forces of neutral nations, or the United Nations.

There will be no blockade of West Berlin and no obstacles will be put up on the routes of access to this city. West Berlin will be able to maintain free contacts with all states at its own discretion. Since the communication lines to West Berlin pass through the territory of the German Democratic Republic, agreement with the government of this state should be reached, consequently, on their use, as existing international traditions and laws require. No one is allowed to violate the ground, air or water frontiers of a sovereign state. All attempts at disregarding the generally accepted norms of international intercourse have always met with a due rebuff, and will continue to do so.

What encroachments on freedom and what defence of liberty is in question then? we are entitled to ask. No one encroaches upon this freedom. We are being threatened only because a peace treaty will be signed and the German Democratic Republic will exercise its sovereign rights in the same way as any other state. If certain Western powers do not wish to respect the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic and if, for this reason, they believe they have the right to resort to force, this is the right of a highwayman, and prayers will not save anyone from him. A highwayman can be beaten off only with a stick.

We are told that the conclusion of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic is a unilateral act. But it is common knowledge that the Western powers have taken more than once unilateral decisions and then demanded that the others should recognise these decisions as binding on them, too.

I have already had occasion to say that the United States set an example when it concluded a peace treaty with Japan, disregarding the position of the Soviet Union. I cannot say that this is a good example, but it is a historical one. If the United States believed it had the right to sign a peace treaty with Japan without the Soviet Union, it must realise that the Soviet Union and the other peace-loving states have the right to conclude a peace treaty with Germany.

We are guided not by the motives that were behind the United States' signing of the separate peace treaty with Japan. We are speaking about the possibility of concluding a German peace treaty without the Western powers not because of spite, not because we wish to harm our allies in the war against Hitler's Germany. It would have been much more pleasant for us to conclude a peace treaty with both German states jointly with all the participants of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

Today, as before, we say that we are ready for talks. The memorandum handed to President Kennedy in Vienna also says that we wish to achieve a solution of the German question in agreement with the Western powers. This would be the best thing to do—to achieve the consolidation of peace in Europe not through the straining of our relations, but through the joint conclusion of a peace treaty.

I repeat: we are for talks with the Western powers on the question of a peaceful settlement with Germany. We are ready to start talks in order to strive honestly and sincerely for an agreement and the conclusion of a peace treaty. But if anyone calculates on involving us in endless talks with a view to freeing the question of the German peace treaty, these gentlemen are mistaken. It won't work with us.

There are quite a few sober voices in the West speaking in favour of the peaceful solution of the German problem with due regard for the situation existing in Europe.

I have read with great attention the article by the British Field-Marshal Montgomery. No one, I think, will suspect the Field-Marshal of being a communist mouthpiece. His anti-communist reputation is solid and recognised by everyone. But many of the things said by Lord Montgomery do not conflict with our arguments.

We, of course, cannot agree with certain theses of his article, but what he writes is in the main sensible. He proposes to withdraw all foreign troops from Europe to within their national boundaries, to dismantle foreign war bases, to evacuate foreign troops from Berlin and so on. This coincides with our proposals.

Our position is not contradicted either by Lord Montgomery's statement that the Federal Republic of Germany should have access to West Berlin. We believe that the Federal Republic of Germany, as all other states, can have diplomatic, economic and other relations with West Berlin. But we have never recognised and shall not recognise the claims of the ruling quarters of the Federal Republic of Germany, who assert, without any grounds, that West Berlin is a part of their republic.

Field-Marshal Montgomery has in his time been Deputy Supreme Commander of the NATO Armed Forces in Europe. Therefore, he has been one of the champions and executors of the "positions-of-strength" policy. Today, as many other people who are able to judge and think soberly, he realises where the policy of strength leads.

It would be good if this was realised also by those who are now shaping Western policy. This would be a big step forward and would make possible the reaching of agreement among all the interested nations on a just and equitable basis.

Certain Western press organs claim that by its proposals on the German question the Soviet Union wishes to upset the obtaining equilibrium in Europe. It suffices to cast a cursory glance at the Soviet proposals in order to see that these assertions hold no water. We propose to legalise what has taken shape as a result of the war; to recognise the actual state of affairs in Europe and to conclude a peace treaty with the two German states.

Let West Germany, which is now a member of the NATO military alignment, remain in this bloc. Let the German Democratic Republic remain a member of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, which the socialist

states were compelled to conclude as a counterbalance to the North Atlantic bloc. Let the situation remain as it is until the sides reach agreement on the liquidation of military blocs.

The Soviet Union and its friends want one thing only—to consolidate peace and improve the atmosphere in Europe. We want nothing else, no acquisitions, no conquests. But no threats will stop us in our striving for peace. It is best that the Western gentlemen learn this once and for all.

We want peace and friendship with all nations, regardless of the social system which exists in this or that state. We want peace and friendship with the United States, though the understanding of many questions in our two countries is diametrically opposite.

I have already said that my meeting and talks with the United States' President, Mr. Kennedy, in Vienna were useful, inasmuch as they helped to get a better understanding of several important international questions. Such meetings will be useful in the future as well, because the problems arising in international relations cannot be solved without meetings of government leaders. This can be achieved, of course, only when the statesmen strive to find mutually acceptable decisions for disputed questions through talks, and not through the pursuance of a policy of strength, a policy of military threats.

From N. S. Khrushchov's Speech at the Reception Held by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. for Graduates of Military Academies on July 8th, 1961

OUR country desires to have good relations with all states. One must have a sober approach to the solution of international disputes. We want to eliminate the vestiges of the Second World War, to put an end to the "cold war," and thus to help reach agreement on disarmament. It is time to draw a line beneath the past; it must not stand in the way of the future.

Permit me, comrades, to dwell in greater detail on such an important question as the conclusion of the German peace treaty, to let you know what our policy is and what situation is now taking shape.

The Soviet government, together with the governments of the other socialist countries, has proposed to our allies in the war with fascist Germany to conclude a German peace treaty and on this basis to normalise the situation in West Berlin. We have also urged the head of the West German government, Chancellor Adenauer, to show understanding and goodwill for a solution of this vital task of our time. The socialist countries have said openly that they want to conclude a peace treaty this year

since over sixteen years have elapsed since the end of the war, a more than adequate period to prepare a solution of this problem.

What are the Western reactions to this? The governments have not yet replied officially. But many reports on this score have appeared in Western press organs, which are close either to government circles, or to military staffs, or to ruling parties. Unfortunately, voices are being heard expressing much nonsense and little common sense. We are threatened, are told that they will stand "firm," resort to force in order to break through to West Berlin when the German peace treaty is signed.

Of late, threatening notes have also been heard in statements by leaders of Western governments. General de Gaulle, President of France, recently declared that one French division would be shipped from Algeria to Europe in the autumn in order to reinforce NATO. Mr. Macmillan, Premier of the United Kingdom, also has not yet found better, more constructive words than statements on "firmness" for the sake of preserving the vestiges of war and occupation in Germany.

The Soviet government stands on positions of peace and peaceful coexistence, on positions of respect for sovereignty and non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other states. We have stood by this firmly and will continue to do so. Our firmness, thus, has a definite, peaceful trend.

When others in one breath mention firmness and the necessity of mobilisation, the shipment of more troops to Europe and the like—this is quite a different course. This is obstinate unwillingness to heed the demands of the time and the voice of reason, an attempt to resort to arms in the old fashion, believing that this is the weightiest argument in solving urgent international problems.

Replying to our proposals for the conclusion of a peace treaty, proposals which, it would seem, are perfectly natural, the West begins to count divisions. And Chancellor Adenauer is shouting himself hoarse for nuclear weapons. What does Adenauer need nuclear weapons for? Twice German militarism has engineered world wars. Now, when the wounds of the Second World War are still being felt, he calls for nuclear weapons. The Bundeswehr needs them not for peace, but for unleashing a third world war.

Many of you, comrades, fought in the Second World War and saw for yourselves how much suffering it brought. You experienced for yourselves the meaning of war. You all understand what a war would mean now. God forbid that it breaks out. Here it is not the number of divisions that will be decisive. In a nuclear war the tone will be set by rockets, atom and hydrogen bombs. And it is not so important how many divisions will be shipped from Algeria: one or ten, it makes no difference.

Herr Adenauer did not fight and, evidently, wants to make up for it in his old age. He has also indicated against whom to fight. As recently as last Sunday the Bonn Chancellor again qualified the Soviet Union as the "potential enemy" and demanded that the Bundeswehr should become equal in armaments with this enemy. At the same time he cursed those who are advocating neutrality in Western Germany.

Did the Chancellor think what he was saying? He loves to pass himself off as a victim of Hitler, yet he follows in Hitler's footsteps. Adenauer, evidently, has no idea what contemporary war means, other-

wise he would not play about so wrecklessly with the destinies of human beings.

One must call not for war, but for peace. One must not worsen the atmosphere, must not carry matters to a conflict. Let us sit down at a table and calmly discuss all questions without resorting to threats. We propose the convocation of a peace conference and we shall go there with our draft treaty. Let the Western powers make their proposals, submit their draft for a peace settlement. We shall discuss all proposals and accept those which will in the best way facilitate the strengthening of peace and which pay due regard to the interests and sovereignty of all states.

West Berlin is an island inside the German Democratic Republic, an island where the capitalist order has been preserved. We do not want to interfere in the domestic affairs of the city's population or affect the prestige of the United States, the United Kingdom and France. Is it possible to find such a solution as would satisfy all countries that fought against Germany and would not disturb the established way of life in West Berlin? Yes, it is possible, and we propose such a solution—to grant West Berlin the status of a free city, to give it a guarantee either by the four great powers, the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union, or by neutral countries, or by the United Nations organisation. If the Western powers have a better version of guarantees, let them propose it.

However, it is but natural that any West Berlin solution must take into consideration that the city lies in the centre of a sovereign state and that all communications of West Berlin with the outside world pass across the territory of that state. It is accepted in international relations that access to one country or another across the territory of another state has always required appropriate agreement with the authorities of that state.

For instance, the Soviet and British governments set up a regular air service between Moscow and London. The route of the flights passes through Copenhagen. But no one would have permitted us to fly via Copenhagen had we not reached an understanding with the Danish government. This is so normal and legitimate that there is nothing puzzling about it. So why should there be another procedure for flights over the territory of the German Democratic Republic or in using her roads and railways?

In proposing to conclude a German peace treaty and on this basis to solve the problem of West Berlin, we threaten no one. We do not demand either changes in the post-war social and political conditions in one state or another, or the establishment of new frontiers. The Soviet Union does not search for any gains in the peace settlement, does not seek to humiliate anyone or infringe upon anyone's interest.

The socialist countries do not encroach upon the right of the West Berliners freely to determine the social and economic order under which they want to live. No one is going to create obstacles to the access to West Berlin. The city will be able to establish and maintain contacts with any state to the extent it will be advantageous to it.

The Soviet government agrees with President Kennedy's recent statement that any West Berlin solution must not infringe upon the rights of the population of this city to make an independent choice as free people. Our proposal fully accords with this demand.

The Soviet government is ready for the most far-reaching guarantees

as regards West Berlin. I have more than once mentioned various forms of guarantees, but the NATO countries, which are whipping up hysteria over West Berlin, studiously hush up this part of our proposals. The capitalist "free" press, sensing the weakness of the Western positions, is shouting that the Soviet Union wants to seize West Berlin, make some gains at the expense of others. By such fabrications it seeks to conceal from public opinion the genuine nature of the Soviet proposals.

We do not encroach upon West Berlin or the freedom of its population. We are for the freedom of West Berlin on the basis of freedom, rather than on the basis of occupation. We want nothing but the liquidation of the vestiges of the Second World War in order to improve the entire climate in Europe. That is precisely why the Soviet Union insists on the conclusion of a German peace treaty.

The Soviet Union regrets that the leaders of the Western powers do not show a desire to co-operate with us in the conclusion of a German peace treaty. Either they do not understand the importance of a peace settlement with Germany for the destinies of peace, or, what is more likely, they cannot rise above the narrow interests of their military blocs.

This is clear and understandable to all who search for reasonable solutions. But there are people who depict our proposals as a "threat" and then say that they will reply with force to this "threat". Is this a sober policy? It is not without reason that it is justly criticised in the Western countries themselves. Many people there correctly assess the situation, urge the leaders of the United States, Britain and France to abandon prejudice and to examine how remote Western policy is from the real conditions in which states live.

One can refer to such prominent authorities in the Western world as the United States General MacArthur who, in a recent speech at Manila, called for outlawing world war. Or to the British Field-Marshal Montgomery who suggests the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Europe, the liquidation of foreign military bases, the withdrawal of foreign troops from Berlin, etc. This is the voice of men who have fought in war; they know the meaning of war and have a correct idea of the calamity a new world war would bring to mankind should it break out.

We urge the discarding of the method of intimidation. War must not be tolerated—it will take far too many human lives. The first shots might be fired on the border where troops are facing each other. But who can guarantee that these shots will not be echoed by nuclear explosions throughout the world, that a war will not begin which mixes up front and rear? Everyone must be aware of this. These who threaten us ought to know that we are able to rebuff aggressors. We have the means for this.

The Soviet Union has made tremendous progress in the development of its economy, culture and technology. Our people created and built up their armed forces that bore the brunt of the struggle against fascism and crushed German militarism. This gives us the right—I think I shall be understood correctly—to appeal to the leaders of the countries that were our allies in the last war, to the President of the United States (Mr. Kennedy), the President of the French Republic (General de Gaulle), the Prime Minister of Great Britain (Mr. Macmillan), urging them to display wisdom in the solution of the German peace problem, to attend a conference together with other peace-loving states and to conclude a peace treaty.

Common sense and once again common sense—is needed, above all, now. And it must find an expression in peaceful deeds, in the desire to eradicate tension. No other step in our time can be more peaceable than the conclusion of a peace treaty and the liquidation of the vestiges of the last war.

We propose peace, we want that reason should prevail in the relations between states, that there should be peaceful coexistence and competition as to what system secures greater material and spiritual blessings to the peoples. The peoples must determine themselves what system accords with their vital interests: the communist system or the capitalist?

In proposing the conclusion of a peace treaty, the Soviet government does not want that some should gain and others lose. Let us record what exists. No one's sovereignty will be affected by the conclusion of a German peace treaty. The militaristic revenge-seeking quarters in Western Germany, of course, will dislike the peace treaty. It will tie their hands, make it more difficult to collect forces for fresh gambles. But the meaning of a peace treaty actually is to cut short the dangerous game of the West German revenge-seekers who seek to take advantage of instability in Europe and to set the great powers at loggerheads.

I repeat, there are no serious reasons which could really prevent a peace settlement with Germany, but, nevertheless, the opponents of international relaxation and the conclusion of a peace treaty seek to justify such a position by all kinds of untenable arguments.

They declare, for instance, that the division of Germany prevents a peace settlement. If the Western powers really wanted to help the Germans to unite, far from obstructing, they would advise the government of the Federal Republic of Germany to enter into negotiations with the government of the German Democratic Republic. They would support the proposal of the government of the German Democratic Republic for setting up a confederation of the two German states.

If the absence of an all-German government really prevented the conclusion of a peace treaty, the Western powers and the Federal Republic of Germany would accept the proposal the Soviet Union is now making, to wit, that the Germans should meet before the signing of a German peace treaty to hammer out common views on the question of a peace settlement and on the reunification of the country.

It is the business of the Germans themselves to restore Germany's national unity. No states have the right to interfere in this affair, because no one can solve this question but the Germans themselves. We do not intend to conduct any talks on this question. Let the governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic reach agreement on this question and we shall recognise any decision they come to.

But if anyone calculates to liquidate with our hands the socialist system in the German Democratic Republic, he is living in a world of illusions. The German Democratic Republic has a loyal and reliable friend in the Soviet Union.

There are many unsettled matters in Germany. This, apparently, is now acknowledged by everyone and hence the logical conclusion—we must resolve these matters and not wait till they cause a conflict. Questions of an international nature must be resolved at a corresponding forum. Inter-German problems can be settled only by the Germans themselves.

The Soviet government will regret very much if any one of our former allies does not sign together with us the German peace treaty, and if West Germany refuses to accept the hand of reconciliation extended to her by the socialist states. But we cannot put up with the solution of this question, vitally important for so many states and peoples, being dragged out for many more years only because certain quarters wish to save for themselves opportunities for revenge and to perpetuate an occupation régime in a part of the German territory.

The Soviet Union will be confronted with the necessity of reaching agreement with the German Democratic Republic and the countries that wish to conclude a peace treaty with this peace-loving German state.

The procedure of the conclusion of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic will conform strictly to existing international practice and custom. After the conclusion of the treaty the Soviet Union will give up all the obligations it had hitherto discharged on the communication lanes with West Berlin. In short, the government of the German Democratic Republic will enjoy full sovereignty over all its territory just as any other independent state.

You, comrades, are military people and you know very well what it is to disregard the provisions of a peace treaty and to try to violate the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic. Many of you will be serving in the forces which, under the Warsaw Treaty, are stationed in the territory of the German Democratic Republic and this means that you will have to rebuff the aggressive forces if they decide to frustrate a peaceful settlement by force of arms. I call your attention to the fact that it is precisely a *peace treaty* to which some people threaten to reply with force and to cause a dangerous international crisis.

The Soviet government is displaying persistence in the conclusion of a German peace treaty, convinced that if measures are not taken now to normalise the situation in Germany and West Berlin, the people may be confronted with the fact of an aggression launched by the West German militarists. There is no guarantee that some venture of the West German successors of Hitler will not kindle the fire of a big war. Then it will be too late to investigate what prevents the timely conclusion of a peace treaty and why, despite all the warnings of the peace-loving forces, militarism in West Germany was allowed to rise to its feet and take up arms again.

Remember how Hitler pushed the world to the brink of war and then unleashed it. He advanced gradually, step by step, methodically to this goal; he extorted concessions from the Western powers. He was encouraged by the ruling quarters of Britain, France and America. They believed that with the help of fascism they would be able to defeat the Soviet Union, to destroy communism.

There are not a few documents and books describing how Hitler prepared the Second World War. Recently I read, for instance, the book by the French journalist G  n  v  re Tabouis, *Twenty Years of Diplomatic Struggle*. This book shows very well the backstage side of the collusion of German militarists with the reactionary forces of the other countries of monopoly capital.

Apparently, the frantic monopolists and West German revenge-seekers would not mind embarking again on this road with a view to settling disputed questions through war. The monopolists regard the question

of communism, its development, as the principal issue. Their reason is obscured by hatred for communism, for the countries of socialism. They may lose all self-control and the imperialists may unleash a new war. Adenauer is repeating what Hitler had done in his time when preparing for war. And actually the same countries that encouraged Hitler are now encouraging him.

But they forget that the situation has changed radically since then. In those days the Soviet Union and People's Mongolia were in the midst of capitalist encirclement. Now the mighty socialist camp is growing and gaining in strength, a camp which unites over 1,000 million people. The colonial system is collapsing and ever more new independent states are emerging and embarking upon the road of a peaceful policy. Today it is not the forces of imperialism, but the forces of peace and socialism that determine the main laws, the main direction of international and social development.

The Soviet Union is displaying maximum good will to achieve understanding with our former allies and the Federal Republic of Germany. But the language of threats and intimidation to which the West often resorts does not promote a businesslike atmosphere for negotiations. Moreover, under such circumstances, the conclusion of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, with all the attendant consequences, may prove to be the only way out of the obtaining situation.

We shall sign the peace treaty and order our armed forces to administer a worthy rebuff to any aggressor if he dares raise a hand against the Soviet Union or our friends.

The Soviet government sincerely strives to achieve a lasting peace. But we must not forget that the safeguarding of peace depends not only on our desire, not only on our efforts. A lasting peace can be ensured only if efforts to achieve this goal are exerted also by the governments of other states, if the peoples of all the world fight for this.

Note of the Soviet Government to the Government of Great Britain on a Peace Treaty with Germany, August 3rd, 1961

IN connection with the Note of the government of Great Britain of July 17th, 1961, the government of the U.S.S.R. considers it necessary to state the following:

As is evident from the text of the Note, the British government, while declaring that it fully concurs with the Soviet government's opinion on the importance of the conclusion of a German peace treaty for the final post-war settlement in Europe, attempts, however, contrary to plain facts, to shift the blame for the absence of a peace treaty on to the government of the Soviet Union.

This is not a new line in the policy of the government of Great Britain. It is commonly known that the government of Great Britain, together with

other Western powers, for many years already has been evading a peace settlement with Germany, putting it off indefinitely.

Therefore, one cannot but wonder at the attempt of the government of Great Britain to pose as all but a champion of a peace settlement with Germany, and present the Soviet Union as the side raising obstacles in this matter.

