

DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE OF THE SOVIET PUBLIC

**February 15-16, 1960,
Moscow**

SPEECHES AND DOCUMENTS

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Moscow 1960

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PREFACE

The Soviet Public Conference on Disarmament, held on the initiative of the Soviet Peace Committee in Moscow's Kremlin Theatre on February 15-16, 1960, was attended by more than 800 delegates—workers, collective farmers, public figures, scientists, writers, art workers, representatives of all strata of Soviet society. Taking part were envoys of all the Union Republics, representatives of all the nationalities of the U.S.S.R. and all the public organizations, and people who had won renown by their work in industry, agriculture and other spheres of the national economy.

The Conference discussed the ways and means of contributing to the grand programme of universal disarmament. Expressing the thoughts and aspirations of all Soviet people, the delegates warmly approved and supported the proposal for the disbandment of all armed forces and destruction of all arms, submitted to the U.N. General Assembly on September 18, 1959, on behalf of the Soviet Union by the outstanding peace champion, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov. They also welcomed the new peaceable step of the Soviet Government—the decision on the unilateral reduction by one-third of the Soviet armed forces—as an inspiring example to all states, as a constructive step towards agreement on general and complete disarmament.

Speaking in favour of universal and total disarmament, the Conference delegates stressed the Soviet people's desire to contribute to the struggle waged by all nations for

ever to eliminate war from the life of society, and their solidarity with all the social forces in the world standing for disarmament. They warmly applauded the speeches made by foreign guests—delegates of the World Peace Council and representatives of various foreign peace organizations—who told them about the wide scale the world campaign for disarmament had assumed. One evidence of the indissoluble link between the Soviet people's struggle for general and complete disarmament and the movement of the peace-loving forces for a world without wars, a world without arms, was the stream of greetings that came from all over the world, from the various peace committees, eminent peace champions, numerous friends of peace abroad.

At the same time, the Conference delegates noted that the aggressive circles of the West were trying their utmost to turn back the wheel of history and the development of international relations. The cold war propagandists can still be heard. The supporters of the armaments race have not yet surrendered. The enemies of peace are trying by provocation and direct aggression to wreck any solution of the major problems facing the world today. American military leaders are increasing their war preparations, they are strengthening and broadening their network of military bases on foreign territories. Backed by influential American support, the West German war machine is being revived at record speed. Plans are being made for supplying the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons and rockets. Fascism, man's mortal enemy, is again raising its head.

From the Conference rostrum Soviet people proclaimed their firm determination to persistently fight against the threat to world peace and to go on mercilessly exposing the schemes of the enemies of disarmament and the war-and hate-mongers.

The participants in the Conference stressed the need for the co-operation of all peace-loving forces in the

struggle for disarmament, the need for joint action by all organizations and movements dedicated to the lofty cause of relieving mankind of the armaments burden. Acting in the name of the Soviet public, the Conference appealed to all friends of peace in the world to join efforts in the achievement of general, complete and controlled disarmament.

Vigorously reaffirming the Soviet people's unity in the struggle for lasting peace, the Soviet Public Conference on Disarmament made a major contribution to the worldwide campaign for the destruction of armaments and the disbandment of all armed forces. Imbued with confidence in the all-conquering strength of public opinion, in the strength of the international movement for enduring peace, Soviet people proclaimed their readiness to continue to work tirelessly, together with all peace-loving forces, to put an end to the dangerous and ruinously expensive arms race. They expressed confidence in the fact that the united efforts of world public opinion will block the way to the forces of aggression and war and achieve a permanent peace for all peoples.

This book is a collection of materials of the Soviet Public Conference on Disarmament. N. S. Tikhonov's report and the speeches of some delegates and the foreign guests are given in abridged form. Some of the speeches are given in the form of summaries. The documents adopted by the Conference—the appeal to the peace-loving forces of the world, the resolution on the cessation of nuclear-weapon tests and the resolution on the further reduction of the Soviet armed forces—are given in full.

THE SOVIET PEOPLE STAND FOR GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

**REPORT BY N. S. TIKHONOV,
CHAIRMAN, SOVIET PEACE COMMITTEE**

Gathered here, in this Kremlin hall, are representatives of the broad strata of the Soviet public, Soviet peace champions, envoys of all the peoples of our boundless Soviet land. We are gathered at a time when, after years of stubborn struggle for peace, there are prospects of improving the international situation and enhancing peaceful co-operation among the nations.

In the present conditions, wars are no longer fatally inevitable. The peoples are becoming increasingly convinced that wars can and should be eliminated for ever from the life of society. The way to the deliverance of mankind from the calamities of war clearly lies through general and complete disarmament.

We are gathered at this Conference to discuss the main problem that agitates the minds of men, the problem on whose solution depend the destinies of the world. This problem of problems is cessation of the arms race and agreement on general and complete disarmament.

There can be no doubt that the voice of the Soviet public, the voice of our toiling people, who have never spared and will never spare their efforts to preserve world peace, will resound forcefully at our Conference. I am sure that the representatives of the Soviet public gathered here will concur with me when I say that the aim of our Conference is resolutely to reaffirm the Soviet people's noble desire to contribute to the practical im-

plementation of the grand programme of general and complete disarmament. Our Conference will undoubtedly be vividly expressive of the Soviet people's solidarity with the struggle waged by all peace-loving forces for the triumph of the principles of peaceful coexistence and the deliverance of humanity from the menace of a destructive nuclear war. Today, when a large-scale campaign for disarmament is unfolding in all countries in response to the appeal from the World Peace Council, Soviet people declare that they are resolved to give every support to this lofty movement of the millions of friends of peace, to all who stand for the termination of the arms race, irrespective of their views and convictions.

I. DISARMAMENT—THE HIGHWAY TO LASTING PEACE

We Soviet people are proud of the fact that our country is boldly and resolutely hewing the path to universal peace, destruction of all war *matériel*, realization of the loftiest humane ideals long cherished by mankind. The peoples of the world regard our country as a symbol of peaceableness, fraternal international friendship and inspired labour for the good of man, the true master of the earth.

Let us just ponder, comrades, on the fact that our country, now at the height of its power, glorious in the new achievements of human endeavour, is a loyal and dependable standard-bearer of international peace and security. No, our ill-wishers can never convince anyone that our peace initiative is due to our weakness. People everywhere know that we are for peace precisely because we are stronger than ever, that we have dedicated all our might to the great cause of world peace.

Let us glance at our deeds, our work, the efforts we are devoting to achieve this great aim. Soviet people are in the midst of fulfilling the grand tasks of the second year of the Seven-Year Plan. Looking back at what they

have done, they have every right to be proud of the grand labour feats they have accomplished in building communism. Last year's state plan was overfulfilled by all our republics and by all economic councils. The construction of innumerable new projects is nearing completion. The transfer of factory and office workers to a reduced working week will be completed this year. More than 100,000,000 square metres of floor space will be built in the second year of the seven-year plan period. In the national economic development plan for 1960, two hundred and thirty-one construction projects are singled out as especially important. Our country's industry is advancing with seven-league strides. Our agriculture is expanding with each passing day. The rise in labour productivity makes it possible to raise still more the living standard of Soviet people. Science has scored new successes in every field, and that—especially the tireless efforts made in the conquest of space—is appreciated by Soviet people.

Soviet men and women live in a world where everything is being done for them, for their happiness. While in pre-revolutionary Russia people lived only 32 years on the average, the average life span in the Soviet Union is 68 years—and for that they are grateful to Soviet power. Soviet people know very well that it is Lenin's Party that has brought the peoples of our country into the light of boundless horizons, made them confident of their strength, and taught them to be friends with other nations.

The countries of the socialist camp develop alongside us, together with us. Their accomplishments are there for all to see—for all who want to see the life of the socialist world, which welcomes peaceful competition in any sphere and hates war. United by this ardent desire for peace, the socialist camp is mighty and invincible! We are proud of the fact that our peaceable state is showing by deeds and not words how mankind can be brought out of the impasse into which it has been driven by the arms race.

In his time, Lenin said: "We should bear in mind that the world hears unusually many pacifist phrases, conversations and protestations, and sometimes even anti-war and anti-peace vows, and that there is unusually little readiness displayed by most of the states, especially the modern civilized states, to take effective steps, even the most simple, to secure peace. And what we would like to see in this and other similar cases is as few commonplace statements, solemn promises and pompous formulas as possible, and as many as possible simple and clear-cut decisions and measures that would really contribute to peace if not to the complete elimination of war danger."

It is this realistic Leninist peace policy that the Soviet Government has been pursuing all along with the unanimous support of the population. The Soviet Government has worked especially hard towards the termination of the cold war and the arms race, relaxation of international tension and creation of an atmosphere which has made it possible to conduct direct negotiations on urgent international issues, the problems of disarmament and peaceful co-existence.

It is well known that the struggle for peace requires tremendous effort, concentration of knowledge and strength, indefatigability and real love for ordinary folk, for people of labour, who wholeheartedly appreciate this selfless, ardent devotion to the common cause of peace.

That is why Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov, the head of our Soviet Government, winner of the International Lenin Prize for the Promotion of Peace Among Nations and tireless champion of peace, has received so many moving letters, messages and telegrams from all countries of the world with good wishes and expressions of gratitude.

The most momentous event in the international arena last year was N. S. Khrushchov's trip to the United States and his speech in the United Nations on September 18. Expressing the hopes and aspirations of all Soviet people, of all friends of peace, he submitted to the United Na-

tions clear-cut and realistic proposals for general and complete disarmament, directed at the realization of the seemingly unrealizable dream of peace on earth. The Soviet Government's Declaration proposed the abolition of the onerous war machine, disbandment of all armies and general staffs, and elimination of all possibilities of aggression within four years. Natural, good-neighbourly relations would then prevail between states. Deliverance from the burden of military budgets would soon make itself felt.

The consequences of this event affected the whole of the international situation. It would have been wishful thinking to expect a question of such great import to be solved at that very Assembly session. Time went on. The world's press and radio, television and cinema all spoke of these remarkable and bold proposals. The Declaration of the Soviet Government was in the focus of attention of the heads of government and politicians of all parties, it was talked about by millions of people, for the world had come to the point where further alienation and distrust, intensified by malicious propaganda, threatened to burst into a mortal conflict, senseless and merciless.

It would have been wonderful, of course, if there had been more than just speeches and statements in newspapers, if the West had followed up the Declaration with realistic steps in the direction it pointed. But no such realistic steps were taken in the West.

On January 14, 1960, at the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet session, Premier Khrushchov delivered a report entitled "Disarmament—the Way to Enduring Peace and Closer International Friendship." After the discussion of this report, the session passed a law on further considerable reduction of the U.S.S.R. armed forces—by 1,200,000 men. At the same time, the Supreme Soviet adopted a message to all parliaments and governments in the world, expressing the hope that the Soviet Union's new unilateral reduction of the armed forces would serve as an example

to other states, particularly those possessing the greatest military potential.

A fresh breeze of realistic policy again swept across the world. The new manifestation of the Soviet Government's profound peaceableness evoked a joyful reaction among Soviet people, who saw in it a new proof of the correctness of Lenin's principles of peaceful co-existence, made them proud of the growing might of their Motherland and happy that this unilateral action would reinforce the army of builders of the second year of the Seven-Year Plan by more than 1,000,000 men and enable them to continue their peaceful creative work with renewed energy.

Abroad, this new display of Soviet peace policy became the subject of extremely lively discussion.

The humane nature of this decision—the replacement of man's terrible weapon of modern military technique by a weapon of peaceful endeavour—could not but create a deep impression on millions of people, who have to bear the burden of the arms race and maintenance of armies equipped with expensive weapons that are being constantly improved and replaced by ones even more perfect and expensive.

The prospects for this year are heartening. The Summit Conference is to open in Paris on May 16 and the world expects decisive results of it, the first success in the sphere of disarmament and further international *détente*.

World public opinion expects the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee to start soon a constructive discussion of concrete proposals on disarmament and prepare an agreement on universal disarmament. People everywhere want the Geneva talks on the prohibition of all nuclear tests to be a success.

Favourable conditions for successful peace negotiations, for the achievement of a disarmament agreement, are being created in the world.

The forces of the peace camp, of the socialist camp have grown stronger. The mighty socialist system, headed

by the Soviet Union, possesses such colossal strength it is not afraid of any aggression, and the aggressors, therefore, would do well to think twice before risking such an insensate step. They should know now that they will receive such a rebuff from which they and their abettors will not recuperate. The might of the formidable weapons at the disposal of the socialist camp and the new moral laws of socialist society, laws imbued with unparalleled humanity, are saving the world from the calamities of an inevitable clash.

That is why in acclaiming in the name of millions the new peaceful act embodied in the resolution of the Fourth Session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, the Soviet Peace Committee expressed the joy of Soviet people, who appreciate the Soviet Government's noble initiative in the interests of peace and international security.

Were it not for the consistent and persevering peace and disarmament policy of the Soviet Government, for the unremitting watch over the intrigues of those who stand in the way of peace, for the constant, planned and non-stop offensive on the peace front, the cold war would continue to exhale its icy breath, freezing friendly ties among nations.

Consequently, N. S. Khrushchov's trips to countries near and far are the continuation of the peaceful Leninist policy which alone contributes to further relaxation of international tension and explain the Soviet peace policy to millions of people.

It is now possible to seek ways of improving international relations because the time has come for negotiations, because people with prejudiced and false conceptions are retreating and sober-minded and conscientious people are winning. The countries want to negotiate, political leaders want to talk eye to eye. And in this, Soviet peaceableness has played a big role.

Peaceful meetings should become constant and natural concomitants of big policy. That is why public leaders in

various countries, though they may differ on other matters, agree that disarmament is the most urgent problem of the day, that there are good hopes of advancing the solution of this problem and that 1960 generally should be a year of change.

II. END THE ARMS RACE—SUCH IS THE INSISTENT DEMAND OF THE PEOPLES

Peace champions, all peace-loving forces, whatever their organizations may be called, will have to play an exceptionally important role in the developments leading to the eventual liquidation of the cold war and closer co-operation of nations and governments in the quest for ways of promoting peace and disarmament.

The peace movement is gaining momentum in all the countries of the world, and it is being adhered to not only by the friends of peace but by people who until recently did not join forces with us in defence of peace. It is a pleasure to note that such organizations as the American National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and other organizations in diverse countries display readiness to work with us, to join forces in the struggle for disarmament. We Soviet people are prepared to uphold any proposals, any efforts directed at strengthening peace. In this connection, I should like to express profound satisfaction with the results of the London meeting of political and public leaders from East and West. It was attended by representatives of various countries and marked the first time that representatives of Soviet and U.S. public opinion met to discuss disarmament problems. It is a good example of co-operation in the common struggle for disarmament. I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm, on behalf of the Soviet Peace Committee and, I hope, on behalf of all the public organizations represented at our Conference, that we are prepared to meet with

any organization for a friendly discussion of all urgent issues in our joint work towards peace.

Today I should especially like to dwell on the World Peace Council's noble efforts towards disarmament. Our public warmly acclaimed and upheld the decisions adopted by the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council at its Rome session at the end of January.

"Make war impossible!"—such, in brief, is the purport of the WPC Presidential Committee's documents. In its appeal to the peoples, the Presidential Committee speaks of the meetings that have brought results and stresses that the proposal for general and complete disarmament within four years and the reaction to it herald a new era. It also speaks of the long-desired Summit.

The will of the peoples, which has made it possible for statesmen to meet, must manifest itself with increasing force until effective disarmament measures are taken. At present the world peace movement has a task of paramount importance before it—to draw as many people as possible into the struggle for disarmament and to organize a world-wide campaign for a successful Summit.

The World Peace Council's Presidential Committee has pointed out that our duty is to join efforts with all peace-loving forces, irrespective of their political views. And, lastly, it is our duty to give our support to all statesmen of good will by eliminating all obstacles and distrust. United, the peace-loving forces of all countries can achieve disarmament and attain their goal—make war impossible.

It may be recalled that the spokesmen of the leading capitalist powers have announced that Soviet proposals deserve to be studied attentively and seriously. Among those who said that were U. S. Secretary of State Herter, British Foreign Secretary Lloyd and Canadian Minister for External Affairs Green.

The proposals outlined in the Soviet Declaration were supported by Prime Minister Nehru of India, President Sukarno of Indonesia and many leaders of other countries.

They were also warmly seconded in South America, particularly by President Alessandri Rodríguez of Chile.

The January session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet has created a profound impression in the Eastern and Western countries. The Peking *Jenminjihpao* writes that "Comrade Khrushchov's statement on the further reduction of the U.S.S.R. armed forces resounded throughout the world immediately, like spring thunder. The peace-loving peoples express their admiration and send their hearty greetings to Moscow."

The London *Daily Express* says the leit-motif of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet session is peace and disarmament, adding that the Soviet Union is determined to compel the West to agree to disarmament.

Cyrus Eaton, the well-known American public figure, says N. S. Khrushchov's speech is evidence of great courage and wise statesmanship.

Summarizing the statements of many American leaders, the U.S. *Business Week* writes that N. S. Khrushchov actually told the West: if you insist on continuing with the nuclear arms race, we shall beat you. We have proved that we can do that with our rockets, our sputniks, our luniks and our Pacific Ocean tests. If you want peace, we are ready, and we have proved that by unilaterally reducing our armed forces.

The Rome *Messaggero* writes: "Khrushchov's proposals will evoke widespread reaction, for the idyllic picture of millions of people giving up arms and returning to work in the fields and factories creates a favourable impression and arouses sympathy for the one who is the first to manifest sincerely his love of peace."

Adlai Stevenson, who ran twice for U. S. presidency, writes in the *Foreign Affairs* that it looks as though the

question of controlled disarmament has again become, as it befits it, the No. 1 question in the world. He is sorry, he adds, that the United States has not set the example and retained the initiative, as he had urged during the election campaign in 1956.

Disarmament is indispensable, says Senator Humphrey, who is regarded as one of the most probable Democratic Party nominees for the presidency.

Why it is indispensable? Here is how Humphrey answers this question: "There are huge masses of people all over the world living on the verge of starvation. There are major spots of unemployment and real poverty even in the United States. And wherever poverty remains in the world, attended by the new-grown realization that there is no such thing as sacred right to poverty, people may look to Russia. In the American slums and African savannahs, in the coal mines of West Virginia and the deserts of the Middle East, poverty breeds despair and often violence. The more desperate poverty becomes, the more violent is the inevitable reaction."

That is how the disarmament issue looks to Senator Humphrey, although he has not yet renounced the old concept of negotiating from positions of strength.

The British *Reynolds News*, speaking for many Britons, writes that the only hope of security for the Soviet Union, the United States and the whole world lies in general agreement on disarmament under international control and international inspection.

Paul Vohl, writing for the *Christian Science Monitor*, said that N. S. Khrushchov's speech in the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. not only calls for disarmament, but has many new facts and ideas which will undoubtedly be studied and discussed throughout the world.

The Athens *Avgi* says: "It is time for the Western Powers to switch over from propaganda statements to concrete action. Let soldiers become tillers, workers and

scientists, and then new ways to prosperity on earth and to the stars will open before mankind."

In West Germany, Wolfgang Zir, chairman of the Young Metalworkers' and Miners' Committee Against Atomic Death, says the law on the demobilization of 1,200,000 Soviet soldiers is ample proof that the Soviet Union's words and deeds are never at variance.

The U.S.S.R. has paved the way to peace.

Mankind has indeed come to the point where negotiations must be directed at finding the kind of disarmament that would eliminate the threat of catastrophe.

Our planet, so often shaken by wars in the none-too-remote past and always on the verge of new wars, should become peaceful so that the riches of the nations may be used in enterprises that serve only progress and peace, for satisfying the crying needs of the economically underdeveloped countries, for promoting the prosperity of all countries and peaceful, unthreatened progress.

And the threat that exists today may badly disturb peaceful life.

In his U.N. speech on September 18 last, N. S. Khrushchov convincingly described the consequences of this threat. He said it was hard to imagine the consequences for mankind of a war with the use of monstrous instruments of destruction and annihilation. If it were allowed to break out, its toll would run not into millions, but into tens and even hundreds of millions of human lives. It would be a war that knew no distinction between front and rear, between combatants and children. Many large cities and industrial centres would be reduced to ruins, and great monuments of culture, created by the efforts of man's genius over centuries, would be irretrievably lost. Nor would this war spare future generations. Its poisonous trail in the form of radioactive contamination would long continue to cripple people and claim many lives.

N. S. Khrushchov said the position in the world today was a dangerous one. There were various military al-

liances in existence and the arms race never stopped for a moment. So much inflammable material had accumulated that a single spark could touch off a catastrophe. The world had reached a point where war could become a fact because of some stupid accident, such as a technical fault in a plane carrying a hydrogen bomb or mental aberration in the pilot behind the controls.

To avoid all this danger, the most sensible thing is to agree to general and complete disarmament. This is realized now by the heads of government and by ordinary folk. For instance, when New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller recently returned to cold war talk and urged the United States to take the lead in setting up a "new world order," and simultaneously spoke of peace—singing hallelujah and saying a requiem at the same time, he was answered by many sober voices. They came even from those who may be said to be on his side. Speaking at the convention of American National Association of Manufacturers, Milton Lightner, President of the Board of Directors of this association, said: "A peaceful and prosperous globe is the aim we should strive for, for the inability to achieve it will undoubtedly lead to the most tragic catastrophe of all times. On the other hand, the solution of international political, economic and social problems can open vast prospects for cultural development and mutually advantageous expansion of international trade."

Like millions of other Americans, Harold McClellan, general manager of the American National Exhibition in Moscow in 1959, said peaceful coexistence was feasible. Speaking of the arms burden, he continued: "In my lifetime, war and defence have cost our country \$1,000,000,000,000 and 1,500,000 lives. And almost the only thing we achieved after each conflict was a change of partners, since we prepared for another dance macabre. I thought there was a better way and I believe that we have found it this time."

It is clear to many that this better way is peaceful co-existence and universal and total disarmament.

The question of the arms race and the astronomical sums it absorbs is in the focus of world attention. It is obvious that armaments building is fraught with danger. The establishment of military bases on foreign territory clearly threatens many peaceful countries and their population. The nations embarking on the path of general disarmament would feel the effect right away. New opportunities would open up in every sphere of endeavour. The 20,000,000 servicemen returning to peaceful labour and the 80,000,000 people now engaged in the production of weapons everywhere would direct their efforts to enhancing popular welfare. It would be possible to undertake grand enterprises that would dwarf the joint exploration of Antarctica by the scientists of different countries. It would be possible to turn deserts into orchards, alter the course of rivers, banish poverty, disease and illiteracy. The peoples and tribes hitherto held by colonialism in abject conditions would partake of the benefits of world culture. There would be no place in any continent not to feel the beneficent influence of peace-serving modern science.

Just think how many military buildings could be converted into hospitals and schools, how many dams, canals, towns, universities and resorts could be built with the \$60,000 million the NATO countries expend on military needs every year. The amount spent today on armaments is equal, for instance, to the cost of the goods in circulation in the world market. It is incredible and incomprehensible! One submarine equipped with a device for firing Polaris rockets costs \$105 million—enough to build 21 hospitals.

We could write pages of figures by way of comparison. And they all would invariably prove not only the urgent necessity of pondering on this unbearable and morbid spending of people's money, but also the necessity of tak-

ing decisive steps towards general disarmament and reduction and abolition of gigantic armament-building budgets.

Some in the West fear that this will lead to a general crisis, that there will be an unimaginable catastrophe in the war industry that will throw millions of people out of work.

But, then, didn't industry switch back to peaceful production after every big war in the past and the army demobilize and send home millions of soldiers?

American economists point out that although it will be difficult to find jobs for the men released by the army and the navy, the problem can nevertheless be solved by gradually switching the money spent on military needs to peaceful uses. The funds thus released can be used for civilian needs, for remunerating the peaceful labour of servicemen in their new capacity of civilian workers.

The disarmament problem cannot, of course, be solved in one shot. Its solution needs time and negotiations in an atmosphere of mutual understanding. It needs the efforts of all states and not only those of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Only in these conditions can the disarmament deadlock be broken.

Never have we been so realistically and visibly close to the solution of the basic issues that concern everybody on earth. Everywhere one hears voices of hope and belief that negotiations will bring mankind the relief it has so long waited for.

End the arms race and agree on general and complete disarmament—such is the insistent demand of all the peoples cherishing peace.

III. ON GUARD AGAINST THE INTRIGUES OF THE ENEMIES OF DISARMAMENT

The cold war clouds are dissipating and there is a ray of hope for disarmament and lasting peace. But people know by experience that aggressive forces do not give up

their positions voluntarily, nor their attempts to turn back the march of events. The public should not relax their guard against the forces in the West that do everything to prevent the implementation of the disarmament programme.

We cannot ignore the statements that constantly appear on the pages of the Western press. They are a mirror that reflects relapses into the cold war, the dangerous plans of the aggressive elements in the West.

There are "horrors of war," but there are also "horrors of peace" for those who batten on war, who thirst for "revenge," who rave and fall into hysterics at the very mention of the word "coexistence." The enemies of peace are many and they have different ways of hindering the realization of people's hopes.

The opponents of disarmament in the Western countries seek all sorts of pretexts to prevent international agreement on disarmament and on the cessation of nuclear tests, and claim that the Soviet Union proposes implementation of control only after complete disarmament. All sorts of obstacles are also being raised to agreement in Geneva on the cessation of nuclear tests.

Our position on these two vital issues is clear. Speaking about international control over disarmament, N. S. Khrushchov recently gave exhaustive replies to the questions posed by Pierre Cot, the political director of the *Horizons* journal.

We Soviet people stand for disarmament under international control throughout the process of disarmament. We believe that good will and promotion of confidence among states will show the way to the establishment of an effective control system.

The Soviet public is worried about the procrastination in the Geneva talks on nuclear-weapon test stoppage agreement. We were very sorry to read the report on the French A-bomb test in the Sahara. World public opinion supported the U.N. resolution, sponsored by a number of

Afro-Asian countries and expressing the hope that France would abstain from carrying out experimental explosions. As is well known, the Soviet Union has solemnly declared that it will not resume nuclear-weapon tests if the Western Powers do not do it first.

In these circumstances, the atomic explosion in the Sahara cannot but play into the hands of those who spare no effort to hamper agreement on the cessation of nuclear-weapon tests. This is all the more disappointing in view of the fact that the Geneva conference on the test stoppage has already achieved agreement on a number of important questions. The one obstacle to full agreement now is the lack of accord on technical questions of detecting minor underground atomic explosions.

The Soviet public, like the public elsewhere, does not regard this as a sufficient reason for delaying the conclusion of a nuclear-weapon test stoppage agreement. When such an agreement is signed, it will impose on the signatories the important obligation of abiding strictly by it. After the conclusion of this agreement and the establishment of a control system it is hardly likely that any state will secretly experiment with minor underground detonations and risk being exposed and stigmatized by all nations.

The only right thing to do in the present situation is to conclude an international agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests as quickly as possible and to establish a reliable system of control in accordance with the vast opportunities presented by modern science. The rapid development of science and technology and the application of the practical experience accumulated through the implementation of the control system will help to eliminate technical shortcomings and make it absolutely possible to detect any underground nuclear-weapon detonations.