For a decade and a half, the British government has not at any time submitted a draft of a peace treaty with Germany, and has even refused to set forth its considerations on the provisions that must be reflected in the peace treaty.

Advancing no constructive proposals of its own, the government of Great Britain, together with the United States and France, each time has turned down the proposals of the Soviet Union on the drafting of a peace treaty. This was so in 1949 when the Soviet government proposed that a draft peace treaty with Germany be worked out within three months, followed by a discussion of it. The government of Great Britain refused to discuss the question of a peace treaty with Germany also in 1952, when the Soviet government submitted its draft of the basic provisions of such a treaty for the consideration of the Western powers. Nor was there a positive response from Great Britain to the Soviet Union's proposals to consider the question of a peace treaty in 1954.

Nothing new has appeared in the position of Great Britain in recent years either. It is sufficient to recall the negative attitude of the British government to the new initiative of the Soviet Union in advancing a draft of a peace treaty with Germany in January 1959.

Why, then, does the government of Great Britain consider it necessary to adopt the course of distorting universally known facts and resorting to plain juggling? It is evident from the text of the British Note that the main concern of the government of Great Britain is to exonerate its policy in the face of world public opinion and, as far as possible, to evade responsibility for the fact that a line has not been drawn under the Second World War, for the fact that stability and international lawful order are lacking in the centre of Europe, and that militarists and revenge-seekers are again gathering strength in Western Germany.

Inasmuch as this concerns one of the most important and acute problems of our time, on the solution of which peace and tranquillity of the peoples of Europe depend, the Soviet government would like to leave no room for misconceptions, uncertainty and erroneous conclusions. In this connection it is essential to explain once more the viewpoint of the Soviet government with regard to the present situation and draw attention to the dangerous consequences which further delay in the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany could have.

The government of Great Britain is doing a poor service to the peoples by attempting in its Note to present matters in a way as if the absence of a peace treaty with Germany does not present a real danger and that for a whole decade the German problem has not caused concern to the world.

Making this contention, the government of Great Britain in effect refutes its own earlier statements on the German question. It is a fact that representatives of the British government had repeatedly spoken about the abnormality of the situation existing in West Berlin and in Germany as a whole.

In particular, on May 30th, 1959, the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain openly admitted that the situation in West Berlin and in the whole of Ger-

many was abnormal. Speaking on June 2nd, 1960, in London, Prime Minister Macmillan described the situation in West Berlin as tense and fraught with numerous potential dangers.

The fact that at the 1959 Geneva Conference the governments of Great Britain, the United States and France considered the question of taking appropriate measures against subversive activity and hostile propaganda against the German Democratic Republic from the territory of West Berlin and also of the reduction of the numerical strength of the armed forces of the Western powers in West Berlin and preventing the stationing of atomic and rocket weapons there, shows convincingly enough that they themselves admitted the abnormality of the situation that had arisen in West Berlin.

How is it possible, then, to say that since 1949 the situation in West Berlin has caused no fears?

Perhaps the government of Great Britain is not in fact concerned about the situation which has arisen in the centre of Europe, but this does not give it the right to ascribe its viewpoint to the whole world. Indeed, the peoples of the world, and those of Europe in the first place, hold a directly opposite view, since right before their eyes Western Germany is turning into the centre of war danger in Europe.

A mass army under former Hitler generals and officers has been created in Western Germany. Already today among the NATO member-countries Western Germany has the biggest army on the European continent. Representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany are capturing one key post after another at the NATO headquarters.

The West German military is anxious for weapons of mass destruction. The Bundeswehr is being created and trained as an army designed for conducting a nuclear-missile war. As was the case in Hitler Germany, close ties have been established between the army and the industrial monopolies, which are prepared to satisfy all its requirements. The work of scientists and technicians, conducted in the seclusion of studies and laboratories, has been placed at the service of the Bundeswehr. And it is well known that in our time some laboratories are far more dangerous than army barracks.

Already now, in peace-time, the Bundeswehr has a network of military strongpoints on the territories of a number of West European states, including the territory of Great Britain placed at its disposal.

If, apart from the military material basis of the F.R.G., one takes into account the militarist and revengeful spirit which, like a quarter of a century ago, permeates all the pores of the state and public life of Western Germany, the gravity of the danger stemming from the present developments in Federal Germany will become apparent.

One cannot help wondering at the policy of the British government in surrendering the territory of Great Britain for military bases to those very German militarists who in the not so distant past razed Coventry and barbarously bombed London and other British cities.

Facts show that in the sixteen years since the surrender, German militarists and revenge-seekers, aided by the United States, Britain and France, have achieved more in Western Germany than their predecessors did in the sixteen years following the First World War.

They say that now Western Germany has no fuhrer named Hitler. But is it names that determine the course of events? The course of events is determined by the people. And in Western Germany there are enough aspiring fuhrers, with some to spare.

The population of Western Germany is living in an atmosphere of an orgy of revengeful passions. Time and again the government of Federal Germany advances claims for altering the existing frontiers.

In fact the F.R.G. government appears in Europe as the most zealous skirmisher of the "positions of strength" policy, as the advocate of the cold war. Already now it is ready to bring matters to extremes, but in such a way that Western Germany would stand aside, biding her time. What would suit it most would be for Great Britain to stand up for the interests of the Bonn revenge-seekers to the last British soldier.

One can easily imagine the language the West German militarists would start speaking should they get hold of nuclear weapons, in which the Western powers seem to be ready to help them. How can the Soviet government, remembering the devastating invasion of Hitler's hordes, ignore the fact that the preparations for a *drang nach Osten* are again going full blast in Western Germany?

Characteristically, even the government of Great Britain could not side-step in its Note Bonn's revenge-seeking demands. True, this is presented in the Note as all but proof of the peace-loving disposition of the F.R.G. government, inasmuch as the latter declares that it does not intend to resort to force for the revision of Germany's frontiers.

But who can trust these promises? Everyone knows how little significance the Bonn government itself attaches to such assurances.

One cannot help recalling, for instance, that in November 1949, Chancellor Adenauer declared publicly that he was "opposed in principle to the re-armament of the F.R.G. and by the same token to the establishment of new German armed forces". This in no way prevented the F.R.G. government from effecting the remilitarisation of the country on a large scale and creating the Bundeswehr.

When the question of atomic weapons came up, Chancellor Adenauer applied the same technique. He began with posing as a man who does not want atomic death for the German people. In 1957 Chancellor Adenauer declared that he could not welcome the arming of new powers with nuclear weapons and that the F.R.G. did not request nuclear weapons. Now the very same Adenauer is bluntly demanding for the F.R.G. equality with the nuclear powers in armaments.

After all this it would be naive, to say the least, to attach significance to the professions of the F.R.G. government to the effect that it has no notion of resorting to force for achieving its political objectives. It seems to be a fact that the F.R.G. government does not feel put out in the least when it nullifies its own assurances.

Naturally, the attitude of some particular F.R.G. statesman to his own words is significant. But what is immeasurably more important is the fact that no unilateral assurances can take the place of firm and clear provisions of a peace treaty which are binding on all participants in that treaty.

Attempting to legalise the present abnormal situation and to belittle the idea of a peace treaty with Germany, the government of Great Britain actually questions the role of law in the life of the peoples and in the development of relations between states, a line which, of course, is unacceptable.

The conclusion of a peace treaty is the natural and commonly accepted transition from a state of war to peace. Without such a settlement, the remnants of war are bound to darken relations between the former belligerent states, are bound to be a source of friction and mutual mistrust between

them. But if a peace treaty is essential in any case to draw a line under a past war, its importance increases a hundred-fold when one of the legal successors of the defeated state refuses to recognise the actual situation which has arisen as a result of the war and is again harbouring evil designs against its neighbours, against universal peace. In such conditions, a refusal to conclude a peace treaty is tantamount to inviting revenge and to a promise of impunity.

In the Note of the government of Great Britain an attempt is made to present the participation of the F.R.G. in the military NATO bloc as another proof that Western Germany, even in the absence of a peace treaty, allegedly threatens no one. Should we believe the government of Great Britain it would appear that the aggressive NATO bloc is a peace-loving organisation, the F.R.G.'s participation in this bloc is a guarantee of the security of European states, and the military decisions taken within the NATO framework are an adequate substitute for provisions of a peace treaty with Germany. But this is absurd.

But even if we leave aside the question of the trend of the NATO bloc itself, only by blindfolding oneself can one fail to see that the F.R.G.'s participation in this bloc creates real hothouse conditions for German militarism. It is along NATO channels that the most up-to-date armaments for the Bundeswehr are poured into Western Germany. Participation in NATO has enabled the F.R.G. to locate its military bases over vast areas in Western Europe such as even Hitler Germany did not have when it was getting ready to touch off the Second World War. Also of no small significance is the fact that in NATO organs military specialists of the F.R.G. gain access to the military secrets of other member-states of this bloc.

It would be dangerous to overlook the fact that already now the F.R.G. has more than enough armed forces and armaments to touch off a universal armed conflict. Is it not a fact that to blow up a powder magazine one need not be the commandant of the magazine; suffice it that among the officers in the commandant's retinue there should be one lunatic who would strike the match.

Whether we proceed from the need to put up at last a barrier to the growth of militarism and revenge-seeking in Western Germany, so dangerous to the cause of peace, or from the interests of improving relations between the great powers, should we be guided by the interests of the German people itself or the memory of the peoples who shed their blood in the war against Hitler Germany, the inescapable conclusion is that a German peace treaty must be concluded without delay.

This is what is called for by the aims which were solemnly proclaimed in the past, and which in war-time inspired the participants in the anti-Hitler coalition, the leading part in which was played by the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States of America and France. In those years the common goals of the allies enabled them to solve jointly most important military and political problems.

In calling for an end to be put to the abnormal situation in Germany, the Soviet government is striving to do away with the tension which differences on the German problem introduce in relations between states, to re-establish relations of friendship and co-operation with Great Britain and the other Western powers, to the benefit of peace. The Soviet government is convinced that if all the states concerned displayed good will and a desire to co-operate,

there would be no insurmountable differences on the road towards the conclusion of a German peace treaty.

In the Note of the government of Great Britain the conclusion of a German peace treaty is made contingent on the reunification of Germany. But this is an unrealistic approach, to say the least. The problem of the reunification of Germany is purely an internal problem of the German people, and it can be solved only on the basis of agreement between the two German states—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—whereas the question of a peace treaty is by its nature an international question and involves the interests of many states.

To bandy with the slogan of self-determination of the German nation in the conditions of the existence of two independent German states is the cheapest trick. Now it is not the national problem that divides the G.D.R. and the F.R.G.; they are divided by profound differences in their internal ways of life, in other words, by deep social differences. To attempt to counterpose the slogan of self-determination to the struggle within the nation for social progress means to engage in juggling with concepts. Speaking about the social system, and this is what we should speak about in connection with the formation of two independent states out of former Germany, these states made their choice long ago.

It is the business of the Germans themselves to seek ways for the unification of their two states, which are developing in different directions. In conditions in which the F.R.G. government flatly refuses even to start negotiations with the G.D.R. government on the question of reunification, there is not, of course, and nor can there be, any prospect for agreement between the two German states on this question, if such is the policy of the F.R.G. government. This is an inexorable fact and it cannot be ignored.

The four powers can change nothing in the existing situation in which, instead of a united Germany, two independent German states have emerged.

Even had they come to terms among themselves on a procedure for the reunification of Germany that would have suited them, they would have had to impose their decision upon the two German states by force. What would there be in common between this and the principle of self-determination the application of which to the solution of the problem of Germany's unification is urged by the government of Great Britain?

If there is anything the four powers can do really to help the solution of the problem of the reunification of Germany, it is to conclude a peace treaty. By assuming under a peace treaty identical international obligations, the two German states would at last obtain a common ground for bridging the gulf between them in the interests of solving the general national tasks of the German people. But to make the conclusion of the German peace treaty contingent on the solution of the problem of the reunification of Germany means to renounce the solution of either problem.

The Soviet government considers that in the existing conditions the best solution would be to conclude a peace treaty with the participation of all states who were in a state of war with Germany, on the one hand, and of both German states on the other. As the Soviet government has pointed out, it also considers possible a solution of the problem of the German peace treaty according to which two peace treaties would be concluded—one with the German Democratic Republic and the other with the Federal Republic of Germany, the principal provisions of both treaties being identical.

At the same time the situation in Europe is becoming so acute that it is

impossible and dangerous to fall in line with the position of those who for some narrow-minded considerations continue to object to the conclusion of a peace treaty. To follow in the wake of the enemies of a peace settlement with Germany would mean to share with them the grave responsibility for all the consequences following from further delay in the conclusion of a peace treaty. The Soviet Union would have been unfaithful to the basic principles of its policy of peace had it embarked on this road and permitted events which clearly tend to increase the war danger to develop in this direction.

If the Western powers and the F.R.G. government, as they continually declare, refuse to sign a peace treaty with Germany, such a treaty will have to be signed without them. In that case a peace treaty will be concluded between those states which took part in the war against Hitler Germany who would wish to do so, and the German Democratic Republic, which has already expressed its consent to that.

One need not dwell at length on the great positive significance which the conclusion of a peace treaty with the G.D.R. would have. This treaty would affix a legal seal to the frontiers of Germany established after the Second World War. International recognition would be given to the fact that in one part of Germany—the German Democratic Republic—an end had been put for ever to the dark past when German militarism unleashed aggressive wars. A peace treaty with the G.D.R., like a beacon, would show to the entire German people the way towards a peaceful life in the conditions of full sovereignty and independence, the way towards the solution of its general national problems. All this would help to create stability in the centre of Europe and to strengthen world peace.

Naturally, neither Britain nor any other power can veto a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic. They have no right to do so. An attempt is made in the British Note to interpret such a treaty as “a unilateral action”, as some kind of departure by the U.S.S.R. from Allied agreements on Germany. But who is it if not Britain and her partners in military blocs that based their entire policy in Germany on unilateral, separate actions, that tore Germany asunder into two states and deprived the Soviet Union of its lawful right to take part in the settlement of questions relating to the greater part of the present territory of Germany?

One's memory must be too short to forget the chain of unilateral actions of the Western powers which resulted in the division of Germany. This includes the formation of “bizonia”, the destruction of the Allied control machinery, the separate currency reform, and the creation of the Bonn state itself.

The point thus seems to be that in 1952-53, as far as Western Germany was concerned, the three Western powers had the right to annul the laws and decisions of the Control Council worked out by the four powers, and to proclaim these actions compatible with Allied duty.

The point in question seems to be that the Western powers were entitled in 1954 to sign with Western Germany the Paris agreements which legalised the militarisation of that country, and the Soviet Union, who had won victory over Germany at the cost of many millions of lives, must be denied the right to a peace treaty.

Furthermore, it is known that it is not only on the German question that Great Britain has adopted the course of unilateral decisions. It was so, too, for instance, when a peace treaty was signed with Japan without the participa-

tion of the Soviet Union. And after all this the government of Great Britain takes it upon itself to speak about “unilateral actions” of the Soviet Union.

It is evident from the British Note that the government of Great Britain is averse chiefly to the circumstance that the conclusion of a peace treaty with the G.D.R. would destroy the legal basis for the continued presence of the troops of the Western powers in West Berlin. But in real life there does not exist an isolated problem of West Berlin, out of context with the German peace treaty. By refusing to take part in a peace settlement, the government of Great Britain will put itself in a position in which, if there is no agreement with the Western powers on the conclusion of a German peace treaty, the question of West Berlin will be settled without it, with all the ensuing consequences to the rights of the Western powers stemming from the surrender of Germany.

The proposal to transform West Berlin into a demilitarised free city signifies nothing more than that the Soviet Union is ready to settle the question of the status of West Berlin together with all parties concerned, after the signing of a German peace treaty.

The government of Great Britain has repeatedly referred to some kind of commitments it has with regard to West Berlin.

Indeed, the question of West Berlin does figure in the Paris agreements signed between the Western powers and the F.R.G. government. But on what grounds can one equate the separate Paris agreements with the Allied four-power agreements?

The “commitments” with regard to West Berlin to which the government of Great Britain refers were not born in the joint struggle of the peoples of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and other states against Hitler Germany. They are the result of another war which has been imposed upon the peoples—the cold war.

Thus, it seems that Britain would like to base the right to the presence of her troops in West Berlin on agreements signed together with the Soviet Union, and her “commitments” with regard to that city on agreements concluded without the Soviet Union and against it. The Soviet government cannot recognise and will never recognise the legality of such a contradictory position.

Today, as sixteen years ago, West Berlin is an occupied city. It is only on this, on the right of military occupation, that the presence of the Western powers in West Berlin is based. And when Britain makes declarations about the “protection of the freedom of the city” she is aiming at perpetuating in West Berlin the occupation status, which, as the government of Great Britain itself admits, only irritates everyone.

As for the freedom of West Berlin, that is, the inalienable right of the population of the city to decide matters of their internal life as they see fit and to establish a political and social system of their own choice, this freedom is not threatened by anyone. On the contrary, the conclusion of a peace treaty, be it with one or with both German states, would create a more stable basis for ensuring the freedom of West Berlin, inasmuch as its population would live, not under the conditions of an occupation status, but under the conditions of international law and order.

The government of Great Britain emphasises in its Note that the conclusion of a peace treaty with the G.D.R. would allegedly bring about “a most grave situation”, “unforeseeable consequences”, “great danger”. One can easily understand what such hints mean, especially if one takes into account

the whipping up of passions observed in Britain lately and the appeals by officials for stepping up the arms race.

In any case, the government of Great Britain should know full well that the language of threats, though veiled by carefully chosen words, is the least suitable in relations with the Soviet Union; its use can have only the opposite effect. It is the actions of the Western powers, not of the Soviet Union, that could be a source of danger. But if these powers undertake such actions they must reckon with the fact that they will bear the full weight of responsibility for that. As for the Soviet Union and the other peace-loving states, they will be able to uphold the right cause, their security and peace.

The Soviet government still hopes that the governments of Great Britain, the United States of America and France, will reconsider their negative position and thus remove the obstacles to the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany with the participation of all states which formed the anti-Hitler coalition.

The Soviet government would like to believe that the part of the Note of the government of Great Britain of July 17th, which speaks about the readiness of the government of Great Britain to negotiate, envisages exactly such a possibility.

The Soviet government is ready to consider carefully any proposal in this respect which might be advanced by the government of Great Britain and corresponds to the task of the immediate solution of the problem of the conclusion of a German peace treaty. The Soviet government strives for peace and it is because of this that it insists on the earliest conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. It is pressing for the solution of this important problem on the basis of agreement with the Western powers and is ready to conduct such negotiations, and only in the case of the Western powers taking a negative position on the signing of a peace treaty would a situation arise in which a peace treaty would be signed without their participation.

The safeguarding of peace and the peaceful coexistence of states was and remains the basis of the entire foreign policy of the Soviet Union. It is this that guides the Soviet government in its entire policy in advancing the task of a peace settlement with Germany. It hopes that the government of Great Britain will approach this question with full seriousness and, for its part, make its contribution to the cause of the joint solution of this problem in the interests of peace.

Excerpts from N. S. Khrushchov's Speech Over Radio and Television on August 7th, 1961

MR. KENNEDY, the President of the United States, said during our talks in Vienna that a balance of power had now been established between the two world camps and that a direct clash between the U.S.S.R. and the United States must be prevented because such a clash would have the most disastrous consequences. In this case Mr. Kennedy took a sober view of things and displayed definite realism. This much must be granted him. However, life demands that statesmen

should not only say reasonable things but also should not permit themselves in politics to cross the line when the voice of reason falls silent and a blind and dangerous game with the destinies of peoples and states begins.

We cannot view with indifference how the aggressive quarters of the Western powers with Chancellor Adenauer's help are mobilising all material and spiritual forces of Western Germany for the preparation of a third world war. The Federal Republic of Germany is no longer the country which sixteen years ago bowed its head to the victors and pledged to follow the road of peace and democracy. Today the revenge-seekers of Western Germany have raised their heads; they have a mass army which is being trained and equipped for offensive operations. The Federal Republic of Germany has become a party to the North Atlantic military bloc directed against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Militarisation, an orgy of revengeful passions, the cult of hatred and enmity for communism and everything that is new and progressive, revival of pan-German traditions and sentiments—that is what determines today the face of the West German state.

By the will of the Western powers more inflammable material has been stockpiled in the centre of Europe than in any other region of the world. It is here that the flame of a world war again threatens to break out.

Since the Western powers have trampled underfoot the allied agreements on the demilitarisation and democratisation of Germany, only a peace treaty can forestall the dangerous development of German militarism and revenge-seeking. That is why we propose that the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, all the countries that took part in the war against Hitler Germany, on the one hand, and the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany as the lawful successors of the former German Reich on the other, conclude a peace treaty which would meet the legitimate interests of all parties. This would make it possible, observing all legal standards and international customs, completely to put an end to the state of war and to clear the way towards peace and peaceful coexistence in Europe.

The conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany would make it possible to normalise the situation in West Berlin and thus to remove grounds for a sharp clash between states. We must not permit West Berlin to become a kind of Sarajevo, the Serbian town, where rang out the shots heralding the outbreak of the First World War. Should West Berlin be made a free city, as the Soviet Union suggests, that would not affect either the interests or the prestige of any state. We propose that it should be stipulated in the peace treaty that the free city of West Berlin shall be granted freedom of communications with the outside world. We agree to the establishment of any and the most effective guarantees of the independent development and security of the free city of West Berlin.

Insisting on the conclusion of a peace treaty, the Soviet government declares: We stand for the freedom of West Berlin, but not on the basis of the maintenance of the military occupation status. It is common knowledge that occupation has never meant freedom and never will.

For it is said, not without reason, that "it is not convenient to sit on bayonets".

All eastern neighbours of Germany agree on the need for concluding a German peace treaty and granting West Berlin the status of a free city. The government of the German Democratic Republic on whose territory West Berlin lies has also agreed to our proposals and has issued a statement to this effect. The Western powers replied by a refusal, but did not advance, however, their own proposals for a peace settlement with Germany. It would be well worthwhile for them to ponder over the dangerous development of Western Germany, and to look back, too. Is it not a fact that after the First World War the Western powers also helped Germany in the hope that she would march towards the East? However, this did not prevent her from directing arms, in the first place, against those who helped the German militarists to get on their feet, and from unleashing her war for world domination.

Both the Yalta Declaration and the Potsdam Agreement clearly established that the occupation of Germany must help the German people to eradicate militarism and nazism. The Western powers violated all the principles regarding the occupation of Germany agreed upon at Yalta and Potsdam. The conspiracy by the Western powers late in 1946 on the merger of the two occupation zones was the beginning of the division of Germany and the restoration of the power of the militarists and revenge-seekers in Western Germany. The Western powers finally and unilaterally tore up the Potsdam Agreement by setting up a separate West German state, concluding the Paris Agreements and including Western Germany into NATO. It is not accidental that a special tripartite occupation status was established for West Berlin in this connection. By this tripartite occupation status the Western powers confirmed themselves that they had destroyed the foundation of their occupation régime in West Berlin under international law and that this régime rests solely on undisguised armed force.

The governments of the United States, Britain and France recently replied to the aide-memoire on the German question which was handed to President Kennedy at our meeting in Vienna. The Western powers once again seek to evade the conclusion of a peace treaty. They counterpose to it the idea of self-determination of the Germans and the reunification of Germany. It would be fine if genuine friends of freedom and the independence of peoples would advocate self-determination for the Germans. But it is strange, to say the least, to hear calls for self-determination from those who for centuries kept peoples in slavery and retaliated with bullet and whip to any attempt of the peoples to get rid of alien oppression and to achieve self-determination.

"Self-determination" is now advocated by the imperialists and colonialists who for several years shed the blood of the Vietnamese people, have been waging a cruel predatory war in Algeria for seven years, are shooting down unarmed people in Bizerta and Tunisia only because the Tunisians have demanded the evacuation of the imperialists' military base from their territory. It is they who organised the bloody massacre of the patriots of the Congo who rose to the struggle for independence, and it was they who killed the national hero Patrice Lumumba. The struggle in the Congo still continues. Colonialists seek to crush by fire and sword the movement of the people of Angola for their

liberation. And was it not those who are now trying to pose as the champions of self-determination who organised the armed attack on Egypt?

There is a great outcry over the slogan of self-determination in the United States whose ruling quarters are following a policy of suppressing liberation movements in countries of various continents. It was by the will of the American monopolies that the tyrannical régime of Batista, detested by Cubans, was established in Cuba. And when the Cuban people rose and expelled this dictator the American imperialists more than once tried through military intervention to crush the Cuban revolution and to suppress the people's aspirations for genuine freedom, for genuine self-determination. The whole world knows how the American monopolies carried out the operation for "self-determination" in Guatemala, an operation conducted by hired bandits, by armed force directed against the Guatemalan people. One could cite quite a few examples of imperialists' interference in the internal affairs of other countries. There is the forcible seizure of Taiwan Island, which is an inalienable part of the People's Republic of China. There is the interference in the domestic affairs of Laos, South Vietnam, South Korea, and many countries of Africa and Latin America. If all this is termed defence of self-determination, what is colonial brigandage then!

Dyed-in-the-wool enemies of the national unity of the German people are speculating on the slogan of self-determination. Today this slogan is constantly on the lips of chancellor Adenauer who puts quite a definite interpretation upon it—the swallowing up of the German Democratic Republic.

How can one reach an agreement on reunification, if the West German government turns a deaf ear to the very idea of talks with the government of the German Democratic Republic?

The Soviet people will never forget how, during the war, nazi units hid behind the backs of our women and children whom they drove in front of them during attack. In the same way the West German militarists now want to hide their plans for revenge behind lofty slogans of self-determination, to cover up these plans with them—you just try to strike at self-determination!

The Soviet Union understands full well how dear the cause of Germany's national unity is to the German people. This unity can be achieved only by the Germans themselves. The Western powers want to persuade someone that they stand for reunification. But those who stood for German reunification would not reserve the right to intervene in what is exclusively the internal affair of the German people, as the governments of the United States, Britain and France did under the Paris agreements of 1954. Then the government of the Federal Republic of Germany willingly sacrificed the national interests of the Germans in exchange for participation in NATO.

It is significant that the government of the Federal Republic of Germany most persistently clamours for the revision of those articles of the Paris agreements which put some restrictions on armaments production in Western Germany. But it never raises the question of rescinding the articles which leave the Western powers the final say on matters of German reunification. And after all this the government of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Western powers pretend that they have no other concern except German unity, throwing in self-determination to boot.

What can't they in the West think up in order to distort our position on a peace treaty with Germany!

In his recent speech the President of the United States said that the United States faced a challenge of some kind from the Soviet Union, that there was a threat to the freedom of the people of West Berlin, that the Soviet Union was all but ready to use force. But he did not say a single word about the essence of the matter, about the fact that the Soviet Union proposes the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, and that it is striving to work out the terms of this treaty jointly with all states that took part in the war against Germany. After listening to the speech of their President, the American people might indeed get the idea that it is not the vestiges of the last war that we want to eliminate, but to start a third world war!

So what provisions of the Soviet draft of a peace treaty with Germany could give the American President a pretext to contend that the Soviet Union "threatens" to violate peace? Could it be those which envisage the renunciation of nuclear weapons by Germany, the putting of a legal seal on the existing German frontiers, the granting of full sovereignty to both German states and their admission to the United Nations?

If anyone did allow himself to resort to threats it was the United States President. He did not stop at presenting us with something in the way of an ultimatum in reply to the proposal to conclude a peace treaty with Germany. As if to reinforce his threats, the President announced an increase in the strength of the armed forces by 217,000 men and the American Senators started a fanfare about the need for mobilising certain classes of reservists.

Military hysteria is now being drummed up in the United States. At the same time, there are some who are conditioning the American people to the idea that there would be nothing particularly terrible even if war did break out. But it would be criminal thoughtlessness on the part of American leaders seriously to expect that after unleashing war against the socialist states it would be possible to keep it within certain bounds.

If a clash did occur between the two giants—the Soviet Union and the United States of America—which possess powerful economies and great stockpiles of nuclear weapons, it goes without saying that neither of the sides would be ready to admit defeat without having used all weapons, including the most destructive ones. Do the American people really need this? Does the American government really want it? But if the United States leaders realise what modern war, involving the use of thermonuclear weapons, means, why do they bring the atmosphere to white heat as President Kennedy did in his speech?

Naturally, a Third World War, should it break out, would not be confined to a duel between two great powers—the Soviet Union and the United States of America. Is it not a fact that already not less than a dozen states are ensnared in the net of military alliances established by the United States, and, of course, they would find themselves drawn into the orbit of the war. We are taking all this into account and have at our disposal the necessary means of combat not only to strike a crushing blow at the territory of the United States, if the imperialists unleashed a war, but also to render harmless the aggressor's allies and to suppress American military bases scattered throughout the world.

Any state which would be used as a springboard for an attack on the socialist camp would experience the full devastating might of our powerful blow. War would also come to the homes of the American people, who for a century, since the time of the Civil War between the North and the South,

have not known hostilities on their territory. We don't want to threaten anyone. We only want to induce some reasonable thinking among those upon whom the policy of NATO member-states depends.

Even politicians to whom peaceful aspirations are alien realise the terrible consequences a third world war would have for their countries. I should like to refer to Strauss, the Defence Minister of the Bonn government. Addressing newsmen on one occasion, he admitted that "war would mean the destruction of German and other European countries". The Defence Minister was right. Having made such a statement he should have renounced bellicose aspirations himself and advised Chancellor Adenauer, who is playing with fire, to do the same.

Comrades, it must be said frankly that at present the Western powers are pushing the world to a dangerous brink, and the emergence of a threat of armed attack by imperialists on socialist states cannot be excluded.

I should like to assure you that the central committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government are doing and will continue to do everything in their power to prevent war from breaking out. But not everything depends on us. If a moment really comes when imperialism would dare to commit an act of madness and unleash a military gamble, a highly dangerous situation to the entire world would develop. We must be on our guard.

We are convinced that if the question of whether or not there would be a war depended on reasonable people in the western countries, they would not allow war to break out. But if people possessed by a suicidal mania take the upper hand, one cannot vouch for them.

In this connection I should like to recall an instance from the times of the Great Patriotic War, which shows what can result from the loss of self-possession, from the loss of the power of reason.

In the first days after Hitler Germany's attack on the Soviet Union, I was a member of the military council of the south-western front. You will remember that at the start of the war the events were not developing in our favour and the Soviet troops found themselves in a difficult position. And it happened that on the fifth or sixth day of the war the commander of the front and I sent General Vashugin, a member of the military council, to one of the tank corps, to convey orders on how to use the forces of this corps in the best way possible.

Upon returning from the corps, Vashugin called on me. He was in a very grave and confused state. "Everything is lost, everything is going on like it did in France, this is the end of everything. I will shoot myself," he said. I tried to stop him: "You are crazy, come to your senses!" But before I had time to do anything he drew his pistol and shot himself, right there before my eyes.

This tragedy occurred because the man was absolutely unnerved, he no longer knew what he was doing and lost all self-control. I don't want to draw a direct analogy, but in the West there are some people who are losing their self-possession and self-control. In the story I have just told, it was one man who perished. But in present conditions, if some Western leaders act recklessly and push the world to a new war, such a suicidal act would spell death to millions upon millions of people.

Let us see why the conclusion of a German peace treaty is so urgent for the consolidation of world peace! What would it mean if the conclusion of the German peace treaty was put off for several more years? That would mean conniving with aggressive forces, retreating under their pressure. Such a position would still further encourage NATO and the Bonn government

to form more and more divisions in Western Germany, to equip them with atomic and thermonuclear weapons, to convert Western Germany into the main force for unleashing a new world war.

It is not because the Soviet Union is seeking some special privileges for itself that it is insisting on the conclusion of a German peace treaty without delay. We do not intend to seize West Berlin, we do not strive to alter the present frontiers of Germany, we do not encroach on Western Germany. The only thing we strive for is to strengthen peace through the conclusion of a German peace treaty.

If the Western powers reconsider their position, hearken to the voice of reason and express readiness to conclude a peace treaty together with us, we shall be only too glad. If they have any remarks to make or amendments to our draft peace treaty, or their own peace proposals on this question, we are ready not only to hear them but also to discuss most thoroughly all their considerations. We don't in the least want to impinge on the lawful interests of the Western powers, we are not seeking to change the state frontiers which took shape after the Second World War. This I proclaim once more today on behalf of the Soviet government.

If the Western powers persist in refusing to sign a German peace treaty, we shall have to settle this problem without them. The other day a conference of the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of Communist and Workers' Parties of the Warsaw Treaty countries took place in Moscow. They exchanged views on matters involved in preparing for the conclusion of a German peace treaty. The communiqué on this conference says that if the Western powers continue evading the conclusion of a German peace treaty, the states concerned will be compelled to conclude a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic.

It goes without saying that in that case the German Democratic Republic would attain full sovereignty and therefore the question of the use of communications with West Berlin running across its territory would have to be decided by agreement with the G.D.R. government. As for the agreements between the U.S.S.R. and the Western powers on the question of access to West Berlin concluded during the occupation period, they would become null and void.

It would seem that all this is natural and quite fair and should not evoke objections or discontent on anyone's part. Is it not a fact that one cannot use communications on the territory of a state without dealing with the government of that state? Anything else would be absolutely abnormal, would run counter to the elementary principles of international law.

But here are American statesmen claiming that the Soviet Union, by concluding a peace treaty with the G.D.R., wants to humiliate in some way America, Britain and France, that it is impossible for representatives of America to ask Germans for permission to communicate with West Berlin, because they (the Americans), together with the peoples of the Soviet Union, fought against Hitler Germany. They even declare that the position of the U.S.S.R. on this question is against the principles of comradeship and is immoral!

But all this talk is absolutely inconsistent. Firstly, if we are to speak about ethics and legal grounds I should like to draw attention to an example set us by the United States and other allies of ours in the war against Japan, when they concluded a separate peace treaty with Japan and deprived us of all rights following from her surrender, including the right to take part in the

agencies controlling Japan's fulfilment of the terms of surrender. So it would seem that there are two standards of ethics, two approaches—one for themselves and another for us.

Secondly, on what grounds do the Americans proclaim—a statesman of theirs told me this straight—that on the question of access to West Berlin they cannot deal with the G.D.R. government because, allegedly, this government was elected by an undemocratic procedure? But this is crude slander. However, there is no sense in arguing with the ruling circles of the United States on the principles of democracy. Our approaches to this matter are different. The United States, for instance, maintains friendly, allied relations with such "great democrats of the free world" as the fascists Franco and Salazar!

Incidentally, we, too, have to deal with governments with which we have no friendly relations. But we do deal with them. I can cite such an example in this respect. The Soviet Union had to enter into negotiations with the Federal Republic of Germany in order to ensure through train traffic on the Moscow-Paris line via the territory of Western Germany. And what came of it? We did come to terms and signed an appropriate agreement with the Federal government. At present the direct Moscow-Paris railway line is functioning effectively. In the given instance we acted as realists: although there had been a hard-fought war against Germany, it was over long ago and therefore it was necessary to normalise relations and reckon with the practical situation that existed.

The question of the right to dispose of the territory of some state or other is not a question for third countries to decide but for the people of the given state, and it must be settled by the government representing this people. In the case I just mentioned, we dealt with Adenauer because he represents the Federal Republic of Germany, just as Comrade Ulbricht represents the German Democratic Republic and will have to be dealt with on the question of access to West Berlin after the conclusion of a peace treaty. This is a real fact following from international law which cannot be disregarded.

I should like to repeat once more that by concluding a peace treaty with the G.D.R. we do not intend to infringe upon any lawful interests of the Western powers. Barring of access to West Berlin, a blockade of West Berlin, is entirely out of the question. All this is only a figment of the imagination of those who want to inflame the atmosphere in order to prepare war. But the peoples will see whose efforts are aimed at consolidating peace and whose at stirring up passions and preparing a third world war.

What is the point, anyhow? Why did the Western powers raise such an uproar in connection with our intention to turn over to the G.D.R. full sovereignty over communications leading to West Berlin after the conclusion of the peace treaty? Why are they even attempting to threaten us, and talking about a test of strength?

Taking a closer look at what is going on, one cannot fail to draw the conclusion that much more serious issues are at stake here. The imperialists do not want to recognise the fact that the German Democratic Republic, as a sovereign state, is entitled to exercise full control over its entire territory. The imperialists believe that the present situation provides them with a convenient loophole which enables them to obstruct the development of the G.D.R. as a socialist state.

They are using West Berlin as a base for subversion against the G.D.R. and other socialist countries, are sending over their agents, sharpening the

military situation there. The imperialists think of nothing but ways and means of enlarging this loophole, of undermining the German Democratic Republic, but they are told: "Stop, gentlemen. We know full well what you want, what you are after. We shall sign a peace treaty and close your loophole into the G.D.R.!"

Someone might say, however: "But is it all that necessary to sign a peace treaty with Germany now? Why not wait another two or three years, or even more, for the conclusion of this treaty? Perhaps that would eliminate tension, remove the danger of war?" No, this line of action is impermissible. The truth must be faced: the Western powers are refusing to conclude a peace treaty with Germany on an agreed basis. At the same time they threaten with war and demand that we should not conclude a peace treaty with the G.D.R. They want nothing more nor less than to impose their will on the countries of the socialist camp.

To them the question of access to West Berlin and the question of the peace treaty as a whole is only a pretext. If we renounced the conclusion of a peace treaty, they would regard this as a strategic break-through and would widen the range of their demands at once. They would demand the elimination of the socialist system in the German Democratic Republic. Were they to attain that, too, they would of course set the task of annexing from Poland and Czechoslovakia the territories restored to them under the Potsdam agreement. And these are Polish and Czechoslovak lands. And were the Western powers to attain all this, they would advance their main claim, the abolition of the socialist system in all countries of the socialist camp. This is what they would like to do right now.

That is why the settlement of the question of a peace treaty cannot be postponed.

The conclusion of a peace treaty with the G.D.R. will be of tremendous positive significance for the development of the entire international situation. Like the needle of a compass, the peace treaty will indicate to the entire German people the true direction of developments, ensuring for them peace, freedom, independence and sovereignty in the community of peace-loving peoples of Europe.

We address our people and tell them frankly about the present situation. You already know that the Soviet government had decided to increase expenditure for the defence of the country, to discontinue cuts in our armed forces which hitherto we had been carrying out unilaterally.

In a word, essential measures are being taken in order to make the defence might of the Soviet Union even stronger and more dependable. We shall watch the further developments and act in accordance with the existing situation. Perhaps, subsequently, we shall have to increase the numerical strength of the army on the western frontiers by transferring divisions from other parts of the Soviet Union. In this connection it will, perhaps, be necessary to call up a part of the reservists in order to bring our divisions to their full complement and make them ready for any surprises.

Why is the Soviet government considering such measures? These are measures in the nature of a reply. The United States is in fact carrying out mobilisation measures, is threatening to unleash a war. The allies of the United States in military aggressive blocs are supporting this dangerous course. The British government has announced that it will transfer additional troops to Western Germany; France is recalling troops from Algeria to Europe.

With such a situation taking shape, it would be impermissible for us to sit with our arms folded. The experience of history teaches: when an aggressor sees that no rebuff is given to him he grows more brazen, and in reverse, when he is given a rebuff, he calms down. It is this historical experience that should guide us in our actions.

We are confident that all Soviet people will understand the measures of the Soviet government correctly, will take a serious view of the present situation. Fighting for the cause of communism, defending the independence of their homeland in the stern years of the war, the Soviet people have developed the great Leninist ability to be optimistic, to have faith in the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas. We are strong and we know that although difficulties may arise, we shall surmount them and score new victories in the construction of communism.

Soviet citizens might want to know if it is necessary to appropriate even greater funds for the strengthening of our armed forces. I am in a position to reply that tentatively the central committee and the government are inclined to think that this is unnecessary. The funds which have already been appropriated for strengthening the defences of our homeland, the armaments which have already been created and are being created by industry will suffice for us.

In carrying out defence measures, strengthening the might of our socialist homeland, we are creating a varied range of rockets: ballistic intercontinental rockets, rockets of different ranges, both strategic and tactical, with atomic and hydrogen warheads. Rocketry in our country might be said to be running well and therefore we need not appropriate additional funds. Proper attention is given to other kinds of military technology in our country as well.

In our socialist country the interests of the people and government are at one and inseparable. We shall not make the people shoulder an unnecessary burden, unjustified by the interests of our cause.

Naturally, the Soviet government, in common with the whole Soviet people, does not want war hysteria to make the peoples of the world, including the peoples of the United States, France, Britain and Western Germany, live through excruciating days of tension. We are doing and shall do everything in our power to settle outstanding international issues peacefully and in a calm atmosphere.

The Soviet Union does not want to go to war with anyone. We do not need anyone's territories, anyone's wealth. How could we covet anyone's wealth, considering that the Soviet Union possesses vast natural resources, a highly developed industry and wonderful cadres of scientists, engineers, technicians, workers and agriculturalists.