It is necessary constantly to expose the provocative attempts of the enemies of peace, who want to reverse the tide of international relations and to continue and intensify the cold war and the arms race.

Sowing the seed of pessimism and uncertainty, many Western newspaper observers predict the failure of all talks. United Press International correspondent Rutherford Poats writes that a campaign has been started in the Western capitals to condition public opinion for the failure of the Big-Four conference in May. And the celebrated Marguerite Higgins of the *New York Herald Tribune* believes that all sorts of measures will be taken in the course of the next few weeks to dampen the ardour of those who hope that the May 16 conference will bring some great decision.

These attempts are clearly being made to confuse public opinion on the eve of a conference whose import is well realized by the so-called pessimists too.

There is also a category of people who are simply paralyzed with fear at the possibility of complete and general disarmament. They just cannot stomach the idea. They want at least a small, "local" war, a completely different war, one not so horrible, but still a war. They want to replace nuclear weapons with other arms, less dangerous and destructive. Liddell Hart, the British military theoretician, dreams of the day when mankind will return to the gases. "Back to the gases," he exclaims, praising gas warfare in every way possible. It does not destroy cities, factories, cultural monuments or villages. It does not have to kill. People will simply become torpid for a time or even dance after gulping some hilarious gas. What a pity that a convention prohibiting the use of gas in war was signed in Geneva in 1925!

Others dream of bacteriological warfare. These man-haters' plans were condemned by the Pugwash conference of scientists, who came to the conclusion that biological weapons may be compared to medium-power atomic bombs.

A public movement recently arose in the United States with the task of compelling the U. S. military authorities to renounce the use of bacteriological weapons. For half

a year the members of this movement picketed the bacteriological weapons plant at Camp Detrick (near Frederick in Maryland).

Then there are people who have gone into lunar hysterics. They see Soviet cosmonauts landing on the Moon and controlling the U. S. military bases on the earth from there. The idea has become a sort of nightmare which haunts even such a military expert as Lieutenant-General James Gavin, the former chief of the U.S. Army's Research and Development Department. Space, he writes, has become a great strategic area and it is possibly there that the future of mankind will be decided.

Other advocates of atomic tests propose carrying them out in a "big hole." What does that mean? In their opinion, such an explosion will not cause any damage to mankind. To make a hole for this purpose, it is necessary to extract 25,000,000 tons of rock. It has been calculated that in 1959 the total output of anthracite in the United States came to 19,500,000 tons. It is not difficult to imagine how much labour must be spent to dig such a hole, and one that no one wants. The champions of atomic weapons think up the wildest things!

In West Germany, patriots are tried on charges of "horrible crimes"—they are accused of wanting peace and fighting against the menace of war. The Düsseldorf trial is a serious provocation meant to intimidate all Germans who refuse to shut their eyes to what is happening in the world and who want to think honestly.

Once again the spider-like swastika has appeared on the house-walls in West Germany, once again one hears Nazi songs and slogans which Goebbels himself would underwrite, once again a wave of anti-Semitism is sweeping the streets of old towns in Europe, and not only Europe.

It would be well to recall what Manteuffel, one of the pillars of the renascent Bundeswehr, wrote a few years ago. And he wrote: While the Second World War

was started by our enemies with the aim of destroying fascism and national-socialism, while in its course it was supposed that after their defeat and destruction these ideological systems would not prevent the German people from concluding peace with other nations, the war itself engendered so many new forces, new ideas and new contradictions that the talk of concluding peace and ending the dispute with fascism and national-socialism would today, in 1953, sound like a real anachronism. The possibility of concluding a peace treaty has been reduced to nought by much deeper contradictions. They not only bring peace nearer, but push it farther and farther away from us with each passing year.

He openly proclaims that the dispute with national-socialism has not been settled. How can it be considered settled when there are 1,200 militarist organizations in West Germany, including 45 SS organizations? A West German court decision of October 6, 1959, proclaims SS a "socially useful corporation."

But although there are atomic rockets at the disposal of the Bundeswehr, which is commanded by former Nazi generals, although in the government there are such people as Oberländer, whose hands are covered with the blood of Ukrainians, Jews and Poles, and Globke, who elaborated the Nazi racial laws "against the non-Aryans," these generals and political leaders know well in their hearts that there can be no war they dream of, that it cannot be if only because they themselves are aware of the mighty destructive power of modern weapons and know that the hour they insensately leave their lair and attack the socialist world will be the hour of their own destruction....

Mankind does not want war, it is tired of wars, it remembers all too well the recent past. It says N. S. Khrushchov was right when he told the leaders of the U. S. Congress: "Let us recognize the status quo—there exist so-

cialist and capitalist countries in the world, so let us live in this existing world of ours on the basis of peaceful co-existence."

IV. THE SACRED DUTY OF ALL PEACE-LOVING FORCES

We all witnessed the beginning of international *détente* in 1959. The year 1960 can be an absolutely unusual year in the history of the peoples' movement for peace and general disarmament, if the peace champions exert maximum effort and every person realizes the significance of historical developments. We cannot sit calmly and watch these developments unfold. It is time to act! The heads of government who are to meet in Paris on May 16 must be made to feel the beat of the world pulse, to feel that the peoples believe in them and ask them to do everything to relieve them of the arms race. The voice of world public opinion must be heard by all the participants in the Paris meeting.

All organizations, all movements, all political, public and religious leaders should join together in their demands and speak out for peace, for freedom, for humanity, in defence of life against atomic death, for full and universal disarmament.

For that it is necessary to mobilize all the forces and to explain to ordinary folk the world over the paramount importance of the Soviet Union's proposals for general and complete disarmament. Let all the working people of the world, the millions of people of good will, tillers and workers, men of science, workers in all the spheres of art, writers and artistes, men and women, builders of the future and veterans of the valiant struggle for people's happiness, have their say. Millions upon millions of peace champions, people of good will in all countries, are rallying together to display once again their will to peace, joining forces for a new world-wide campaign in support of general, complete disarmament. From the rostrum of

our Conference, on behalf of the millions of Soviet peace champions, I should like to acclaim these efforts of our friends and brothers, to greet warmly all those who are waging a struggle for humanity's peaceful future.

We can assure them that the Soviet people will be at their side in this new offensive on the peace front against those who want to hinder the realization of mankind's long-cherished dream—peace and friendship among the nations.

The hour that will decide the future of all nations has struck. Everywhere we hear the millions of voices demanding an end to the threat of war.

Yes, we can, we have the full right to say: Let us destroy war! Let us eliminate it for all time!

Together with the peace-loving forces of all countries and continents, with all people of good will, Soviet men and women will spare no effort to deliver mankind from the burden of armaments, from the constant menace of a new war.

Soviet people are convinced that there are real opportunities for putting an end to the dangerous and ruinous arms race, that it is possible, even though gradually, to reach agreement on disarmament and to use the colossal material resources and human labour now wasted on military purposes to enhance people's well-being and promote peaceful, constructive international co-operation.

This is the path of peace and reason—the only way out of the perennial labyrinth of danger and fear. The Soviet peace champions repose great hopes in the forthcoming Summit conference and the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee talks. They believe 1960 will be a year of change, a year of concrete decisions and international agreements that will pave the way forward, to a world without armaments and wars!

May the Soviet Public Conference on Disarmament help to strengthen the international ties of Soviet peace champions and promote closer co-operation with all the

forces working for the same cause—for peace, for complete and general disarmament!

Let us unite with all those who are ready to join forces with us in overcoming all barriers and all obstacles, who are ready to fight shoulder to shoulder with us for the success of negotiations, for the cessation of nuclear tests for all time, for general and complete disarmament.

We warmly approve the appeal of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council, saying: "Our duty is to join efforts with all peace-loving forces, irrespective of their political views. And, lastly, it is our duty to give our support to all statesmen of good will by eliminating all obstacles and distrust. United, the peace-loving forces of all countries can achieve disarmament and attain our goal—make war impossible."

And that is what we must do—make war impossible!

Long live the great unity of all nations in the struggle for total and universal disarmament!

Forward to a bright and lofty goal—to a world without wars, to a world without armaments!

**SPEECH BY V. V. GRISHIN,
CHAIRMAN, U.S.S.R. CENTRAL COUNCIL
OF TRADE UNIONS**

This Soviet public conference has been convoked to discuss the most vital, the most burning issue of today—the disarmament problem. Prevention of war and establishment of enduring peace are the most urgent tasks facing hundreds of millions of ordinary people the globe over. The aim can be best achieved on the basis of the programme of general and complete disarmament, which Comrade N. S. Khrushchov submitted to the Fourteenth U.N. General Assembly and which evoked a lively reaction and won warm support in all countries.

It is well known that latterly there has been a turn for the better in international affairs. Conditions for general disarmament are now more favourable than ever.

This is due, first and foremost, to the important changes that have taken place in the world arena. The might of the Soviet Union and the whole of the socialist camp has grown immeasurably in recent years. Having raised its productive forces to a high level, our country has entered a new phase of its historic development—the phase of extensive communist construction.

The measures outlined by the Communist Party for enhancing the people's living standard are being implemented in a planned way on the basis of an increase in industrial and agricultural output. Soviet people have long forgotten the privations entailed by unemployment.

More than 13,000,000 factory and office workers were transferred to a reduced seven- and six-hour working day towards the end of the last year, and the transfer of all factory and office workers to a reduced working day will be completed towards the end of this year. What is more, the workers' wages do not diminish. On the contrary, thanks to new rates and salaries, they rise substantially, especially in the case of low- and medium-paid factory and office workers.

The working people's living standard is also enhanced by the steady increase in state allocations for social services—social insurance, benefits, pensions, stipends to students, free education, housing construction, medical services, make-and-mend services, cultural needs, etc.

The Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp consistently pursue a peaceful foreign policy. Soviet people are justly proud of the fact that our great country is in the van of the struggle for the solution of the most important problem in world history—the problem of delivering mankind from wars, destroying weapons and stopping their manufacture.

The implementation of the Soviet Union's programme of general and complete disarmament would for ever eliminate the menace of war. Moreover, the switch-over of production capacities to peaceful uses would create conditions for improving working people's living standard in the capitalist countries, make it possible to reduce taxes, expand the home market, and spend more on education, public health, social welfare and housing construction. It has been calculated that the amount spent by the leading powers on military needs in the past decade would suffice to build more than 150,000,000 houses for hundreds of millions of people.

There would be immeasurably more opportunities for exporting commodities and splendid prospects for expanding foreign trade. The industrial powers could ren-

der substantial assistance to the newly-independent nations. All that shows that the termination of the ruinous arms race and the acceptance of the Soviet Union's disarmament proposals would create inexhaustible possibilities for improving the well-being of the masses in the capitalist and underdeveloped countries.

Like all our people, the Soviet trade unions unanimously endorsed the new peaceable step taken by the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet in decreeing a further considerable cut in the armed forces, regarding it as a major contribution to peace. Soviet people consider that this noble example should be followed by other countries, primarily the United States, Britain and France.

Wholly and fully supporting the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Government, our factory and office workers are well aware of the fact that there are forces in the world that are against the relaxation of world strain and for the continuation of the arms race. Influential circles in the United States of America, Adenauer's West German Government and certain elements in other Western countries continue to activize aggressive blocs, oppose agreement on the prohibition of nuclear weapons and go on fanning the cold war.

In these circumstances it is necessary for all peace-loving people to heighten their vigilance, expose the schemes of the imperialists and rally all the forces fighting for peace.

The time is long gone when the right to decide on war and peace lay solely with governments and diplomats. In our day, preservation of peace has become the direct and immediate concern of the peoples, the toilers of all countries.

The overwhelming majority of the world's trade unions have come out for disarmament and prohibition of nuclear weapons. At their numerous meetings, rallies and demonstrations, working people everywhere demand an end to the arms race and a lasting peace.

In France, the struggle for peace and disarmament is waged by broad working masses led by their militant vanguard, the General Confederation of Labour. Disarmament is also demanded by the French Confederation of Christian Unions and other trade-union organizations.

Taking into account the sentiments of the union rank and file and all ordinary people, the General Council of the British TUC and the Labour Party Executive have adopted a joint resolution, saying they wanted not only the establishment of enduring peace, but also the deliverance of the world from nuclear and all other weapons of mass annihilation and reduction of armed forces and armaments to the level that would make war impossible. The resolution adds that they welcome the correct Soviet policy and the practical measures proposed by the Soviet Government to facilitate disarmament.

The working people of the German Federal Republic are intensifying their struggle against the revival of militarism and fascism, against the nuclear arming of West Germany. The leading unions in the Federal Republic—metalworkers, transport, public utilities, food industry and others—have launched a struggle against the state of emergency bill, which aims at suppressing the labour movement and facilitating the country's militarization. The all-German conferences of railway, trade and food-industry union active members, held in Berlin last month, unanimously adopted resolutions approving the Soviet Union's peace initiative and demanding that the G.F.R. Government contribute to the relaxation of international tension.

The tide of the struggle waged by the Japanese working class against the country's militarization is now rising. The Japanese working people and their leading trade-union federation—the General Council of Japanese Labour Unions—are fighting to prevent the ratification of the new military treaty with the United States and

frustrate the plans to convert the country into a spring-board of rocket and nuclear war in Asia.

New trends are becoming increasingly apparent in the U.S. trade-union movement too. The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, in its programme for 1960, calls for an end to the exhausting burden of armaments building. A similar stand has been taken by the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, and several other unions. The delegation of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, which recently visited the Soviet Union, came out for friendship and co-operation between the peoples of the United States and the U.S.S.R., for closer ties between their unions.

Greater unity of all people of good will, especially the working class and its unions, is of vast importance for the struggle for peace. The Soviet unions warmly supported the appeal of the World Federation of Trade Unions to all the labour organizations in the world to establish a united working people's front against war, for social progress, for general and complete disarmament. For their part, the Soviet unions exert every effort to rally and unite all the forces in the international labour and trade-union movement for the struggle for the fulfilment of this grand task.

In promoting ties with working people and unions abroad, the Soviet unions are working to strengthen the unity of the working class and sponsoring joint action with unions in other countries to expedite agreement on total and universal disarmament. Newspapers have of late published the joint statements of the U.S.S.R. Central Council of Trade Unions and the Central Federation of Finnish Unions, the U.S.S.R. Central Council of Trade Unions and the General Council of Japanese Labour Unions, and a number of other joint documents emphasizing the need for working people to join forces in the struggle against war, for disarmament, for peace.

The Soviet unions will continue to work for the closer unity of the international trade unions and labour movement in the struggle for disarmament and lasting peace. At the same time they will redouble their efforts to mobilize working people for the successful fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan, for the enhancement of the economic might of our great country, the reliable bulwark of peace and the security of the Soviet people and all the peoples of the world.

SPEECH BY Y. G. LANGAD, TOWER CRANE OPERATOR AT THE BRATSK HYDROPOWER STATION PROJECT

The builders and fitters working at the Bratsk Hydropower Station job have done me a great honour by sending me to this important conference to add their peaceful voices to the mighty voice of the entire Soviet people. On behalf of those who are creating the world's greatest power-generating gem on the steep banks of the Angara, I declare: "We want to live in peace with all the nations of the globe, we do not want war!"

The builders of the Bratsk Hydropower Station have instructed me to say that they warmly and unanimously support the momentous decision of the Fourth Session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet on a further considerable reduction of our country's armed forces, a decision that vividly illustrates our people's sincere desire to live in peace and friendship with all the nations of the world!

Comrades, much has been said about our construction project in the newspapers, magazines and over the radio. We often play host to visitors from abroad. For instance, last year there were American hydropower engineering experts, Senators and the well-known politician W. Averell Harriman. They all saw the grand scope and scale of peaceful construction in our country. In their talks with them, our builders spoke of the Soviet people's wish to live in peace and friendship with other nations.

We call on all political leaders to respond to our government's peaceful steps and to work for complete and

general disarmament, the decisive means of eliminating war from the life of all nations.

We hope the forthcoming Summit will realize the dreams of mankind and solve the international issues linked with the strengthening of peace on earth.

Two-thirds of our builders are former soldiers. They switched over enthusiastically to peaceful creative work, learned the building trade at Bratsk and now work successfully and fruitfully.

Like many others, I was placed on the reserve list when the armed forces were reduced in 1956. I have now worked at the Bratsk Hydropower Station for more than three years. I started out as a logger, then loaded timber, and after that was sent to study at our training centre. There I learned to operate cranes. At present I work on a tower crane in the dam foundation pit and at the same time study in Form 9 of the young workers' school.

The law on the further reduction of the armed forces by 1,200,000 men will enable our country to develop its national economy and the natural resources of Siberia still faster....

We invite demobilized soldiers to Siberia—it is vast in expense, possesses incalculable wealth, and there is enough work for generations to come. We shall welcome them; we shall be glad to help them to acquire honourable building trades.

Our people are hefty, strong, united; in their work they set real examples of labour—labour worthy of our socialist society, labour for peace.

Comrades, like all Soviet people, we builders of hydro-power projects look confidently to the future. We see the wonderful deeds awaiting us. The construction of the Irkutsk Hydropower Station was still on when the building of the Bratsk Hydropower Station began. And when Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov visited the Bratsk station builders, he said in his speech that we would be the ones to erect the Ust-Ishim Hydropower Station. This new sta-

tion will not be inferior to the Bratsk station in capacity. And after that there will be the Boguchan, Yenisei and other construction projects. They are all so majestic that even people accustomed to working at great altitudes grow dizzy just thinking of them.

Comrades, allow we to convey the heartfelt greetings and best wishes of the builders of the Bratsk Hydropower Station to N. S. Khrushchov, the tireless champion of peace and our recent guest.

We builders are peace-loving people and we do peaceful work. We are building factories, mills, hydropower stations, schools, houses and clubs—and all that for the people.

We are building installations like the Bratsk Hydro-power Station solidly, we are building them so that they will stand for centuries, we are building them because we believe in lasting peace.

**SPEECH BY N. V. POPOVA,
CHAIRMAN, PRESIDIUM OF THE UNION
OF SOVIET SOCIETIES FOR FRIENDSHIP
AND CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH
FOREIGN COUNTRIES**

We have every reason to be very happy about and proud of our Motherland, the country of socialism, of the progressive system which engendered and broadly developed one of humanity's loftiest hopes. In this crucial period—when the world was beginning to lose hope, when the feeling of doom was beginning to grip millions of people—it was the socialist camp that appealed for a selfless struggle for peace, a struggle to help people everywhere to regain confidence in themselves and in the morrow and to take their destiny into their own hands.

Towards the end of 1959 Reinhold Svento, the former Finnish Foreign Minister, published a big book entitled *The Soviet Union—the Pivot of World Policy*. Here is what he writes in it: "The Soviet Union is constantly in the focus of attention of all states and nations.... Something absolutely unprecedented is taking place in the Soviet Union.... In our day, all the roads lead to Moscow, not Rome."

And the main reason for that, he explains, is the active struggle for peace waged by the Soviet Union, which holds the initiative in solving all important international issues.

N. S. Khrushchov's visit to the United States was truly historical, and it evoked a lively reaction the world over. His speech in the United Nations, in which he sub-

mitted proposals for general and complete disarmament on behalf of the Soviet Government, ushered in a new phase in international relations. There were no people left unmoved by this speech, irrespective of their views and convictions.

The peoples of the world express their deep gratitude towards the Soviet Union and N. S. Khrushchov for their decisive and consistent struggle aimed at lessening international tension.

Our country's genuinely humane policy is clear to millions of people and leaves no room for doubt. That the Soviet programme of total and universal disarmament is realistic is proved by the fact that it has become the No. 1 issue in the struggle waged by the overwhelming majority of mankind. The idea of general and complete disarmament has become the motto of nations. It will be no exaggeration to say that the demand for disarmament is becoming universal and categorical.

One concrete manifestation of the Soviet Government's peaceful policy is its all-round support to the Soviet people's movement for international friendship.

A new mass organization—the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries—was founded about two years ago on the initiative of the Soviet public. At present the Union maintains ties of diverse forms with public organizations in 103 countries.

We have societies and associations for friendship with the People's Republic of China, Great Britain, France, Poland, Italy, India, Czechoslovakia, Indonesia, Japan, Germany, Hungary, the Scandinavian countries, Bulgaria, Albania, Afghanistan, Greece, Austria, Belgium, Rumania, Mongolia, Korea, Viet-Nam, Iraq and many other nations.

The Soviet Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with the Countries of the Arab East has established contacts with eight of them. The Soviet Association for Friendship with the African Peoples maintains ties with

more than twenty countries. And the Soviet Association for Friendship and Cultural Co-operation with Latin-American Countries has links with fourteen of them.

The ties with public organizations in the United States are growing stronger. More than twenty educational and scientific institutes, dozens of libraries and publishing houses, many theatrical, musical and fine arts organizations, as well as other institutions maintain regular friendly contacts with us.

We have established ties with people in many countries with which we had no contact before. They include Ghana, Guinea, Turkey, Nigeria, Malaya, Jamaica, Cyprus, Madagascar, Venezuela, Costa-Rica, Portugal, Spain and others.

Every Union Republic has its own friendship societies and so do the autonomous republics, territories and regions. The Union of Soviet Societies and the republican societies have diverse scientific and cultural sections. All these public organizations unite broad strata of the Soviet public. Suffice it to say that the membership of their executive committees alone is upwards of 10,000. The collective members of these societies—factories, institutions, collective farms, educational establishments, etc.—do a big job promoting friendly relations with all the nations of the world.

Their work is greatly appreciated abroad. People all over the globe write in to thank the Soviet people for their active struggle for peace and international friendship, for promoting international cultural ties.

The Union of Soviet Friendship Societies helps to achieve the lofty task of bringing up Soviet people in the spirit of fraternity towards all nations. It acquaints them with the history, work, economy, culture, life and customs of foreign countries, and does everything to extend the study of foreign languages in our country.

A year or so ago we opened the House of Friendship with Foreign Nations in Moscow, and as the capital's in-

ternational centre it has since become very popular. Thousands of foreign guests from more than seventy countries have been entertained at Soviet public receptions there. Our friendly meetings with our guests and talks on problems of mutual interest help to do away with the accretions of the cold war and to establish mutual understanding and confidence.

Responding to requests from public circles in Asian, African and Latin-American countries for assistance in training their own specialists, the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies and the U.S.S.R. Central Council of Trade Unions are establishing a Friendship University in Moscow. The university will train engineers, teachers, physicians, economists, agronomists and other specialists.

The university's enrolment this year will come to 500 and will be subsequently increased to 3,000-4,000. All the expenses for tuition, stipends, medical services, as well as the students' passage to the U.S.S.R. and back, will be defrayed by Soviet organizations. The administration of the university will be in the hands of a council consisting of representatives of public organizations.

Is there a capitalist country, we may ask with justified pride, where such attention is paid to the needs of other nations, where public opinion is so highly valued, where public organizations working for the noble cause of enhancing international co-operation and friendship enjoy such support from the government?

No, there is none.

The Soviet public is determined to extend contacts with all nations, to develop them into relations of friendship and co-operation. Unfortunately, the main obstacle to the achievement of this aim is the still persisting spirit of the cold war, engendered by the arms race. We must direct our efforts at overcoming this obstacle.

However, we could cite quite a few cases of organizations being persecuted for advocating closer friendship

among the nations. In the United States, for instance, a number of organizations standing for cultural contacts with the U.S.S.R. are still listed as "subversive." In Argentina, the government last year banned the Argentina-U.S.S.R. Institute of Cultural Relations. In Greece, the authorities arrested Troyanis, General Secretary of the Greece-U.S.S.R. Society. In Iran, the authorities have completely paralyzed the Iran-U.S.S.R. Friendship Society. There are people who are against international friendship and cultural exchanges in many other countries too.

They are, as N. S. Khrushchov once said, the stones that lie on the path to better international relations, that hamper closer international co-operation.

Thanks to the Soviet Government's consistent and courageous stand, humanity has entered a new phase in the struggle for peace, a phase in which the peoples expect the Great Powers to undertake practical action on the disarmament issue.

The day of the Summit conference is fast approaching. The peoples of the world hope it will be successful, that it will pave the way to resolute action on the disarmament issue, to long-cherished and enduring peace among the nations.

People everywhere are becoming ever more conscious of the need for peaceful coexistence, for friendly contacts and exchanges, putting an end to the cold war and effecting disarmament.

The Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries held a session at the end of last year. The scientists, public leaders, industrial workers, workers of art, representatives of the broadest sections of the Soviet public, who attended the session, warmly approved the Soviet Government's disarmament proposals. Speaking on behalf of the members of the numerous Soviet societies for friendship and cultural relations with foreign countries, they appealed to all the

societies, organizations and individuals abroad that stand for international friendship and cultural co-operation to work for agreement on disarmament and termination of the cold war. We hope this appeal will be heard and that the forces of peace will prevail over the forces of war.

The disarmament problem is no longer merely an object of diplomatic negotiations and examination by experts. It is the goal of the struggle waged by the overwhelming majority of mankind. This clear-cut programme of peace has been submitted to the peoples for their consideration. Their will and the efforts of the peace-loving governments can and will eliminate war from the life of society for all time.

**SPEECH BY A. V. PLUSHCH,
HERO OF SOCIALIST LABOUR,
TEAM LEADER
AT THE CHAPAYEV COLLECTIVE FARM
(CHERNIGOV REGION, UKRAINIAN S.S.R.)**

I came to Moscow for this Conference as an envoy of the collective farmers of the Soviet Ukraine.

Many collective farmers came to see me when I was getting ready to leave for Moscow.

"You are going to a peace conference, Anna," they told me warmly. "If you will be making a speech there, say: 'We want peace.' We live and work for peace on earth, for the happiness of our children, of all working people. Peace and creative peaceful labour are what ordinary people throughout the world cherish most."

When I read in the newspapers about N. S. Khrushchov's visit to the United States and his speech on general and complete disarmament in the United Nations, I thought: That's Nikita Sergeyevich speaking for the entire Soviet people.

We are all for disarmament: armaments mean war. And it brings so many horrors! How much human suffering, how many fires and ruins I have seen.... But it is in the hearts of people that war leaves the biggest, the worst scars: here it is the bread-winner, the father, who has not returned and the children grow up without the dearest beloved man in the family, and there it is the son or the brother or the husband....

I recall N. S. Khrushchov's appeal to the capitalist countries to compete not in the production of armaments, but in giving people more bread, milk, meat, fats, in building more houses....

Our people are ready to underwrite these words. And they do so, by their great achievements. The people of Ryazan Region have done it by increasing the output of milk and meat threefold; the builders do it by completing factories, mills and power stations ahead of schedule. We Chernigov collective farmers have done it by promising to fulfil the Seven-Year Plan in four years.

At my collective farm I work as a team leader. We finished our first Plan year with the following successes: the team harvested 97 centners of maize, 663 centners of green mass for silo, 540 centners of sugar beet and 300 centners of vegetables per hectare.

Our contribution to peaceful competition with the capitalist countries is an increase in the output of agricultural produce. We have pledged ourselves to grow 100 centners of maize and 800 centners of green mass for silo, at least 600 centners of sugar beet and 300 centners of vegetables per hectare.

Every working man and woman in our region, in the Ukraine, in the Soviet Union, strives to enhance the might of our country by peaceful labour, to contribute to communist construction.

When people build a house, they start with the foundation, after that one brick tops another, and a splendid edifice grows up. When people build peace, they also start with the foundation. And international friendship is a very solid foundation.

We all are building a peaceful edifice. To prevent it from being destroyed by those who like wars, it is necessary to destroy the weapons of warfare, to reach agreement on complete disarmament.

That is what N. S. Khrushchov urged the peoples of the world in his speech at the U.N. General Assembly.

That was also urged by the Fourth Session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet. As a delegate to the Soviet Public Conference, I add my voice to the appeal to all simple folk to work for peace and complete disarmament.

Let there be no destructive weapons on earth! May our peaceful edifice grow undisturbed.

**SPEECH BY Y. K. FYODOROV,
CORRESPONDING MEMBER,
U.S.S.R. ACADEMY OF SCIENCES**

The problem of stopping nuclear-weapon tests is one that agitates the minds of hundreds of millions of people in all countries. And that is quite understandable.

Firstly, the tests help to perfect nuclear weapons. It would seem that they are already as powerful as can be. But there are no limits to technological advancement. Unfortunately, that applies to nuclear weapons too.

The American press, for instance, writes that the well-known scientist Teller, called in the United States "father of the H-bomb," is about to present the world with a new baby. It is very tenderly named "Dove." Unlike those already made, this nuclear bomb will produce a much weaker shock wave and very powerful radioactive radiation. Teller apparently hopes it will annihilate as many people as possible and at the same time spare buildings and equipment. The American press, as you may convince yourselves, is complaining that the prohibition of tests would put an end to the work on the so-called "clean bomb," on small-calibre bombs for the infantry, on rocket, anti-rocket and other bombs.

The lack of agreement among the nuclear powers on the termination of tests is being taken advantage of by other countries to design and manufacture nuclear weapons. One graphic example is the detonation of the French A-bomb.

The second reason that makes it imperative to demand the stoppage of tests is the harm already now caused by radioactive fall-out. It spreads in the atmosphere and in the oceans, is carried by subsoil waters, then concentrates in the organisms of plants and animals and, eventually and inevitably, accumulates in people, that is, in us, in our children. Physicians and biologists have not yet established how much harm radioactive fall-out can cause, but there is no doubt that it does cause harm, that it already makes itself felt and that it will make itself felt among the future generations.

The problem of putting an end to nuclear-weapon tests is in the focus of attention not only because it must be solved, but also because it can be solved. It is one of those vital international issues that can be solved in the near future.

As the result of the big job done by experts and the political negotiations that have been going on in Geneva for almost one and a half years, all the basic questions have been essentially solved and it may be said that the groundwork for an agreement on the cessation of tests has been fully prepared.

Then what prevents its conclusion? I am one of the Soviet scientists who have taken part in the test stoppage talks of the past eighteen months. We are all firmly convinced that the main obstacle hindering the cessation of nuclear-weapon tests is the attitude of certain influential elements in the United States.

Every time the test stoppage becomes a practical possibility there appear some new problems, some new difficulties and obstacles.

Suffice it to recall that when the Soviet Government decided unilaterally to suspend nuclear tests two years ago, in March 1958, and invited the other powers to follow its example, the United States and Great Britain immediately questioned the possibility of detecting nuclear explosions and declared that it was necessary first to dis-

cuss the technical possibilities of such detection. And although it was clear that this was nothing but an attempt to delay the solution of this important issue, it was agreed to hold such a discussion. I refer here to the first conference of experts of eight countries, held in Geneva in the summer of 1958.

We minutely examined the technical aspects of the issue and came to the unanimous conclusion that it was possible to detect any explosion, however small. We discussed the question of detecting explosions underground, under water, in the atmosphere and beyond the atmosphere—in space, at an enormous distance from the earth.

The experts' conference did more than establish the possibility of detecting detonations. In the report which we submitted to our governments we described the instruments and methods of detection and outlined the basic features of the control system.

Everything was in order and it seemed that the first step towards disarmament and establishment of enduring peace would be made without delay.

This hope, however, did not materialize. Political negotiations have now been going on for one year and a half and there is still no agreement. I do not want to tire my listeners by enumerating all the objections and obstacles raised in these negotiations by the U.S. and British delegations. There were very many of them and of very different types.

I would like to dwell only on the so-called technical problems raised in this period by the United States and Great Britain.

The decision agreed upon in 1958 by the experts' conference offered a splendid technical basis for agreement. A few months later, however, our Western colleagues proposed to re-examine the questions that had already been solved.

In April 1959, for instance, the U.S. Government declared that detection of high-altitude nuclear detonations

was still an unsolved technical problem. The scientists had to meet anew in the summer of 1959 to discuss once again the methods of controlling high-altitude detonations.

What happened? After a thorough discussion, the experts not only confirmed the old methods of detecting high-altitude detonations but added several new ones. As the result of this new conference, the experts recommended nine individual methods instead of the earlier five.

While in 1958 they affirmed that a low-power nuclear explosion could be detected at an altitude of several hundred thousand kilometres, in 1959 they arrived at the conclusion that such an explosion could be detected at a distance of hundreds of millions of kilometres from the earth.

When this question was successfully solved, the Americans demanded a re-examination of the methods of detecting underground nuclear detonations, claiming that the seismic observations carried out in the course of underground explosions in the United States at the end of 1958 showed that they were inefficient.

The experts met for the third time at the end of last year. We spent three weeks arguing about the new seismic data obtained by the Americans and about their effects on the control system.

As you know, the conference was less successful than the first two. You have read the claims of certain American politicians and generals that the Soviet experts have refused to examine the American data or seriously consider the results of their American colleagues' observations. Hence their hasty conclusion that underground nuclear detonations cannot be detected and should, therefore, be excluded from the agreement.

The claim that the Soviet scientists have refused to examine any data is absolutely incorrect. The reports of the American scientists were listened to with profound attention. We did not refuse to examine our American colleagues' materials. On the contrary, we presented de-

tailed scientific reports on every important issue under discussion.

We consider the seismic observations conducted in the United States in the course of underground detonations very interesting and are sure that they can be used for control purposes. They make it possible to improve the methods of detecting nuclear explosions and of distinguishing between explosions and earthquakes.

At the same time we could not agree with some of the conclusions drawn by the American scientists from their observations. We did not agree, for instance, with the American figure of earthquakes corresponding in scope to nuclear detonations of diverse calibres because this figure was wrongly computed. We did not agree with the form of dependence between the power of detonation and the intensity of its seismic signal, etc. We did not agree with the assertion that the control system described by the experts in 1958 had on the whole become less efficient. We are sure that the suggested improvements for the control system will considerably enhance its efficiency compared to 1958. In their reports to the conference, our scientists adduced detailed arguments to prove their viewpoints.

Despite the differences, we consider that the last experts' conference was fruitful. It should not be forgotten that it unanimously adopted recommendations on possible methods of improving the instruments and methods of detection. Although we may differ in our assessment of the efficiency of the as yet non-existent control system, we all—and our American colleagues too—are sure that these improvements will considerably enhance the system.

We may still differ on technicalities, but does that mean that the world will allow them to prevent or restrict agreement on nuclear test stoppage? Is it right, for instance, to use them as a pretext for demanding the con-

tinuation of underground nuclear-weapon tests, as some Americans are doing now?

Would it not be more correct to conclude an agreement on the cessation of all tests, to set up the control system proposed by the experts and then, making use of the experience accumulated in the course of its operation, to eliminate its shortcomings and perfect it?

Scientific and technical problems cannot be solved by endless preliminary discussions. Their solution requires energetic practical work. When the United States was designing the first atomic weapons, the American scientists did not waste time arguing whether or not they could overcome the tremendous difficulty of separating uranium isotopes. What they did was to work and design the wanted devices, and in that they succeeded. Why do they seem to give up when the tasks are immeasurably simpler, something out of an early phase of electronic development. Anyone acquainted in any measure with technological and scientific problems knows that the task of detecting nuclear detonations has been solved and that the necessary improvements will come in the process of practical work. That is not only the opinion of Soviet scientists. As you know, it is also the opinion of a number of progressive scientists in Britain and the United States, and other countries as well. And I think that most of the American and British scientists who participated in the experts' conference also share it in their hearts.

**SPEECH BY N. I. PIROGOV,
CHIEF ENGINEER,
ADMIRALTY SHIPYARDS (LENINGRAD)**

A remarkable documentary film called "A Day in Our Life" was released a few days ago. It was made by dozens of cameramen and tells the story of one working day in the Soviet Union. Like all other days, this day—in September 1959—is characteristic of the Soviet people's creative labour.

There are shots of N. S. Khrushchov, the head of our Soviet Government, boarding the airliner which takes him on a friendship visit to the United States. And on the eve of his departure the atomic icebreaker *Lenin* sailed into the Neva River. The screen shows the flagship of our Arctic fleet—the pride of Soviet technology, the world's first and biggest nuclear-powered surface craft.

It is not for nothing that she has been named after the great Lenin. It was he who proclaimed the idea of the peaceful coexistence of nations and showed humanity the way to happiness and progress. This idea became the underlying principle of our foreign policy from the very first days of our Soviet state. Its first decree was the Decree on Peace. We prove our desire to live in peace and friendship with all by deeds, not words. It is difficult indeed to overestimate the recent developments: the proposal for general and complete disarmament and the Soviet Government's unilateral decision on a considerable reduction of its armed forces. And isn't it yet another proof of the peaceableness of the Soviet state that we use the harnessed

atom for peaceful, and only peaceful, purposes? Of course it is!

Foreigners visiting us have had ample opportunity to persuade themselves of this. The icebreaker *Lenin* was inspected by Vice-President Nixon of the United States, Prime Minister Macmillan of Great Britain, and McCone, chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. The latter even went on her trial cruise in the Baltic. They all saw, as did all the others who stepped on the deck of the nuclear ship, that she is a peaceful vessel. N. S. Khrushchov was absolutely right when he said that the *Lenin* will not only break the ice of the oceans, but also the ice of the cold war.

The atomic icebreaker was built at the Admiralty Shipyards in Leningrad. As one who took a direct part in her construction, I should like to stress that the workers, engineers, designers and scientists, knowing that they were working for peace, devoted all their knowledge and experience to the fulfilment of the task they were entrusted with. Our shipbuilding team launched the icebreaker strictly on schedule.

The whole country knows the names of the modest working people who have built the greatest ship of our time. They are chief designer Neganov, chief builder Chervyakov, fitters Artsibasov, Migunov and Gorbunov, electric welder Komarov, assembly workers Smirnov, Pimenov and Kuzmin, and many, many others. Their wonderful work has been crowned with a triumph.

Attending this Conference is Captain Ponomaryov, one of our veteran icebreaker skippers. He well deserved being appointed first captain of the world's first nuclear ice-breaker. He highly appreciated the qualities of the ship. And having sailed in old icebreakers, he should be in a position to assess the qualities of an atomic vessel where there is no such thing as the exhausting job of a stoker, where splendid living conditions have been created for the crew which will go on long cruises in ice-packed wa-

ters without entering any ports. I am sure that you will all join me in wishing "bon voyage" to the first captain of the world's first nuclear-powered icebreaker.

Let us build an atomic merchant marine instead of perfecting atomic bombs. Let us continue to build atomic power plants instead of spending money on inventing new types of weapons. If we do that, technology, industry and culture will advance still faster. Peace benefits all, and we are proud that the Soviet Union is a real standard-bearer of peace.

**SPEECH BY I. G. EHRENBURG,
WRITER, MEMBER
OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
PRESIDENTIAL COMMITTEE**

Three centuries B. C., the wise Hindu King Asoka cursed war and said arms were unworthy of man. The Essenes, who denounced the Roman invaders and their accomplices, the Pharisees, affirmed that he who drew the sword would perish by the sword.

For centuries the best human minds dreamed of the day when people would stop settling quarrels with the aid of iron and proving their point with other people's blood. But those dreams remained just that. People invented new and new weapons—ancient catapults gave place to cannon and cannon-balls to nuclear bombs.

A new day is dawning: the dream is ceasing to be a dream. When N. S. Khrushchov submitted the Soviet Government's proposal on general, complete and controlled disarmament to the U. N. General Assembly, no one risked smirking: disarmament is no longer a Utopia. The atomic war, on the other hand, is becoming one, and a bad one.

Icarus wanted to fly into stratosphere with the aid of wax wings. That was a dream. But today that dream is becoming a reality. Cosmonauts may start for the Moon in a rocket any day now: the thing is quite feasible. And the same may be said of disarmament: it has become feasible because people have become more conscious and acquired more knowledge. It was all right to fight when wars were waged by companies, regiments, divisions and

armies, when there were victors and vanquished. Today, war does not mean only murder; it means also suicide. To start it is not only criminal but insensate. And that is realized by all, except madmen. But it is not enough to realize that, one should draw the necessary conclusions. Although no one is planning an atomic war, the atomic arms race continues. New methods of exterminating hundreds of millions of people are being constantly invented. The available stocks of different bombs are enough to destroy not only all the people in the big cities of the world, but all the penguins at the desolate Pole too. Nevertheless, the arms race continues. It looks like madness, like an abstraction, but it is actually being done by big states. This method of destroying labour and plundering people could be called a senseless gamble were it not for the fact that the ruinous arms race is fraught with mortal danger.

We know that the Soviet Union will never resort to arms first. I would want to believe in the good will and common sense of the American and British rulers. But who can guarantee that the catastrophe will not break out through some silly accident, through a mistake, through the mental aberration of some serviceman? Who can guarantee that the atomic weapons, which are ceasing to be the property of three states, will not find their way tomorrow into the hands of a new Hitler, some madman or fanatic ready to exterminate mankind?

I am very glad that General de Gaulle had succeeded in suppressing the fascists in Algeria, but I recall the tension which prevailed in Algiers two or three weeks ago. On a barricade built with the approval of a part of the population of Algiers, sat a barkeeper by the name of Ortis, a man undoubtedly not in his right mind. And this man presented an ultimatum to the French Government affecting not only the French Republic's home policy, but foreign policy too. Just think what would happen if this

barkeeper had an atomic or hydrogen bomb in his hands....

A few days ago, replying to Labour questions in the House of Commons, Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd spoke with indignation of fascism and the Belsen death camp. Yet many of the criminals of the Belsen camp—I won't name them—occupy important posts in West Germany. Just imagine what would happen if these people laid their hands on atomic weapons....

There is no alternative, there are no two ways: it is either disarmament or atomic catastrophe. No one can think calmly of the morrow so long as two huge blocs, armed with nuclear weapons, stand opposed to each other. It is very important, of course, to use the \$100,000 million now being annually spent on armaments for desert development, urban construction, assistance to the starving half of our planet's population. But it is still more important to save humanity from disaster, and that is possible only if there is general, complete and controlled disarmament.

You may be asked, why force an open door?

The Ten Nation Disarmament Committee is to meet soon. The Summit Conference will also tackle this vastly important problem. The job of negotiating disarmament will be done by statesmen. What can the public do? Perhaps the struggle for disarmament is an empty phrase?

No. We know that the negotiations will not be easy. There has been too much distrust, too much suspicion accumulated in the cold war years. It is not so easy to get rid of old concepts. There are people who still advocate "position of strength" politics. Lastly, there are people who are directly interested in the arms race. They try to uphold the concept of an armed peace.

When I was a boy, armed peace was called "peace on a powder keg." Now we should call armed peace a peace on thousands of atomic and hydrogen bombs.

What does the struggle for disarmament imply? It implies dissipating distrust, uniting the people of the world, showing that the differences accentuated by certain politicians and generals are really not so great and that they can be overcome for the sake of achieving a great task.

The role of the public has grown immeasurably both in the Western countries and in our own. We must help diplomats to reach agreement.

The year 1960 must be made decisive: the historical deadlock must be broken. We must do it together with all the peace-loving forces of the world.

For ten years now we have taken part in the widespread peace movement. We are proud that we are upholding the cause of peace together with millions of our foreign friends. We are inspired by the conscience of the Soviet people and the voice of that great scientist and great man, Frédéric Joliot-Curie. We shall continue to devote our efforts and our zeal to the peace movement, and I am happy to see old friends—the delegates of the World Peace Council—here.

But however strong the peace movement may be, it cannot unite the peoples of all countries and bring mankind disarmament all by itself. In the struggle for peace there is no and can be no competition. No one lays claim to leadership, no one covets monopoly in the noble struggle for disarmament. We must dispel the distrust that had been nurtured over years by the cold war, we must find a common language. We representatives of the Soviet public must meet with representatives from other countries, movements, parties and organizations that stand for disarmament. We must meet, talk and agree.

At the beginning of February, A. E. Korneichuk, Professor M. I. Rubinstein and I went to London for the East-West meeting on disarmament. There we met Americans—Congressman Porter, a Quaker representative, the renowned physicist Dr. Jay Orear and the editor of the *Nation* magazine, British Labourites, a Greek Liberal, a

member of the Swedish Agrarian Party, a French supporter of General de Gaulle, the Italian Socialists Lombardi and Vittorelli, and the former Canadian Minister Gregg. The report on disarmament was made by Philip Noel-Baker, a Nobel Peace Prize winner.

We were gratified to see that there were no major differences among the participants. Many of them, for one reason or another, do not want to take part in the peace movement, but, after all, it is not a case of labels or one's membership in one or another organization. The participants in the conference, notably the Americans and the Britons, insisted on appealing to public opinion and on launching a large-scale campaign for disarmament.

Expressing your aspirations and your will, we Soviet delegates said we would do everything in our power to rally the peoples of the world.

Is it not wonderful that the American physicist Dr. Orear insisted on the immediate prohibition of all atomic tests, including low-power underground detonations? Is it not splendid that Congressman Porter supported N. S. Khrushchov's disarmament proposal? Is it not convincing that British Labourites, and not only those of the Left wing, upheld the idea of an atom-free zone in Europe and protested against the nuclear arming of West Germany, and that we did not differ on one single issue?

But what is even still more remarkable is that in the lobbies of the House of Commons we met Conservative M.P.s who told us that they would gladly take part in the next East-West meeting.

What we must do is extend the movement, look farther ahead, unite the efforts of all the champions of disarmament. In Britain there is a strong movement against nuclear weapons—it is headed by the Rev. Collins and writer Priestley, by certain Labourites and pacifists.

We were very happy to meet the Rev. Collins in Moscow and we are convinced that we can contribute to dis-

armament together with the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

There have been sharp changes in the United States too. Cultural, pacifist and religious organizations are growing more vocal in their demand for disarmament. Many prominent politicians approach this problem quite soberly. The United States now has its National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. Influential business quarters favour peaceful co-operation too.

In this connection it will be enough to recall the statements made by Senator Humphrey, Adlai Stevenson, the American physicists, and the activity of Cyrus Eaton. We shall be very happy to meet representatives of the American public, to discuss with them frankly the most urgent of problems, and to show them that on disarmament issue we differ only on minor details, that agreement is close and that it is in the interests of the whole world to conclude it without delay.

We must respond to the appeal made by the Indian Parliamentary Peace Committee, whose members include many prominent parliamentarians from the National Congress. We must join forces with the energetic Japanese Council Against the Atomic and Hydrogen Weapons. We must make an attempt at rapprochement with the opponents of atomic weapons in West Germany, Italy and Scandinavia. We must appeal to all peace-loving forces and in our talks we must not stress what can divide us but think only of the great aim that unites us: the struggle for general disarmament. We must display patience, understanding, friendly good will.

Sometimes one hears sceptical assertions that there is too much mutual distrust, too big a difference in the ideological sphere for anyone to risk disarmament. But were there not ideological differences between the Soviet Union and the Western countries in 1941? Was there not plenty of mutual distrust then? Yet, in the face of fascist danger the opponents of yesterday joined forces. Fascism,

of course, was a terrible menace, but it should be said that the atomic catastrophe is even more terrible and that in the face of this menace, which is recognized by all, yesterday's opponents can and must join forces.

The Soviet public plays a very big part. We are not meeting here to convince one another of the advantages of peace over war and disarmament over the arms race. Every Soviet schoolboy knows it and to meet for that it would not be worthwhile to drop one's work. To convince the convinced is easy, and quite useless. Our Conference has a big and noble task before it. Our country is the first to have approached other states with a proposal for general, complete and controlled disarmament. We spokesmen of the Soviet people must be the first to invite peace-loving forces everywhere to co-operate with us in the achievement of this lofty aim.

May our words be heard: Down with armaments!

Long live peace!

SPEECH BY S. YUSIFOV, TEAM LEADER, AZIZBEKOV OIL TRUST

Dear comrades, friends,

Allow me to convey to you, delegates at this Conference, the warm greetings of the working people of Azerbaijan.

The light of true friendship among the nations is growing brighter and brighter. The examples are not far to seek. Some time ago we had eleven Rumanian oil specialists staying in our republic for four months. And now a team of Azerbaijan specialists has left Baku for Rumania to help our friends there to commission a cracking plant.

We had Indian oil workers undergoing training at our refineries and oilfields in the Caspian Sea. There are Bulgarian students at the Azerbaijan State University, Chinese technicians and specialists at the Novobakinsky Refinery. The Lieutenant Schmidt Engineering Works is manufacturing oil equipment that goes to our friends in China, Bulgaria, India and other countries. What can be more pleasant and beautiful than such co-operation in work and studies and pooling of experience?

The working people of Azerbaijan unanimously approve and support the peaceful policy of the Soviet Government. Machinist M. Aliev of the Sumgait thermal power plant expressed the thoughts of very many people when he told a conference of city activists:

"The Soviet Government's decision on the unilateral reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces sets a good example

to all states. May this new peaceful step of our country influence those who still do not believe that Soviet people are real champions of peace. We shall work tirelessly for general and complete disarmament, for the destruction of atomic and hydrogen weapons."

Our country's labour force will soon increase by 1,200,000 men. That is a tangible reinforcement. Together with the other working people they will be storming new labour heights in the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan.

Comrades, I am very happy that I live in the great country which is in the van of the struggle for peace.

From this lofty rostrum I should like to assure our Communist Party and the Soviet Government that the working people of Azerbaijan will do everything in their power to enhance the might of our country and to increase its riches. By our selfless labour we shall contribute our share to the implementation of the Seven-Year Plan and consolidation of world peace.

**SPEECH BY A. V. TOPCHIEV,
VICE-PRESIDENT,
U.S.S.R. ACADEMY OF SCIENCES**

Humanity has to fight stubbornly and perseveringly for disarmament. And in this noble struggle for the bright future of mankind, for the life and happiness of the present and future generations, a responsible and honourable role is rightly played by scientists of all countries.

Who, if not the scientists who have unveiled the innermost mysteries of Nature, mastered the secret of nuclear fission and fusion, photographed the invisible side of the Moon, created artificial Earth and Sun satellites and paved the way into space—who, if not they, should show the world what boundless opportunities for spiritual and material development are offered by new scientific achievements if they serve human progress and peace?

On the other hand, who, if not the scientists who have paved the way to the manufacture of such weapons of unparalleled power as atomic and hydrogen bombs and intercontinental ballistic rockets—who, if not they, should warn mankind against the horrors facing every inhabitant of our planet if these lethal weapons are used.

But scientists are not only the investigators of Nature's laws and discoverers of her secrets. They are also the creators and guardians of the cultural values accumulated by generations through selfless labour. And in this capacity they are called upon to struggle for peace, for the flames of atomic explosions threaten to destroy invaluable centuries-old monuments of human culture.

All this makes it incumbent upon scientists to stand

guard over peace and to oppose the spread of war menace with all means at their disposal.

Lastly, the specific character of research in present-day conditions is such that its progress depends upon broad and intense co-operation among scientists of all countries. And that, in its turn, requires maintaining and consolidating peace and confidence, friendly relations, cultural exchange and understanding among nations and states, among their scientific and cultural organizations. The absence of such contacts retards scientific advancement.

Scientists contribute greatly to the world peace movement. That is eloquently illustrated by the fact that both presidents of the World Peace Council—Frédéric Joliot-Curie and John Bernal—came from their ranks.

A big role in the struggle for peace and against atomic war is played by the Pugwash movement of scientists, which owes its existence to the initiative of such outstanding scientists as Albert Einstein and Frédéric Joliot-Curie, the well-known philosopher and public figure Lord Russell, and seven other Nobel Prize winners, an initiative supported by Cyrus Eaton, the American financier and industrialist. At their five Pugwash conferences, scientists of various countries have adopted with exceptional unanimity a number of important decisions. They included demands for the cessation of the arms race, termination of nuclear-weapon tests, prohibition of chemical and biological weapons, controlled disarmament, promotion of international confidence, extension of international scientific co-operation, unrestricted exchange of scientific information and some others.

I consider it my duty to point out that the Soviet Government is the only Great Power government to have responded to the Pugwash movement of scientists, expressing its sympathy and support in a warm message signed by N. S. Khrushchov.

The scientists' participation in the struggle for peace and disarmament is not limited to the world peace move-

ment and the Pugwash movement. There are also many national organizations (among them the British Association of Scientific Workers founded on the initiative of Lord Russell, the Federation of American Scientists and the Scientific Council of Japan) that participate actively in the struggle against the atomic menace. The works of many eminent savants—for instance, the treatise on atomic war by Professor Linus Pauling, the well-known American chemist and Nobel Prize winner—are also dedicated to the same cause.

No less valuable contribution to peace is being made by international scientific societies. I should like to mention the resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the World Federation of Scientific Workers in September 1959 and its Appeal to the heads of government. The Federation said it was opposed to the utilization of scientific achievements for military purposes and to nuclear tests, and demanded effective and complete disarmament. In his reply to the Federation's president, Professor Powell, N. S. Khrushchov warmly approved their noble struggle for universal and total disarmament and said he was profoundly gratified that the idea of universal and total disarmament was winning more and more friends the world over.

I should also like to say a few words about the activities of Soviet scientists. Together with their people, they are in the van of the struggle for peace and general and complete disarmament. The *New York World-Tel-
egram and Sun* wrote that the sputniks they have created are grand publicity for peaceful coexistence. The active part played by Soviet scientists in the peace movement from its very inception, in the Pugwash movement and meetings against the arms race and atomic menace is in all mass campaigns and international conferences known far and wide and speaks for itself. The World Peace Council has highly assessed their activity and awarded many of them medals and diplomas.

Does that mean that we, Soviet and foreign scientists, have done everything that could and should be done for the victory of the principles of genuine humanism, under whose banners we are waging a struggle for the triumph of reason and conscience in international affairs, for the elimination of the horrible spectre of nuclear war?

There are no and can be no grounds for self-complacency. So long as no end has been put to the arms race, so long as humanity is daily threatened with the resumption of nuclear tests, with the "criminal madness" of nuclear war (Lord Russell's expression), so long as no agreement has been concluded on total disarmament and the "death merchants" continue to prosper in the West and the cold warriors continue to make their man-hating appeals and statements, scientists worthy of the name have no moral right to down their arms in the struggle for peace, no right to be silent.