How many times, speaking both officially and unofficially have spokesmen of the Soviet government, of our public circles, told the United States of America, its government, its people: Let us trade, let us develop economic and cultural contacts. The United States is rich and strong, and we are rich and strong. When relations between us enter a calm channel, this benefits the peoples of all countries.

This is why we address the governments of the United States of America, Britain and France once more: Let us honestly meet round the conference table, let us not create war hysteria, let us clear the atmosphere, let us rely on reason and not on the power of thermonuclear weapons.

We respect the American people, whose soldiers fought together with the Soviet soldiers in the trying days of the struggle against the fascist armies.

We remember and know the contribution made by the British people to the rout of Hitlerism. We respect France and the great French people; we revere the heroic sons of France, our worthy combat allies who refused to bow to Hitler even when their country was occupied. And we, of course, remember how the Poles, Czechoslovaks, Yugoslavs and other peoples of Europe fought against the fascist invaders.

We should like to address the peoples and governments of neutral countries and tell them now: You cannot stand aside. It is only through the efforts of all peoples that it will be possible to put the aggressor in a strait-jacket and rid mankind of the threat of a third world war. It is only through the efforts of all peoples and governments that the triumph of the great principles of peaceful coexistence can be assured, that agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control can be achieved. On the question whether or not there will be war neither governments nor peoples can remain neutral.

Such is the situation in which we are living today, such is the world of the middle of 1961, with its troubles and anxieties. Thinking whether there were such complex situations in past years, whether we succeeded in tiding them over in a reasonable way without war, historical experience indicates that such or similar situations have already occurred and reason has triumphed. The central committee of our Party and the Soviet government has done and will do everything in their power to see to it that the Soviet people, the peoples of all countries, tide over this tense moment, too, without war. We do not want war, but our people will not waver in the face of trials; to force they will reply with force, and will crush any aggressor.

We cannot allow ourselves to be complacent, we cannot expect everything to blow over by itself. Only energy, persistence, firm faith in the justice of our cause, devotion to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and cohesion behind the Party and the Soviet government, only these qualities will lend us more and more strength, will help us to surmount obstacles.

We are preoccupied with peaceful matters, are preparing for the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a congress the significance of which will lie in approving the further vast peaceful plans of our life.

Let it be known to everyone that we shall continue to work persistently in the name of peace, that the entire Soviet people will raise their voice, will concentrate their efforts on preventing the outbreak of a new war, on preserving peace.

N. S. Khrushchov's Speech at Soviet-Rumanian Friendship Meeting, Moscow, August 11th, 1961

FAITH in the justice of our cause enables the Soviet people to tell the capitalist world without any hesitation: Let us compete in conditions of peace, without threatening war, without the instruments of war!

The programme of our Party strikes a shattering blow at those who seek to sow mistrust in the Soviet Union and its peaceful policy. For it is now clear even to the uninitiated that lasting peace is required for the realisation of the magnificent programme for building communism put forward by the Party.

The Soviet government proposes to the governments of the Western powers to settle together all questions on which we disagree—questions which, nevertheless, cannot be left unsettled as they produce friction between states and breed tension in the world.

In this connection I would like to say a few words about the talks I had with the Prime Minister of Italy, Signor Fanfani, and with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Signor Segni. Those talks were useful. In the course of those talks we felt no friction, which is possible at meetings of representatives of states with different social systems. It is well known that friction causes the heating of bodies and fire can appear. Even ancient peoples knew this rule and obtained fire in that way. But friction between states may result in the conflagration of war.

Speaking of our states—Italy, a capitalist state, and the Soviet Union, a socialist state—they are, so to speak, heterogeneous bodies. In our talks, however, we agreed that people need peace and that it must be consolidated on the principles of peaceful coexistence. I got the impression that Signor Fanfani is striving for a peaceful settlement of issues in dispute.

But statesmen must take a realistic view of the difficulties confronting them, all the more so now, since we are approaching the moment when the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany is necessary.

It would seem that everyone should be glad that a peace treaty will be concluded with Germany and that the remnants of the Second World War will be removed in that way. But here certain difficulties arise. Indeed, Italy is a member of NATO—an aggressive bloc dominated by German revenge-seekers, survivors from Hitler Germany. The United States of America is encouraging the German revenge-seekers and this is fraught with great danger.

When we were speaking with Signor Fanfani about trade, we both stressed that trade was developing well and that there were good prospects for improving it. We said that the Soviet people loved and understood the nature, culture and art of Italy. I also remarked that we like Italian oranges and that they indeed have a delicious taste.

I asked Signor Fanfani where American rockets are located in Italy. Signor Fanfani replied that they were stationed precisely in orange groves.

The Soviet people have no enmity towards the Italian people. On the contrary, we would like to live in peace and friendship with the people of Italy. But that country has been drawn into the aggressive Atlantic bloc which threatens us with war in the event of a peace treaty being concluded with Germany.

The laws of war are cruel. I repeat, we have nothing against the Italian people and we sincerely wish them good fortune and happiness. But if the aggressive circles of the United States of America and Adenauer engineer a clash between our peoples, then, defending our security, we shall have to strike at the NATO military bases wherever they are situated, even if they are in the orange groves. And then, not only the orange groves of Italy but also the people who created them and raised the culture and arts of Italy to a high level, the people in whose good sentiments we believe, may perish.

On two occasions I have had a chance of talking with the Greek Ambassador at receptions. The Slav peoples of our country—the Russians, the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians—have developed fraternal sentiments for the Greek people. In ancient times Prince Vladimir of Kiev sent special envoys to choose a religion. On returning home they said that the Greek religion was the best. But now we will not analyse the conclusions of the envoys who reported to Prince Vladimir. We have our own opinion about religion, but in this case there is no need to speak about it. As you will remember from history, the “christening of Russia” took place. Therefore, one of the streets in Kiev is called Kreshchatik. They say that it was along this road that Vladimir drove people to the Dnieper to be christened. And they were christened, not only with a cross, but also with sticks, because many people at that time did not want to accept the new religion. And that was how we came to be christened. Together with the religion, much of Greek culture and customs penetrated to our country. We never had any conflicts with the Greek people. More than that, when the Greeks were fighting for their independence, we were entirely on their side. Russian people shed their blood in the struggle for the liberation of the Greek people from foreign enslavers.

During the Second World War, when Hitler attacked Greece, the peoples of the Soviet Union admired the heroism of the Greek people, who did not kneel to the fascist barbarians. We know that when the Soviet Union was attacked by the Hitlerites, the Greek people sympathised with our struggle and made their contribution to the common cause of the struggle which the peoples waged against fascism. But then the world war was over and fascism was routed. It would seem that the people who had gallantly fought against Hitler Germany had earned profound respect and honour. Unfortunately, however, many of them, like, for instance, the hero of the Acropolis, Manolis Glezos, have been imprisoned.

We have no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of Greece. That is against our customs. But we Soviet people, as well as the peoples of other countries who shed much blood in the struggle against fascism, cannot remain indifferent onlookers when a man whose heroic act added a golden page to the history of the struggle for independence, is now languishing in torture chambers.

In my talks with the Ambassador I said that our peoples had always been brothers and we had always wished the Greeks the same happiness as we wished ourselves. And yet now the government of Greece has allied itself with NATO—the aggressive North Atlantic bloc.

We know that on the territory of Greece there are military bases directed against the Soviet Union.

And now that the ruling circles of the United States and Adenauer are increasing tension and threaten to unleash war if a peace treaty with Germany is signed, we are being threatened on behalf of the entire bloc, on behalf of

all NATO countries. Consequently we are threatened with war even by such countries as Greece, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Belgium and Holland, not to mention such European countries as France, Britain and Western Germany.

We shall, of course, sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic. If the imperialist states unleash a war they will force us, in self-defence, to strike crushing blows, not only at the territories of the principal countries, but also at the military bases situated on the territories of other countries belonging to the North Atlantic alliance.

It is well known, however, that military bases are not situated in deserts. According to reports, in Italy they are situated among citrus groves, and in Greece among olive groves.

Perhaps there are some people who expect that certain cities will be proclaimed open cities as it was possible to do during the last world war. But one should not allow oneself to indulge in illusions. In a future thermonuclear war, if it is touched off, there will be no difference between front and rear.

I have told the Greek Ambassador: The most sane policy for Greece is to withdraw from NATO. Then, if war did break out, Greece would not suffer.

The Ambassador said to me:

“I trust that the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union would never give the order to drop atom bombs on the Acropolis and other historic monuments in Greece.”

Mr. Ambassador, I should not like to be unpleasant, but you are profoundly mistaken.

Of course, as Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union I shall not issue orders that bombs be dropped specifically on the Acropolis. But our hand will not falter in striking a blow at the military bases of the North Atlantic bloc which are situated in Greece as well. In that event the responsibility will rest with those who put cities, peoples and historical monuments under a blow.

Our country, our people, the countries of the socialist camp, are threatened only because we shall sign a peace treaty. And they declare that they would fight, allegedly for the freedom of the Germans in West Berlin. But that is a fairy tale. West Berlin has 2,200,000 inhabitants, but if war is unleashed hundreds of millions might die.

What person in his senses would find such arguments of the imperialists convincing? Under the pretext of defending freedom, upon which no one is encroaching, the imperialists want to test our determination. They want to do away with our socialist gains. Your hands are too short, Messrs. Imperialists!

Imperialists, colonialists, are used to riding roughshod over the peoples; they are accustomed to the idea that the lion's roar makes Asian and African peoples tremble. But times have changed. The roar of the British lion no longer frightens the people as it used to do. British colonialists, together with the French, attacked Egypt and, figuratively speaking, received a sound drubbing. The Egyptians pulled the lion's tail and threw him out.

Yes, times have changed, but the imperialists' approach has remained the same; they have retained their wolfish appetite. And it is with a wolfish appetite and the old yardstick that the colonialists are trying to approach the Soviet Union. But, gentlemen, the days when you attacked the Crimea are gone. More than a hundred years have gone by since then. Even in those

conditions the Russian people displayed great courage in the struggle against foreign invaders. But that was a hundred years ago. Then you had to deal with tsarist Russia. But tsarist Russia is no more. It is the tsardom of the working people that we have in our country.

Imperialists approach us as they did when Russia was known as the land of the bast shoe. But we have put the bast shoe in the museum, and quite a long time ago at that. It is only in museums that you can see the wooden plough in our country, and hundreds of thousands of tractors are humming on the fields of the Soviet Union. Not only do we fly in jet planes, but already we have circled the globe in a spaceship seventeen times within twenty-four hours.

And the imperialists want to frighten the Soviet people! They are trying to frighten us, probably because they themselves are afraid of the new socialist path along which we are irresistibly advancing towards the victory of communism, along the path outlined by Marx, Engels, Lenin. It is this that you are afraid of, Messrs. Imperialists.

Advancing towards communism, we are championing the idea of peaceful competition between countries with different social systems. We do not threaten anyone. No one will die if either side wins in this peaceful competition: the people themselves will choose the best system. But those who will fall back, who have not yet understood the historical development of human society, will correct themselves, catch up and take to our road, and we shall welcome them!

The United States of America is indeed living through a painful period of its development in which a great re-appraisal of values is under way. Put yourself in its place, although it is as difficult for you as it is for me to do that. It is actors who are good at quickly impersonating now kings, now proletarians. So put yourself in the position of a king or some kind of prince: he is accustomed to riches, accustomed to see everyone come to him as a supplicant; no one is entitled to look into his eyes, but everyone must bow low and look only at his trousers or shoes.

American imperialism, fat and strong, is accustomed, like such a king or prince, to see everyone bowing to it and fearing it. But here the Soviet Union has emerged. Our rouble was rather a weakling at first, but then it gained strength, matured, and now it is worth more than the dollar.

Our country has turned into a great and mighty power. We have created a powerful industry and a highly developed agriculture and we have raised the level of our science and culture. But the imperialists look on us as they did on Russia about a hundred or fifty years ago.

But what is this to us? To come running and say: "What is your desire?" We do not want that. We are telling the imperialists: You, gentlemen, did not notice us, or, to use the Ukrainians' expression: Have you lost your eyes?

This shows that imperialists have lost their sense of reality and at present they are painfully revaluing many things. When President Kennedy talked with me in Vienna, he stressed: "But we are a great nation." And I reply: "That is true, but, Mr. President, the Soviet Union is a great nation, too."

Incidentally, in 1960 in Paris, Mr. Macmillan kept persuading me that we should sit at a table with Eisenhower when Eisenhower had committed an unworthy act with regard to our country. He said: "Do understand, Mr. Khrushchov, it is a great country. It is impossible for it to apologise." I replied: "What do you mean? We are a great country too, and we demand

an apology and without such an apology it is impossible for us to sit at the same table with those who have insulted our country!"

Therefore we are telling the imperialists: Do understand that your position now is like that which an old grandfather, father or mother faces at some time. Their son has already exchanged shorts for long trousers, and their daughter is already preparing a hair-do. They already claim to be treated as grown-ups, but the parents still want either to pull their pigtailed or box their ears.

And to some extent they approach us with such a yardstick. All the time they want to teach us: "You cannot do that"; "Don't you dare to do this"; "If you do that, we shall box your ears". To such threats the reply can be given: "It is not your ears that we shall box. We shall hit you on a different spot!"

The struggle for a peace treaty with Germany is the struggle to abolish the remnants of the Second World War, to consolidate peace and the security of the peoples. Let those who are threatening us know that His Majesty the Working Class of the Soviet Union, of all socialist countries, has assumed power, has created states with which imperialists, colonialists, must reckon and they must treat with respect the peoples of the socialist countries and their interests!

I have departed from my text and prolonged my speech unduly, and we are still to hear a speech by Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej.

Let us return to the question of military bases and of the responsibility of those who surrender the territories of their countries for these bases. In the event of war breaking out, the Soviet Union in defence, in order to protect itself, will be compelled to strike at all territories of the countries of the military NATO bloc on which military bases are situated.

The Russians have a proverb: "When losing one's head it is no use weeping over the coiffure." What's the use of monuments of antiquity if the people are dead? Here in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries there are also historical monuments loved by the people. Therefore in order to protect human lives, in order to protect the monuments of culture themselves, we shall have to strike a devastating blow at the aggressors.

And nothing will deter us in the struggle against the aggressor, in the striving to uphold the gains of socialism and communism, to uphold peace throughout the world.

Now, more and more frequently, we hear talk from statesmen and military leaders, particularly in the United States, to the effect that they are developing a neutron bomb.

The neutron bomb, as conceived by its creators, should kill everything living but leave material assets intact. So, comrades, this is what these people are thinking. They are acting as robbers, who want to murder a man without staining his suit with blood, so as to be able to use that suit. This is what the neutron bomb means, in effect. It is talked about in the United States Congress and in the press. Even at a press conference the President was asked openly: "What is your attitude towards the development of such a bomb?" But the President sidestepped and gave no answer.

To develop a bomb with which it would be possible to kill people but preserve all riches—there it is, the bestial ethics of the most aggressive exponents of imperialism. Is this the law of man? Man is nothing to them. To them the main thing is plunder, the quest for profit, which prompts imperialists to the most horrible crimes.

Communists prize material and spiritual riches created by man's labour and genius. Above everything else, however, we prize man himself, who by his work has created all the riches on earth. Therefore, we want to defend, not only the fruits of man's work, but, in the first place, man himself. We want to defend the peoples. This is our philosophy, our ethics. This is genuine communist humanism.

We address the Greek people, the peoples of other NATO countries: Realise how dangerous is the path on to which you are being pushed by Chancellor Adenauer, by the revenge-seekers, and by all those who stand for his policy. If the imperialists should unleash war, the logic and rules of war will compel the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, even against their will, to strike crushing blows at aggressors wherever their military bases may be.

One must have common sense and do everything to avert a possible disaster.

We consider it necessary, first of all, to remove from the relations between states the fragments of the Second World War and to give scope to the establishment of friendship and the development of co-operation with all states.

The conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany will benefit all the parties to that treaty, all who really strive for peace and build their policy in the interests of peace. The Soviet Union has submitted comprehensive proposals on this question. At the same time, we are ready to hear out and consider any constructive proposals by the Western powers.

We say to the Western powers: Do not seek in our position for things that are not there. The Soviet government does not seek to prejudice anybody's interests. It does not threaten anyone. We proceed on the basis of the real facts and we want to bring the relations among all states into line with what actually exists.

There are two German states in existence at the present time, and any attempt to make one Germany out of two by way of war is doomed to failure. If such a war starts, then there will probably be nothing and nobody left in Germany to unite. This must be understood. Yet Chancellor Adenauer stubbornly drags his allies to the road of threats and the intensification of the war danger. How can he, a man who has lived a long life, who is proud that he has not fought himself, that his sons are not officers, who calls himself a Christian and belongs to a party which styles itself Christian—how can he call for war? It cannot be God who is suggesting such sinister thoughts to him, thoughts which are so dangerous to the German people, to all people.

Adenauer says he wants to serve his people. But if he starts a war the very existence of the whole population of Western Germany would be put in question, and not only its existence, but the existence of many other peoples as well, because thermonuclear war is difficult to confine within the frontiers of one country.

Come to your senses, gentlemen. I appeal to those who have not lost the faculty of thinking calmly and soberly and on whom the development of the international situation depends. There was a time when the American Secretary of State Dulles brandished thermonuclear bombs and followed a policy of strength with regard to the socialist countries. He followed this policy with regard to all states which disagreed with the imperialist claims of the United States.

That was barefaced atomic blackmail, but it had to be reckoned with at the time because we did not possess sufficient means of retaliation, and if we did, they were not as many and not of the same power as those of our opponents.

However, today the situation has changed radically. And specific conclusions must be drawn from recognition of the fact that the capitalist countries are unable to force their philosophy, their way of life on us and cannot compel the socialist countries to turn back. It is necessary to follow a reasonable policy on our essentially small planet which man can now circle seventeen times in twenty-four hours.

The Soviet Union does not threaten anyone. In our atomic age it is madness to threaten to start a war. We say: Let us remove the remnants of the last war, let us conclude a peace treaty with Germany for peace. The Soviet government does not claim any foreign lands. We propose to record in legal form the frontiers which have been established and which have existed for many years. We only want to deprive the revenge-seeking circles of the possibility and temptation to start a new war for a revision, so to speak, of the results of the Second World War. The Soviet government is pressing for the establishment of conditions for a firm and lasting peace in Europe and throughout the whole world.

Of course, West Berlin is not an easy legacy of the last war. But I would not say that the question of West Berlin is in itself so difficult to solve. If the other side wished to co-operate, if it did not turn the question of West Berlin into a trial of strength, agreement would certainly be possible. And it would unquestionably benefit the cause of peace. For the Soviet Union does not encroach on West Berlin, on the way of life of its population. We propose to bring the status of West Berlin into accord with peace-time conditions and the situation that actually exists in Germany and Europe.

The Soviet proposals submitted by us to the Western powers provide a reasonable way out for both sides. Nobody's prestige will suffer, nobody will become stronger at the expense of the others. It is necessary to extract the decayed tooth and enable mankind to live without pain and really sleep calmly. But the President of the United States of America painted a sombre picture in his speech and, in conclusion, wished his listeners good night. What man can sleep calmly when threats are invoked against him, when he is made to fear that atomic war will be unleashed?

War hysteria will lead to no good. There must be a sense of proportion and warlike passions should not be fomented.

If feelings are let loose and they predominate over reason, then the flywheel of war preparations can start revolving at a high speed. And even when reason suggests that a brake should be put on, the flywheel of war preparations may have acquired such speed and momentum that even those who set it revolving will be unable to stop it. The people who have set this flywheel going may become its victims.

The most terrible thing is that it is not only those who set the flywheel going who may become its victims. They may push their peoples into the abyss of thermonuclear war. All this must be taken into consideration; the laws of physics and the laws of politics must be taken into consideration.

West Berlin lies in the territory of the German Democratic Republic. The government of that state has displayed a profound understanding of the interests of peace. In order to help to ease the tension and establish normal relations in post-war Europe, it has agreed, when it signs the peace treaty,

to recognise West Berlin as a free city, to respect its sovereignty, to ensure to it freedom of communication with the outside world by agreement with the government of the German Democratic Republic.

The Soviet Union proposes that the free city status of West Berlin be ensured by reliable international guarantees. We have mentioned various possible variations of such guarantees. They can, for instance, be provided by the four powers—Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union. There can also be other variations. Briefly, it is possible to produce conditions and guarantees that would fully ensure non-interference in the affairs of West Berlin and free access to West Berlin for all states on the basis of the existing international practices and international law.