What is more, today, when the warm spring breeze of international *détente* is beginning to blow softly over the long-suffering world, when as the result of the strengthening of the peace forces and the weakening of the forces of war there is a real possibility to agree on disarmament and put an end to the nightmare of "atomic death" and guarantee humanity a life of joy, peaceful co-existence and fraternal mutual assistance—today we scientists should devote all our energy and all our authority to the sacred struggle for peace, international friendship and disarmament.

There are many diverse ways of achieving it—by extending the activities of the existing organizations and creating new ones, through international co-ordination of efforts, individual and collective statements, publications, radio and TV propaganda, etc. These ways must take account of the local conditions and the political situation in each individual country. But the aim is invariable: disarmament and peace, competition and progress!

**SPEECH BY S. P. PAVLOV,
SECRETARY, CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
LENIN YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE**

Comrades,

The whole world, the whole of progressive humanity is under the spell of the momentous proposal submitted by N. S. Khrushchov to the United Nations on behalf of the Soviet Government. People all over the world endorse this humane proposal and expect their governments to take immediate and practical steps to reduce their armed forces, to disarm. It could not be otherwise. There have been many peace proposals and declarations. But the world has never known a proposal that would eliminate all possibility of war and ensure a lasting, enduring peace. No other government has ever proposed or could propose anything like that.

The Soviet youth warmly support the courageous and consistent policy followed by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government aimed at consolidating peace and enhancing peaceful coexistence. Our younger generation is devoting all its efforts to creative endeavour, to the achievement of our cherished goal—the building of communism. To build industrial giants, grow bumper harvests, produce more fabrics, metal and coal, master science, and strive for a higher cultural level—that is the aim in life of every young Soviet man and woman.

The Central Committee of the Young Communist League held a plenary session recently to discuss the re-

sults of the December Plenary Session of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee. The speeches made by young front-rank agricultural workers were especially interesting and illustrative of the enthusiasm, inexhaustible energy and great purposefulness of our youth. One of the speakers was Tamara Bubnova. She is only 21 years old but she is already chairman of a collective farm. Last year her collective farm sold four times as much meat as in 1958 and doubled the output of milk.

Our youth see joy and happiness in work, they know that our country's wealth belongs to the people. The success of every young steel worker, scientist, builder, machine-operator, milkmaid and cultivator is a contribution to the construction of communism, the most perfect and just society on earth, in which the youth of today will live.

That is why the younger generation works so selflessly, that is why it places the interests of society above its own, dedicates all its energy and knowledge to communist construction and accomplishes feats of heroism.

In the capitalist countries, ruled by businessmen and militarists, the minds of young people are poisoned by the man-hating propaganda of murder and violence, by "jungle law," racist propaganda, the cult of money and profit. Capitalism corrupts and stupefies the youth.

Irreparable harm is caused to the education of young people in the West by the cult of militarism and war disseminated by the aggressive NATO bloc. Terrorist and bandit gangs are re-emerging in West Germany. The newly-baked Hitlerites have apparently forgotten about the inglorious end of the Führer. SS-men who got away with murder seek to set the minds of the West German youth on revenge. One cannot help seeing that these regrettable phenomena are closely linked with Adenauer's policy. A few days ago Bonn Defence Minister Strauss openly declared that "the Bundeswehr must be ready for action." In response to the Soviet Government's

peaceful step he urged to reinforce the West German army.

Capitalists like the multimillionaire Rockefeller, militarists of such ranks like General Norstad, the NATO Supreme Commander, and pen-pushers of all kinds are again calling for intensification of the arms race and fan enmity among nations. Some reactionary publicists advocate the use of every weapon, the A-bomb included, against communism, and urge the West to continue the cold war, claiming that relaxation of tension is the cause of all wars.

This is the kind of lethal venom the Western propagandists use to poison the minds of young people. They are worse than criminals. In their blind, beastly hatred of communism they imperil the lives of millions of people.

The sooner these people are put in strait jackets, the better it will be for mankind!

The foes of peace see a great danger for themselves in friendship among the young people of the world. In Washington and Dortmund the reactionaries are investigating the cases of young Americans and Germans who dared to take part in the world youth and student festivals. The obscurantists in the Un-American Activities Committee and their West German colleagues seek to intimidate the youth and force it to stop co-operating with young people in other countries, especially in the socialist countries.

Vain and wretched efforts! The youth of the world will continue to be friends and co-operate whatever the enemies of peace may do. One graphic evidence of that was the Seventh World Festival of Youth and Students in Vienna, at which young men and women from 112 countries of Europe, America, Africa, Asia and Australia once again displayed their unity in the struggle for peace and for the prohibition of thermonuclear weapons.

Comrades, the Soviet youth's international ties grow from year to year. Last year we played host to more than

600 youth delegations and groups. This year our contacts with our foreign friends will be even more extensive. The movement of young peace champions is growing stronger. Young men and women of different views are coming to see more clearly the need for joint efforts in defence of peace, for disarmament. Newspapers and the radio daily report about youth and student demonstrations and meetings in Japan, West Germany, Italy, Canada and African countries. The youth is waging a struggle against nuclear-weapon tests, the establishment of foreign military bases on their territory, the resurgence of German militarism.

Some time ago young Albanians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Italians, Rumanians and Yugoslavs met in Bucharest and vowed to do everything to convert the Balkans and the Adriatic into an atom-free peace zone. They decided to join forces and raise their voice against the arms race and for general and complete disarmament. In Prague, representatives of more than forty national student organizations, meeting to discuss their vital problems, called on all students to spare no effort in achieving universal and total disarmament.

Young men and women in different countries are now discussing the proposal of the Soviet youth organizations to hold a world youth forum in Moscow next summer. There is no doubt that this will contribute to the cause of peace and friendship.

The youth condemn the opponents of international *détente*, who are doing their level best to prevent disarmament.

The younger generation of the world looks hopefully towards the forthcoming Summit. It demands the solution of the disarmament problem, the nuclear weapons issue and the question of the German peace treaty in the interests of peace and international security.

Together with progressives everywhere, the Soviet youth demand that the Western governments respond to

the noble initiative of the Soviet Union and take practical steps towards general and complete disarmament.

Comrades, the Soviet youth, the Lenin Young Communist League will continue to devote their energy to the enhancement of our country's might, to the struggle for human happiness and world peace.

SPEECH BY S. T. KONENKOV, U.S.S.R. PEOPLE'S ARTIST

The corner-stone of the human edifice today is, no doubt, immediate, complete and general disarmament.

We live in an age of great discoveries. What seemed a dream to our ancestors has become a reality with us. Honest-minded people throughout the world are unanimous in their desire to deliver mankind from the scourge of war. The ominous shadow of war poisons people's lives. There are dark clouds in the azure sky. Wars become more horrible and ruthless. Even the most powerful mind cannot imagine the extent of catastrophe a new conflagration a nuclear and rocket war will cause. And that is why every word in defence of peace is precious. Every signature, every vote given to peace and against the threat presented by mass-destruction weapons is a drop that helps to pulverize stone. Let us stretch to one another our mighty human hands and feel the beat of millions of ardent human hearts!

Mankind has seen both the triumph of reason and thought and fatal accident and irreparable errors. There is a saying that a sapper can go wrong only once. Humanity now has no right to make mistakes. The times are changing and some of the aphorisms are becoming obsolete. How often on our thorny path we heard the favourite aphorism of those who batten on the arms race: "If you want peace, get ready for war." Today it is: if you want peace, build it, strengthen it as a foundation of life.

N. S. Khrushchov's voice is now the most vocal, the most resolute, the friendliest voice in the world. It speaks only the truth, it rouses the whole of mankind to the defence of peace.

We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that armed roughs are again marching in West Germany, that peace champions are tried in this so-called civilized state, and that some death-mongers dream of establishing bases on nearby planets to bomb the earth from them.

I am a sculptor, a man of peaceful labour, and I think a lot these days about the Summit which is to be held in Paris this spring. May this conference add to the glory of beautiful Paris, where the principle of freedom, equality and fraternity was first proclaimed.

I appeal to the heads of government who are to take part in the forthcoming historic meeting: be worthy of this great mission! The happiness of mankind depends on your good will.

How wonderful life will be when people taste the fruit of disarmament! Tomorrow will truly be alluring and radiant. How fast we shall advance to the promised land and prosperous life!

By disarming we shall save the labour accumulated over centuries, preserve millions of young lives, and divine beauty of Nature. All that is quite feasible, my friends!

I grew up under the shade of white Russian birches. I have lived and worked under the shade of olive trees of beautiful Italy, I have enjoyed the hospitality of New York and other remote cities. I have old friends in the Smolensk area, which had suffered so much in the past, and I have friends across the ocean of whom I cherish the fondest memories.

My fellow countrymen from the Smolensk area know what war is, they went through it just recently. Most of my friends across the ocean know it only from books. It is hard to find words to describe how much my fellow countrymen hate war. I like to imagine my near and my

distant friends meeting. If they could meet, I am sure they would hospitably offer one another the places of honour at the table.

I am sure that if such a meeting took place, people would discuss without envy or malice how best to bring children up, how to improve people's health and prolong longevity.

We want to meet each other with hospitality, not with atomic bombs!

I appeal to the heads of government hopefully. You who enjoy the trust of the nations are to do a job which by its grandeur will eclipse even the greatest, the most gifted of scientific discoveries and accomplishments in art! You must accomplish the grandest, the most sensible, the most perfect of achievements!

You may require more than one meeting. It is the beginning that is the hardest and the most significant. It is clear to all that the destinies of the world and the fate of the most majestic scientific projects—whose implementation will defeat darkness and for ever obliterate poverty and woe—depend on your decision, on how fast it is carried out.

The day is not far when the sculptors of the world will immortalize the greatest act of all times and all nations—general and complete disarmament. We shall deservedly glorify this unparalleled victory of human wisdom in our statues, in our art. No one will stint gold for that. May the noble and sunny metal go not for destruction, but for the creation of masterpieces of art, for peace on earth.

**SPEECH BY Y. I. TOLSTIKOV,
HERO OF THE SOVIET UNION,
DEPUTY CHIEF
OF THE NORTH ROUTE ADMINISTRATION**

Gathered in this hall today are people who hate war, who want peace and happiness on earth. There are envoys of our multinational Soviet people, who went through all the horrors of war. There are guests from foreign countries, representing people who desire peace as ardently as we do. And yet it is not all the peace champions and not all the nations inhabiting our planet that we see represented here. Had they all gathered, there would not have been enough auditoriums in Moscow, and in the world, to accommodate them. For the supporters of peace are numberless.

Last year I returned from Antarctica, the sixth continent of our planet, where Soviet scientists were doing research work in accordance with the International Geophysical Year programme. The savants of many countries joined forces to unravel the secrets of this unexplored continent.

The friendship of these scientists from different countries investigating the sixth continent grew and strengthened in the rigorous Antarctic conditions. However unusual it may seem, it is a fact that these scientists established warm contacts in the coldest continent on earth. We often wondered why rigorous natural conditions were conducive to friendship, and eventually came to the conclusion that this was because we shared the

same aim—to study Antarctica, to unveil the secrets of Nature.

But if people of different countries and convictions can jointly vanquish the forces of Nature, why cannot they unite to overcome the obstacles on the path to peace?

In our Antarctic expedition we had an American scientist Morton Rubin and a Czech scientist Antonín Mrkos. We lived like one big family and often uttered words that have now become international: peace, friendship. They shared our joys when they saw the Soviet sputnik in the sky. We all watched the sputnik with tears in our eyes. The sputniks and interplanetary rockets are the pride of our country. When we saw the sputnik in the sky, we regarded it as an envoy of our wonderful country. And for people far away from their country that is happiness supreme.

Our foreign friends shared our joy at the progress made by world science. Ships with Australian and American scientists often visited the Mirny Observatory in Antarctica. We readily acquainted them with our research work. And members of our expeditions visited American, Australian, New Zealand, Japanese and Belgian stations. Soviet expedition ships visited many countries of the Southern Hemisphere. Everywhere we were accorded a warm, friendly welcome. All that shows that scientists in Antarctica not only correspond regularly, but also exchange the results of their research and investigations.

The feeling of comradely assistance and mutual aid, inherent in Soviet people, manifests itself most vividly in the rigorous Antarctic conditions. The members of the Soviet expedition have time and again come to the assistance of their foreign colleagues in distress. The diesel electric ship *Ob* has repeatedly helped the ships of other Antarctic expeditions to break through heavy ice. When Belgian Polar explorers got into trouble, one of our planes immediately went to their assistance and rescued them.

The international climate is growing warmer now, and it has spread to Antarctica too. As you know, an agreement on Antarctica was signed by twelve countries in Washington on December 1, 1959. We Polar explorers working in Antarctica were not the only ones to welcome it. It was greeted with satisfaction throughout the world.

"Antarctica," the agreement said, "shall be used for peaceful purposes only. The agreement prohibits any measure of a military nature, such as the establishment of military bases and fortifications, the carrying out of military manoeuvres, as well as the testing of any type of weapons."

The agreement also forbids countries to carry out nuclear detonations in Antarctica and to pollute its atmosphere with radioactive materials. It boldly solves the problem of control and inspection. In short, Antarctica is becoming a peace zone.

In this connection one may well ask why penguins and other species of Antarctic fauna should enjoy better conditions than human beings. Why not extend the provisions of this agreement to the five densely populated continents of our planet? Why do some states build military bases on these continents instead and thus imperil the security of many nations?

The agreement on Antarctica shows that, given good will, it is absolutely possible for states to agree on lasting peace.

I call on Polar scientists, on all people of good will, to fight actively for peace, to help deliver mankind from the horrors of war, from the burden of armaments.

**SPEECH BY MIRZO TURSUN-ZADE,
WRITER, CHAIRMAN
OF THE SOVIET AFRO-ASIAN
SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE**

The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee has entrusted me to extend their cordial greetings to the participants in the Conference of the Soviet public for disarmament. I am extremely pleased to carry out this honourable commission, conscious of the fact that there cannot be a more humane or more vitally necessary cause at present than the struggle for everlasting peace and complete and general disarmament.

Like all nationalities inhabiting our planet, Soviet men and women link the happiness and prosperity of their country and their families with the ensuring of world peace.

The Soviet Government's proposal on general and complete disarmament is in the limelight of world public opinion. Progressive mankind sees in the programme of general and complete disarmament a real opportunity for getting rid of the nightmare of a rocket and nuclear war of annihilation, and a guarantee for stable peace and a life of creative endeavour.

The peoples of Asia and Africa, defending their sacred right to independence and the free development of national economy and culture in the struggle against the imperialist colonialists, have enthusiastically responded to this proposal. The governments of India, Indonesia, Guinea, Libya, Burma, Afghanistan, and many other Asian and African countries have supported the Soviet disarmament proposal. The movement for ending atomic and

hydrogen bomb tests and for complete and general disarmament is gaining in scope in all Afro-Asian countries.

The problem of terminating nuclear tests is especially important for the peoples of Asia and Africa. The peoples of Asia were the first to experience the horrible consequences of American atomic blasts and are continuing to experience them.

The peoples of Asia and Africa, like the world public at large, were indignant at the news of the Sahara A-bomb tests. The African peoples demand an end to nuclear detonations, termination of the arms race, liquidation of aggressive military blocs and foreign military bases on other people's territories, and ensuring of peace and peaceful co-operation of all states.

Our Conference is taking place at the time of N. S. Khrushchov's visit to India, Indonesia, Burma and Afghanistan. All of us are attentively following this trip of the envoy of peace and friendship between nations and our hearts are filled with joy and pride when we see how warmly and sincerely the peoples welcome the head of the Soviet Government. We know that the enthusiastic manifestation of sincere friendship and gratitude on the part of masses of people towards our country and the government leaders of the first socialist state in the world is the result of the Leninist peace policy pursued by our government, the policy of supporting the national-liberation struggle of oppressed peoples, the result of unselfish fraternal aid in building the national economies of liberated countries.

The struggle for the peaceful solution of all unsettled and mooted issues and for complete and general disarmament is the urgent cause of all people and organizations including the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

Recently, at the call of the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council, all national solidarity committees resolutely protested against the bilateral military agreements of Iran, Pakistan and Turkey with the

U.S.A., against all and sundry SEATOs, CENTOs, and NATOs, against the violation of international treaties concerning Indo-China, for consolidating peace and security in the Far East and South-East Asia, for the most rapid achievement of agreement on ending nuclear tests everywhere and for all times, for world peace without soldiers and arms, without colonialists and those who enjoy gaining profits at the expense of exploiting others.

In African countries under the colonial yoke, the native population eke out a miserable existence, enjoy no rights, and are subjected to cruel exploitation. In Kenya, for example, the correlation between the incomes of Africans and Europeans is 1 : 34, while in the Belgian Congo Africans get paid 90 to 95 per cent less than Europeans for exactly the same work. In the Union of South Africa 80 per cent of the African population is absolutely illiterate, while in Tanganyika 95 per cent of the local inhabitants can neither read nor write. Slave trade still exists in French Equatorial Africa and in Angola. The implementation of the programme for general and complete disarmament will make it possible to put a rapid end to all these evils engendered by colonialism.

General and complete disarmament will make it possible to release a substantial amount of funds for rendering aid to the peoples of underdeveloped countries. Complete disarmament and universal and everlasting peace will make it possible to use the best there is in a nation and all its resources for rapidly advancing the welfare of the masses of people.

In the grim years of the cold war, our ship of peace and solidarity triumphed over the storms and hurricanes. Now it is easier to sail.

We wish the ship of peace and solidarity between nations happy sailing to the port of destination—to general and complete disarmament, to the complete liquidation of the disgraceful colonial system, and to the final triumph of the friendship and fraternity of peoples.

SPEECH BY ACADEMICIAN K. V. OSTROVITYANOV

Progressive mankind welcomed enthusiastically the Soviet Government's proposal for general and complete disarmament and highly appreciated its noble initiative in reducing its armed forces.

Thanks to the Soviet Government's resolute step and the inexhaustible energy of that ardent champion of peace and laureate of the Lenin Peace Prize N. S. Khrushchov, the programme of general and complete disarmament has become a concrete task that can be solved without delay. And the most important question it raises in the capitalist countries is that of its economic consequences.

The world now spends more than \$100,000 million a year for military purposes, that is, 89,000 tons of gold.

A huge number of people have been diverted from peaceful labour and drawn into war preparations. According to available data, there are more than 20,000,000 people under arms in all countries and if we consider the number of people servicing the armed forces in industry, agriculture, transport, etc., we shall find that the total figure exceeds 100,000,000. Such waste of labour power and material resources adversely influences the economic development of these countries. Rising taxes, inflation and systematic increase in prices are the inevitable concomitants of the militarization of economy.

In the United States, for instance, taxes now amount to \$40,000 million a year as against \$1,000 million before the Second World War, in Britain—£2,500 million as against £422 million. Retail prices in the United States

have risen more than 2.3-fold in the same period, while in Britain they have gone up over 2.6 times.

War preparations draw scientists into the creation of weapons of destruction. The results of their military research are kept secret and that hampers exchange of scientific information and retards scientific progress.

With the exception of a handful of war industrialists and adventuristic brass hats in the imperialist countries, all the strata of society are interested in disarmament.

Some Western economists claim that the militarization of economy will enable the capitalist countries to evade crises of overproduction and unemployment. In an attempt to frighten the American people about the economic consequences of disarmament, Professor Seymour Harris of Harvard University claims that to keep employment at the 1959 level it is necessary to find application for \$46,000 million (U.S. direct military expenses now) and that the increase of the population makes it necessary to increase the volume of production from \$15,000 million to \$20,000 million a year. Commenting on this in the January 1960 issue of the *Progressive* magazine, the well-known American publicist Stuart Chase writes that if gross national product diminishes by \$60,000 million, 10,000,000 workers will be left without jobs.

The facts, however, belie these theories. The militarization of economy cannot save the capitalist countries from crises and unemployment. Take the United States, the most powerful country in the capitalist world. In spite of huge military expenditure, it has thrice experienced over-production crises after the war and even now it has 5,000,000 unemployed.

The acceptance of the programme of general and complete disarmament and the switch-over of industry to peaceful production could improve the economic situation and enhance the living standard of the popular masses in all the countries of the world.

Would it not be more profitable for all nations to invest in the construction of housing, schools, hospitals, roads and in the production of foodstuffs and manufactures than in the arms race?

Disarmament would make it possible to use, for peaceful purposes, huge industrial potentialities and the mass of raw materials and fuel now absorbed by war industries. The enormous resources of the atomic industry could be used for people's well-being instead of going into the production of weapons of death and destruction.

Disarmament would reduce taxes, mitigate inflation and slow down the growth of prices it entails, and enhance people's purchasing power—and that would help to expand the domestic market.

On January 4 of this year, the U.S. National Planning Association published a statement stressing that there was no weighty argument to show that reduction of armaments would result in an economic depression.

The statement cites figures on the cost of certain government programmes which could be implemented in the course of the next five years—education, construction of schools, highways and aerodromes, cheap houses, hospitals, etc. In the course of these five years it would be necessary to spend \$300,000 million on the American people's needs, that is, about \$60,000 million a year, which is far above the current military expenses. According to the U.S. National Planning Association, the U.S. Government expends about \$30,000 million a year for these purposes, and if the armaments are reduced expenditure on these non-military needs may be raised to \$90,000 million. The statement adds that the reduction of armaments will make it possible considerably to extend the programme of credits and technical aid for the economic development of other countries, especially the underdeveloped.

Disarmament opens vast prospects for the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The funds released may be used to improve people's living standard. In the

U.S.S.R., the housing shortage could be eliminated still faster. Releasing material, financial and labour resources, disarmament would make it possible to expand the construction of child institutions, boarding schools, sanatoria, hospitals and other facilities in towns and villages.

Disarmament would create very favourable opportunities for the underdeveloped countries. Although their population accounts for 36 per cent of the world's total, their share in industrial output, in most of the basic goods, does not exceed 4·7 per cent. Hunger, poverty and disease—these aftermaths of colonialism—still prevail in the underdeveloped countries of Africa, Latin America and South-East Asia.

According to U.N. estimates, the underdeveloped countries would have to invest \$14,000 million a year to increase per capita income by a mere 2 per cent. They would need plenty of money and long-term credits to launch on large-scale construction of factories, dams and highways and to buy the necessary modern equipment and machinery.

It has been calculated that one-tenth of what the NATO countries spend for military purposes every year will be enough to build more than ten large steel works. And one-tenth of what two such Great Powers as the United States and the Soviet Union expend on armaments every year will suffice to build several huge dams like the one at Aswan, which will radically alter the economic position of the United Arab Republic.

Promotion of economic and trade ties between the capitalist and socialist countries will play an ever increasing role in the world's economy. The planned character and rapid rate of economic development in the countries of the socialist camp create a reliable and steady market both for various equipment and chemical raw materials and for consumer goods.

In 1931, when U.S. industry was suffering from an acute market crisis, Senator Borah declared that the Soviet

Union was the greatest potential market for American goods in the world. And true enough, in this difficult period in its history, a major proportion of United States exports—65 per cent of lathes, 74 per cent of foundry equipment, etc.—went to the Soviet Union. It was, incidentally, these industries that were hit worst by the economic crisis.

The United States and the Soviet Union account together for more than half of the world's industrial output. And yet, as N. S. Khrushchov said in the United States, all the commodities these two gigantic countries exchange in a year could be loaded in two freighters.

The lifting of bans and restrictions would open wide prospects for lively trade between East and West on a basis of mutual advantage and amply compensate for trade in armaments and other war *materiel*.

The peoples of the world are vitally interested in putting an end to the arms race and establishing an enduring peace on earth.

**SPEECH BY A. I. KOSEI,
HERO OF THE SOVIET UNION, TEACHER,
FORMER PARTISAN (BYELORUSSIAN S.S.R.)**

I am from Byelorussia, from Minsk. Perhaps many of you have been lucky enough to see our town as it was when I left it three days ago—beautiful and young. We people of Minsk love and cherish our city. I am a teacher and mother and I know these feelings very well. I have them every time I return to my children, my pupils, even after a brief absence.

And I always have them when I return to my Minsk.

In 1945, when I came back to Minsk after eighteen months in hospital, I did not recognize it: the city lay in ashes and ruins, there was not a single street, not a single house left intact in the centre.

Like thousands of other Byelorussian towns and villages, Minsk was destroyed by the German fascists.

But the Byelorussian people did not surrender, did not become obedient slaves. From the very first days of the Patriotic War the age-old Byelorussian forests reverberated to the voices of people's avengers. Partisan detachments and brigades sprang up in the forests of Byelorussia. Everyone who could carry a gun, whole families and villages, joined the partisan struggle.

More than half of the inhabitants of my Stankovo Village enlisted in the Rokossovsky Partisan Brigade. Four members of the Bondarevich family joined immediately. The people were avenging their desecrated and tortured country.

There was no end to Nazi atrocities against the civilians. The fascists shot the mother and sister of the four Bondareviches and tortured to death five young villagers, four of them girls, my coevals. They hanged my mother just because she gave food and water to wounded Soviet soldiers, because she dressed their wounds....

I was sixteen years old then and my brother was twelve. In the early days of the war we found our way to the partisans, the people's avengers. I became a soldier and my brother Marat a reconnoiturer. I was on active service until 1943 and did not accomplish anything heroic, but I am proud that I contributed my mite to the defeat of the enemy: took part in ambushes, did sentry duty, cooked for the soldiers, washed clothes, sewed, looked after the wounded. In January 1943, while breaking out of the enemy encirclement, I got my legs frost-bitten. Not suspecting what was awaiting me, I held out for two more weeks and did my duties. And then the irreparable happened: I lost my legs. My brother Marat, the twelve-year-old reconnoiturer, the pride of our family, did much more as a partisan than I. But he did not live to see victory: he died on the field of honour at the age of fourteen. The people have not forgotten what he did for his country. In the Byelorussian S.S.R. Thirtieth Anniversary Park in Minsk there is a monument to the heroic partisan, Marat Kosei. A granite obelisk in memory of his splendid feats has been erected in our Stankovo Village too. People often come to his grave. Schoolchildren, people of the elder generation lay flowers on Marat's grave, recall his short but glorious life.

The people of Byelorussia set to restore the republic's economy and its capital in the very first days after liberation. Thanks to the unfailing solicitude of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, thanks to the fraternal assistance of all the peoples of the Soviet Union, Byelorussia soon healed the war scars and became one of the leading republics.

I returned to my village in March 1945, when restoration work at the collective farm was in full swing. I wanted very much to contribute my share to the common cause. I worked as a telephone operator and was elected organizer of our collective-farm Young Communist League branch. As far as my physical defect would allow, I took part in agricultural work, organized *voskresniks** and did cultural work at the collective farm.

Later I graduated from a pedagogical institute and now hold the modest yet noble job of a Soviet teacher. I have two children. As one who witnessed the horrors of the last war, I want to thank our government from the bottom of my heart for being the first in the world to take practical steps in solving the problem of world peace and security.

All people of good will appreciate the proposals submitted by N. S. Khrushchov on behalf of the Soviet Government to the U.N. General Assembly in September last.

Unfortunately, the cold warriors are still active in the West. They want the number of military bases increased and the tests of nuclear weapons continued. This policy leads to a repetition of the Nagasaki and Hiroshima tragedies.

But the people's will to peace is indestructible. The nations of the world are striving for solidarity in the interests of peace and human happiness. I am sure that they will not permit the dark forces of reaction to unleash another war. The peoples insist that their governments follow the example set by our mighty but peaceful country.

* Labour freely given to the state on Sundays or after working hours.

The example was set by the employees of the Moscow-Kazan Railway on May 10, 1919.

Voskresniks were often held in the early years of Soviet power and during the Second World War.

As a woman, mother, teacher and citizen, I declare that I do not want my children, my pupils, children anywhere to see what I and my coevals saw. I do not want the sky over them to be enveloped with the smoke of fires, of A-bomb explosions. My greatest wish is to see the children of the world smiling, to see them growing flowers, to see them living in peace, to see them achieve the greatest of human aims—to build communism.

SPEECH BY MARSHAL K. A. MERETSKOV

Like all other public organizations, the Soviet War Veterans' Committee, which unites war veterans in the struggle for peace, actively supports the Soviet people's fight for peace.

Soviet people love and respect our soldiers, those who faithfully served and serve the interests of the Soviet state, who shed their blood in defence of the country. This love inspires us and stimulates our activities, our struggle for peace and international friendship, for the building of our country's bright future—communism.

We Soviet soldiers covered hundreds of kilometres of scorched earth and fought the fascist hordes on our own soil and on the territory of other countries. Our infantrymen and seamen, flyers, tank troops and artillerymen, partisans and people's volunteers selflessly fought the enemy. They remember the horrors of war all too well. Who of us has not grieved the loss of comrades, friends, relatives!

Millions of Soviet people died in the struggle for a right cause, in fighting heroically for the freedom and independence of their country. Our people sustained enormous losses. One thousand seven hundred and ten towns, more than 70,000 villages, a huge number of factory and dwelling buildings were wholly or partially destroyed and burnt.

We know and appreciate peace. The memory of those who died fighting fascism still lives in our hearts now, fifteen years after the war. It also lives in the hearts of a great many people in other countries that fought fascism.

Fate brought many Soviet people to fight against the common enemy shoulder to shoulder with patriots from other countries. Thousands of Soviet people fought in the partisan detachments of France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Norway and other countries. Many Soviet soldiers waged a courageous struggle against the German fascists even in concentration camps, where they headed anti-fascist organizations and engineered uprisings against the Hitlerite assassins. We are proud that our friendship with foreign anti-fascists, born in the flames of war, continues to grow stronger.

Establishing personal contacts and ties, corresponding with war veterans in many countries, our people see that they sympathize with and love the Soviet Union. We successfully maintain and develop friendly business-like ties with war veteran organizations in foreign countries. An American delegation, made up of the Elbe link-up veterans, visited the U.S.S.R. at our invitation last May and was received by N. S. Khrushchov.

The Soviet War Veterans' Committee is a member of the International Federation of Resistance Movements, which opposes the resurgence of fascism, militarism and the cold war policy and stands for peace and international friendship. At present the Federation has set up a special international committee to investigate the reasons and origin of Nazi and anti-Semitic manifestations in West Germany. An international conference on this subject will be convoked in Rome.

The Soviet War Veterans' Committee will continue to maintain contact with all veterans' organizations waging an active struggle for peace and against war. The Soviet Government has submitted a programme of general and

complete disarmament, which is endorsed by the overwhelming majority of people in all countries and continents. In this programme they see not only the realization of their ardent desire to nip the possibility of war in the bud, but also a prospect for a radical improvement of their living conditions, especially in the underdeveloped countries, through the abolition of the growing taxes that go for armament building.

May we hear from the rostrum of our Conference an ardent appeal to the peoples to demand from their governments to take practical steps towards disarmament, as it has been done by the Soviet Government. Soviet people sincerely want to see business-like negotiations begun as soon as possible on the question of general disarmament and international agreement on it.

On behalf of war veterans, I appeal to all former front-line soldiers, to all Resistance fighters against fascism, to all former inmates of concentration camps and to all honest people in the world to raise their voice against the arms race and for peaceful coexistence and international friendship.

**SPEECH BY M. I. KOTOV,
MEMBER OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL,
SECRETARY
OF THE SOVIET PEACE COMMITTEE**

The Conference has received many messages of greetings from all parts of our country and different foreign countries. Expressing their firm determination to fight for the implementation of the grand programme of general and complete disarmament, Soviet people and foreign friends of peace send their warm regards to the Conference participants, wish them success in their work and voice their solidarity with them in the noble struggle for disarmament and durable peace.

The mighty world peace movement and all the other organizations and movements dedicated to the struggle for disarmament acclaim our Conference as an important development that will further rally people everywhere, all the peace-loving forces, to ensure success in the forthcoming disarmament talks and secure agreement on the abolition of all war weapons.

Acting on behalf of the multimillion people of China, the Chinese People's Peace Committee heartily greets our Conference and expresses full solidarity with the struggle waged by the Soviet people for general and complete disarmament. "The Soviet Union," the message says, "is waging a consistent struggle for general disarmament and peace. It has repeatedly submitted constructive proposals on disarmament, prohibition of nuclear weapons, and cessation of nuclear tests, setting by its concrete action an example for all other states."

Cordial greetings and best wishes in the struggle for disarmament are contained in a message sent on behalf of the World Peace Council by Professor John Bernal, Executive President of the World Peace Council and eminent British scientist and peace champion.

The Presidium of the World Peace Council, he says in his telegram, highly appreciates the historic programme for general and complete disarmament presented by Premier Khrushchov in the United Nations, the unexampled contribution which the Soviet people and their government have always made to the struggle for disarmament.

It is our urgent task, he continues, to strengthen still further the world peace movement, to mobilize public opinion in support of the conclusion of an agreement to end the tests, to ensure that the Summit adopts a concrete decision on disarmament. Your very timely Conference, the message adds, will no doubt contribute greatly to the success of the disarmament campaign and add strength to the world-wide movement for peace.

There is also a message of warm and friendly greetings to the participants of our Conference from that courageous peace champion and member of the World Peace Council Paul Robeson.

"For many years now," the message says, "the World Council of Peace and its member sections in many lands, have contributed mightily to the cause of lasting peace.

"Certainly the Soviet Committee reflecting the deep sentiments and feelings of the Soviet people, has played a major role in this world assembly....

"The whole world knows of the epoch-making journey of your Ambassador of Goodwill N. S. Khrushchov to America. As an American observed the other day when addressing a member of a Soviet delegation visiting Princeton, New Jersey (the university town of my birth)—a new wind or a new breeze is blowing. A fresh breeze of Goodwill and coexistence in Peace and Friendship. And so the recent law reducing armed forces.

"Yes, a new day dawns. All success to you and your noble endeavours."

We have received a message from the participants in the joint conference of the secretaries of the World Peace Council and European peace committees, which took place in Budapest, wishing us success in our campaign for disarmament.

In a message sent on behalf of British peace champions, the British Peace Committee expresses the conviction that "peace can be assured by combined efforts."

The participants in our Conference are greeted by Holland Roberts, prominent American public figure and member of the World Peace Council Bureau.

The telegram from Iraqi friends of peace says: "Your successful struggle for agreement on disarmament accords with the interests of all the peoples which want to live in friendship, freedom and peace."

Good wishes are expressed in a message from Canon John L. Collins, President of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, who writes that he is sure our Conference will contribute to further relaxation of international tension.

The message from the Australian Peace Movement says: "We greatly appreciate your efforts in the sphere of disarmament."

From Czechoslovakia we have received messages of greetings from the Peace Committee, peace champions in Plzen, working people of the Sokolov Basin (Ostrava Area), workers and employees of the May 9 Works in Prague, the workers of the Vychodoslovenské Strojarné in Košice, the Presidium of the Slovak Peace Committee, and many other organizations.

The Presidium of the Polish Peace Committee, acting on behalf of the Polish public, sends us fraternally cordial greetings and wishes us success in our campaign for disarmament.

Our Conference has received messages of greetings from the Peace Committees of Viet-Nam, Albania, Rumania, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria, Sweden, Finland and the United Arab Republic, the All-Danish Peace Conference, and the Saar Peace Movement.

From West Germany we have received greetings from the peace champions of Hessen and Frankfurt-on-Main, and from Holland—from the Netherlands Peace Council.

The Japanese peace champions wish success to our Conference. "We are with you for complete disarmament," they write.

The Belgian Union for the Defence of Peace thanks our Conference for its contribution to the Belgian campaign against the arming of West Germany and for general disarmament.

Messages of greetings have also been received from North African students in Moscow.

Our Conference has evoked a lively reaction among all the strata of the Soviet public and won its support. Workers, collective farmers and intellectuals greet the Conference as one expressive of the Soviet people's will to peace and unanimously endorse the Communist Party's and Soviet Government's broad peaceful initiative, undertaken with a view to easing world strain and terminating the arms race.

In their letters and telegrams, Soviet people wholeheartedly support the grand programme of general and complete disarmament, submitted by N. S. Khrushchov on behalf of the Soviet Union to the U.N. General Assembly, as well as our government's new peaceful action—the cut of the Soviet armed forces by one-third.

Voicing their readiness to continue to work for the enhancement of our peaceful country's might and for world peace, Soviet people are striving to unite the public forces of the whole world in the struggle for the practical achievement of universal and total disarmament.

The Conference has received a message of greetings from the thousands of workers and employees of the famed Kirov Works in Leningrad. They say "No" to the continuation of the arms race and resolutely demand general and complete disarmament.

There is a message from 23 Mother-Heroines of Moscow. Enthusiastically supporting the Soviet Government's peaceful policy, they write: "We greet you, champions of general and complete disarmament, from the bottom of our hearts. May your voice call people to peace and happiness on earth."

SPEECH BY ACADEMICIAN L. I. SEDOV

There are still very many difficulties and obstacles on the path to general disarmament. But what yesterday seemed a fantasy, a Utopian dream, today or tomorrow becomes a reality. Disarmament is a sure step to elimination of war. When peace is consolidated and the menace of war liquidated, it will be senseless to maintain large armed forces and manufacture weapons on a large scale.

The achievements of science and technology now play an exceptionally big part in the lives of people and relations between states. This has been particularly true in the past twenty years of atomic and rocket development. The appearance of diverse rockets, including the intercontinental, makes it imperative to exclude them from the war arsenals and thus render hostilities between states impossible.

The use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and space research, on the other hand, offer wide prospects for enhancing mankind's cultural and living levels.

In no sphere of science is co-operation so necessary as in space research. It does not make sense to waste strength on parallel research in this grand field, to repeat something already done by others, to shut oneself up in one's national shell, so to speak. The thing to do is to promote international co-operation of scientists and to draw into active research the gifted men from different

countries, especially those not sufficiently developed economically, to carry on research work on a large scale by themselves.

At the American Rocket Society Convention in Washington, which our delegation attended, we were very happy to hear some officials—Professor George Kistiakowsky, President Eisenhower's chief scientific adviser, Dr. Keith Glennan, director of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and Colonel John Paul Stapp, president of the American Rocket Society—speak of their desire to promote co-operation in space research. Such co-operation will evidently be established gradually. Constant exchange of views and information and joint practical work are the best means of overcoming distrust and organizing scientific mutual assistance.

The U.N. General Assembly unanimously approved a resolution on international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space. The resolution proposes the establishment of a 24-nation United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. This Space Committee will have wide prerogatives. On the Soviet Union's proposal it will convoke, in 1960 or 1961, an international conference of scientists under the aegis of the United Nations to exchange experience in the field of peaceful space research. Let us hope that this conference will stimulate the organization of a united front for storming the Universe.

In December last it was announced that a number of countries, including the Soviet Union and the United States, had approved the new charter of the International Commission for Space Research. This Commission unites chiefly the national academies of sciences. There is reason to believe that the International Astronautical Federation will become more active now that a new breeze is blowing in space too.

And so, on the threshold of the sixties of the 20th century, mankind is being offered grand opportunities for

making new wonderful discoveries. The more the scientists of all countries co-operate, the greater will these discoveries be.

Despite their different political beliefs and their different views on the scientific and basic social problems linked with disarmament and consolidation of peace, progressive scientists are undoubtedly finding common ground on the main tasks and agree on the purposefulness of research for the good of mankind. This common ground will be a good basis for co-operation, for promoting international friendship.

**SPEECH BY JAMES ENDICOTT,
PRESIDIUM MEMBER
OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL, PRESIDENT
OF THE CANADIAN PEACE CONGRESS**

The whole world can see that the Soviet people are unanimous in their desire for peaceful coexistence among all states and social systems. This Conference proclaims to the whole world that the Soviet people loyally support the inspiring proposals of Mr. Khrushchov at the United Nations for total disarmament.

Moreover, in my opinion, this Conference which represents the whole Soviet people in their determination to have peace, is the best guarantee that disarmament will be sincere, inspected and controlled. If we could have in every country a truly representative people's conference like this one, that would be the best guarantee of successful disarmament that we could get.

Now there are many things I would like to say, but I must follow the excellent example of short speeches.

I would like to thank the Soviet people for defeating one of the main purposes of the cold war. I think you understand the cold war very well. The men who planned it believed that if the Soviet Union was boycotted, forced into an arms race, then your system would collapse. By your hard work and sacrifices and scientific achievements you compelled the cold warriors to deal with you on a basis of equality and respect. In that way comes peace.

John Foster Dulles and the monopolies he served decided that if you would not collapse from economic fatigue they would threaten massive retaliation with

hydrogen bombs and dance on the brink of war to frighten you into surrender.

Well, you know how the cosmic dance of sputniks pushed Dulles away from the brink of war and on to the brink of peace.

Of course, the Soviet hydrogen bomb is just as dangerous and evil an instrument of war as the American hydrogen bomb. It is this great representative Conference, demonstrating the will of the whole Soviet people for peace and disarmament which makes the difference.

There is not in the Soviet Union, as far as I know, a single financial interest, a single organization or publicity agency which opposes total disarmament and above all the abolition of nuclear weapons.

Therefore, when the day comes that we can have in the United States such a conference for disarmament as this, and in England and France, a conference fully representative and fully endorsed or agreed to by the government, then nuclear weapons will cease to be a menace and will be abolished.

Today I would like to tell you something of the many activities for peace which are going on in North America.

In Canada we have just had in Toronto the biggest Rally for Peace and Disarmament that our Peace Congress has been able to organize for five years. Not in any way connected with us are university movements for peace in nearly every university in the whole country.

Financial journals in Canada are beginning to talk seriously of disarmament. One editorial in the *Financial Post*, Toronto, recently said, "If there be any capitalists or free enterprisers who are afraid of real peace breaking out, let them leave their offices and go dig their . . . graves.

"If the capitalist or free enterprise system depends for its survival on an arms race—which inevitably leads to disaster—then it isn't worth having."

More and more this type of argument is used to urge

that capitalism can change successfully to a peace economy.

The National Planning Association of the U.S. recently released a special study called, "Can the American Economy Adjust to Arms Reduction?" It was not given publicity by the press but peace groups promote the knowledge of it. The report says the economy can adjust to peace. It was made by 91 leading Americans in Business, Farm Organizations and Labour. The president of one of the big aircraft companies, and Eric Johnston of the Motion Picture Producers were among them. There are many others.

Of course, at the present time it would not be possible to organize such a representative conference as this one in the U.S.

But the day will come, before long, when there will be such conferences as this in every capitalist country because the people desire peace.

One of your speakers used the phrase "constructive co-existence." I like that better than "competitive coexistence." The more you practise constructive coexistence the sooner will we defeat those who plan war.

We must demonstrate to the world that every reduction in armaments will mean more wealth to use for the welfare of mankind, both in your own country and especially in the underdeveloped and formerly exploited countries as they gain their independence and start the hard task of reconstruction.

So, today, I salute the pioneers of world peace gathered here. I am sure you will join hands with all other pioneers of world peace in every land. Together we will build a world without war and it will be a better, and more joyful world for the spirit of man.

SPEECH BY N. N. BLOKHIN, PRESIDENT, U.S.S.R. ACADEMY OF MEDICAL SCIENCES

Our Conference, representing broad sections of the Soviet public, has convened in this hall to discuss the struggle for a stable peace and disarmament. We have seen how identical the views are of all those who spoke from this rostrum, how unanimous the representatives of diverse strata of our population are in their striving for peace and to win a bright future for the peoples of the entire world.

Permit me to add to this general voice, the voice of Soviet medical men, scientists and doctors who represent the most humane profession which aims at struggling for man's longevity and combating diseases.

Medical science could attain an unparalleled development in conditions of a lengthy and stable peace. We know what remarkable achievements Soviet public health and medical science have scored in the years of Soviet power. Man's average life span, which was only 32 years prior to the revolution, has reached 68 years as a result of the continuously improving living standards and the efforts exerted by Soviet doctors. We are confronted by entirely new tasks as now doctors encounter different diseases adherent to middle and old age.

Whereas in the recent past a certain proportion of our population suffered and died from various infectious diseases including tuberculosis, today, as a result of considerable achievements of medical science, these diseases have

been curbed. The number of deaths resulting from tuberculosis has drastically dropped; a number of severe infectious diseases has been entirely wiped out in our country and now our job is to eliminate atherosclerosis, cardio-vascular diseases peculiar to elderly people and malignant tumors including cancer. It is in this direction that the international co-operation of medical researchers can play an important part.

Let us recall the Soviet-American agreement on scientific and cultural exchange signed recently, following N. S. Khrushchov's trip to the United States. It envisages the development of joint research in such important medical problems as cancer, poliomyelitis, cardio-vascular diseases and many others. Great prospects are opening up for combating those ailments, the struggle against which is especially important for our country and many others.

Soviet medical men are extremely interested in international co-operation which is being ever wider developed. In conditions of peace this is not only possible but imperative. We are already making plans for joint work with scientists of the United States and other countries. We know that this co-operation should be fruitful and that it will yield important major results in the struggle for health and man's longevity.

On the other hand, we cannot help being alarmed over the announcement of a French atomic blast in the Sahara. The pollution of the surrounding air by radioactive particles makes us anxious. We know the consequences of the bomb explosions in Japan and the graveness of radiation disease, we know that radiation can facilitate the development of cancer and other ailments. The radioactive strontium contained in the fall-out is the very same that we use in artificially causing malignant tumors in test animals. Strontium can affect not only the generation subjected to the radiation, but future generations as well.

We are also worried by press reports announcing that the West is again talking of chemical means of attack. They preach them as being humane but these means poison masses of people and affect the nervous system, the mind, etc.

We are gravely disturbed by fresh talk of a bacteriological warfare and that medical scientists are helping the imperialists prepare the means for the mass destruction of human beings.

At the same time, great prospects for scientific co-operation in medicine are opening up before us. We know that we can do quite a lot to help underdeveloped countries where infections, that we have learned to combat, rage at times. What we must do is simply conduct organized measures. The striving to unleash a new war at this time also makes us anxious. That is why medical men—the representatives of this humane science—are striving in all parts of the world to avert a new war so that doctors might invent means of destroying diseases and not human beings.

Soviet doctors, in their striving for peace and international co-operation, are not prompted by fear or weakness. We know that the Soviet Union is one of the world's greatest powers. Our movement is humane and reasonable. We know that it is a force that will triumph.

Permit me, from this lofty rostrum, to call upon medical scientists of the whole world to raise their voice in support of the idea of general disarmament and for a stable peace throughout the world.

**SPEECH BY A. A. VISHNEVSKY,
BOARD MEMBER,
UNION OF JOURNALISTS OF THE U.S.S.R.**

Our Homeland has demonstrated to the whole world, and by concrete deeds, that its disarmament proposals are honest, that it has no aggressive plans or intentions, and that Soviet men and women strive to live in peace and friendship with all nations.

The Soviet press, the press of all socialist countries and the progressive press of the whole world have done much to show and explain the historic significance of the measures taken by the Soviet Union to rid mankind of devastating wars.

Soviet pressmen, in their activities, proceed from the fact that peaceful coexistence is the basic problem of the day. The connection in principle between peaceful coexistence and the Soviet proposal on general and complete disarmament is clear and evident. The struggle for world outlooks, for the minds and hearts of the people also continues during the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

N. S. Khrushchov stated at the session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.: "Of course, one can hardly expect that the tongues of those who year in and year out keep talking about the 'Soviet military threat' will be glued to the roofs of their mouths, but we can say without hesitation that the number of listeners of the 'cold warriors' will grow many times smaller." Facts confirm this appraisal every day.

The cold war machine is slowing down with a screech, but it is still operating. This expensive machine was originated and perfected, if I may say so, by Western imperialist forces in the post-war years for stupefying people, and setting them on the ideas and achievements of the socialist world. The press of American monopolies, the radio, TV and other means of propaganda, play the leading role in it. The cold war machine, serving the policy "from positions of strength" and the arms race, has reaped no little political profits for American monopolies and the forces subjected to them on the European continent. But the time has come in international affairs, when the political profitableness of this machine is being questioned. Its masters are desperately trying to squeeze the last drop of propaganda out of it.

It must be regretfully stated that many publicists and journalists of the "Big" American press, like that of the press of other North Atlantic bloc countries, are continuing with this foul work. Day after day, we see, primarily in American newspapers, reports by those who, despite the will and aspirations of mankind, deny the necessity of easing international tension, distort and minimize the plan for general and complete disarmament advanced by the Soviet Union, and prophesy failure for all and sundry East-West negotiations.

Many journalists with a "name," like Joseph Alsop, David Laurence, Hanson Baldwin, and others working for large daily newspapers, stubbornly highlight the idea of the calamity of disarmament. Alsop clamours practically every day for extending the programme of producing armaments, describing terrible dangers which, allegedly, threaten the United States as a result of Soviet technical achievements.

Similar American journalists dishonestly, despite the logic of developing international relations and the interests of the American people, dodging and distorting facts, preach the arms race. Their hysterical attacks on the idea of dis-

armament are inspired by the government bureaucrats and high-ranking military officials of the United States. Here is direct testimony of a man in the know, Hubert Humphrey, Democrat, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament. At a recent Senate sitting he stated that these forces were trying to frustrate disarmament negotiations through the press. These people, he said, from time to time slip into the newspapers reports to the effect that it is impossible to achieve agreement and that if agreement is achieved, it may undermine our security.

What a sad and shameful part the press plays in the capitalist world! Certain acts of American propaganda bodies can most assuredly be called criminal and barbaric. A large American agency which furnishes information to thousands of newspapers in the United States and other countries, recently spread the report that Craig Hosmer, Republican Congressman from California, declared that a communist invasion of the United States would take 60 to 100 million American lives if the Soviet Union were to throw its entire arsenal into action.

Hosmer predicted that if the Communists ever decided to attack, they would move mainly against the population and try to spare industry and natural resources for Red takeover. If we consider that some 10 million people will perish from the very first bombs, nerve gas, germ warfare and the like, the total of U.S. casualties starts at a low of around 60 million and runs as high as 100 million dead within 12 months following a Red takeover.

Reasonable men and women are bound to experience wrath and contempt at such a malicious lie, intentionally spread at the time when the world is pinning its hopes on the Soviet Union's proposal for general and complete disarmament. Shame to those poisoning the public's mind and to the ill-intentioned prophets of destruction! A stupid congressman is a popular figure on the American political stage, but he is not the case in point. The thing is that he has at his disposal powerful means of propa-

ganda which spread his unscrupulous lies to many countries of the world.

We know that the Soviet and the American press have a different appraisal of many things and matters. We agree to engage in a worthy and sensible argument, to enter into polemics. But the misanthropic concoctions of American propaganda are capable of producing only panic and frenzy and this is a dishonest means of struggle, this is burglary of people's souls. The conscience of all champions of peace, disarmament and mutual understanding revolts against this.

I believe it will be the right thing if our Conference branded these burglars whose evil writings in the reactionary press go unpunished and who try to deceive the people's hopes for peace and disarmament. At the same time we shall remember that their panicky criminal acts are prompted by weakness and not strength!

**SPEECH BY N. S. GUSEVA,
TEACHER OF MANSUROVO SECONDARY SCHOOL,
ORLOV REGION**

I cannot help but begin my speech at our Conference of the Soviet Public for Disarmament with recollections of the terrible war years.

I was a young teacher in Smolensk Region when war broke out and experienced all its horrors from the very first weeks. My husband, seized by the fascists and cruelly tortured, died a terrible death. The war deprived me of my only son. I myself was arrested for having connections with the partisans. It was my misfortune to learn the tortures of Rudnyan prison and Vitebsk dungeon.

But the most terrible thing that I experienced was Oświęcim, the monstrous camp of mass destruction of people, where four million men and women of various nationalities were tortured and put to death by SS executioners.

Fifteen years have passed since my liberation which, like many hundred thousands of people, I owe to our Soviet Army, but the memory of comrades who perished in fascist torture-chambers and were burned in the Oświęcim stoves is fresh in my mind. It is impossible to forget the horrors of fascist camps, as well as the martyred horrible death of hundreds of thousands of innocent people, the perfected cruelty of the fascist barbarians,

and the crematorium chimneys belching smoke day and night.

I especially recall a train that arrived from France in the spring of 1944. As usual, the people were driven out of the wagons, and their belongings and valuables taken away from them. The young ones were led to one side, they would work in the camp; the old people and children were led to another side, their destination was the crematorium.

I remember a young woman with a child in her arms, a pretty little girl of 3, her curls tied up with a blue ribbon, holding a doll with pigtails sticking out. The SS men started to take the child away from its mother. The young woman, her eyes wide with panic, defended her daughter. Two point-blank shots calmly fired by SS executioner, Taubert, who, unfortunately, is still at large, and mother and child fell to the ground.

The sufferings of our small prisoners, the children, will never be obliterated from my memory. These were mostly the sons and daughters of partisans from Byelorussia, Smolensk Region, and the Ukraine. I shall never forget the wax-like faces, the hungry eyes, and the sharp little shoulders shivering from cold. At a tender age they were deprived of the most valuable thing—their childhood. They learned suffering and the most unfathomable privations too early. The children were serious and gloomy beyond their age. You never heard the sound of their laughter or games in the barracks where some 200 of them lived, yet these little ones bore their sufferings very courageously.

We did everything we could to make things easier for the youngsters. We gave them our love, but in the gloomy barracks of Oświęcim, this was inadequate. The children suffered, and the most terrible thing is to see the sufferings and torments of a child and to realize that you cannot help or defend him. We cannot forget this! This must never be repeated!

In the summer of 1944 train-loads of condemned prisoners arrived so often that the crematoriums could not handle all of them. The fascists dug pits into which they threw the people, poured fuel over them and burned them. Children were cast into these fires alive. The camp was filled with horrible screams which could be heard for many kilometres. Many Hungarians, Poles and people of other nationalities were destroyed this way.

The horrors of Oświęcim and other Nazi death camps can be spoken of endlessly. Mankind cannot forget them. There is not and cannot be any justification for the fascist executioners!

How can we forget this when fascism is again being revived in West Germany. The fascist swastika is appearing on the house-walls and even on pupils' desks. Anti-semitic demonstrations are frequent occurrences in West German towns. The fascist rabble is raising its head in other Western countries also. West German justice has written another foul chapter in the annals of its anti-democratic affairs by organizing the disgraceful trial of West German peace champions in Düsseldorf. There are 1,200 militarist organizations in West Germany today, 45 of which are SS organizations whose members perpetrated the sanguinary evil deeds of the fascists. We are indignantly aware of the fact that former Nazi officers, among them officers of SS troops, have become military leaders of the Bundeswehr. There are even members of the West German Government, like Oberländer, whose hands are stained crimson with the blood of our brothers and sisters, the blood of the peoples of Europe. The restoration of German fascism and militarism is a grave threat to all of mankind.