In a word, we are prepared to give firm guarantees, not only to the population of West Berlin, but also to those Western powers which are most keen about these guarantees, although they know full well that we do not encroach upon the social system of West Berlin.

Such are our clear-cut proposals. We want the German peace treaty to be finally concluded, and we shall secure a peaceful settlement together with the countries which are ready to strengthen peace and friendship among the nations. If the Western powers do not want to co-operate in this important undertaking, the Soviet Union and the other peace-loving states will be obliged to sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic only.

I again say before the entire world: Let us not try to intimidate each other; let us not seek out what divides us; let us not deepen the already great differences, for, after all, we do have common requirements and interests since we have to live on one and the same planet! These interests must help the peoples to get out of the present tense situation by the road of peace. We propose to sit down at the conference table and discuss calmly, without inflaming passions, in a businesslike way, what is to be done so that the seeds of new conflicts may not germinate on the soil left over from the last war.

Today I have read a report about President Kennedy's press conference. In reply to a question about the threat of a military conflict in connection with the conclusion of a German peace treaty, the President declared: "We hope that we shall be able to achieve a peaceful settlement of the problem."*

Such a statement is to be welcomed. It is precisely for a peaceful settlement that the Soviet government is striving. But in order to ensure a peaceful settlement it is necessary to conclude a peace treaty with Germany. It is only in this way that the remnants of the Second World War can be removed.

We should like to believe that reason will prevail in the responsible circles of the West, and above all in the United States of America, and that sabre-rattling will give way to a sober and unprejudiced view of things. We hope that the governments of the Western powers will finally come to the conclusion that agreement, taking into account the existing situation in Germany, Europe, and throughout the world, would produce better results for all the peoples of the world than the dangerous playing with fire.

Such is our peaceful programme which we offer to our people, the communists and the members of the Young Communist League, to all those who by their labour are strengthening and glorifying the Soviet socialist homeland.

On behalf of the central committee of the Communist Party and the Soviet government I should like to say once again that everything will be

* Re-translated from the Russian.

done to prevent war. But we shall not flinch before threats. The history of our state confirms with sufficient eloquence that we know how to safeguard our just cause. When fourteen imperialist powers, immediately after the Great October Socialist Revolution, attacked us, we defended the gains of the October Revolution.

We accepted the challenge of the old world and won under Lenin's leadership. We did not flinch when we were treacherously attacked by fascist Germany. The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people ended in our historic victory. The Soviet people are not afraid of any threats.

We shall not be the first to press the buttons on our rocket installations: we shall not start war, but if the imperialists force a war upon us, we shall meet it bravely and deal a devastating blow at the aggressor.

The position of the Soviet government on urgent questions of home and foreign policy was set forth in detail in the recent radio and television speech.

The central committee of the Communist Party and the Soviet government are sure that the Soviet people will correctly understand the tasks life sets before us and will work with even greater devotion. The central committee and the Soviet government understands the proposals of the working people that they are prepared to go over, in the defence industry in particular, to an eight-hour working day.

Permit me to express the gratitude of the central committee of the Communist Party and the Council of Ministers to all workers, technicians, engineers, scientists and office employees for their correct understanding and support of the government. As regards the proposal of the working people to switch over some of the defence enterprises to an eight-hour working day, permit us to avail ourselves of it depending on the situation. Rely in this on your government and the central committee of the Party.

The persistent and inspired labour of the Soviet people yields remarkable fruit and brings glory to our homeland. The better we work, the higher we raise labour productivity, the better use we make of technology and science, the richer will be our life and the stronger our defence, the more unassailable will be the sacred borders of the Soviet Union.

We are strong now and stronger than ever is our desire to ensure lasting peace, to achieve general and complete disarmament. We are prepared immediately to sign a treaty on disarmament and the destruction of all types of weapons under all-embracing and strict international control. It is to peace and friendship between all peoples, to fraternal friendship between the peoples of the socialist countries that all the thoughts and all the efforts of the Soviet people are directed.

Comrades, we are building communism, not alone, but in the fraternal family of the socialist countries. The states of the world socialist system, united by their common aims and interests, have formed a powerful union of fighters who are courageously transforming the world and carrying into life the brightest dreams of mankind. Nobody imposed this union upon us; we have forged it ourselves, being guided by the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism, mutual assistance and support. Our commonwealth represents those historical forces to which the future belongs! The joint Soviet-Rumanian communiqué signed today expresses the common viewpoint of the peoples of our countries on all the most important questions of world developments today.

We note with satisfaction that the government of the Rumanian People's Republic supports the just proposals on the German question, and, together

with all the countries of socialism, is tirelessly fighting for peace. This unity of the socialist countries was once again convincingly confirmed at the conference of the First Secretaries of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries—the participants in the Warsaw Treaty—which was held in Moscow early in August.

Soviet Reply Note to the Government of the U.S.A., on Strengthening of Berlin Border Controls, August 18th, 1961

ON August 17th, the United States Embassy in Moscow, on instructions from its government, sent to the government of the Soviet Union a Note concerning the measures towards strengthening control on the border of the German Democratic Republic with West Berlin, taken by the government of the German Democratic Republic in accordance with a request from the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

Referring to the agreements concluded among the four powers in 1945 on the occupation zones in Germany and the administration of Greater Berlin, the United States government, in its Note, describes the measures taken by the German Democratic Republic as a violation of the quadripartite status of Berlin. The government of the United States regards as "illegal" the measures taken by the government of the German Democratic Republic on the territory of the sovereign and independent German Democratic Republic, and protests against them.

On the same day, the Soviet government received analogous Notes from the governments of Britain and France, sent through their Embassies in Moscow.

On August 18th, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent to the governments of the United States, Britain and France analogous reply Notes from the Soviet government.

The following is the full text of the Soviet government's reply Note to the government of the United States:

Text of Note to United States Government

IN connection with the Note of the United States government of August 17th, 1961, the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics finds it necessary to state the following:

1. The Soviet government fully understands and supports the actions of the government of the German Democratic Republic, which has established effective control on the border with West Berlin in order to block the way to the subversive activities being conducted from West Berlin against the G.D.R. and other countries of the socialist commonwealth.

In its measures on the frontiers the government of the German Democratic Republic has merely exercised the ordinary right of every sovereign state to defend its interests. Any state introduces on its frontiers with other states a régime such as it considers necessary and meeting its lawful interests. As is well known, the régime of state frontiers is one of the internal questions

of any state and its settlement does not need recognition or approval by other governments. Therefore, the attempts of the United States government to interfere in the internal affairs of the German Democratic Republic are absolutely groundless and irrelevant.

2. The government of the United States of America is, undoubtedly, quite familiar with the causes which made the introduction of control over the traffic on the border between the German Democratic Republic and West Berlin necessary and even inevitable. The United States government itself made quite a few efforts to create these causes.

West Berlin has been turned into a centre of subversive activities, sabotage and espionage, into a centre of political and economic provocations against the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The former and present West Berlin municipal leaders have cynically called West Berlin "an arrow in the living body of the German Democratic Republic", "the front-line city", "a trouble spot" and "the cheapest atom bomb planted in the centre of a socialist state".

The gates of West Berlin were flung wide open to international criminals and agents-provocateurs of all shades in order to intensify international tension and extend the scope of provocations and subversive actions against the countries of the socialist commonwealth.

3. It is well known that over eighty subversive sabotage and espionage organisations and centres have established their headquarters in West Berlin and are operating with impunity there. The full names and addresses of persons engaged in hostile activities incompatible with the status of West Berlin, which lies in the territory of the German Democratic Republic, were repeatedly given in documents delivered to the Western powers at the appropriate time, but the West Berlin authorities and the occupation bodies of the three powers have not lifted a finger to put an end to these criminal activities.

The reason, apparently, is that West Berlin has become a den of adventurers rogues, paid agents, terrorists and other criminals serving the intelligence services of the entire imperialist world, including the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States, the British secret intelligence service, the French Service of External Documentation and Counter-Espionage, and the West German subversive intelligence organisations with their numerous branches and ramifications. Things reached a point where West Berlin became the residence of the so-called "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia".

The question inevitably arises: Do such actions have anything in common with observance of the quadripartite status established in Berlin immediately after the rout of Nazi Germany, to which the government of the United States refers in its Note? One must have an excessively great sense of humour to claim that the activities in West Berlin accord with the quadripartite obligations.

The Soviet side repeatedly made representations to the American authorities in connection with the spy tunnel dug by American agencies in the Alt-Glienicke area of West Berlin to communication lines of the Soviet troops and communication lines of the German Democratic Republic inside G.D.R. territory. That huge tunnel was equipped with special apparatus and devices for listening in on and recording conversations on the aforementioned communication lines.

The American authorities, including the U.S. State Department, caught

red-handed, did not even reply to these representations. Does this constitute observance of the solemn commitments assumed by the United States of America in the quadripartite agreements concluded by the Allied powers with regard to Germany?

But the spy-tunnel in Alt-Gliennicke is a mere trifle in comparison with the tunnel which has been daily and hourly driven from the territory of West Berlin to undermine the socialist system in the German Democratic Republic and other socialist states.

4. It must be well known to the government of the United States that, with the assistance of the occupation authorities, the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany have turned West Berlin into the main base of incessant economic sabotage against the German Democratic Republic.

At the expense of the taxes levied upon the population of the Federal Republic of Germany a speculative rate for the exchange of Western marks into the G.D.R. currency was arbitrarily introduced and artificially maintained in West Berlin. No city in the world has ever known such shameless speculation in currency as West Berlin, and this under the wing of the occupation authorities. The buying up of valuable goods and foodstuffs in the German Democratic Republic and their export to West Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany has been organised on an enormous scale, which has done tremendous harm to the population and the national economy of the German Democratic Republic.

The open frontier with West Berlin annually cost the working people of the German Democratic Republic at least 3,500 million marks.

West Berlin lived an unhealthy, feverish life, actually at the expense of the population of the German Democratic Republic and those thousands of millions in subsidies which were pumped from the pockets of the taxpayers of the Federal Republic of Germany—its factory and office workers and farmers. The lion's share of these funds got into the hands of black marketeers, saboteurs and subversive organisations. This was the pay for the role which the "front-line city" of West Berlin played for the benefit of the NATO military bloc in the "cold war" against the socialist countries.

From West Berlin, government bodies and concerns of the Federal Republic of Germany directed a whole army of recruiters, who used deceit, bribery and blackmail to impel a certain part of the population of the German Democratic Republic to move to Western Germany. There these people were made to serve in the Bundeswehr and to work in military production, and were drawn into various subversive organisations.

5. Implementing their aggressive militarist policy, hostile to the cause of peace, the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany converted West Berlin into an arena for open revenge-seeking gatherings and pogrom demonstrations directed against the neighbouring peaceful socialist states.

The government of the Federal Republic of Germany has made no secret of its efforts to draw the population of West Berlin into its war preparations. West German recruiting centres, providing mercenaries for the Bundeswehr, are operating on the territory of the city. It is known that there are 20,000 West Berliners serving in the West German army at the present time. Recruitment of soldiers from among the West Berlin population apparently plays by no means the least role in Bonn's plans for that part of the city.

The government of the Federal Republic has tried to adapt to its military plans the economy of West Berlin as well. It cynically announced the exten-

sion to West Berlin of the laws making it binding on the city's industries to fulfil military orders for the Bundeswehr.

Propaganda against the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries—propaganda characterised by incitement and slander—has been conducted and continues to be conducted systematically by radio and television in West Berlin. The radio and television in West Berlin are subordinated to one task—to sow enmity among the nations, to foment war hysteria, to try to organise disorders, to transmit coded instructions to agents of Western intelligence services.

The governments of the United States, Britain and France have themselves admitted that West Berlin is not part of the Federal Republic of Germany and cannot be administered by its organs. The Soviet government has more than once drawn the United States government's attention to the impermissible actions of authorities of the Federal Republic in West Berlin which are incompatible with either the present status of the city or the interests of tranquility in Europe.

Nevertheless over fifty government institutions of the Federal Republic of Germany are now operating in West Berlin and interfering without ceremony in all the affairs of the city, while the organs of the Bundestag and the Bundesrat present their lawless claims to this part of the city.

But why is all this happening? The explanation is to be found in the connivance and direct encouragement on the part of the Western occupation authorities, who have long since bartered away their commitments under the quadripartite agreements to which they refer, for the services they get from Western Germany as a member of the aggressive NATO military bloc.

Therefore they have not even once responded to any of the just demands of the Soviet Union and the government of the German Democratic Republic that measures be taken to prevent international provocations organised by militarist and revenge-seeking forces of the Federal Republic of Germany from West Berlin.

6. The German Democratic Republic has for many years been extremely tolerant in the face of this absolutely revolting and impermissible situation. Carrying out its consistently peaceful and democratic policy, it has made enormous sacrifices in order to facilitate the reaching of agreement between the two German states on the question of a peace settlement and Germany's reunification in accordance with peaceful and democratic principles.

Nevertheless, subversive activities from West Berlin against the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist countries have been further extended, especially in recent times, following the submission of proposals for the immediate conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the normalisation of the situation in West Berlin on that basis. The enemies of peace and tranquility in that area have not let slip a single opportunity to hamper the plans for socialist construction in the German Democratic Republic and to prevent the rise in the living standards of its population, and this has been done by every means, stopping at nothing to complicate the situation in the republic.

It is quite understandable, therefore, that the government of the German Democratic Republic, seeking to prevent the complication of the present international situation and responding to an appeal from the socialist states that are members of the Warsaw Treaty, has taken appropriate measures to protect its national interests and the interests of the security of the other socialist states.

7. In concluding their historic agreements at the end of the Second World War and after the rout of Nazi Germany, the U.S.S.R., the United States, Britain and France jointly mapped out a programme for reviving the life of Germany along democratic and peaceful lines. This programme has been carried out on the territory of the German Democratic Republic.

Western Germany, unfortunately, as the Soviet government has repeatedly pointed out, has followed the road of reviving militarism and chauvinist and revenge-seeking forces dangerous to the cause of peace, and forces which inspired and organised Nazi aggression are again prospering there.

The Western powers have themselves contributed to this and have flagrantly violated all the foundations of the post-war Four-power agreements. In its Note of August 17th, the government of the United States tries to refer to the quadripartite agreements on Germany which that government has itself violated. But is it possible in destroying the whole to retain a part of the agreement which one finds to one's own advantage? And have the United States government and its organs in West Berlin guided themselves in practice by the principles of the four-power agreements which they now invoke?

Did the separate monetary reform extended to West Berlin from Western Germany accord with the four-power principles? Or the establishment of Bizonia and a separate magistracy in West Berlin? Can these quadripartite principles, in the opinion of the United States government, be reconciled with the separate tripartite occupation status for West Berlin or the Paris agreements on the rearming of the Federal Republic of Germany and its inclusion in NATO? Or are the aforementioned subversive actions against the U.S.S.R., the German Democratic Republic and other countries, which are conducted from West Berlin, perhaps also in conformity with the principles of four-power co-operation?

It is sufficient to ask these questions in order to realise the entire groundlessness and absurdity of the references by the United States government to the aforementioned agreements.

8. The references of the Western powers to the Allied agreements are also unwarranted because these agreements were concluded for the period of German's occupation and for the purposes of occupation. Much has changed in the course of the past sixteen and a half years; the face of Germany itself has changed. Two independent states have sprung up on its territory with their capitals and their borders—the socialist peace-loving German Democratic Republic and the capitalist militarist Federal Republic of Germany.

No one has the right to interfere in the affairs of these two German states as long as they fall under the internal jurisdiction of those states. One can recognise or not recognise these real facts—they will not cease to exist because of that.

The United States government tried in its Note to present the striving to perpetuate the occupation of West Berlin (and this sixteen years after the end of the war!) as concern for the Germans and almost as a practical expression of the right to self-determination. Such attempts cannot, of course, be taken seriously.

And if the protective measures on the border of the German Democratic Republic with West Berlin create certain temporary inconveniences for the population of the city, the responsibility for this must be placed entirely on the occupation authorities and the government of the Federal Republic of

Germany, which have done everything to prevent an improvement in the situation in that area with due consideration for the lawful interests of all states. In view of this, the protest made in the Note of the United States government is groundless and is categorically rejected by the Soviet government.

9. As has already been stated earlier, the measures taken by the government of the German Democratic Republic are provisional. The Soviet government has repeatedly emphasised that the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the normalisation of the situation in West Berlin on that basis will not infringe the interests of any of the parties and will benefit peace and the security of all peoples. It is to this that the Soviet government summons the government of the United States.

N. S. Khrushchov Answers American Journalist Drew Pearson Regarding a Peace Settlement with Germany, August 27th, 1961

Nikita Khrushchov, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, recently received the American journalist Mr. Drew Pearson and had a talk with him. In reply to a question by Drew Pearson about the Berlin crisis, the desirability of negotiations with the leaders of the Western powers on this question, and how soon these negotiations should be started, Khrushchov made the following statement which has been published in the American press:

AS I understand it, what you call the "Berlin crisis" are differences between socialist countries and countries of the West regarding the fate of West Berlin following the conclusion of a German peace treaty. I should like, first of all, to stress that this question is only part of the general problem of a peace settlement with Germany.

The outcry raised over it by certain circles in the West, which promotes the whipping up of international tension and war hysteria, is clearly aimed at making it difficult to sign a German peace treaty. A start should therefore be made by taking up the major issue—that of the German peace treaty.

This is all the more important, since the proposal of the Soviet Union and a number of other countries which fought against Hitler Germany that a peace treaty be concluded with the two German states now in existence, which are the legal heirs of the former Germany, has provoked a completely erroneous reaction on the part of the Western powers.

A particularly hostile attitude has been adopted by the government of Western Germany on this question. In this it is supported by the governments of the United States, France and Britain. According to the Adenauer government, they reject the reasonable proposals that a peace treaty be

signed with the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, although such a treaty in no way affects the interests of the Western powers.

Certainly if a united Germany existed, such a peace treaty would be signed with it. At the present time, however, no such united Germany exists. On the soil of the former Hitler Reich two German states with diametrically opposed economic and political systems have come into being and have taken their own roads of development.

I do not now want to delve into the history of this question or give an account of why this has happened, although we Soviet people do have something to say on the subject. It was the United States, Britain and France who split Germany as long ago as 1947, when they carried out a series of economic and political measures to transform their occupation zones, first of all into Bizonia, then into Trizonia, and finally into the Federal Republic of (Western) Germany.

Confronted by the fact of the appearance in the western part of Germany of a separate state, which, by the way, immediately started to acquire a belligerent revenge-seeking character, the population of Eastern Germany, in their turn, created another German state—the German Democratic Republic, which bore a peace-loving and democratic character.

Thus, whether we like it or not, there actually exist in the centre of Europe two German states, and it is on the basis of this fact that we should proceed.

I can only add that the government of the (East) German Democratic Republic has repeatedly sought to persuade the government of the Federal Republic of (Western) Germany to come to the conference table and devise ways leading to the reunification of the German nation. Not one of those attempts has met with success. The government of the Federal Republic of (Western) Germany has flatly refused to consider any proposals by the German Democratic Republic concerning the creation of a united German state.

What prompts this attitude on the part of the West German government? This can be given only one explanation: Rejecting the peaceful unification of the German nation, the government of Western Germany is contemplating the forcible seizure of the (East) German Democratic Republic. Only a blind man can fail to see that an attempt to swallow that republic will not remain unpunished. Indeed, it is not alone and it has its own true allies who will not abandon it in time of trouble.

It is also known that Western Germany, too, has its allies, with whom it is linked through the aggressive NATO pact. In these conditions an attack by Western Germany against the German Democratic Republic would not be a local conflict but would be the start of a thermonuclear war without parallel in history in which all states belonging to the two opposing camps would take part.

How, then, are we to act in this situation? Are we to wait until Germany reunites—which, as you see, can take place only by means of a terrible war—or are we to sign a treaty with the two actually existing states without further delay?

We believe there should be no further delay.

The signing of a peace treaty, which would draw a line under the Second World War and legitimise the frontiers of the two German states, will tie the hands of the revenge-seekers and discourage them from

indulging in gambles. And, on the contrary, a further delay would be interpreted by the revenge-seeking circles of Western Germany as encouragement to aggression, to the unleashing of war.

It was on this basis that we decided to put an end to procrastination on the question of a German peace treaty.

And if the government of the Federal Republic of (Western) Germany continues to refuse to sign such a treaty, it will be signed with the (East) German Democratic Republic, which has already expressed its agreement. The treaty will legitimise the frontiers defined by the Potsdam agreement and the (East) German Democratic Republic will exercise full sovereignty on its territory, free from the burden of the vestiges of the Second World War.