On behalf of all former prisoners of fascist concentration camps and prisons, on behalf of those who were tortured to death in the prisons and camps, burned in the stoves of Oświęcim, and who perished in fascist captivity, I urge all upright people of the world: let us raise our

voice of protest, prevent a repetition of Oświęcim and block the way to war!

I appeal to former prisoners of fascist torture-chambers, to all those who have experienced the horrors of the Second World War, to unite their efforts in the struggle for improving relations between states, liquidating the cold war, and for general and complete disarmament.

SPEECH BY M. V. NESTEROV, CHAIRMAN, U.S.S.R. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The basic and chief task of our day is to preserve and strengthen peace, to exclude war from the life of the people and to make peace a practical part of everyday life. In the light of this century-old cherished dream of mankind, it is difficult to overestimate the world-historic significance of the Soviet Government's proposal for general and complete disarmament submitted by N. S. Khrushchov to the United Nations on September 18, 1959.

The Second World War took millions of lives and brought incredible privations and disaster to the broad masses of people in the majority of countries, led to colossal ruin and the destruction of great material and spiritual wealth created by many generations.

The major economic after-effects of the Second World War have not yet been overcome to date. International trade, especially between the East and the West, has still not been normalized. More, a result of the cold war policy is that this trade, through the will of certain Western powers, continues to be discriminatory despite common sense and even to the detriment of the economy of Western capitalist countries.

Everybody knows that foreign trade is an important form of economic relations between countries, it is a healthy and sound basis on which the coexistence of states can be successfully built. Large-scale trade between people of the most contrasting political opinions leads to the strengthening and development of confidence between

countries, the flourishing of these countries' economy, and higher living standards.

Traditional East-West trade which dates back for centuries was upset in the complicated conditions of the last war.

To begin with, in 1948, the United States stopped granting licences for the export of equipment to the U.S.S.R. Later Britain announced the prohibition of delivering a number of goods to the U.S.S.R. Continuing along this line, in 1951 the United States unilaterally annulled the Soviet-American trade agreement dated August 4, 1937 and passed the so-called Battle Act on controlling exports. Through this law the United States deprived of military and economic "aid" those states which would have started to trade with the socialist countries. As a result the share of the socialist countries in the trade of the United States in 1958 amounted to only 1.4 per cent, of Britain—3.2 per cent, the F.R.G.—6 per cent, while during the period between the First and the Second world wars, the share of the U.S.S.R., China and the present socialist countries reached 10.7 per cent in the exports of the United States, 11 per cent—of Britain, and 28.3 per cent of Germany.

The following question rises in the mind: who was the loser in reducing trade between the West and the East? Primarily the Western countries themselves. The initiators of the policy of discrimination in international trade did not succeed in hindering the powerful and rapid economic development of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. At the same time, the West lost vast markets in the East and deprived themselves of profitable orders from the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries which could not but cause the Western industrial enterprises to work at still lower capacity and increased unemployment with all its ensuing consequences.

In this connection we must recall that it was precisely the large orders placed by the U.S.S.R. that gave work

to many engineering plants of the United States, Britain and other capitalist countries during the world economic crisis of 1929-33.

According to American statistics, in 1931 the United States delivered to the U.S.S.R. 87 per cent of all its wheeled tractors intended for export, 90 per cent of its combine-harvesters and 66 per cent of its lathes. This means that the filling of Soviet orders provided employment for about 33 per cent of the workers engaged in the American engineering industry at that time. Even in 1946 the United States shipped to the Soviet Union 25 per cent of all its metal-working machines slated for export. Recalling this period, the American *Gazette and Daily*, not without reason, wrote last year that Soviet trade was the only ray of light for a large number of American engineering companies.

And what an immense market contemporary China is for the West! According to the weekly *National Guardian*, the American embargo on trade with Russia, East Europe and new China deprives three million American workers of jobs. If East-West trade were resumed, these men would have work. We see that businessmen, economists and sensible people of the capitalist world in general, well understand how important it is for the West to have markets in the East. The loss of these markets directly aggravates the economic difficulties of these countries and, specifically, deprives many million workers of employment.

Things are entirely different in the Soviet Union, China, and other socialist countries. Whereas the Soviet Union's share in the world industrial output of 1917 was only 2 to 3 per cent, twenty years later it was about 10 per cent, and in 1958—20 per cent. All the socialist countries produced more than 33 per cent of the world's industrial output in 1958. Thus, the policy of discrimination pursued by Western countries has not hindered the rapid development of the socialist countries. On the contrary. It has

forced these countries to develop a number of branches of industrial output to compensate for the equipment and goods formerly delivered by Western capitalist countries.

The socialist countries are now in the stage of fulfilling the following task: to achieve an absolute majority in world economics by 1965, to produce more than half of the world's industrial output.

The foreign trade turnover of the socialist countries is on the upgrade due to extension of trade between the socialist countries themselves as well as with underdeveloped countries. The Soviet Union is conducting trade with more than 70 countries and holds sixth place in the world for trade turnover, whereas 20 years ago it held sixteenth place. The physical volume of the U.S.S.R.'s foreign trade has increased more than sixfold compared with the pre-war year of 1938 and amounted to over 41,000 million rubles in 1959 as against 34,600 million rubles in 1958, i.e., an increment of 20 odd per cent.

The long-range economic development plans of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries open up still broader opportunities for foreign trade. "We can increase the volume of foreign trade at least twofold," N. S. Khrushchov said at the 21st C.P.S.U. Congress.

Today we witness the rapid increase in trade turnover between the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries on the one hand, and underdeveloped countries on the other. The trade turnover of the U.S.S.R. with economically underdeveloped countries increased more than sixfold between 1953 and 1958. These data have been published by the United Nations and are known throughout the world. It is also known that our relations with underdeveloped countries are based not on profits or on the striving to rule, but on equal relations and reciprocal advantages. At present the Soviet Union is rendering economic and technical assistance to Asian and African countries in the construction of more than 250 industrial, agricultural and many other enterprises.

The Bhilai Iron and Steel Plant in India, and the Aswan Dam on the Nile are two of these 250 jobs. These enterprises will be majestic monuments of friendship between nations and international co-operation.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries favour the enhancement of economic ties with industrially developed capitalist countries also, including the United States, Britain and France. We do not conceal the fact that we are interested in this co-operation as it will benefit all nations. It is understood, however, that a normal development of trade exchange between the West and the East is impossible in conditions of discrimination and the unsound, one-sided trend which the cold war forerunners are trying to give to international commerce. If the Western capitalist countries were to terminate economic co-operation with the socialist countries altogether, this would not hinder our further progress in the least because we, I mean the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries, possess everything necessary for our rapid and steady advance.

The Soviet Union's forty odd years of experience in foreign trade and the practical measures of the socialist countries of Europe and Asia in extending trade with other countries, convincingly show that it is fully possible to develop broad international relations when there are two social and economic systems—the capitalist and the socialist. Not only sensible businessmen are coming to understand this, but the more far-sighted statesmen of capitalist countries as well. That is why, despite the discriminatory measures in restricting economic and commercial relations, business co-operation has recently started to expand. According to United Nations data, the trade turnover of the F.R.G. with the U.S.S.R. and the European socialist countries rose from 33.3 to 562.6 million dollars in the period 1948 to 1958; of Britain—from 329.9 to 500 million dollars; France—from 99.5 to 318.9

million dollars; the United States—from 48.6 (in 1954) to 172.7 million dollars.

The history of international trade and economic relations proves that the future of European and world economic and trade relations should be sought not in the isolation of one group of countries from another, but, on the contrary, in a brisk trade based on equality and mutual advantages and in extending economic relations between all countries. At the same time it is the road to easing international tension and averting the threat of war. General and complete disarmament proposed by the Soviet Union, the policy of peaceful coexistence and peaceful East-West economic co-operation are the best and only correct path of economic advance for all the countries of the world and of raising the living standards of their population.

The ending of the cold war and the arms race, and general and complete disarmament are the only road towards the normal development of the productive forces of all mankind, the broadening of stable business relations and international co-operation, the elimination of economic backwardness of underdeveloped countries, and for improving the well-being of all mankind!

We call for trade and not war. Trade as the road to friendship, peace and prosperity of mankind has stood the test of centuries.

SPEECH BY S. K. ROMANOVSKY, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The world needs disarmament for the sake of respect for man and his mission as creator on earth. There are still so many illiterate people in our age of human grandeur, so many who are still going hungry, who have no idea of what the treasures of world culture hold forth, who do not know Shakespeare or Tolstoi, Beethoven or Chaikovsky, Repin or Picasso.

Life is gradually casting off the methods and means of the cold war. Just as personal contacts of statesmen facilitate peace and progress, so do growing contacts in science and culture go a long way to improve international mutual understanding and co-operation. A *détente* in world tension helps to develop cultural relations.

Our cultural relations with the peoples of other countries are broad and manifold. The permanent cultural and scientific co-operation between the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies that has been established pursues the noble object of aiding each other in developing socialist culture and advanced science; obtaining a broad knowledge of the achievements of the national culture of fraternal peoples; developing and consolidating friendship between our countries.

Vital changes in our cultural and scientific relations with capitalist countries have taken place in recent years. It was difficult to imagine a few years ago that there would be regular cultural exchanges with Britain, the

United States and France. During all the years of diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and the United States, not a single Soviet art company visited America and not a single Soviet art exhibition was held there until 1958.

Since 1957, especially since 1958, international cultural exchange has substantially broadened. The active peaceable foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the interest in the achievements of Soviet science and culture have forced the ruling quarters of capitalist countries to co-operate with the Soviet Union in this sphere. In 1955 cultural relations were maintained with 44 countries and today, with more than 70.

Millions of people could learn of the achievements of the U.S.S.R. in economic, scientific, and cultural endeavour at the Brussels World Fair and at Soviet exhibitions held in the United States, Mexico, India, the Cuban republic and other countries.

Soviet youth successfully participated in World Youth Festivals. Soviet performers have won acclaim in international contests in Warsaw, Berlin, Brussels, Paris, Geneva and elsewhere.

The cinematographers of our country have taken part in many international festivals. Numerous Soviet film festivals and film weeks have been conducted in recent years. Similar film weeks and festivals have been held in the Soviet Union on a mutual basis.

Scores of millions of spectators in foreign countries have applauded the Soviet ballet, singers, musicians and many outstanding Soviet artistic groups. Seven hundred thousand people attended the concerts of the U.S.S.R. Folk Dance Company in the United States, while upwards of 70 million saw them on television. The Bolshoi ballet, the "Beryozka" dance company, the Pyatnitsky choir and a group of artistes of Union Republics have also scored a hit there.

About one million visitors to the Brussels World Fair attended the concerts of artistes of all the Union Republics.

More than 900,000 people saw the performances of the Soviet circus in Japan, not counting those who watched them on television. Many more such examples could be cited.

Dozens of large companies, thousands of scientists and cultural workers from the People's Democracies and capitalist countries have come to the Soviet Union in recent years. Last year alone more than 1,500 foreign scientists visited our country at the invitation of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and approximately as many Soviet scientists travelled abroad. Large experience has been accumulated in developing scientific co-operation with socialist countries; scientists make reciprocal trips for long periods to work in research institutions. Co-operation with scientists of capitalist countries is also being established. The agreement with the United States for exchanges in 1960-61, concluded last November, envisages the joint work of Soviet and American researchers in the peaceful uses of atomic power, as well as in combating such foes of mankind as cancer, cardio-vascular diseases and poliomyelitis.

We have held 70 fine art exhibitions in foreign countries since 1955. The Soviet Union displayed 61 exhibitions of fine and applied art from various countries during the same period.

Cultural and international contacts have demonstrated time and again that the art of all peoples is based on humanism, love for life and hatred for war. The true art of the nations of the world has always been the expression of the generations, it has revolted against war, sweeping along millions of people.

Progressive art urges mankind to peace, friendship and life. The Soviet disarmament plan does the same.

Disarmament would not only facilitate an unprecedented flourishing of culture and science, but would also make it possible to extend substantially the exchange of spiritual treasures. The visits of scientists and artistes would

be conducted on a large scale and the exchange of films, exhibitions, printed publications, etc., would spread immeasurably.

Disarmament would create hitherto unknown opportunities for the development of education in all countries and a still wider international exchange of future specialists. The popular international sport connections would grow still more.

Much more can be said about the opportunities provided by general and complete disarmament. Even the boldest imagination cannot give an exhaustible account of how much can be accomplished if the means and forces spent today for death are spent for life.

There is a great force in cultural relations. Like chain reactions, these connections increase mutual understanding more and more, lead to the further growth of all-round contacts between public organizations and individuals, and between states. Only mutual trust can boundlessly strengthen cultural relations and contacts, only all-round contacts can yield a remarkable friendship.

The existing forms of association must be developed in every way, and new ways and means for extending the spiritual exchange of the peoples must be tirelessly sought.

These ways and means may be different, but a road to confidence, friendship and peace is one. Today this is becoming more evident to millions of people. There is only one path—through general and complete disarmament.

**SPEECH BY S. A. KOTOVA,
TEAM LEADER AT THE
KALININ SPINNING MILLS IN MOSCOW,
PRESIDIUM MEMBER
OF THE SOVIET WOMEN'S COMMITTEE**

When the Presidium of the Soviet Women's Committee instructed me to speak today at the Conference of the Soviet Public for Disarmament, I pondered whether I, an ordinary working woman, would be able to convey the thoughts and aspirations of all Soviet women. What thoughts was I to express? I asked my friends and shopmates for advice and all of them said the same thing: Don't worry. When you get up on the platform to speak, Serafima, just listen to your heart of a mother, think of your small son, recall the privations you had to endure during the grim war years, and it will be easy for you to speak of what all women of the world are thinking about today, although each one has her own life, her future and profession.

Dear Friends! What a great happiness it would be if the idea of general disarmament approved by the United Nations were translated into reality. It would rid mankind of sufferings and horrors of war, and would preserve many millions of lives.

Our country unswervingly conducts a peaceable policy. And recently, as the whole world knows, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. passed a law on a new substantial reduction in the Soviet armed forces. We do not want war, we do not intend to attack anyone, we have no aggressive designs.

Soviet women actively come out for peace, against war, for a firm friendship with the women of other countries. The Soviet Women's Committee which represents us abroad in the Women's International Democratic Federation is conducting important work in establishing international connections and strengthening friendship with women of the whole world.

The women of our country have close ties with the women of the People's Democracies, the northern countries, Britain, France, Italy, Canada, India, Japan and many other countries. Our connections with the women of the United States have been actively developing of late. We maintain our friendship with women of 72 countries by personal contacts and a broad correspondence covering all aspects of our life.

In 1959, forty-four women's delegations from 31 countries visited our country. They convinced themselves that the word PEACE is becoming a symbol of life in every town and every corner of our land. The women left us as friends, they remember us, write to us, and in their countries they fight against war, for peace and friendship between nations.

Women in other countries expressed solidarity with our common struggle for peace in meetings with Soviet women's delegations in Ethiopia, Greece, the United States, Latin America, the Federal Republic of Germany and in other countries which our delegates visited in 1959. Our foreign friends heard the voice of the Soviet people and learned how we live and what we strive for.

Soviet women take an active part in all international undertakings aimed at strengthening peace. Expressing solidarity with our foreign friends in their struggle for peace, the Soviet Women's Committee has appealed to the women of Belgium concerning events in the Congo, has demanded freedom for Spanish and Portuguese patriots, has supported the women in fighting Algeria, and has protested against the trial of peace champions in Düs-

seldorf. Soviet women speak about the peaceful policy of the Soviet Government from the rostrums of world congresses, conferences and at all international meetings.

Taking part in the sittings of the Women's International Assembly for Disarmament held last December in Sweden, the Soviet representatives became convinced that at present the idea of disarmament is almost unanimously supported by women of the most diverse views. The speakers noted that the adoption of the Soviet proposals on general and complete disarmament was a reliable road to securing peace.

The Soviet Women's Committee warmly supports the idea of convening the international meeting of women in Copenhagen this April. One thousand and five hundred delegates from 100 countries will take part. The agenda includes a discussion on the tasks confronting the women of the world in the struggle for relaxing tension, for disarmament and co-operation between the nations. We Soviet women are certain that in discussing this question the idea of complete and general disarmament will be most fervently supported by our foreign friends.

SPEECH BY KAORU YASUI, CHAIRMAN, JAPAN COUNCIL AGAINST A- AND H-BOMBS

I am availing myself of this opportunity to express my deep respect for the Soviet people and their government who have attained such outstanding achievements in building communism and are exerting tireless efforts in the struggle for peace. V. I. Lenin, who laid down the basis of the peaceful policy and the building of communism in the U.S.S.R., deserves the most profound respect.

Being a scientist, I express my special esteem for Soviet scientists thanks to whom Soviet science has made such remarkable progress. The success of Soviet science is symbolized by the space rockets which have reached the Moon and sent us photographs of its reverse side.

Japanese children have a wonderful poetic conception of the Moon. Since ancient times they believe that the dark spots on the Moon are the shadows of a rabbit who is pounding rice in a mortar to make their favourite dessert—rice cakes. Now when the Soviet rocket has reached the Moon, Japanese children say that the moon rabbit is not angry at the rocket and does not consider it an aggressor, on the contrary, it welcomes the rocket as an envoy from the Earth. I believe you will agree with me that the Japanese children are not mistaken.

The amazing development of rocket engineering and nuclear weapons has radically changed the essence of war. War is no longer a means of implementing a policy. It can only mean the destruction of mankind. There is

only one road to protect the happiness and life of the people and that is peaceful coexistence and complete disarmament.

V. I. Lenin was the first to proclaim the idea of peaceful coexistence. Premier N. S. Khrushchov has recently further developed this idea of peaceful coexistence and has advanced the historic proposal on complete disarmament. Some time ago I had occasion to enjoy N. S. Khrushchov's kind invitation and spent a joyful day at his summer home in Yalta. I found him to be a cordial and truly human man. I wish Premier Khrushchov good health and energy to work during the Summit conference and make a big contribution to the cause of world peace.

I believe there is no need to go into details at our Conference about the importance of peaceful coexistence and complete disarmament. The main thing is how to translate into life peaceful coexistence and disarmament. There are still forces of war who strive to gain profits from the arms race. They are conducting a war policy by all possible means. The most heterogeneous forces of peace united together must crush the forces of war.

It is a joy to see that more enthusiasm is recently being displayed in rallying together all kinds of peace movements and in achieving the co-operation of peace champions. I am convinced that such unity will facilitate the development of peaceful coexistence and complete disarmament.

But we should remember that at times the forces of war, under the guise of peacefulness, penetrate the ranks of the peace champions and conduct subversive activities and split the ranks. We must be vigilant and not be deceived by wolves in sheep's clothing.

In the present international situation, Japan, like Germany, is playing an extremely important part both politically and militarily. The Japanese Government has concluded a new military alliance with the American Government and is restoring militarism. It is in these dangerous

circumstances that the Japanese peace movement is developing. The restoration of militarism in Japan does not only run counter to the general world tendency towards peaceful coexistence and complete disarmament but violates the Japanese Constitution which proclaims Japan's non-participation in wars and her refusal to maintain armed forces. The Japanese people are fully determined to devote all their strength to prevent the restoration of militarism. The movement for the prohibition of nuclear weapons, the largest peace movement in Japan, has adopted the following basic course for 1960—to achieve peaceful coexistence and complete disarmament on an international scale, and to come out against militarism inside the country.

I express confidence that the Soviet people and their government, who have opened up a new chapter in the history of mankind under the great banner of Lenin, will make their important and decisive contribution to the creation of a wonderful future.

**SPEECH BY G. A. MITEREV,
CHAIRMAN, UNION OF THE RED CROSS
AND RED CRESCENT SOCIETIES**

The Soviet Red Cross organizations, with their membership exceeding 32 million, together with all Soviet citizens, enthusiastically approve and support the proposals of the Soviet Government and of N.S. Khrushchov, head of the government, on general and complete disarmament. We see in this act of the Soviet Government an expression of the good will and the most humane aspirations of the Soviet people. We see in it the road to ridding mankind of the threat of devastating wars.

The Red Cross organizations throughout the world, and especially their medical workers, have always directly participated in wars and have witnessed the sanguinary consequences. It is not by accident that the Red Cross leaders in various countries, during the 100 years existence of this organization, have on many occasions raised the question of conducting wars more humanely in order to reduce the number of victims and to lighten their sufferings. But the world public, especially the Soviet public, know from the experience of the Second World War that the idea of humanizing wars in the light of the mass cruelties and killings perpetrated by the Nazis has entirely lost its significance.

Nazi Germany violated the generally accepted laws and customs of conducting wars. Ignoring all statutes of the Geneva Convention on protecting war victims, the Nazi executioners destroyed 12 million of the civilian popula-

tion. Soon after the war ended the idea arose of concluding a new Geneva Convention between all states specifically for defending the civilian population in war-time. Such a convention was elaborated in 1949; a great many countries either signed it or adhered to it.

In the light of recent scientific achievements in the field of nuclear weapons, however, it is evident to everyone how insolvent the Geneva Conventions are on defending war victims. It is unnecessary to prove that there can be no talk of humanizing wars when atomic and hydrogen bombs can be used. We know from the examples of Hiroshima and Nagasaki that this weapon acts mercilessly against everyone—children, women, old men, against everything alive on the earth. It is perfectly clear that whatever the means of protection against nuclear weapons may be, and no matter how good the Geneva Conventions are on the humane treatment of the sick and the injured, the world will not escape the greatest mass destruction of mankind hitherto unknown to history if an atomic war is unleashed.

That is why the Soviet Government's proposal on general and complete disarmament has aroused such wide support and enthusiastic response on the part of the peace-loving peoples throughout the world. Complete and general disarmament will not only rid mankind of the threat of war but will also create splendid prospects for using the immense funds spent for armaments today, for the good of man.

We know that the population of the globe is 2,800,000,000 with an annual increase of 45 million. The life span of more than one-third of mankind is only 35 years, and in certain countries even lower.

Very tragic is the condition of the population, especially of the children in underdeveloped countries where from their very birth thousands of dangers surround them and many of them become the victims of tuberculosis, malaria, leprosy and starvation. Suffice it to say that in underdeveloped

oped countries, only 54 children out of 100 live to the age of 15, while 46 die of disease and starvation. How is this fact to be explained? It happens because, among other reasons, according to the data of economists, the states spend 100,000 million dollars annually on armaments and 100 million capable and skilled people are forced to work on war preparations in peace-time. It is clear that complete and general disarmament will make it possible to take a new approach to solving world problems both through mobilizing means for the peoples' needs on a national scale, and by organizing international aid to under-developed countries.

The struggle for general and complete disarmament is the most humane, the loftiest and most progressive task of our day. If the governments come to an agreement on liquidating all stockpiles of nuclear weapons, prohibiting their production, destroying all weapons and disbanding the armies—this will go down in history as the most vivid example of progress and the triumph of the mind of man.

The activities of the Soviet Red Cross, as of other Soviet organizations, facilitate the consolidation of confidence, mutual understanding and fraternal solidarity and friendship among all nations and in this respect, the achieving of agreement on general and complete disarmament can, undoubtedly, also go a long way.

I want to assure the Conference that the Soviet Red Cross will in the future also consider its major task the continuation of humane activities aimed at co-operation in achieving agreement on general and complete disarmament.

SPEECH BY ALEXIUS, PATRIARCH OF MOSCOW AND ALL RUSSIA

I am speaking to you for the Russian Orthodox Church which unites millions of Orthodox Christians—citizens of our state. Accept its greetings and good wishes.

In 1948, after the Second World War, our church, together with Orthodox sister-churches in other countries, appealed to the Christians of the whole world to come out against all encroachments and acts aimed at violating peace. And our church, in the person of its representative Metropolitan Nikolai, has been taking an active part in all national and world peace congresses since 1949.

In Paris, Stockholm, Berlin, Warsaw, Vienna, Helsinki, Prague and on Ceylon, the world public listened with keen attention to the voice of the Russian Orthodox Church whose position in major contemporary problems has up to now served as an example for other Christian churches and religious societies.

Numerous declarations, appeals and addresses of the Russian Orthodox Church, published in the past eleven years in the civil, church and foreign press, show how much this church has accomplished towards cementing Christians of the whole world in a common struggle against the danger of a new world war.

Today we represent here the Russian Orthodox Church with the aim of expressing its support for the peaceful strivings of our people and helping to eliminate all causes and reasons which might unleash a new military conflict.

For us, church people, war is a gross and criminal distortion of our Christian faith and a grave profanation of the teachings of Christ, the Saviour of all-forgiving love.

Inviolable in its great hopes, the Russian Orthodox Church, with unremitting zeal, supports the Soviet Government's proposal on general and complete disarmament, assessing the recently adopted law on reducing the armed forces as the most graphic proof of our people's peaceful aspirations.

All men and women of good will, regardless of their beliefs and convictions, can rest assured that in the struggle for general and complete disarmament the Russian Orthodox Church is one of their most loyal allies, as it is in all patriotic undertakings of our country.

On the basis of its experience of many centuries, our church can state the following: if we contribute common sense, pure feelings, benevolent aspirations and good deeds to the general life of the world, then we shall be doing everything necessary for maintaining peace among men and nations.

SPEECH BY A. P. KLIMOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTROSOYUZ

Our Conference is discussing the major problem agitating all of mankind—the problem of ending the arms race and achieving agreement on general and complete disarmament.

There is not a single one of the 40 million members of the Soviet Consumers' Co-operatives who does not passionately desire peace and who would not devote all his efforts to this lofty cause. That is why all Soviet co-operators earnestly and enthusiastically approve the Leninist peace policy pursued by the Soviet Government, the policy which N. S. Khrushchov, head of the Soviet Government, personifies with distinction.

Progressive co-operators of all countries also make their contribution to the lofty cause of strengthening peace.

It is difficult to find a country in the world without a co-operative movement. The world co-operative movement counts some 400 million members.

The co-operation was imbued with ideas of friendship and peace from its very inception for it can implement its lofty aims in the struggle for bettering the people's life and raising their culture only in conditions of peace.

As one of the most significant branches of the world co-operative movement, Soviet co-operators are doing their best to ensure unity and solidarity among the co-

operators of the world in the struggle for peace, social progress and economic prosperity.

The immense waste of human and material resources which takes place in capitalist countries as a result of the arms drive, entails a disruption of economic life, a sharp increase in the tax burden, and inflation. All this adversely affects the realization of the aims which the co-operative movement sets itself.

Today, when a marked thaw in international relations has been observed, the Central Committee of the International Co-operative Alliance passed a decision (in January of the current year), in which, on behalf of 140 million co-operators embraced by the Alliance, it pins great hope on the forthcoming meeting of the heads of government of the Great Powers whose aim is, as the I.C.A. expressed in its resolution, to put an end to tension in international affairs. The Central Committee of the I.C.A., approving the idea of general and complete disarmament, has expressed confidence that complete and general disarmament would release the people from the grave burden of military expenditures and would make it possible to utilize the immense resources thus freed for the lofty cause of international co-operation and the improvement of the people's material well-being.

The struggle of co-operators in all countries for a stable peace and for disarmament—this problem of problems of mankind—is assuming broader scope. Together with the peoples of the world, the co-operators cannot remain tranquil when opponents to disarmament, forces hostile to the cause of peace, are striving to frustrate the peaceful solution of unsettled international issues.

In this connection mention should be made of the unseemingly role played by the leadership of the West German co-operation. It is known that despite the protests of the world public and the interests of securing peace, the West German army is being equipped with nuclear and rocket weapons. The Union of Consumers' Co-

operatives of the G.D.R. has repeatedly proposed to the leaders of the West German co-operatives to unite their forces in both parts of Germany against Adenauer's militaristic policy. These sensible proposals, however, remained unheeded although it is common knowledge that many rank-and-file members of the West German co-operatives stand for unity of action with the co-operators of the G.D.R. in the struggle for peace and for averting the threat of an atomic war. More, the leadership of the West German co-operatives intends to take part in financing one of the revanchist organizations existing in the F.R.G. whose aim is preparing a new war and organizing subversive activities against the German Democratic Republic and other countries of the socialist camp. These facts prove that the leaders of the West German co-operatives are exerting all efforts to divert the co-operative organizations of the F.R.G. from active struggle for peace, for the solution of other questions vitally important for the German people and to subordinate the co-operative movement to the interests of German militarism.

Progressive co-operators of all countries together with all peace-loving forces carefully follow the overt and covert manoeuvres of the foes of peace, expose them and will continue to do so in the future.

With a view to strengthening friendship between the co-operators of all countries and achieving greater unity for peace and better social and economic living standards of the peoples, the Centrosoyuz steadfastly extends its connections with all foreign co-operative organizations. At present we maintain contacts and business relations with the co-operative organizations of more than 70 countries. Co-operators from many countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and America have visited us in recent years. Our friendly collaboration with the co-operators of Asia and Africa is steadily developing.

A seminar of representatives of the co-operative organizations of these countries has recently been held in

Tashkent, and this, undoubtedly, is an important contribution to the further expansion of international collaboration and consolidation of peace and friendship among co-operators.

The International Co-operative Alliance, on the initiative of Soviet co-operators, has adopted a resolution submitted by the Centrosoyuz on developing international co-operative trade and broadening contacts with the aim of sharing experience in co-operative activities. The Centrosoyuz enhances its trade relations with the co-operators of foreign countries year after year. At present Soviet co-operators maintain commercial relations with the co-operative organizations of 24 countries, and the foreign trade turnover of the past year increased by more than 130 per cent compared to 1957.

Soviet co-operators, deeply convinced that the will and joint efforts of all peace-loving peoples will actively promote the solution of the disarmament problem, appeal to the co-operators of the whole world from this lofty rostrum: Let us spare no efforts in the struggle for a world without weapons, a world without war.

SPEECH BY V. M. CHKHIKVADZE, SECRETARY, WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

The peace champions' movement has never been so powerful as it is today. The peace-loving forces of all countries have a great influence on world policy. In our day, the power of public opinion is such, that not a single government can disregard it, nor can a single question be settled without considering the opinion of the peace movement.

Wherein lies the strength of the international peace movement? In the fact that it is supported by all the socialist countries. The great constructive labour, the peaceful labour of Soviet workers, peasants and intellectuals is the basis of our strength, of our peaceful progress as a nation.

The strength of the peace champions lies in the fact that more than one thousand million people of the socialist countries support this movement, as do the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, adding another thousand million to the above. Millions of men and women in the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and other Western countries have also joined the peace movement.

In the beginning, our enemies declared the international peace movement to be a subversive organization. They said it was "run by Moscow" and was a pro-Soviet, pro-communist organization. Recently they altered their tactics. They now hush up and try to ignore the peace movement. But all in vain. Though the press may be silent, it is impossible to ignore the existence of this movement.

when the voices of the international peace champions are stronger than ever before.

Last year the international peace movement observed its glorious tenth anniversary. This year we are confronted by new and bigger tasks: the necessity to achieve general and complete disarmament. That is why the peace-loving forces of the world unanimously approved the gigantic programme of general and complete disarmament presented by N. S. Khrushchov in the United Nations.

Millions of people of good will regard this programme of general and complete disarmament as an answer to the expectations of the peoples of all countries. That is why it is a most active appeal and is supported by every peace movement organized in recent years.

Our movement does not claim a monopoly in the struggle for peace, it hails the successes of other peace-loving forces, as the movement of the Japanese people, for instance, united and led by the Japan National Council Against A- and H-Bombs. We declare, on behalf of the Secretariat of the World Peace Council, that we shall do our utmost to further develop existing contacts. We are happy that our Japanese friends display an increasing interest in our movement and rejoice over their successes.

One cannot but be cheered by the achievements of this movement. Suffice it to recall a few facts. The movement has already held five conferences in Tokyo, Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Its members are conducting great marches to protest the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Last year close to 10 million people participated in one such march.

We are delighted by the great achievements of the British movement for prohibiting atomic and hydrogen weapons, headed by Lord Russell, Pastor Collins, J. B. Priestley, and others.

We rejoice at the movement now gaining strength in Germany for peace and justice.

The World Peace Council recently held its session in

Rome. The Presidium discussed the matter of organizing an extensive campaign for general and complete disarmament. Measures have been taken to have as many people as possible come out for general and complete disarmament. Conditions are exceedingly favourable, not only because we were given such a militant and understandable slogan as general and complete disarmament, but because the foundation was laid last year for increasing friendly contacts and activizing the struggle against the forces that are hostile to disarmament.

We believe that every country and every national movement will find their own necessary forms, those which correspond to the given concrete historic conditions and practical tasks confronting them.

The campaign for general and complete disarmament has actually started. Meetings, rallies and demonstrations of peace champions in different countries have already been held. New major undertakings which will undoubtedly serve to further strengthen the struggle for peace and the peaceful co-operation of nations are planned for the current year.

Never before has the international prestige of the Soviet peace champions—the entire Soviet people, the Soviet Government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—been so high as it is at present. The Soviet Peace Committee and other public organizations of the U.S.S.R. enjoy great respect in foreign countries. It is difficult for me to find the appropriate words to describe the sentiments expressed by foreign friends to the Soviet Peace Committee and to the numerous delegations it sends to various conferences, congresses and meetings. Its delegates, the delegates of the Soviet people, are always highly esteemed and are the centre of attention at the various congresses and conferences. However, this imposes a great responsibility upon them. I believe that the Soviet Peace Committee will continue to hold aloft the banner of peace in the future.

SPEECH BY V. D. KUZNETSOV, MERITED MASTER OF SPORT OF THE U.S.S.R.

I have been greatly honoured today. I am speaking from this lofty rostrum on behalf of more than 20 million physical culturists and sportsmen of our country who, like all Soviet people, are engaged in peaceful creative labour. I am speaking on behalf of Soviet lads and girls who compete in peaceful sports on the cinder tracks, in rings, and on football and basketball courts, who capture and set world records.

Sport is youth. All of us who perform at the stadiums were born after the Great October Revolution. But we remember that on the very first day of Soviet power, Lenin's words "Peace to the peoples" were inscribed on the banner of our country. The Soviet citizens carried high this slogan through the years of hunger and ruin, and the conflagration of wars thrust upon us.

Our country was healing its grave war wounds when I just started my career in sports. It would seem that that was not the time for sports and records. But the lads and girls who grew up, not in "hot-house" conditions by any means, were the first ones precisely then to make the world take notice of the land of Soviets as a great sport power. Today we can confidently state that the Soviet Union has truly become the country with the largest scale of physical culture and sports which has become part and parcel of the people, of every family, of every person young and old.

We know that the Second World War wrought many calamities. We also know to what a great extent the cold war is harming mankind. You must be on the alert, ready to rebuff any aggressor. But at the same time the Communist Party and our government find immense sums for building splendid stadiums, gymnasiums, sport grounds, and for training coaches and highly qualified physical culture teachers. All this is being done on behalf of Soviet man, for improving his health and extending his life, for bringing up builders of communism who are strong in body and spirit.

Many thanks to the Communist Party and our government for their great concern for the physical training of Soviet people and our youth.

I recollect a photograph that has recently appeared in a West German newspaper. It shows a children's sport ground with a home-made football goal on the edge of a small town. The grounds were ploughed up by a tank which had just passed through. This happened during the regular Bundeswehr manoeuvres. These armoured monsters have long been stepping up the West German budget. "Tanks instead of stadiums" is the slogan advanced by the Bonn revenge-seekers. The Federal Government is allocating 17,000 million marks in 1960 alone for atomic armaments for the Bundeswehr. It costs neither more nor less than 25,000 marks a year to teach one soldier how to handle atomic weapons. The money it takes to build one modern tank would fully suffice to erect ten well-equipped gymnasiums.

The language of sport transcends all boundaries. It is understood in all countries of the world and offers opportunities for friendly contacts to the peoples of all countries and nations. I have visited many countries, taken part in the most diverse international contests and got acquainted with the best sportsmen of the world. We met as rivals but parted as friends.

I don't know how a football is called in Swedish but I

do know that Swedish youngsters play football just as enthusiastically as their coevals in Moscow. Young American fans whistle as loudly as Moscow schoolboys on the southern grandstand, the only difference being that the Americans' whistle signifies approval.

During the last trip of Soviet track and field men to the United States, ordinary Americans came up to us in the streets of Philadelphia and sincerely congratulated us on our victory. We did not understand a lot of what they said, but we could see the expression of genuine warm feelings and friendship towards the Soviet people in their gestures.

Not only from America, but also from China, Australia, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Britain, Poland, Rumania, France, Italy and Bulgaria—wherever we chanced to be—we carried away with us one conviction: a fast and firm friendship originates at the stadiums and sport grounds.

We want to live in peace and friendship with everyone. These are not empty words. They are backed by our deeds. Three hundred and fifty Soviet sport delegations visited foreign countries last year alone. Four thousand five hundred sportsmen from five continents performed on Soviet soil.

Our meetings at stadiums, in gymnasiums, on ski tracks and in swimming pools, convince us, as also the foreign athletes, that athletic competition offers a good way to lasting friendship.

From this rostrum I should like to address my colleagues in various countries—my remarkable rival Rafer Johnson of the United States, the Australian runner Herbert Elliott, the gymnast from Japan—Takashi Ono, the British discus thrower Arthur Row, the track and field man Martin Lauer from West Germany, the French fencer Christian d'Oriola, the discus thrower Adolfo Consolini from Italy, all sportsmen of the world: raise your voice, friends, in defence of peace, in favour of general and complete disarmament for ever.

Let there be more stadiums and less testing grounds on our wonderful planet! Let us do away with testing grounds altogether as soon as possible!

There is a sacred law in our sport that goes as follows: you must do your utmost during the race. The heroic Soviet people are doing their utmost to ease international strain and to strengthen world peace. General disarmament—the urgent demand of our age—is possible only if our Western partners make their full contribution to this cause just like the Soviet people are doing.

SPEECH BY L. D. PRIEDE-BĒRZINA
PEOPLE'S ARTISTE OF THE U.S.S.R.
(LATVIAN REPUBLIC)

I bring greetings to this important meeting, inspired by the noblest sentiments of the Soviet people—the striving for justice, peace and friendship among nations—from the shores of the amber sea, as the Latvians call the Baltic.

The country I was born in is not very large, but the industrious and capable Latvian people living there are erecting the bright edifice of communism together with other Soviet peoples. Creative labour is in full swing in our republic just like throughout our vast Soviet homeland.

Because of its geographic location, Latvia has always stood on the high road of war, as it were, throughout its history of many centuries. Our people have frequently experienced the misfortunes and devastations of war. The last two world wars have left especially deep traces on our land. Although the grave wounds are healed, we do not want a repetition of the horrors of war.

The Latvian people, together with all the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union, wholeheartedly support the humane programme of general and complete disarmament submitted by N. S. Khrushchov to the United Nations General Assembly.

We, like the other Baltic peoples, are especially alarmed by the revival of militarism in West Germany and the equipping of the Bundeswehr with nuclear and rocket weapons.

The piratical attacks of German crusaders caused much grief to the Latvian people in ancient times. During the first and second world wars the iron-shod boots of the German imperialist army mercilessly trampled our earth. The treasures of material and spiritual culture of the Latvian people were plundered and destroyed. We have no confidence in the former leaders of the defeated Nazi Reich who are again today occupying important posts in the West German Government and army. They have not surrendered their revenge-seeking aspirations. Life convinces us that a wolf will sooner cease to be a beast of prey than the German general Speidel and other former organizers of the notorious "new order" in Europe will give up their aggressive plans.

This is why the Latvian people demand the curbing of the West German revanchists, the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the settlement of the Berlin issue.

With the help of the fraternal Soviet republics, the Latvian people have achieved great success not only in economic construction but in cultural development as well. Never before has art been so vital or has there been such an advance of young talents as today, in a free Soviet society which opens up the greatest opportunities for the development of the people's talents.

Art goes a long way in building a peaceful and happy life. It is a highly effective medium in consolidating friendly relations. All people understand a deep, life-asserting art and it meets with a response on all continents of the globe regardless of language. Real art inspires people with its creative fervour and helps to destroy the barriers of animosity and hostility artificially erected between nations. War and art are incompatible. There is an ancient saying—"When guns speak the muses are silent."

We Soviet cultural workers, on behalf of our people, and men and women of good will throughout the world, demand:

"Let the muses speak and the guns be silent!"

The muses will speak louder, more expressively and more brilliantly if peace and friendship between nations reign, if the people do not have to fear each other and if they start exchanging cultural treasures on a broad scale and not bombs that cause horror and death.

Let our voices, coming from Moscow, the heart of the Soviet Union, ring out far and wide. They express the inviolable will for peace and urge all nations to struggle for complete and general disarmament, so that neither atomic nor hydrogen bombs may threaten the people.

**SPEECH BY I. A. KAIROV,
PRESIDENT, R.S.F.S.R. ACADEMY
OF PEDAGOGICAL SCIENCES**

In working for peace and general and complete disarmament, we are thinking of the children, for they are the future of every people and every nation.

Fathers and mothers entrust the upbringing of their children to teachers who, because of the very nature of their profession and their calling must strive to help the youngsters develop their skills in their studies, work and recreation, to grow up humane, industrious and educated citizens of the future.

Our people love children. The Soviet state does not spare its efforts or resources for their education. It is constantly concerned with their future and happiness. That is why we demand peace.

Thirty-two million soldiers perished on the bloody battle-fields of the Second World War. Many of these were still youngsters. Who can ever tell how many future scientists and poets, musicians and artists, designers and builders were lost to mankind before the fervour of their souls and talents were revealed? The last war widowed no less than 20 million women and orphaned some 40 million children.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government have displayed paternal concern for the children of Soviet soldiers killed in the war. Hundreds of children's homes were opened. Here the youngsters lived and studied. Their teachers and instructors became their parents.

There is no situation more agonizing than when an adult's grief falls upon the weak shoulders of the young. Children know what war means, its echo still resounds in their souls.

It is our aim to teach our children to hate war, violence and animosity among nations. Our boys and girls live in an atmosphere of creative work and scientific daring. Love for their country, fraternity and comradeship, the struggle for peace and friendship among nations are imbued in their souls from an early age. In the Soviet Union war propaganda is prohibited by law.

From the time they are quite small, our children become accustomed to the idea that when they grow up, each one of them will be able to do good for people and their country. This gives them a cheerful outlook, and hope and faith in the future.

There is an old, wise saying among teachers that a child will grow up as adults intend him to. This is very true.

Joachim Schmiedeberg, a teacher in the West German town of Braunschweig, asked his fourth-form boys to write an essay on "What I would do if I could do anything I wanted to." More than a third of the essays clearly reflected the spirit cultivated in the past among the young fascists of the Hitlerjugend. These children, maimed by misanthropic ethics, wrote:

"I'll get hold of a real pistol and fight others. I'll shoot them and hang them."

"I'll get a stick and beat everyone I meet till they run for their lives."

"I'll blow up all the schools in the world...."

"Kill," "blow up," "shoot" . . . and these children are only ten years old. They were born after the war, but its evil shadow has fallen across their lives.

Our press commented on these essays. It excited response from our teachers and inspired some of them to ask their pupils to write an essay on the same subject. This is what Soviet school children wrote about: fifth-form pupils

of Moscow School No. 1 dream of going to the virgin lands, of digging irrigation canals in the desert and building interplanetary space ships; they want to become captains and pilots, to explore new lands and study the sea fauna. Even their mischievous desires—not to do homework and go to the cinema every day, to give themselves excellent marks in the class register and to eat as much ice-cream as they can—are childish and inoffensive and can in no way be compared with the destructive dreams of the Braunschweig schoolboys.

We educate our children in the spirit of internationalism, we develop in them a feeling of friendship for other peoples and a respect for the achievements of the various national cultures.

Comrade Mezhentsev, a teacher of a seven-year school in the village of Leshchevo, Smolensk Region, related the following: Leshchevo village suffered cruelly from Nazi occupation during the war. This left a deep imprint in the minds of the local population. Parents and children alike objected to German being taught in the school, as it was the language of the former enemy. The teacher persistently explained the advantages of studying the German language, telling them about the German culture, the revolutionary traditions of the German working class and about the German Democratic Republic—a socialist state of workers and peasants. Gradually, the pupils and their parents altered their views. They even began to correspond with pupils of an agricultural school in the town of Debelne (G.D.R.).

Educating the rising generation of the Soviet Union in the spirit of peace and friendship with the peoples of other countries proceeds from the very essence of the socialist system. We spend immense sums on public education and public health and on building educational establishments for children. The recent reduction in the Soviet armed forces will release approximately 16,000 to 17,000 million rubles annually. This means new schools, kindergartens

and nurseries, new hospitals and children sanatoriums. This is an actual manifestation of the Soviet Union's peace policy implemented for the happiness of its people, for the happiness of its children.

We hope that the governments of other countries will support the peaceful initiative of the Soviet Government in reducing its armed forces and realizing the disarmament programme in practice.

**SPEECH
BY MAJOR-GENERAL N. A. TALENSKY,
D. SC. (MILITARY)**

Everybody knows that the peaceful acts of the Soviet Government enjoyed the universal and enthusiastic support of the whole world.

At the same time, certain politicians, publicists, reactionary ideologists and military men in the West are very active in minimizing and neutralizing the effect of the Soviet Government's peaceful act.

I shall dwell on one, so to say, "argument" of the opponents to the Soviet proposal on general and complete disarmament. According to this "argument," the reduction of the Soviet armed forces by 1,200,000 men, i.e., by one-third of its present numerical strength, does not offer anything concrete and does not signify disarmament but rearmament.

It is difficult to argue with people who consciously distort the essence of the proposals and who stubbornly refuse to recognize the facts. But we may ask whether it is fathomable that reducing armed forces by one-third facilitates preparations for an aggressive war.

Quite recently, the military leaders and publicists of the United States and other NATO countries, ascribing aggressive aims to the Soviet Union, based their opinion on the superiority of Soviet conventional armed forces, primarily the land forces. But now the numerical strength of the armed forces of the United States will exceed the numerical strength of our armed forces after their reduc-

tion. The latter will be even lower than the numerical strength outlined in the proposals of the United States, Britain and France, when discussing the disarmament problem in 1956, which envisaged the strength of the armed forces of the United States and the U.S.S.R. at 2,500,000 men. Nevertheless, attempts to ascribe aggressive intentions to the Soviet Union continue.

Military leaders of the United States constantly emphasize the inadequate numerical strength of their own armed forces for the defence of the Western world, as they put it. But the Soviet Union, with the numerical strength of its armed forces after the reduction lower than that of the American armed forces is capable, according to their statements, to conduct an aggressive war. Is there a grain of common sense in this?

Secretary of War of the United States Brucker, widely advertizing the new equipment of the American army in his recent speech, declared that the U.S. Army believed that the permitted figure of 870,000 men was the minimum. I don't know what the numerical strength of our land forces will be after the reduction, but, evidently, they can hardly exceed the numerical strength of the American army as the total numerical strength of the Soviet armed forces will be less than that of the United States. The question is: how can you conduct an aggressive war or prepare for it with a "minimum" numerical strength of the land forces, as Brucker says. Is this logical? Of course, by using rockets with hydrogen and atomic war-heads you can destroy the enemy's country and annihilate the population, but you cannot conquer it nor can an aggressive war of conquest in general be started. For this purpose it is not only necessary to drop atomic and hydrogen bombs on the enemy but also to send in numerous land forces several times exceeding those of the Soviet Army after the reduction.

In the past wars, especially in the Second World War, the comparative might of the artillery and the aviation

was great. But we do not know of a single campaign or operation where artillery fire or aviation was sufficient to conduct an offensive; it was necessary to have a large infantry for offence and attack. In defence the attack could be rebuffed by artillery fire and blows from the air, but in order to seize the enemy's territory, to capture military, economic and political objectives, it was necessary to bring the infantry into play. The same holds true to-day. Rocket and nuclear weapons can be relied upon in defence, but a large army and navy are needed for conquests if the war of conquest is to be waged against the overseas countries.

The length of the Soviet borders that have to be protected in the event of war is great. The length of the front lines along which our troops would have to be deployed in the event of war is also great. If we proceed from the strategic NATO plans that are known, the would-be front of the Soviet Army only in Europe, on the Caucasus and along the seaboard of the North-European part of the U.S.S.R. alone would amount to more than 3,500 kilometres. Thus, proceeding from the possible numerical strength of these forces, we get about 200 men, or less than half a battalion per kilometre. No sensible general would undertake offensive operations with such forces. Even such an adventurist as Hitler, unleashing war against the U.S.S.R., deployed 3,300,000 men along the Soviet-German border. His divisions advanced along the front of 2 or 3 kilometres. He had 4,000 to 4,500 men per kilometre of front line, or twenty odd times more than the Soviet Army could deploy after its reduction.

Of course, it can be said that you do not start a war with regular troops alone but only after general mobilization. But it is clear even to a young officer that reducing the army by one-third makes it extremely difficult to gear it to a war-time basis.

Scores of examples could be cited where Western military theoreticians show how necessary it is for the

West to step up the numerical strength of their land forces to the maximum. As a matter of fact, the chief efforts of NATO ruling bodies are constantly aimed at increasing the number of divisions, motivating themselves on the necessity of defence from the non-existent threat of aggression from the East. When the Soviet Union decisively reduces its army, these same people attempt to assert that this is not disarmament but re-armament, and not for defence purposes but for aggression. This is neither more nor less than the attempt of Western militarists to keep to the positions of the cold war and the arms race. The assertion that the Soviet Union is not disarming is nothing but stupid slander.

There are still people in the West clamouring for war with the U.S.S.R. Soviet rocket and nuclear strength is very useful and necessary in this case. It throws cold water on the enthusiasm of Western ill-starred atomic warriors. This strength is a reliable shield for peaceful states and people, guarding universal security and peace.

The Soviet proposal on general and complete disarmament envisages the liquidation of all forms of arms including rocket and nuclear weapons. It now rests with the Western states.

A few days ago, N. S. Khrushchov again declared that the Soviet Union was the mightiest military power. But it did not want to take advantage of this superiority. We are prepared even today to destroy all our weapons if the Western powers do likewise.

The wonderful Soviet programme of general and complete disarmament, removing wars from the sphere of international relations, consolidating the peaceful coexistence of states irrespective of their social system, meets with the vital interests of all mankind.

We believe that the people of all countries will curb the aggressive forces and will maintain permanent peace and security on earth.

**SPEECH BY ALBERT KAHN,
AMERICAN PUBLICIST
AND PUBLIC FIGURE, MEMBER
OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL**

I am very proud of the opportunity to convey greetings to you from the peace champions of the United States from this lofty rostrum.

I have come to the Soviet Union with my wife and two sons.

We are 3,000 miles away from home, but I want to tell you that we feel quite at home here in the Soviet Union.

You and we speak different languages, but the language of our hearts is the same as that of yours, of Soviet people's.

Like millions of other Americans, we want peace and are fully resolved to achieve peace.

We live in a small town in Northern California quite close to where Jack London lived in his time. I want to tell you that the spirit of Jack London is still alive in the United States and that millions of Americans believe in the fraternity of people just like Jack London did.

In the small town we live in and which can be called backward in the political sense, you can observe how great changes take place every day in the people's way of thinking, and this vividly reflects the changes taking place in the country as a whole. More and more men and women are frankly expressing their desire to put an end to the cold war.

The visit of your Prime Minister Khrushchov to our country was of very great importance and led to many

changes which are taking place there now. The visit in itself shows what important changes have taken place in the international situation. But this does not mean that we should forget about the difficulties and dangers still in our way. Many of them have been mentioned today. There is still much to be done for the peace cause.

We Americans should not forget that West Germany is re-arming today and that there are people in our country who are greatly responsible for this. But there are many other people in America, and they are the majority, who ardently come out against the re-arming of West Germany and for disarmament. A large demonstration was organized in San Francisco just a few days before we left California. Hundreds of people marched through the streets demanding peace, and it is precisely these people who express the striving and desire of the entire American people.

It is a great honour and joy for my wife and me to be present here at your Conference today and to be together with you because you are the ones who are raising the flowers of life. We want to thank you for what you have done, for everything you are doing for our children, for what you are doing for the children of the whole world, the flowers of life.

**SPEECH BY P. M. MIKHAILOV,
HERO OF THE SOVIET UNION,
DEPUTY COMMANDER
OF THE INTERNATIONAL LINES GROUP
OF THE CIVIL AVIATION
ADMINISTRATION, MOSCOW BOARD**

Comrade delegates and guests!

Permit me to convey the ardent greetings of the many thousands of civil aviation pilots who carry on their wings a symbol of peace as they ply the peaceful air routes.

The development of our civil aviation is a particularly convincing example of the Soviet Union's striving for peace. We Soviet flyers have a bird's-eye view of the great changes that are taking place in our country as a result of our people's fruitful labour.

I was born in the year of the October Revolution and have had the great fortune to witness the astounding tempo of the Seven-Year Plan. I have been on many flights to the People's Democracies. Everywhere we see men and women busy building a happy and joyful life.

The Soviet Union has some of the longest air routes in the world. Hundreds of passenger, mail and cargo planes take off from various parts of our country every day. Our TU-114, TU-104, IL-18, AN-10 have won world-wide fame. These planes are manned by experienced civil pilots who have service records of thousands of hours in the air.

In consistently pursuing a Leninist policy of peace, the Soviet Government is striving to achieve an understanding among nations and the establishment of friendly relations among countries. Aviation plays an important part in this noble cause.

Twenty years ago we had six international air lines with a total length of 16,245 kilometres. Today regular air communications have been established with 92 countries, and the length of these lines exceeds 50,000 kilometres. Aeroflot airways are constantly expanding, with the number of countries connected by air routes increasing every day.

The Soviet Union's constantly growing industrial might has created a powerful air fleet capable of meeting the important economic tasks of building communism.