Now with regard to the fate of West Berlin. As I have already said, the question of West Berlin is part of the general question of signing a German peace treaty. Following the signing of a peace treaty with the (East) German Democratic Republic, West Berlin will receive the status of a free city and will be the complete master of its destiny. Its people will live under such a social and political system as they themselves want to have. We propose that a clause be included in the treaty to the effect that no one shall have the right to interfere in the affairs of West Berlin or to impose their régime upon its people.

It would seem that this should entirely suit the Western powers, which have repeatedly declared that the population of West Berlin must have complete freedom and independence in the choice of their way of life. Nevertheless, the leaders of the Western powers are vigorously opposing our proposals and in so doing are whipping up an unparalleled clamour, akin to war hysteria, round the Berlin issue.

What, then, are they displeased about? They are displeased about the fact that the signing of a German peace treaty and the granting of the status of a free city to West Berlin will automatically put an end to the occupation status, on the basis of which their troops are stationed in that city.

Contrary to the plain and firm statements of the governments of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic regarding their readiness to provide West Berlin with any kind of guarantee, the statesmen of the West, and notably Adenauer and Brandt, continue to allege that we want to “seize” West Berlin. It is not for nothing that people say that a lie walks on short legs.

I should like to know what the Western powers would reply to the following concrete proposal: Let the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union jointly give a solemn pledge to respect and protect the freedom, independence and rights of the free city of West Berlin!

I believe you will agree with this. We, too, agree! Then where are the grounds for inflaming passions and fomenting war hysteria round the so-called Berlin question?

The question remains of freedom of access to West Berlin. As you know, it is round this question that opponents of the signing of a German peace treaty are raising a particular outcry. It is all the more important to give complete clarity to this question.

We have said, and we repeat that no one is encroaching on the freedom of access to West Berlin. On the contrary, in proposing that a

German peace treaty be concluded, we emphasise that the freedom of West Berlin's communications must be guaranteed. The government of West Berlin, like any sovereign government, must have the right to maintain diplomatic, economic and cultural ties with any country of any continent.

Where, then, do our differences lie? They lie in the following:

We want to do away completely with the vestiges of the Second World War, while the Western countries—the United States, Britain and France—are clinging in every possible way to those vestiges, seeking thereby to assure their troops access to West Berlin on the basis of the occupation rights which stem from the régime of the surrender of Hitler Germany.

But one thing does not conform with the other! Ask any lawyer and he will tell you that if a peace treaty is signed, then the state of war is ended. However, if the state of war is ended, how then can the occupation régime be preserved in West Berlin? This is impossible!

All sovereign countries of the world—and the German Democratic Republic is one of them—are guided by a universally accepted rule: If their routes of communication with other countries run through the territory of third states, then, naturally, the agreement of those third states is always required in order to use those communications, no matter how they may run—on the ground, in the air or across the water. This holds good with regard to any country, regardless of what social system it may adhere to.

As an argument against dealing with the German Democratic Republic (Eastern Germany) some Western personalities protest that they cannot deal with that government, since the United States and other Western powers fought against Germany. This argument is completely without foundation. Indeed, we, too, fought and are known to have borne the brunt of the war against Germany, including that part of it which today makes up the Federal Republic of (Western) Germany. Nevertheless, we maintain relations with, and whenever necessary deal with, the government of the Federal Republic of (Western) Germany.

Let me give you an example which I have already mentioned in one of my speeches.

We are now operating a direct rail service between Moscow and Paris. These trains pass through the territory of the Federal Republic of (Western) Germany. Before signing an agreement with France, we naturally approached the government of Western Germany with a request that it allow the transit of trains through its territory, and it was only after agreement had been received and appropriate agreements had been signed that this train service started to operate.

Thousands of such examples could be given. The same rule should also be applied with regard to access to West Berlin after a peace treaty is signed. Respect for sovereignty must be observed with regard to all countries, the German Democratic Republic (Eastern Germany) included.

This rule constitutes the law of laws, and if we start without it there will be no stability in the world, there will be no peaceful coexistence of states and in general there may well be no peace.

And if certain governments and political leaders say: "Let the Soviet Union and other countries sign a peace treaty while leaving the Western powers that right of access to West Berlin which stems from the occupation status," they are wishing for the impossible. When a peace treaty is

signed it is quite natural that the rights of the conquering powers which stem from the surrender of the conquered country come to an end. The two German states with which a peace treaty will be signed will from then on be completely sovereign. And regardless of whether or not other countries like the régime existing in one or the other of them, they will have to maintain relations with them in conformity with the generally accepted standards of international law.

It might be opportune in this connection to recall what happened at the time of the signing of the peace treaty with Japan. Together with the United States, we fought against Japan. The Soviet army routed the main nucleus of Japanese troops, the Kwantung Army in Manchuria. After the surrender of Japan, the Soviet Union, together with the United States and the other allies, devised measures to control the post-war development of Japan. Soviet representatives took a most active part in the work of the Allied Council in Tokyo. When, however, the question arose of concluding peace, the United States signed a separate treaty, ignoring the Soviet Union. It unilaterally liquidated the Allied Council for Japan and started to oust the Soviet representatives from Tokyo. And although we had rights and commitments which stemmed from the fact of Japan's surrender, our allies disregarded them.

Why then are the United States and its allies now trying to describe as illegal our intention to sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic in the event of the Western powers refusing to join us in a peace treaty with the two German states? What suits the United States they declare to be legitimate, but what does not suit the United States they call illegal.

Is this logical?

Thus, it is quite evident that the Western powers are artificially fomenting a dispute round the Berlin question by injecting the spirit of war hysteria in order to worsen international tension still more and to create a pretext for unleashing war against the Soviet Union and the socialist camp as a whole. Arguments that they are allegedly fighting to preserve the freedom and independence of the population of West Berlin are false through and through, since no one is threatening that freedom and independence.

We say: Let us sign a peace treaty. Let us establish a free city status for West Berlin. Let us provide it with all the necessary guarantees. We are, moreover, ready ourselves to participate in the exercise of those guarantees. We are also ready to agree to these guarantees being reinforced by the presence in West Berlin of token forces of the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union. These should be small in numbers and literally token forces, because no large number of armed forces will be necessary there in order to guarantee the free city status. In that event agreement could be reached with the government of the German Democratic Republic regarding the freedom of communication for those military contingents.

That, in effect, sums up our position on the German question. That is what we are calling for.

I should like again and again to emphasise that we are striving for the elimination of the vestiges of the Second World War. We want the atmosphere in Europe, and therefore throughout the world, to become purer, so that all the nations of the world may breathe fresh air and so that all

countries may live as good neighbours, so that they may build up peaceful relations with one another, so that human beings may live without the fear of war.

It is for this reason that the Soviet government and the governments of other socialist countries which took part in the war against Hitler Germany have firmly decided not to postpone any longer the signing of a German peace treaty. We shall regret it if the Western powers do not wish to join us in signing a peace treaty. But in that event we shall be compelled to sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic alone.

You ask when it would be desirable to hold negotiations. The answer is that the solution of the question brooks no delay. We are therefore ready at any moment to meet the leaders of the Western powers on this matter if they have a sincere desire to achieve a realistic settlement of the German problem on a mutually acceptable basis.

To this I should like to add that they, no less than we—and perhaps even more so—should be interested in having this problem peacefully solved. And if the leaders of the Western powers, and notably President Kennedy, want such a settlement, we have declared long ago that we are always ready to go and sit round a table for peaceful negotiations.

Soviet Government Statement on the Decision to Carry Out Experimental Explosions of Nuclear Weapons, August 31st, 1961

THE peoples are witnessing the ever-increasing aggressiveness of the policy of the NATO military bloc. The United States and its allies are spinning the flywheel of their military machine ever faster, whipping up the arms race, to an unprecedented extent, increasing the strength of armies and making the tension in the international situation red-hot. Matters have reached a point where the leading statesmen of the United States and its allies are resorting to threats of having recourse to arms and unleashing war as a counter measure to the conclusion of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic.

Being faced with these facts, which cannot fail to cause anxiety, the Soviet government considers it its duty to take all necessary measures so that the Soviet Union may be completely prepared to render harmless any aggressor if he tries to launch an attack. The tragedy of the first months of the Great Patriotic War, when Hitler attacked the U.S.S.R., having ensured for himself a superiority in military equipment, is too fresh in people's memories to allow this to happen now. This is the reason why the Soviet government has already taken a number of serious measures to strengthen the security of the U.S.S.R. For the same reason, after a thoughtful and comprehensive examination of this question, it

has taken a decision to carry out experimental explosions of nuclear weapons.

Being fully conscious of the importance and responsibility of this serious step, the government of the Soviet Union considers it necessary to explain to the Soviet people and to all mankind the meaning and significance of the decision, the sole aim of which is to do everything possible to prevent the catastrophe which a third world war would represent for the hundreds of millions of inhabitants of our planet.

Those who are preparing a new world holocaust are sowing illusions that a new war, if it were unleashed, would, so they allege, be waged without thermo-nuclear weapons. But this is deception of the peoples.

The experience of history teaches us that it has never been possible to keep the fire of war within predetermined limits. Wars have stern and inexorable laws of their own. An aggressor starts a war in order to bring his victim to its knees and to impose his will on it. But even the aggressor is aware that in the event of defeat the fate that he was preparing for his victim will befall him. Therefore every state that takes part in a war, regardless of whether it is attacking or defending, will stop at nothing to achieve victory and will not accept defeat without having used and expended every means of waging war in its possession. Under these conditions any armed conflict, even if insignificant at first, would inevitably grow into a universal rocket and nuclear war if the nuclear powers were drawn into it.

The desire of peoples to put an end to the arms race and to free themselves forever from devastating wars is especially near and dear to the Soviet people, who have recently seen a war in their own house and paid with unparalleled losses for the restoration of peace. But everything which people went through in past wars pales in comparison with the horrors which can be let loose on them by merely a few thermo-nuclear bombs. And, today, not a dozen, not a hundred, but thousands of such bombs are in the arsenals of the great powers. As one of the nuclear powers, the Soviet Union has accumulated enough scientific and technical knowledge about the destructive power of new types of weapons, about means of delivery of thermonuclear charges to their target, and about the consequences of using such weapons to be fully aware of the character of modern war.

The Soviet government was the first to raise its voice in favour of general and complete disarmament, in favour of stopping nuclear weapon tests. It has repeatedly submitted to the United Nations specific proposals that ensure the achievements of that aim. From the rostrum of the United Nations, in the messages and statements of the head of the Soviet government, N. S. Khrushchov, and wherever representatives of the socialist camp have met representatives of the Western countries there has been heard the sincere and ardent appeal of the Soviet Union that agreement be reached to destroy, once and for all and under the strictest international control, all types of armaments to the last bomb and to the last shell, to disband armies to the last soldier, to abolish completely General Staffs and military institutions.

It will not be an exaggeration to consider that even today mankind could be living in a world without weapons or armies had the governments of the United States, Britain and France and some other member-

states of the Western military blocs manifested a reciprocal striving for this.

The opponents of disarmament still pretend that the different approach of the Soviet Union and the Western powers to the question of control is an obstacle to an agreement on disarmament. No one denies that the establishment of international control over disarmament, which involves the most sensitive interests of states, the interests of their security, is a complicated and delicate matter. The question of control has for years been a stumbling block in the way of agreement on disarmament. This has been so because control has been used by the Western powers as a pretext for turning down any proposal on disarmament.

Even before, they were never anxious to achieve control over disarmament. This was most explicitly said from the rostrum of the United Nations by the former President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, who unequivocally stated that it was not a question of control over disarmament but of control over armaments.

In order not to allow the essence of the matter—disarmament itself—to be ruined, the Soviet government has stated openly that it is ready to accept in advance any proposal of the Western powers on international control. Only one thing was expected of the Western powers and this was that they should accept our proposals on general disarmament and submit their own proposals on general control.

Yet, strange though it was, those who had hitherto expressed so much concern about international control, seemingly lost the power of speech when given unlimited opportunities to formulate and execute their ideas regarding a system of international control.

What can be the explanation for the fact that no specific proposals on that subject have as yet followed from the Western powers? This can be explained only by fear that the Soviet Union will accept their proposals on control and then the Western powers would either have to agree to general and complete disarmament or would utterly expose themselves as opponents of disarmament and as opponents of control over disarmament.

The main thing in our day is disarmament, general and complete, and an agreement on such disarmament would cover the question of nuclear tests.

Indeed, when the arms race is stopped and when the weapons that have been stockpiled are destroyed, there will be no incentives for the improvement of weapons and consequently no incentives for carrying out experimental nuclear tests. But, on the other hand, merely an agreement on stopping nuclear weapon tests cannot by itself put an end to the arms race. The states that already possess atomic weapons will inevitably feel tempted to act in violation of such an agreement and seek ever new ways and loopholes for perfecting weapons, to say nothing of the fact that the tests carried out by three or four powers are quite sufficient for unlimited stockpiling of the most dangerous thermonuclear weapons of the existing types.

The states which do not yet possess thermonuclear weapons will in their turn try to create them, in spite of an agreement prohibiting nuclear tests.

Incidentally, they can put forward arguments which the champions of nuclear disarmament will have difficulty in parrying. Indeed, is it realistic

to expect that a situation will continue for long in which some states that are far advanced in developing atomic power for military purposes will continue to manufacture mountains of atom and hydrogen bombs on the basis of the experiments already carried out, while others will watch idly how they are lagging further and further behind the nuclear powers as regards their military strength, and consequently in the capacity for ensuring their security?

Experience proves the contrary.

There was a time when a monopoly of atomic weapons existed in the world and the United States tried to retain it. Taking advantage of the fact that it had in its hands weapons of which no other state had the equivalent at that time, the United States was testing atom bombs whenever and wherever it liked, without paying heed to what the peoples thought or said about it. The United States did not shrink even from testing this monstrous weapon on human beings—children, women, old people, dropping atom bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, on the land of an enemy who had actually already been routed. Brandishing the atom bomb, those who at that time determined the policy of the United States were trying to dictate their will almost to the entire world and trying to blackmail the socialist countries. An extremely dangerous situation arose.

The Soviet people were compelled to mobilise all their material and spiritual resources to break the atomic monopoly of the United States, which had become a threat to peace, and to create within the shortest possible period of time their own nuclear weapons. Soon the circle of nuclear powers expanded. Britain also joined it.

The peoples realised in time what a danger was involved in the inclusion in the arms race of ever new countries, and they enthusiastically responded to the demand that nuclear tests be stopped. The Soviet Union became the standard-bearer of those demands. For many years it consistently and unswervingly fought for the cessation of all kinds of nuclear tests everywhere and for all time.

For this purpose it discontinued nuclear tests unilaterally, although such an action on its part involved a certain risk, since the United States and Great Britain had by that time carried out a greater number of nuclear explosions than the Soviet Union. It was due to the initiative and efforts of the Soviet Union that negotiations between the three nuclear powers began in Geneva, in the course of which the Soviet government patiently sought mutually acceptable solutions, repeatedly taking important steps forward to meet the wishes of the United States and Great Britain.

Yet with what line did the Western powers counter the clear and honest attitude of the Soviet government?

They responded to the Soviet Union's unilateral ending of nuclear tests by carrying out a series of explosions of nuclear bombs unprecedented in its intensity.

The government of the United States and Britain responded to the attempts repeatedly made by the Soviet Union to bring the positions of the negotiating parties closer together, by going back on their own proposals which they had supported only the day before. They did their utmost to prevent agreement. In fact they deleted the unanimously adopted conclusions and recommendations of scientific experts, includ-

ing their own experts—American and British—concerning the methods of identifying nuclear explosions and ensuring appropriate control over the observance of a treaty on the discontinuance of nuclear tests.

The governments of the Western powers have persistently put forward, and continue to put forward, the demand that a treaty on the discontinuance of nuclear tests should not provide for the prohibition of underground nuclear explosions. Meanwhile, it is obvious to every informed person that the carrying out of such explosions, even if it is claimed that they are conducted for peaceful purposes, is nothing but a concealed form of perfecting existing nuclear weapons or putting the finishing touches to new types. If a nuclear explosive device is effective, for example, for "shifting earth"—and the Western powers want to secure for themselves the right to carry out such explosions—the same explosive device will also be effective for military purposes. Thus, while coming out in words in favour of the discontinuance of nuclear tests, the United States and Britain are in fact showing concern for something quite different—for inserting into the treaty a loophole for the further improvement of thermonuclear weapons by conducting underground explosions or explosions for so-called peaceful purposes.

The Soviet government has proposed an agreement that in the international control body the socialist states, the capitalist member-states of military blocs, and the neutral states should be equally represented and enjoy equal possibilities of control. In contrast to this, the Western powers have made proposals the implementation of which would give them an advantage over the Soviet Union and would permit those powers to have complete command in the control body and cover the territory of the Soviet Union with a network of espionage centres under the guise of control posts and teams.

The entire course of the negotiations in Geneva proves that the Western powers are pursuing the aim of actually legalising those types of nuclear tests in which they are interested and of establishing an international control body which would be an obedient tool in their hands and would, in fact, be an appendage of the General Staffs of the Western powers. The hypocritical statements made by representatives of the United States and Great Britain about the ending of tests and international control have proved to be nothing but camouflage.

In order to help the negotiations out of the deadlock the Soviet government has proposed that the solution of the question of the discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests be linked with the problem of general and complete disarmament. This important proposal was set forth in the aide-mémoire handed over at the Vienna meeting of N. S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, and John Kennedy, the President of the United States.

The initiative of the Soviet government has opened up additional possibilities for achieving mutually acceptable solutions to the whole complex of disarmament questions, and, what is especially important, has removed obstacles in the way of establishing the widest and most comprehensive international control, including control over the discontinuance of nuclear tests.

What has been the reaction of the Western powers to the new attempt of the Soviet Union to facilitate mutual understanding? Instead of a businesslike examination of the Soviet proposal, the governments of the

United States and Britain have preferred to engage in distorting its content and in idle fabrications concerning the Soviet Union's intentions. At the same time responsible representatives of the United States have begun dropping hints that the United States will resume nuclear weapon tests in the immediate future.

The Soviet government considers it its duty to draw the special attention of the peoples of the world to the fact that now in the United States there is much ado about projects for developing a neutron bomb. Such a bomb would kill everything living but, at the same time, would not destroy material objects. Only aggressors dreaming of plunder, of seizing foreign lands and foreign property can mobilise the efforts of scientists for the development of such weapons. While exterminating people, they want to use the fruits of the labour of the victims killed by them, the riches created by those people. This is the morality of monsters. The plans for developing a neutron bomb expose the inhuman essence of modern imperialism, which is no longer satisfied with merciless exploitation of the working people and which is ready, for the sake of profit, to commit crimes which, by their monstrous nature, would eclipse the memory of the gas-chambers and murder-vans of the Hitler hangmen.

It is an open secret that the United States is standing on the threshold of carrying out underground nuclear explosions and only waiting for the first suitable pretext to start them. However, it is clear to everyone that since the United States government has the intention of resuming nuclear weapon tests, this is only a question of time.

The Soviet government cannot ignore the fact that France, an ally of the United States in NATO, has already been carrying out nuclear tests for a long time. While the Soviet Union refrained from nuclear tests, trying to achieve agreement with the United States and Great Britain at the conference table on the complete discontinuance of those tests, France was conducting explosions of nuclear devices, one after another.

She is continuing to do this in spite of the appeal of the United Nations to all states to refrain from such tests, in spite of the protests of broad circles of the public in all countries of the world, in spite of the warnings of the Soviet Union that it will be forced to resume tests if France does not stop her experiments with nuclear weapons.

Had they not drawn proper conclusions from the fact that nuclear tests are being conducted by France, the Soviet Union and its allies would have found themselves in an inequitable position as compared with the United States, Britain, France and the other countries which are their partners in a single military bloc. Let those people in the United States and Britain who may be confused by the experimental explosions of Soviet nuclear weapons imagine that it was not their ally, France, but an ally of the U.S.S.R.—let us say Czechoslovakia—who was carrying out thermonuclear weapon tests while other powers were refraining from tests.

What, in that case, would be the reaction of the United States, Britain and other NATO countries? Would they put up with a situation in which obvious harm was being done to the interests of their security? But nuclear tests are not being conducted by Czechoslovakia or some other socialist country. They are being carried out by France, who is

a member of NATO. How, then, can it be demanded that the Soviet Union should not take counter measures to strengthen its security? No government which has a real concern for the vital interests of its people and the defence potential of its country can act differently.

The yield of the French explosions set off in the Sahara may as yet be comparatively small, but their political repercussions are several times more dangerous.

The blast wave of the French nuclear tests has struck at the hopes of people in the most remote corners of the globe, causing general anger and indignation. It has also reached Geneva, actually sweeping away from the conference table the proposals aimed at putting an end to nuclear weapon tests once and for all. The continued nuclear weapon tests and also the active part played by the French government in the aggressive NATO military bloc are often, and not without reason, associated with the shameful colonial war in Algeria and the attack on Bizerta in Tunisia.

The legitimate question arises: Where were the governments of the United States and Britain when France was exploding nuclear devices on the African continent, challenging the United Nations and the peoples of the whole world? Instead of influencing their partner in the military bloc and keeping her from conducting nuclear explosions, they actually encouraged the French government.

This is sufficiently borne out by the fact that the United States and Britain refused to support the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly calling on the states not to carry out nuclear tests.

The Soviet government, however, would be telling only part of the truth if it passed in silence over the fact that not only states participating in the Western military bloc, but also many other countries that voted in favour of that resolution actually reconciled themselves to the fact that the French government was going against the will of the United Nations, against the will of the peoples. Certainly, the Soviet government knows that among those states there are quite a few sincere supporters of the cessation of nuclear tests.

But if at the present time the nuclear arms drive is being stepped up again, the governments of those countries should admit directly and honestly that a certain share of the responsibility for the situation rests with them, since they failed to administer a timely rebuff to those French circles which are driving the world to the continuation of nuclear tests.

The harmful effects of thermonuclear weapon tests on living organisms are well known in the Soviet Union and every measure is therefore being taken to minimise those effects. Yes, any experiments with nuclear weapons instil alarm in people and make their hearts ache. And if the Soviet government has nevertheless decided to carry out nuclear tests, it has been compelled to do this, reluctantly, with regret, and only as a result of the most careful and comprehensive study of the question.

The Soviet government has been compelled to take this step, the significance of which it fully appreciates, under pressure of the international situation created by the imperialist countries.

The policy of the leading NATO powers—the United States, Britain, France and the Federal Republic of Germany—and of this aggressive bloc as a whole, leaves the Soviet Union no other choice.

The Soviet people, the Soviet government cannot fail to take into

account the fact that, as was the case twenty years ago, ominous clouds of war are once again hanging over the approaches to our motherland, that Western Germany and the present allies of the German militarists are feverishly engaged in military preparations.

Not only the governments of the United States, Britain and France, but also the governments of a number of European countries whose people suffered a great deal from the Hitler invasion are now with their own hands helping the West German revenge-seekers to equip themselves for the new adventures. The governments of smaller NATO states—Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Norway, Greece and other countries taking part in this military bloc—also bear their share of responsibility for the policy of arming Western Germany. They will be unable to hide behind the backs of their senior NATO partners and they will have to answer themselves for all the grave consequences of this short-sighted and dangerous policy.

Adenauer and the forces that stand behind him are pursuing the course of turning Western Germany into a militarist state, armed to the teeth. The main goal of the foreign policy of that state is revenge and the revision of the frontiers established in Europe as a result of the Second World War.

Now the government of the Federal Republic of Germany is trying to make up for the first years after the unconditional surrender of Hitler Germany, when the United States, Britain and France had not yet fully departed from the allied agreements providing for Germany's demilitarisation.

The sixteen post-war years are a sufficient span of time to judge whether the peoples of Western Germany have learned the proper lessons—as is the case in the German Democratic Republic—from the militarist past, from the disastrous defeat in two world wars unleashed by Germany.

Unfortunately there is too much evidence pointing to the fact that the Germans who live in Western Germany are again succumbing to the opium of revenge and are permitting latter-day Fuehrers to carry them away along the path of war. What other explanation could there be for the fact that at every election to the Bundestag the population of the Federal Republic of Germany votes for Chancellor Adenauer and those politicians who are stubbornly dragging Germans to new acts of aggression? Germans voting for Adenauer cannot but know that Adenauer and those who adhere to his policy in Western Germany have adopted those very slogans of anti-communism and revenge-seeking under which Hitler came to power and subsequently unleashed the Second World War.

It goes without saying that every nation is free to place at the helm of the state those political figures it wants. But no one can deprive other nations, which have already on a number of occasions witnessed the seeds of militarism and aggression ripening in Germany, of the right to raise their warning voices against the tragic events of the past being repeated—voices which must be heard by every German. No matter how bitter it may be to realise, not only the Germans of West Germany, but also the peoples of other countries that are taking part in the military blocs of the Western powers are not yet equal to the demands of the time and do not display proper activity to stop at once the preparation of a new war. This conclusion suggests itself from the very fact that in elections

they also vote for candidates and parties which form governments pursuing the policy of building up armaments.

Shunning the efforts aimed at eliminating the "cold war" and safeguarding peace, they fail to muster the necessary determination to deny their trust and support to governments which have shown by all their activities that they are opponents of general and complete disarmament and supporters of the arms drive and the whipping up of war hysteria.

If those peoples do not take the opportunity to put a curb on the governments which are pushing the world to a universal catastrophe, if they do not unite their efforts with other peoples so as to assert their will to achieve disarmament, to expel war finally from the life of human society, there is only one conclusion that can be drawn: the peoples of these countries have not yet awakened, have not realised the importance of the responsibility that rests with them for safeguarding peace.

The more tangible is the danger of a military conflict being set ablaze by Western Germany, the more urgent and pressing becomes the signing of a German peace treaty, which would protect the peoples from fresh encroachments by the German militarists. It is common knowledge that this is precisely the aim of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, in response to the Soviet Union's declared determination to conclude a German peace treaty and thus draw a final line under the Second World War, it is being threatened with the unleashing of a third world war.

A new demonstration of strength in response to the Soviet proposals concerning the German peace treaty is the dispatch to West Berlin of additional troops and armaments by the United States and Britain.

As for the reinforcement of the military garrisons of the Western powers in West Berlin, this has no special significance and it has been undertaken obviously as a provocation and only as a provocation. Those who took the decision to send that military contingent to West Berlin know this better than anyone. The Soviet government would not be doing its sacred duty to the peoples of its country, to the peoples of the socialist countries and to all peoples striving for a peaceful life if, in the face of the threats and military preparations that have gripped the United States and certain other NATO countries, it did not make use of the available possibilities for perfecting the most effective types of weapons that can cool the hotheads in the capitals of certain NATO powers.

The Soviet Union has worked out designs for creating a series of super-powerful nuclear bombs equivalent to 20, 30, 50 and 100 million tons of T.N.T., and powerful rockets, similar to those with the help of which Major Y. A. Gagarin and Major H. S. Titov made their unrivalled space flights round the earth, can lift and deliver such nuclear bombs to any point on the globe from which an attack on the Soviet Union or other socialist countries could be launched. It would be unjustifiable thoughtlessness not to draw appropriate conclusions from the situation that has arisen owing to the aggressive policy of the NATO military bloc, and not to take care to strengthen the security and might of the Soviet state, the great socialist camp and all peace-loving states.

The Soviet government addresses this statement not only to the friends of the Soviet people who have correctly understood the Soviet Union's peace-loving policy, but also to those people in foreign countries who might perhaps judge too severely the carrying out by the Soviet Union of

tests of new types of nuclear weapons. The Soviet government is taking this step in the firm belief that the peoples will understand the forced nature of this measure and its inevitability in the present conditions. In order to discourage the aggressor from criminal playing with fire, it is necessary to make sure that he knows and sees that there is a force in the world which is ready to administer an armed rebuff to any encroachment on the independence and security of the peace-loving states and that the weapon of retribution will reach the aggressor in his own den.

The Soviet government is speaking about all this not only in order to make absolutely clear the motives that have prompted it to carry out nuclear tests at the present moment.

It is giving a reminder of this, in the first place, in order that the peoples of the world may know from where the menace comes, in order that they may clearly see the manoeuvres of the enemies of peace so that they can unite their forces to combat this danger. Let all who cherish peace know that they may confidently rely on the Soviet Union, on the titanic efforts it is undertaking to bring the initiators of war hysteria to their senses and to stop the ever-accelerating drive towards a new war.

Being invariably guided by the Leninist principles of peaceful co-existence, the Soviet Union does not threaten anyone and, of course, does not intend to attack anyone. The Soviet government solemnly declares that the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. will never be the first to resort to arms.

The Soviet people would be happy if the arms race could be stopped, if the necessity of nuclear weapon tests could disappear forever and the peoples could free themselves for good from the heavy burden which they have had to shoulder ever since war became the sinister companion of human society.

If every people, whether the people of a large or a small country, of one with a highly developed industry or one only beginning to develop its economy, of a country which is a member of military blocs of states or a country following a neutral policy, had demanded with the full power of their voice that the military machinery of states be at last smashed and that mankind be delivered from the danger of destructive nuclear war, this would have been achieved.

Expressing the vital interests of the Soviet People and, as it is convinced, the interests of all sincere champions of disarmament and peace, the Soviet government addresses the peoples and the governments of all countries of the world with its appeal that the efforts to carry out in practice the idea of general and complete disarmament and to eliminate forever the danger of nuclear weapons from the life of mankind be increased tenfold. It reaffirms the readiness of the Soviet Union to sign at any time an agreement on general and complete disarmament which would put an end to nuclear weapon tests.

The Soviet government's entire policy is directed towards the establishment of relations between states based on the principle of peaceful coexistence, so that the peoples may freely develop trade, mutually enrich each other with spiritual values, and compete, not in producing

the maximum of means of destruction, but in creating the material wealth so necessary for the people.

The draft programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which defines the practical tasks of the Soviet Union for the next twenty years, is imbued with this noble aspiration.

The Soviet government is confident that the efforts of the Soviet people in the struggle for the consolidation of international security will not be wasted and will merge with the efforts of other peoples directed towards the establishment of firm and unbreakable peace on earth, for the triumph of the ideas of peace and progress.

The cause of peace and friendship among the nations will triumph and the calculations of the aggressive forces will be thwarted.

Soviet Government's Note to the United States Government—September 2nd, 1961

THE Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics presents its compliments to the Embassy of the United States of America, and in reply to its Note of August 26th, 1961, has the following to say on the instruction of the Soviet government:

1. In its Note the United States government again puts forward as the main question that of the so-called quadripartite status of Berlin. In its Note of August 18th the Soviet government invoked a vast amount of material indicating that for many years the Western powers, through all their actions, destroyed this quadripartite status, having turned West Berlin into a base for sabotage, espionage, speculation and other subversive activities against the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and other socialist states. The United States government makes a pretence of not noticing the incontrovertible arguments and facts cited by the Soviet government; apparently it has nothing to say with regard to these facts and arguments.

By this very fact it confirms that it can neither refute nor question them, and therefore cannot deny the justice and substantiality of the position of the Soviet Union, which is insisting on the liquidation of such an impermissible situation in West Berlin and on the immediate halting of the subversive and criminal activities of the authorities of the Federal Republic of Germany from the territory of West Berlin, which are dangerous to the cause of peace.

2. In the aforementioned Note of the United States an attempt is made once again to make the internal measures of a third sovereign state—the German Democratic Republic—the subject of discussion. Such actions are in flagrant contradiction with the universally accepted standards of international law. If the United States does not maintain normal relations with the German Democratic Republic, that does not give it any grounds for any interference in the internal affairs of the German Democratic Republic. To admit the reverse to be reasonable would mean replacing law in international life by iniquity, and international legal orderliness by chaos in the relations between states.

The dissertations in the United States Note regarding the measures taken by the government of the German Democratic Republic at the border with West Berlin reek of the stale spirit of occupation, which has long since outlived its day, and of reluctance to face realities. The old Germany no longer exists—in its place there have emerged the socialist German Democratic Republic and the capitalist Federal Republic of Germany. Any realistic policy on the part of the states cannot fail to take into account the existence of these two sovereign states, which appeared, not yesterday, and not today, but twelve years ago. No incantations, however often repeated, in Bonn or other capitals of the Western powers will remove this fact.

3. In its Note the United States government does not deny that the air corridors across the territory of the German Democratic Republic are being used to transport from the Federal Republic of Germany to West Berlin revenge-seekers, militarists, spies and saboteurs who are active against the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist countries. At the same time it claims that in accordance with the decisions of the Control Council in Germany, the Western powers have an “unrestricted right” of air access to West Berlin—of persons of that sort, by inference—and that “there has never been any limitation whatsoever placed upon their use by the aircraft of the Western powers.”

Such claims cannot be substantiated either legally or in substance. From the documents of the Control Council it is evident that the air corridors now in use between Berlin and the Western occupation zones of Germany were temporarily assigned exclusively for supplying the needs of the United States', Britain's and France's military garrisons in West Berlin, to ensure communications and the dispatch of personnel and cargoes of these garrisons to the headquarters of the occupation forces of the respective powers in Western Germany. This is what is said in particular in a decision on a report of the military air directorate unanimously adopted by the Control Council on November 30th, 1945.

No quadripartite decisions on uncontrolled commercial air transportation over the air corridors or on transportation over them of any German personnel or persons not in the service of the occupation authorities of the three powers, not to mention West German revenge-seekers or militarists, were taken by the Control Council and no such decisions exist in fact.

It is well known that the Control Council bodies, in their day, discussed the question of establishing on the territory of Germany air routes

not to be directly related to the discharge by the four powers of their functions of occupation. The Control Council, however, decided that it was not competent to decide this question.

And, in general, the agreements to which the United States government refers were concluded before the establishment of sovereign German states which have already won broad international recognition. Furthermore, these agreements were concluded during the period of the occupation of Germany, the termination of which was announced in appropriate statements of the occupying powers, with the exception of West Berlin, in which the Western powers for some reason still maintain the occupation status.

4. In its Note the United States government attempts to present matters as if the present "wide variety of ties" between West Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany "are in no way incompatible with the four-power status of Berlin."

The Soviet government has already had the opportunity to expose the nature of this "wide variety of ties." It is quite obvious that links of that kind have as little in common with the quadripartite agreements, to which reference is made in the American Note, as the espionage-sabotage tunnel at Alt-Gliennicke, the activity of revenge-seeking organisations and subversive centres in West Berlin, speculation in the currency exchange rate and other similar crimes.

5. The Western powers have repeatedly admitted and, judging by the United States Note, do not deny even now that West Berlin does not form any part of the Federal Republic of Germany, cannot be administered by its authorities, and therefore cannot serve as a residence for such authorities. The question then arises: How can this official position of the United States be reconciled with the establishment and functioning in West Berlin of West German departments and institutions, under the wing of occupation authorities, with the holding there of sessions of the parliament of the Federal Republic and of its bodies, with the extension to West Berlin of the Bonn laws, with the claims of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany to represent West Berlin in foreign relations, etc.? It is obvious that these things are incompatible.

One can hardly escape the impression that by adopting such an attitude the three Western powers are attempting to exonerate their West German allies who are engaging in West Berlin in activities which are provocative and dangerous to the cause of peace and are now trying to hide behind the backs of the occupation authorities of the Western powers.

6. The Soviet government has more than once declared that it does not intend to restrict in any way the international links of West Berlin in general, and with the Federal Republic of Germany in particular. After the conclusion of a peace treaty, West Berlin, as a free city, would have the right and opportunity to maintain diplomatic, economic and cultural links with any country of any continent. But it cannot be a centre of subversion against the German Democratic Republic, on the territory of which it is situated. The free city of West Berlin will naturally have the

right of unhindered communications with the outside world, but this right would not stem from occupation, but from appropriate agreements with the governments of those countries across whose territories its communications would run.

7. Reaffirming its Note of August 23rd, 1961, the U.S.S.R. government insists that the government of the United States, which, together with the governments of Britain and France, is at present exercising occupation functions in West Berlin, should put an end to unlawful and provocative actions of the Federal Republic of Germany in that city. The Soviet government considers it necessary to warn the United States government that the U.S. government bears full responsibility for the possible consequences of the continuation of such provocative activities. The United States government would be approaching too lightly the whole question of the use of communications with West Berlin for provocative purposes, pointed out in the Note of the U.S.S.R. government of August 23rd, should it persist in the point of view expressed in the American Note of August 26th.

Extract from Nikita Khrushchov's Speech at Moscow Soviet-Indian Friendship Meeting, September 8th, 1961

WHEN the Second World War ended sixteen years ago, the peoples hoped that it would be the last war, that the governments of all countries would take effective measures to ensure a firm and lasting peace on earth. The peoples desire a peaceful life. In the name of this they have made tremendous sacrifices. No people know this better than ours. We lost millions of men in the last war. This is one of the reasons for the Soviet people's especially keen awareness of the need for resolute measures to prevent a new war.

In our time, when the greatest opportunities have opened before mankind for extending material production, for developing science and technology, for creating an abundance of material benefits, when man has realised the dream of cosmic flights and penetrated the secrets of the atom, it would seem that the very thought of war as a means of settling international disputes should appear as monstrous and unnatural.

But the grim reality is that it is precisely now, when conditions have been created for rapid progress, that mankind finds itself on the brink of a new war tragedy.

It is common knowledge that the most aggressive imperialist powers,

which are prepared to plunge the world into the abyss of thermonuclear war, have chosen as a pretext for sharpening the situation the question of a German peace treaty. I have already stated the Soviet Union's position on this question more than once, and there is hardly any need to dwell on all the details again.

What is the aim of our proposals? It is simple and understandable: to extinguish, by the conclusion of a German peace treaty, the smouldering embers left in the centre of Europe after the Second World War, to record juridically the existing German frontiers, to bar the way to the dangerous gambles of militarists and revenge-seekers who have again reared their head in Western Germany.

Only he who is bent on aggression, who wants to fan the flames of a new world war, can refuse to conclude a peace treaty.

Every sober-minded person also realises that in the conclusion of a German peace treaty one must proceed from realities, that is, from the objective fact of the existence of two German states. It is with these states that a peace treaty must be concluded. It should be said that the establishment of diplomatic relations by all states, both with the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, so as to acknowledge *de facto* and *de jure* the actual existence of the two German states, would greatly contribute to the strengthening of peace.

The cause of peace would greatly benefit from the admission of the two German republics to the United Nations, and from their international legal recognition stemming from this very fact. The admission of both German states to the United Nations would be a serious restraining factor to the revenge-seeking, militarist forces in Western Germany and to those allies of Western Germany in the military NATO bloc which are rendering support to these forces.

Those who recognise only the Federal Republic of Germany will raise an outcry: How can the German Democratic Republic be admitted to the United Nations when she is not recognised by them and they don't want to recognise her!

But if one proceeds from realities and is guided in one's policy, not by sympathies or antipathies towards the social system of a particular state, but by the principles of peaceful coexistence and the interests of strengthening world peace, one cannot escape the conclusion that both existing German states must be admitted to the United Nations and that the time for that is ripe.

But if facts are disregarded and the principles of peaceful coexistence rejected, what remains then? To build up forces and to prepare to settle outstanding issues by war? It is well known that it was such a policy that Dulles pursued in his time, but even he, at the end of his life, realised the danger and absurdity of such a policy and began to deviate from it. It is to be regretted that others have now armed themselves with what Dulles discarded.

They have hoisted on their mast a policy the full absurdity of which, with the new balance of world forces, has been demonstrated and want

to move forward with this policy which has outlived its time. But there is no reviving Dulles, and there is no reviving the outworn Dulles policy. He who fails to take this into account, who lives by old conceptions, might lead the world to the catastrophe of war.

I should like to note that the realisation of the need to proceed in politics from realities, to face facts, whether they seem pleasant or not, is spreading ever more widely in the world. It is this realistic position on the German question that is taken by the leaders of many states who recognise that it is essential to proceed from the fact that at the present time two Germanys exist which represent independent states, who recognise that the German problem cannot be solved by threats and military measures, by preparations for war.

One cannot fail to see that the leading circles of the Western powers still lack the desire to approach the problem of a peace settlement with Germany from positions of reason. The Western powers reply to our proposals for concluding a German peace treaty by stepping up military preparations and direct threats. But what can be gained by that?

It is a fact that in the West they know full well that our people are not afraid of threats, that we are strong enough to give a crushing rebuff to any aggressor. Similarly they know that we are proposing to solve the problem of a German peace treaty on an agreed basis, and such a basis cannot be worked out in the conditions in which war hysteria is being drummed up, as is the case in the United States, Western Germany and certain other countries.

It is true that there is now a great deal of talk in the West to the effect that negotiations are necessary and even vital. It was in this spirit that the United States President, Mr. Kennedy, spoke at his press conference of August 30th. If this reflects the real intentions of the Western powers, if they are ready for businesslike negotiations, the Soviet government welcomes this.

We stand for serious, businesslike negotiations, which would result in the conclusion of a German peace treaty with the participation of all states of the anti-Hitler coalition. But it is impossible to put off a peace settlement with Germany to infinity. And if anyone expects to use talk about negotiations in order to gain time, to mislead public opinion, I should like to say quite definitely once more—this will not succeed.

We shall regret it if the Western powers do not sign a German peace treaty together with us. In that case a peace treaty will be concluded between the German Democratic Republic and those states who wish to do so. It is no longer possible to put off a peace settlement. The peoples will not forgive us new delays.

With the conclusion of a German peace treaty the problem of West Berlin will be solved as well. West Berlin will receive the status of a demilitarised free city, and its population will have every possibility to live under the economic and political conditions of their choice.

No one will have the right to interfere in the internal affairs of West Berlin. The government of the German Democratic Republic, in the centre of which West Berlin is located, has also stressed repeatedly that

it has no intention of encroaching on West Berlin, of interfering in its internal affairs.

It goes without saying that there will be no blockade of West Berlin.

Freedom of communications with all countries and peoples will be ensured to it, naturally, on the condition of the observance of the rule, customary in such cases—agreement with the government of the German Democratic Republic across whose territory run the communications with West Berlin.

We regret extremely that our peace-loving proposals for concluding a German peace treaty and normalising conditions in West Berlin, proposals which were put forward with good intentions in order to eradicate the vestiges of the Second World War, far from meeting understanding on the part of imperialist circles, threw them into a fit of rage.

They started to build up their armed forces at a forced pace, to increase their appropriations for armaments, undertook a number of measures of a military nature and generated unparalleled tension throughout the world. Military preparations assumed an especially broad scale in the United States of America and then in the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain and France. Other countries belonging to the aggressive NATO bloc are being prodded to follow suit.

Considering the present conditions, we naturally could not disregard the security interests of our country and of the socialist camp. The Soviet government was recently compelled to increase the defence expenditures of the U.S.S.R. and to postpone for a time the discharge from the armed forces of well-trained Soviet soldiers who had completed their term of active service. In view of the direct threats against the Soviet Union we were confronted with the necessity of holding nuclear weapon tests.

The governments of the United States and Britain now pose as all but the most zealous opponents of nuclear tests. They have even come out with a proposal against holding any nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere because this is injurious to human health. But they never expected that their proposal would be seriously discussed, much less accepted. This was purely a propaganda device designed to mislead public opinion. Highly indicative in this respect is the fact that, without waiting for the Soviet Union's reply, the United States President decided on the holding of nuclear weapon tests by the United States.

The entire purport of the proposals of the United States and Britain is to gain unilateral military advantages over the Soviet Union. They proposed an agreement to ban tests only in the atmosphere, while underground explosions could be carried on. Moreover, France would not be bound by any restrictions on nuclear weapon tests which she conducted in the interests of the whole NATO bloc, because the test ban would not extend to her in general.

The leaders of the United States and Britain, by their proposals, wanted to confuse people not versed in the tricks of Western diplomacy. They are trying to take cover behind talk about love of man, about human health. But at the same time they are stockpiling at a furious pace means for destroying human beings.

There is an apt saying: If the head is lost, what's the use of crying over the coiffure. Messrs. imperialists are preparing death for people in the fire of war while declaiming about their health.

They themselves threaten us, work up tension to the limit, and expect us not to take measures to strengthen our security and world peace! It is hard to call this anything but sacrilege.

It is just because of our concern for the preservation of peace on earth, for the life of whole countries and peoples, that we had to take measures needed to bring the aggressive forces to their senses, to make them realise that by war they will not gain their ends.

We cannot forgo improving weapons needed to stay the forces that want to deprive people not only of health but of life itself, who want to deprive our people, the peoples of the socialist and other peace-loving countries, of everything they have created by their own labour. The aggressors must know that if they touch off a war, that will be their suicide.

And there is one more thing one cannot keep silent about. Strange as it may seem, the talk about human health comes now precisely from those who have on their conscience thousands upon thousands of slaughtered fighters for national liberation in Angola and Algeria, in Bizerta and the Congo, in Oman and Kenya—wherever the peoples raise a protesting voice against colonial oppression and demand respect for their human dignity.

One wonders how the Western powers can reconcile in their policy humanistic appeals with colonial brigandage.

Wherever the oppressed peoples rise to the struggle for independence, for liberation from colonial oppression, imperialists draw the sword at once and attempt to maintain by force the system of colonial slavery. To the just demand of the colonial peoples for freedom, the colonialists reply with bloody terror, bombs and napalm. They burn down villages, murder defenceless people—women and children and old folk.

No, no words will cover the imperialist policy directed against the peoples fighting for independence, for freedom.

While in the United Nations many countries take a stand against colonial brigandage, certain representatives of the imperialist powers, of those very powers which now exude words about humanism, render support to the colonialists—and those who remain silent, side, in effect, with the colonialists.

The conscience of mankind can no longer reconcile itself to the bloody crimes of the colonialists. Colonialism cannot be destroyed by pious wishes. The struggle against colonialism calls for joint efforts of all freedom-loving peoples. It is clear that the success of the people's struggle against the colonialists largely depends on the strength and unity of the common front of all forces that stand for peace and progress, against aggression and oppression of the peoples.

The main thing now is to avert war. In order to put an end to the

danger of war being unleashed, to the arms race, to the testing and stock-piling of nuclear weapons, it is essential to achieve general and complete disarmament. This will remove the question of nuclear weapon tests. Without weapons, there will be no wars between states. And if the weapons manufactured thus far were destroyed, no one would waste forces and means to manufacture new weapons only to have them destroyed afterwards.

We propose that general and complete disarmament be carried out under the most strict international control. Here you have a proposal stemming from genuine love for people, from concern for their life and health. Why shouldn't the Western powers accept this proposal? The whole world would applaud such a decision!

As for the Soviet Union, we repeat once more that we are ready at any moment to sit down at a conference table to work out and sign a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

The Soviet people are proud of the fact that our country has advanced a programme of general and complete disarmament. On many questions the Soviet government has gone out of its way to meet the Western powers in order to facilitate agreement on general and complete disarmament.

When the Western powers broached the point that a balance must be achieved in disarmament measures in the sphere of nuclear weapons and in the sphere of conventional armaments, we proclaimed our readiness, already in the first stage, to effect major cuts in the numerical strength of our armed forces and armaments. As for such questions as control, the Soviet Union stated clearly and definitely that it was prepared to accept any proposals of the Western powers on control, provided they accepted the Soviet proposals for general and complete disarmament.

Nevertheless each time disarmament talks begin, the Western powers try to take cover behind the questions of control. The only talk one hears is that the Soviet Union does not want control over disarmament, evades control, and the like.

Let the Western powers say: We accept the Soviet Union's proposal for general and complete disarmament, if it accepts our system of all-embracing international control without the right of veto and with free access to all parts and all corners of the world, so that no country could secretly produce arms or build up forces for an attack. Let them make this proposal—we will accept it. And the problem of general and complete disarmament will be settled in the interests of all peoples. If the Western powers submitted such a proposal and we turned it down, then the entire onus for sabotaging disarmament would rest on us.

But the Western powers fail to propose their system of control over general and complete disarmament. Why? Because they don't want disarmament and know that if they proposed their system of control over general and complete disarmament, we would accept it, and then there would be no room for them to retreat.

The problem of disarmament must be settled, and general and complete

disarmament must become a fact. But it will not come of itself—it must be fought for. The peoples, desiring peace, must show an understanding of this and rally in the struggle against the forces which are resisting disarmament, extending the arms race and preparing to unleash a third world war. In every country the peoples must mobilise all their forces to struggle for disarmament, must find means of expressing their determination, and compel the opponents of disarmament to retreat.

The peoples of many countries are coming out vigorously for disarmament. The people of India are very active in this respect, and the government of the Republic of India is acting in the world arena for the earliest conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament. We are convinced that India, together with other peace-loving countries, will continue to press for the implementation of general and complete disarmament.

At the same time, it should be said that the full danger of the policy of the Western powers, the policy of the arms race and the intensification of tension, has not yet been fully realised in many countries belonging to aggressive military blocs. There too, of course, individual groups are protesting and working for disarmament, but the bulk of the people are still passive. There too people want peace, but they do not show determination in fighting for peace. Moreover, the warlike circles in the Western states still make use of the votes of hundreds of thousands and millions of voters at parliamentary elections to constitute parliaments and governments which continue to pursue an aggressive policy, a policy of preparing war.

No one in the world can sit on the fence now when the question of war and peace is being decided. As Mr. Nehru and other outstanding leaders of Asian and African countries have rightly pointed out, it is impossible to be neutral in questions of war and peace, as it is impossible to be indifferent to a choice between life and death. Everyone who cherishes peace will support in full the words of our esteemed guest, that the question of war and peace concerns every country, big and small, and that every country should therefore bear its share of responsibility and work in this direction, and that our task is to fight for peace in order to prevent war.

The results of the Belgrade conference of the heads of non-aligned countries, which ended several days ago, show a growing awareness of the need for effective actions for peace. The atmosphere of the conference reflected noble concern for the destinies of mankind, a striving to uphold peace and to put an end to colonialism for all time.

The need was expressed at the conference for better relations between states and the achievement of good relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

We are well aware that if the differences between the U.S.S.R. and the United States were overcome and relations for peaceful co-operation were established between them, this would go a long way towards strengthening world peace. For the international situation as a whole depends to a large extent on the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

It would unquestionably be a great achievement, a great victory for all peaceloving countries standing for peaceful coexistence, if the two great powers—the United States and the Soviet Union—achieved mutual understanding and lived in peace, and not merely in peace but also in friendship.

If peaceful, friendly relations were established between the United States and the U.S.S.R., it is doubtful whether anyone could complicate the international situation, as he would have to reckon with the positions of our two countries and abandon his aggressive plans.

It is necessary to clear the way for such friendly Soviet-American relations, and for this it is necessary to remove the obstacles, the road-blocks set up in the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the United States since the Second World War, to achieve genuine peaceful coexistence, establish conditions for the development of trade, cultural and other ties. This is what we strive for, this is what the Soviet government is making great efforts to achieve.

Extract from N. S. Khrushchov's Speech at a Meeting to Celebrate the Completion of the Hydro-Electric Station at Volzhsk, September 10th, 1961

WE create in the name of peace, in the name of a happy life for all mankind, and we firmly believe in this happy future, believe that reason will triumph, that a sound, realistic approach to a solution of the most intricate international problems will prevail.

Comrades, you, in common with all Soviet men and women, are anxious about the international situation and you evidently expect me to speak on this topic.

Last Friday, addressing a Soviet-Indian friendship meeting, I set forth quite thoroughly the Soviet Union's position on major international problems. It would be wrong of me to repeat what you probably have already heard or read.

What can be added to what was said at the meeting in Moscow? The situation in the world has become acute. The leading imperialist countries are doing their utmost to step up the arms race, are openly threatening us and, at the same time, contrary to obvious facts, are seeking to shift the main blame for international tension on to the Soviet Union.

President de Gaulle of France said at a press conference on September 5th that the Soviet Union had tolerated for sixteen years the situation

in Berlin "which it established itself, created jointly with the United States and the United Kingdom at the Potsdam Conference, and now has suddenly demanded its modification." Stating this, the President was evidently adhering to the rule—if the facts are not in accordance with one's conception, all the worse for the facts! But such a trick is not very dependable.

There was no understanding reached at Potsdam on how to convert West Berlin into a base of sabotage and espionage. Nor was any agreement reached there on how to revive German militarism and arm it. The present situation in the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin has nothing in common with the content of the Potsdam Agreement. And we have never reconciled ourselves to the forces of militarism once again raising their head in Western Germany.

The Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, and many other states have been stubbornly fighting for many years against revenge-seeking and militarism in Western Germany, for a normalisation of the situation in West Berlin, for the conclusion of a German peace treaty, which must firmly protect the life and security of the peoples of Europe and strengthen world peace.

We insisted on an early peace settlement with Germany already during the first years after the war. The Soviet government made proposals on this question in 1952 and in 1954, and then in 1958 and 1959, when we proposed that a peace treaty should be concluded with the two existing German states and the question of West Berlin settled on this basis, converting it into a demilitarised free city. Thus, the question of a German peace treaty did not emerge today or yesterday.

But what is the reply of the Western powers? Our peaceloving proposals, our position, are being distorted, and when we insist on a solution of the German problem and say that we will conclude—unfailingly conclude—a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, if the Western powers and the Federal Republic of Germany do not want to sign a peace treaty—we are accused of some kind of aggressiveness. It turns out that the conclusion of a peace treaty is a threat, while the preservation of the vestiges of the last war is something like a contribution to the cause of peace!

Statesmen, and this refers especially to Chancellor Adenauer, President de Gaulle and Britain's Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan, now urge a "firm stand" against the Soviet peace proposals. They are repeating almost every day this word they have selected about the firmness of their position.

But firmness in international relations must always be combined with reasonableness and flexibility. Even in materials firmness is not always a merit. Glass, for instance, is quite firm but it is also very brittle. The slightest blow, and glass is smashed into smithereens. The same applies to a "firm" policy: if firmness is not combined with flexibility and reasonableness, if it contradicts common sense—this leads to nothing good.

At his press conference, de Gaulle foretold "utmost destruction in

Russia" in the event of war and no more nor less that the "downfall of Soviet power". What can be said on this score? There is such a popular proverb: "A fox sleeps but counts hens in his dreams." The opponents of communism, the reactionaries who do not accept the new and progressive, sleep and see Soviet power perishing and with it also perishing the bastion of communism both in theory and practice. When they wake up they see that this was only a dream, a mirage, that Soviet power not only is not perishing but is daily, like a giant, increasing its might, and communism, as the most progressive teaching, as the living creation of millions, is achieving more and more successes.

We have carried through, and we will undeviatingly carry through, a policy of peace and we are persistently opposing all aggressive forces that seek to unleash war. This peaceloving policy flows from the very nature of our state, our social order. Such a policy accords with the vital interests of our people and all the peoples of the world. But if the forces that continue forging weapons of war unleash a military conflict, and war can be unleashed only by the imperialists, the anti-communists and the colonialists—they are one and the same thing—will perish in that war. Of course, damage will be inflicted on us in such a war.

As realists we do not deny this. But then one must ask the President of France about one thing he did not mention—what will remain of his country, if the imperialists plunge the world into war? For President de Gaulle is a soldier and knows well that one cannot destroy such a vast country as the Soviet Union; and France, just as Western Germany, Britain and other densely populated countries with big cities and industrial centres concentrated on a small territory, will not survive a thermo-nuclear war.

Therefore it is better not to forecast who will perish and who will remain. Damage will be inflicted on everyone, and some, evidently, will not survive at all. It is better not to guess what will happen in the event of war, but one must use all opportunities of settling disputes between states through negotiation and taking a reasonable decision which would promote the strengthening of peace and preclude the unleashing of war by aggressors not only now but also in the future. And we fully subscribe to President de Gaulle's words at the same press conference that there must be negotiations and there will be negotiations. This correct statement and proposal on peaceful negotiations coincides with our statements and our aspirations.

It is necessary to point out that Chancellor Adenauer, who has persistently opposed peace talks, has also changed his position lately. Speaking over the radio a few days ago, he expressed confidence that "the matter can simply not go as far as war". He also made a reasonable statement to the effect that through negotiation one must "reach a solution of the German and thus the Berlin problem acceptable to both sides—the East and the West—and also to the German people". Let us hope that this is not an opportunist statement prompted by electioneering considerations. If it proceeds from an understanding of the necessity of promoting an improvement in the climate, we welcome this statement.

Thus, judging by the statements of leading Western statesmen, en-

couraging rays of hope have now appeared. The President of the United States, Mr. Kennedy, and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Macmillan, are known to have taken the stand of negotiation. General de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer, of whom there has been much talk in the press that they are opponents of negotiations, have also gone on record in favour of peace talks.

We have always offered peace talks. And if the Western statesmen had heeded the voice of reason, there would be no acute international tension now, there would be none of the war psychosis which now prevails in the West. The most pressing problems causing this tension would long since have been solved and the way paved for co-operation between states.

However, it is never too late to do a kind deed. We therefore welcome those who stand on positions of peaceful coexistence and a settlement of disputes by peaceful means, through negotiations, and not through arms. We welcome those who advocate disarmament, in order to preclude war from international relations for all time, who understand the necessity of a peace settlement with both German states.

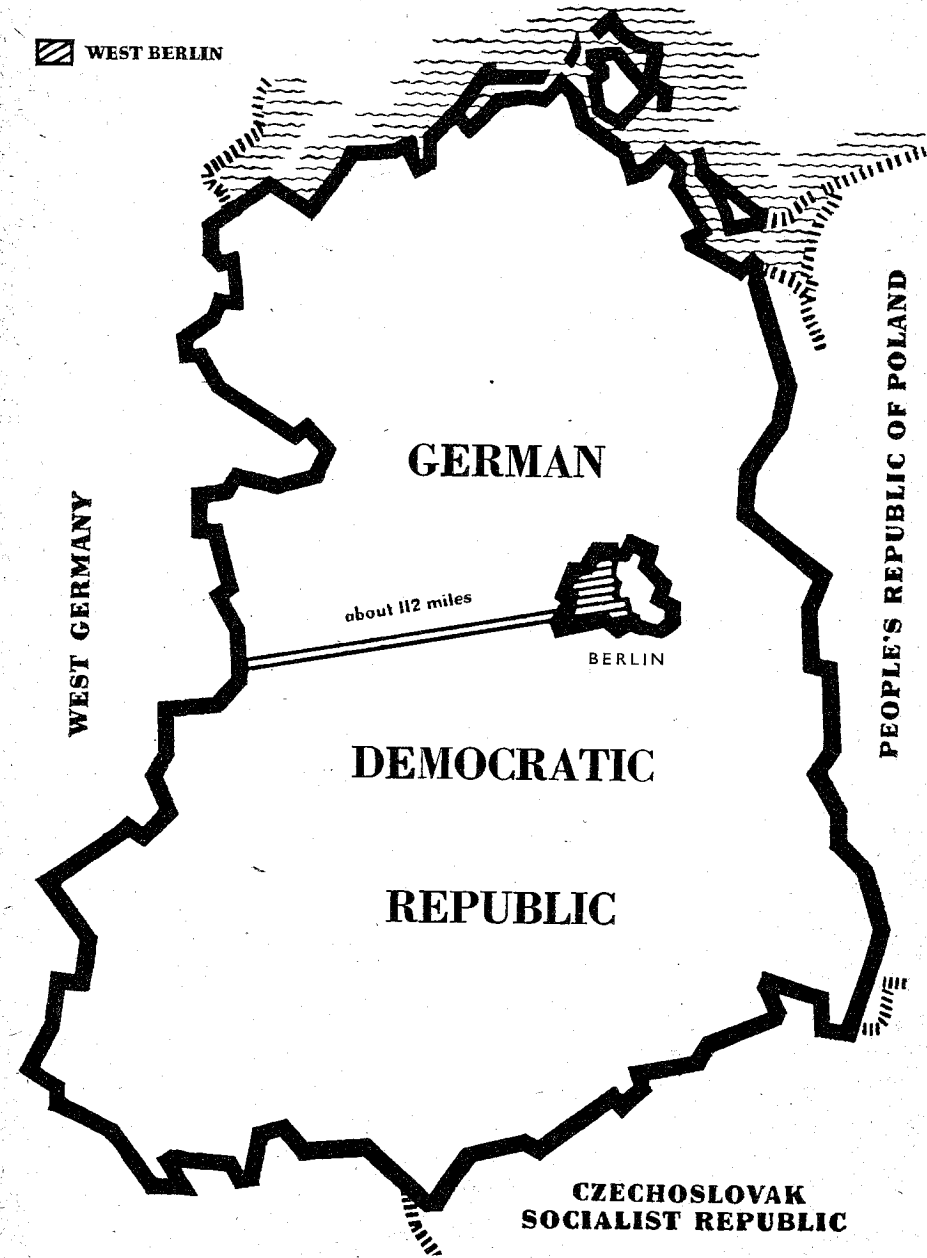
We have declared more than once that we should like to be friends with the American people. The Soviet people would like to live in friendship with the French people, the peoples of Britain, Italy and other countries.

Notwithstanding the bloody wars we waged against Germany, because of the unreasonable and adventurist policy of her rulers, notwithstanding the most bloody war against nazi Germany, we wish to live in friendship with the entire German people, as we already live in friendship with the people of the German Democratic Republic. Our people are not filled with rancour, they have always understood full well that one must not live in the past but in the present and in the future.

This is all that I wanted to say to you on the most acute question in present international life—the question of the conclusion of a German peace treaty and drawing a final line under the Second World War.

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