Aviation, a great achievement of mankind, serves peaceful purposes in our national economy, and its steady development is used as a peaceful means of drawing nations closer together.

Our people are proud of their civil aviation and hail its success in jet development, a factor which has made distances unimportant and has brought the remotest corners of our country closer to Moscow.

We flyers are happy to note that N. S. Khrushchov made his trip to America on a gigantic TU-114 airliner, one that is unequalled in the world.

I had the honour of taking part in these flights and saw the unforgettable meetings of N. S. Khrushchov with the American people. I have made many flights abroad, and there is not a single country where Soviet citizens are not welcomed as envoys of peace. People in foreign lands have learned the Russian word *mir* as they have *sputnik*. A perfect stranger would come up to us, slap us on the back, and say: "Mir, mir, sputnik!"

The road to peace has been clearly and precisely pointed out. Let all countries follow our example. Complete disarmament will bring much good to the people. The threat of war will be liquidated, funds and material values will be released, millions of healthy young people will return to peaceful labour. The impressive cut in our nation's armed forces is good news to our people.

We flyers will warmly welcome our demobilized colleagues. We'll help them settle down and teach them to fly the new planes along peaceful routes. I can confidently state that all former army pilots will quickly master the flight routes and occupy a worthy place in the ranks of civil aviation.

I believe the day is not far off when the flyers of other countries will follow our example and change from military planes to civilian airliners and ply the boundless expanse of our fifth ocean. We shall be happy to encounter them on an international air route, when our plane might be on its way to New York, and an American plane on its way to Moscow.

We are confident that aviation, which is playing an increasing part in international affairs, will facilitate the consolidation of friendly relations between the various nations of the world.

**SPEECH BY A. A. KHORAVA,
PEOPLE'S ARTISTE
OF THE U.S.S.R., CHAIRMAN,
PEACE COMMITTEE
OF THE GEORGIAN S.S.R.**

From the very first day of its existence, our country entered upon the international scene as one whose leader, the great Lenin, expressed its desire to have peace between nations. Our armed forces have never attacked another country in all the 42 years of Soviet power. If they were forced to fight, it was only because at various times our enemies attempted to annihilate the Soviet Union. If Soviet soldiers resorted to arms, it was only to defend the freedom and independence of their socialist homeland. In word and deed our people have proved that socialism and aggression are incompatible.

A new organization of people of different faiths, races and creeds has appeared on our planet. This is a union of men and women of good will whose greatest aim is to put an end to wars for ever, who firmly trust that the joint efforts of the peoples of the world will make this dream come true. What a splendid, lofty aim! Pondering it, one can perceive the wonderful day when mankind will be rid of the horrors of war, when the column marked "Military expenditures" will disappear from all national budgets and the immense sums now allocated for weapons of destruction will go for creating new material values, for meeting the material and spiritual needs of the peoples.

Not only Moscow, but all parts of our country have their "Cheryomushki," a symbol of our Party and Gov-

ernment's true concern for improving the housing conditions of the working people. Education in the U.S.S.R. has attained unprecedented heights. Our opponents are compelled to admit that nowhere in the world are there such favourable conditions for studying as in the Soviet Union. Permit me to cite an example from Georgia, the republic I represent. According to the 1959 census, there are 38 persons with a higher education per every thousand people of our republic, and 315 with a secondary and incomplete secondary education.

What truly great heights we shall attain if the funds now spent for defence go for peaceful purposes, how our industry, agriculture and culture will flourish! And how the living conditions of the peoples of the world will improve after a general and complete disarmament! Though our first concern is, naturally, the welfare of Soviet citizens, we are true humanists and do not think only of ourselves but of all the countries inhabiting the earth. As N. S. Khrushchov said at the civil reception in Delhi: "True to the behests of our teacher, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the peoples of the Soviet Union strive to better their own life and the life of all peoples as well."

The words of the Soviet Premier are convincingly corroborated by the immense unselfish aid our people render to all those in need of it.

Hemingway recently said that an honest man is the one who is opposed to war. All people of good will share this opinion. We applaud Hemingway for these honest thoughts.

Can the people in the arts, who are called upon to popularize the great ideas of humanism, the ideas of fraternity and friendship among nations, be aloof?

"On whose side are you, masters of culture?" Maxim Gorky's words are applicable today, at a crucial time for mankind, when the struggle for ending nuclear weapon tests, for general disarmament and the establishment of friendship and understanding among nations is being con-

ducted on such a wide scale. History poses the following question to foreign art workers, to those who are still indifferent to the most vital and burning problem of the day, the struggle for peace. History has put the question thus: either one is on the side of the peoples who are striving for peace, or on the side of a small and miserable handful of misanthropes, convulsively clinging to the bankrupt "positions of strength" policy.

On behalf of all my Soviet colleagues, I would like to express the hope that our call will be heard.

I believe that my foreign colleagues (I mean those who are still neutral) will think about whether they are to continue as onlookers. The true artist will find no theme as stirring and lofty as that which promotes the cause of peace and friendship and is aimed against kindling animosity between nations.

I believe that together with their peoples they will raise their voices in favour of complete disarmament, in order to transform our planet into a source of happiness, joy and peaceful, creative labour.

SPEECH BY I. I. LOVEIKO, CHIEF ARCHITECT OF MOSCOW

The Fifth Congress of the International Union of Architects was held in Moscow in the summer of 1958. The congress, at which more than 50 countries were represented, summed up the results of town-building in the post-war years. The participants shared their experience in this field with a view to helping the development of town-building and improving the urban living conditions. The architects spoke bitterly of the tragedy of the last war and of the devastation wrought by war in the towns and villages of the Soviet Union, France, Great Britain, Germany, Belgium and Italy. Representatives of Great Britain and China, Latin America and the Eastern countries expressed similar thoughts and sentiments. It is interesting to note that the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic presented a joint report to the congress. The solution of actual problems and a concern for the well-being of their people was what brought the German architects together. Thus, architecture and town-building, in creating treasures for all times and for all mankind, serve to draw people closer together, irrespective of background, speaking a language comprehensible to all peace-loving citizens who cherish the interests of their fellow-men. The Executive Committee of the International Union of Architects, following the instructions of the congress, adopted a resolution aimed against a new war threat and calling upon the architects

of all nations to work and create in the name of peace among peoples.

We Soviet architects and builders whole-heartedly hail and support the Soviet Government's policy, one that is the only correct policy, aimed at averting a new war threat and developing economic and cultural relations with all countries and this means in the field of construction and architecture too.

In recent years many Moscow architects have toured Europe, America, Asia and Africa. Architects from all the fraternal People's Democracies and from America, Great Britain, France and Sweden have visited us. The mutual benefits derived from such contacts is quite evident. Foreign guests are extremely interested in the large-scale work being conducted in building and reconstructing Moscow, they study our rich experience in town-building and our achievements in manufacturing prefabricated houses. Our specialists are interested in the production of several types of building materials and fixtures for homes and public buildings.

A contest is under way at present for the best residential development project for Moscow's South-West District. Architects of Czechoslovakia, Poland, China, Rumania and other People's Democracies are also participating. This is a noble competition which will soon bring much joy and happiness to tens of thousands of Muscovites.

The Seven-Year Plan has allocated 27,000 million rubles for housing construction in Moscow. From 1959 to 1965 20.5 million sq. metres of living quarters will be erected in the capital.

Eight Moscow sputnik-towns like Kryukovo which is now under construction and has a planned population of 65,000 can be built on funds released in a single year as a result of the cut in our armed forces. These new, modern towns will bring much joy to people!

If the governments of America, Great Britain and other

countries are really concerned with the welfare of their people, they should follow the noble example set by the Soviet Union in its unilateral reduction of its armed forces.

May the peaceful citizens of all cities—Moscow, New York, London, Prague, restored Lidice, Coventry, Berlin, Warsaw and Stalingrad—live tranquilly, work peacefully, raise a healthy young generation, lay out orchards, erect apartment houses and theatres, make new discoveries and inventions to bring the world progress and culture!

May the new cities and ancient monuments, embodying the material culture of hundreds of centuries, stand for ever and never be reduced to ruins by bombs or rockets!

SPEECH BY B. N. POLEVOI, WRITER

I have had the good fortune to take part in every Soviet and almost every international peace conference and I can say, with the full right of a witness, that never has there been such a conference as this.

Much that is new, joyous, stirring and dear to everyone who detests war and loves peace has been brought out at this Conference which is convening at a time when the efforts of the Soviet people and of all peace-loving men and women of the world have been crowned with new important, actual and tangible successes.

At the very dawn of our civilization mankind's most cherished dream was expressed in the call: "They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruninghooks." Years, decades and centuries elapsed, yet this remained but the sweet dream of the world's best sons. Mankind continued to forge its swords. Ever more and more swords. And from one war to another these swords became more terrible and more destructive until today, in our atomic age, they have assumed apocalyptic proportions.

And now, for the first time in the history of mankind, N. S. Khrushchov, head of the first socialist state in the world, ascended the rostrum of the World Assembly of nations and with the honesty, calmness, confidence and straightforwardness characteristic of a Soviet citizen, and on behalf of our government and people, proclaimed a plan for general, controlled, all-round disarmament for all times. I am certain that this speech by N. S. Khrus-

shchov will be noted by future historians as one of the major events of the twentieth century.

I find it remarkable, exceedingly remarkable, that a proposal for a general, controlled and complete disarmament was not only made, but that the statesmen of several countries, including the strongest countries in the world, came out in support of the Soviet plan, and that other statesmen did not rush to reject it, declaring it a "propaganda trick," as they had so many times in the past, but began discussing the Soviet proposals seriously; and, lastly, that the United Nations unanimously—I want to stress this particularly—unanimously approved the idea of a complete, general and all-round disarmament. I believe it extremely significant that there was not a single delegate at the Assembly who ventured to come out openly or vote against disarmament.

Herein lies the triumph of a policy of peace, mutual understanding and friendship of nations, consistently, patiently and steadfastly pursued by our government since the days of Lenin. Herein lies the greatest victory of the peace champions. Herein lies the success of all peace-loving forces!

The combined efforts of all men and women of good will, with the Soviet people in the forefront, have forced that old witch, cold war, that has for many years disturbed the sleep of all mothers and the normal development of the children of the world, to retreat. The icy bastions with which it tried to isolate one nation from another are rapidly melting before our eyes. Even some of the most reactionary newspapers are forced to admit this today. But we would be short-sighted and faint-hearted, indeed, we would deceive ourselves most fatally if, sensing this unquestionable change for the better in the international climate, we were to become complacent and let events develop spontaneously, of their own accord.

An awareness of the victories of the peace policy should make us double and triple our efforts. The cold war has

retreated, but we must not permit it to gain strength and prepare for a counter-attack.

Not for a moment should we forget the existence of arms manufacturers who find it more profitable to forge swords than ploughshares. There are still statesmen in the world who bank not on a policy of sensible, constructive negotiations, but on a "policy of strength" and, still more, on a policy of "brinkmanship." One can call them old-fashioned, but we must not minimize their strength and influence, we have not the right to do so.

There are still people on this planet who, because of old class, social and race prejudices, cannot see the world as it has become, people whose senses are dulled by malice and who cherish the insane hope of reversing the course of history.

There are still bold generals who dream of the glory of Herodotus, a worthless egoist who, in days of yore, set fire to a splendid temple, built by generations of his countrymen, in order to gain fame.

There are only a handful of these mad and evil people. Mankind's flower, the men and women who yearn for peace and the flourishing of culture, oppose them. But all Herodotus had to do to destroy the splendid edifice was remove a single bit of burning coal from a brazier. All those who dream of his glory today have only to press a button and fire a rocket.

So let us be vigilant, peace-loving men and women! Now, when we are winning, we must be doubly vigilant.

Our ranks throughout the world must be closer than ever before. I should like the voice of this Conference, convened in the ancient Kremlin, to be heard by every peace fighter in the world, no matter where he is, or what his convictions, or the slogan inscribed on his banner. Let us repeat Ehrenburg's words of yesterday: "Friends, throw everything that separates us overboard. We are united by our striving for peace, and that is sufficient." So let us work hand in hand, let us stand together in the struggle

for peace in this new, decisive stage, and may 1960 go down in history.

I should especially like to address a few words to those engaged in creative work, to the writers, playwrights, film workers, artists and sculptors of all lands: masters of culture! Join our ranks in the fight for peace! It is you, who through your art are capable of inspiring hope and faith in the triumph of progress and can reach the hearts of millions, who have a special part to play in the struggle for peace in its decisive stage.

**SPEECH BY GORDON SCHAFFER,
CHAIRMAN, BRITISH PEACE COMMITTEE,
MEMBER OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL**

The people of my country are beginning to understand more and more how immensely dangerous it is that weapons are again being put into the hands of former Nazis of West Germany. I am certain that in my country the movement against the arming of West Germany will gain in scale and scope and will not permit the arming of West Germany.

A national conference of British peace champions was held in London on February 13 and 14. This conference was a very important event in the peace movement of our country, not only because it was the largest since the foundation of our committee more than ten years ago, but also because unity with other peace-loving forces of Britain was achieved.

Outstanding leaders of the West and the East assembled in the House of Commons in London shortly before our conference to discuss the disarmament problem. And there unity was achieved between people who had strongly differed in their views on many problems.

I believe that the achievement of this unity was greatly facilitated by the wise state policy and far-sightedness of the Soviet Government which submitted the proposal on general and complete disarmament and passed a decision to reduce the armed forces of the U.S.S.R.

This enables us to think that we shall achieve great victories in the struggle for peace. But we should not for-

get that there is still very much work ahead of us. There are still circles that refuse to heed the voice of the peoples demanding peace. We know that the revanchists of West Germany are doing everything in their power to hinder the easing of international tension.

We elaborated a programme of concrete measures at our London conference which took place on the eve of the summit talks. We intend to conduct a new, a third march from Aldermaston, the seat of nuclear power research.

I am proud that in our country the word "Aldermaston" has become a symbol of the determination of the peoples to prohibit the nuclear weapon.

I wish you success in your lofty activities and want to assure you that we shall do everything to achieve peace and prosperity of mankind.

SPEECH BY PROFESSOR M. I. KOLOMIICHENKO, MERITED WORKER OF SCIENCE

How true are the words spoken by one of Korolenko's heroes: "Man was created for happiness like a bird for flight!" A free life, creative work, good health, the opportunity of utilizing all cultural treasures accumulated through the centuries, is this not happiness?

One of the gravest misfortunes, an age-old misfortune, was war. The first war was fought way back at the dawn of humanity and became the companion of hundreds of generations. From stone hatchets to hydrogen bombs.... Man cannot be happy if he feels that atomic weapons are trained on him day and night.

Mankind has attained the summits of science; at the same time these are summits where the word "war" has become synonymous for universal destruction. That is why the slumber of mothers on all continents of the globe is so uneasy. Humming a lullaby to their sons, mothers turn their eyes to those who are responsible for peace on earth.

It will be too late to think if war breaks out. Mankind must avert war by achieving complete disarmament right now, today, and not tomorrow, it must make the word "war" disappear from the languages of all nations.

Life is so good! Good in all its intricacies and contradictions, in its joys and sorrows, in its triumphs! Never before has mankind lived so well, nor have the people maintained relations on such a broad scale and come to know

each other so keenly! The strong fresh wind of the Great October Revolution has penetrated all the nooks of the globe. Lenin's immortal words have resounded in all languages. The inspiring example of the Soviet Union, China and other freedom-loving nations is rousing the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America to struggle for freedom and independence, for ordinary human happiness. Mothers and wives, lads and girls need peace and fresh air, air without an admixture of strontium.

A hundred years ago the following words resounded: "We are not happy over war, we detest all kinds of killing, both wholesale and retail; those for which men are hanged, and those for which they are decorated with crosses and orders; we don't want to spill blood because blood is merrier when it flows through the veins than over the grass or sand. . . ."

These stirring humane words were uttered by Alexander Herzen, great Russian revolutionary-democrat at the close of 1859. There is a good reason for their resounding just as passionately today...! But today this passion assumes concrete and actual forms. Our country has proposed to the peoples of the world a concrete road to the liquidation of war.

N. S. Khrushchov, head of the Soviet Government, submitted a proposal for general and complete disarmament to the United Nations General Assembly session in September of 1959.

"A world without weapons and a world without war!" This noble call made by the envoy of the Soviet Union has captured the minds of men and women on all the five continents, has inspired faith in a tranquil future.

These thoughts and hopes, anxieties and joys of men and women are especially near and understandable to me, an old doctor, a surgeon, a representative of the most peaceful and humane profession. I was at the front from the beginning to the end of the Patriotic War; I know very well what war is. How many fine young men, who

became courageous soldiers in those grim years, were mutilated by bullets, shells and mine splinters. I can see them to this day. How many healthy and strong young people sacrificed their life in the last war for the happiness of men and women. They have stained the road to victory and peace crimson with their blood. And how much they could have accomplished for our people, for all of mankind if the Nazi cannibals had not unleashed a bloody war.

I have frequently thought of how many times our outstanding Russian surgeons Pirogov, Sklifosovsky, Burdenko and Vishnevsky and many, many others have been compelled to drop their peaceful fruitful activities and engage in field surgery. How many new and wonderful methods and remedies they could have created for the health and welfare of people during the years they spent in military infirmaries and hospitals!

Excuse me for my rudeness, friends, but surgeons of all countries are fed up with spending so much time and efforts on field surgery. We want to devote all our knowledge and skill to creative surgery and to remove the ailments of the human body with the scalpel.

For this we need a stable peace and general and complete disarmament. To put it in simple ordinary words, it literally takes your breath away when you think of those majestic prospects opening up to scientists, to the whole world.

Mankind's dream assumes discernible contours. Men and women acquire faith, and mothers' faces brighten! Then let the swords be beaten into ploughshares, let the horizon always be clear of formidable and ominous war clouds. Let our children and grandchildren grow up and prosper under a peaceful sky!

**SPEECH BY VASGEN I,
SUPREME PATRIARCH AND CATHOLICOS
OF ALL ARMENIANS**

Permit Us, from holy Echmiadzin, the seat of faith of the Armenian people, to greet this honourable Congress where the most outstanding representatives of the multi-million peace-loving people of our great Homeland, the Soviet Union, have assembled.

On this solemn occasion We, as the Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of all Armenians, have come once again with a joyous heart to hail the god-blessed peaceable policy of our government and particularly the proposal on general and complete disarmament addressed to all countries of the world by Nikita Khrushchov, the wise, humane and energetic leader of our country.

The experience of long centuries of history filled with human tragedies, shows that now, as a matter of fact more than ever before, it is necessary for the people of our day, especially the leaders of the state, Church and public, to discard their old forms of thought and mode of action and to come out, boldly and decisively, like new people with a new soul, new words and new deeds.

The real new man of our day is the man of peace, free from old prejudices, hostilities and irreconcilable soul, free from the passion of stealing labour, land and freedom from his brethren, passions which have, alas, for long centuries of human relations in public life and interna-

tional affairs, given rise to innumerable and uncountable wars, misfortunes and terrible sufferings.

The new man, the man of peace, must be a man of truth and justice, a man building with good intentions. The new man, the man of peace, must recognize a colleague, helper and brother in his neighbour.

May people, rejuvenated by the spirit of peace and humaneness, from today on, lead nations to the safe side of life, to progress, the flourishing of science and art, and to happiness.

The Armenian Church, headed by Saint Echmiadzin, like hitherto and hereafter, will always loudly raise its voice and continue its activities on behalf of peace, on behalf of the fraternity of peoples.

**SPEECH BY V. P. NIKIFORENKO,
STUDENT, REBRIKHA AGRICULTURAL
MECHANIZATION SCHOOL,
ALTAI TERRITORY**

Four months ago I was a sailor on the cruiser *Sverdlov*. There I heard the historic speech delivered by N. S. Khrushchov from the rostrum of the United Nations General Assembly. The head of the Soviet Government proclaimed general and complete disarmament!

For four years I wore the shoulder-straps of the Soviet Navy. I was proud of this and fulfilled my duties accurately. The people trusted me and others like me to guard the borders of our socialist state. But I must frankly declare that I dreamed of the time when, together with millions of Soviet men and women, I could engage in peaceful labour.

Today I am no longer a sailor but a student of the agricultural mechanization school in Rebrikha, Altai Territory, a future machine-operator with a broad speciality. I thank our Communist Party, Soviet Government and dear Nikita Sergeyevich for making a soldier's dream come true.

I was born in the Ukraine and lived there until I joined the navy. My mother is still living there. I know that I could have found work to my liking in the Ukraine just like any demobbed soldier. But I decided to respond to the call of the Altai Young Communist League members with whom the sailors of the *Sverdlov* cruiser have long been friends and go out to this wonderful territory. I am certain that my Ukrainian friends will approve my choice.

Many other demobbed soldiers went out to the Altai together with me. There are 5,200 former soldiers in the territory's mechanization schools alone.

The discussion on disarmament at this Conference is near and understandable to every Soviet citizen. We don't want war. We don't need it. We want our industry to produce more good tractors for us and not tanks. We have so many wonderful peaceful endeavours ahead!

I shall tell you something about our Altai Territory. It is an immense and wonderful area of taiga, high mountains and mighty rivers. Vast steppes spread out in the south-western part. Thousands of Y.C.L. members came out to the boundless virgin lands six years ago in response to the call of the Party. They cut the first furrow, turned up the virgin lands. Today Altai is our country's richest granary. Just think of it, this year 5 million hectares will be planted to wheat alone! The agricultural workers of Altai have pledged to grow 550 million poods of wheat in 1960.

Our territory is not only rich in golden wheat but also has great possibilities for developing livestock. We already hold a leading place in the Russian Federation for the output of butter and cheese.

Young people have plenty of opportunities to apply their strength in the Altai. Not only there but everywhere in our great country are there spheres for peaceful creative labour.

I, a demobbed soldier, hail the decision of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on the new considerable reduction in the armed forces. As a patriot of the Altai I invite demobbed soldiers: come out to us, friends. We shall work, study and build together, and live and struggle for peace!

We, the working people of the Altai, want our territory to be richer and still more beautiful. For this we stint neither our strength nor our energy. We want to see the sky clear of ominous black war clouds. We need peace!

**SPEECH BY N. I. SMIRNOV,
CHAIRMAN, CITY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE LENINGRAD CITY SOVIET
OF WORKING PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES**

The Conference of the Soviet public for disarmament is taking place in an atmosphere of broad possibilities for the active joint endeavours of peace champions to end the arms race, and for the general and complete disarmament of states. The Conference is discussing the most important question of the day which agitates literally every Soviet citizen and millions of men and women of good will all over the globe.

The Soviet people know particularly well what war means. The Leningraders lived through the unprecedented horrors of a 900-day blockade, enemy shellings and bombings, and starvation. We still remember the painful wounds inflicted by the war.

The war caused immense damage to Leningrad's industry and municipal economy. Suffice it to say that more than 10,000 buildings were destroyed or seriously damaged in the city during the war. The city's industry and all branches of municipal economy were seriously affected. We have rebuilt Leningrad and it has become still more beautiful. But we can never make up for the loss of mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers and children.

The working people of Leningrad vividly conceive those innumerable calamities which a new war with its modern means of mass annihilation and destruction can cause if it is not prevented. We cannot reconcile ourselves to the fact that the immense wealth of many nations are squan-

dered for one purpose—to create weapons capable of destroying as many human lives as possible. In the eleven years from 1949 to 1959 alone the military expenditures of NATO countries reached 555,000 million dollars. This sum exceeds the war expenditures of all the belligerent West-European countries during the Second World War. Scores of millions of apartment houses, hospitals, schools and kindergartens could be built on these funds!

We are firmly convinced that all upright people do not need atomic or hydrogen bombs or the means of destroying each other, but conditions for a secure and happy life.

Leningrad is making a worthy contribution to the development of Soviet industry, science, engineering and culture, and is scoring new successes in the development of its municipal economy, improving the material, housing, cultural and everyday living conditions of the working people. It is a joy to realize that Leningrad will build more than 8 million sq. metres of floor space during the seven-year period. No less than one million Leningraders will hold housewarming parties in newly erected apartment houses. Two hundred and eighty-four schools and boarding-schools and 470 nurseries and kindergartens will be built, more than 1,200 trade and public catering and 300 tailoring and public utilities establishments will be opened. It is planned to introduce a district heating system catering for all apartment houses and public buildings. New Metro lines, parks and public gardens will be laid, cinemas, libraries and sport facilities will be built.

In a word, our city will become even more majestic and beautiful in the seven-year period and the life of the Leningraders like of all Soviet people will be better, richer, more comfortable and merrier.

The residents of Leningrad, like all Soviet citizens, do not want war and are ready to do everything to avoid it. The working people of our country sincerely rejoice over every occasion and fact that lead to the slightest amelioration in the international climate, the develop-

ment of contacts and the strengthening of friendship between the peoples of different countries.

Together with the entire Soviet people, Leningraders are making their contribution to the development of friendship and co-operation with foreign countries. The Executive Committee of the Leningrad City Soviet maintains contacts with many city councils of the capitals and cities of the People's Democracies and with the municipalities of a number of cities in capitalist countries including Manchester, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Oslo, Stockholm, Helsinki, Turku, and Jokjakarta. We exchange delegations and specialists, organize exhibitions, radio broadcasts, trips of tourists, theatrical groups and sport clubs. Many countries are well acquainted with leading Leningrad theatres and other art companies who have successfully presented abroad the rich culture of our people.

Many foreign specialists, workers of culture, literature and art visit Leningrad. We are prepared in the future also to welcome sincerely the envoys of other countries.

The more frequently reciprocal visits of state leaders take place, the broader mutual meetings of workers in science, culture and art develop, the more direct contacts the ordinary people of all countries have, the greater the guarantee to preserve and consolidate peace.

**SPEECH BY JOYCE LUSSU,
REPRESENTATIVE
OF THE ITALIAN PEACE MOVEMENT,
MEMBER OF THE WORLD PEACE
COUNCIL BUREAU**

Italian peace champions highly assess the outstanding contribution of the Soviet peace champions' movement and the entire Soviet people which has been made and is being made to the common struggle for defending peace. Italian peace champions fervently approve the historic proposal on general, complete and controlled disarmament submitted by N. S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., to the United Nations.

Italian peace champions are struggling for the liquidation of the cold war, against the arms drive and the policy "from positions of strength."

There is no doubt that all your successes, your struggle for easing international tension and for international co-operation, and the policy of your people and government will lead the peaceful forces of the entire world to victory.

**SPEECH BY M. I. RUBINSTEIN,
D. SC. (ECONOMICS)**

The implementation of the great programme of general and complete disarmament advanced by the Soviet Union would make it possible to free mankind from the burden of military expenditures and from manufacturing the means of destruction, and would apply the immense material and spiritual forces for advancing the economic development of all countries, improving the well-being of

the people and the flourishing of science, education and culture. Prospects for carrying out many great plans for developing science and the peaceful uses of new engineering would open up.

Substantial means could be aimed at improving the economy, living standards and education of the population in economically underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

To search for and translate into practice the most efficient forms and methods of solving these problems is one of the noblest and most vital tasks of state leaders, scientists, economists and the public at large in all countries. At the same time it is necessary to take into account the practical experience the governments and peoples of many states have accumulated in reducing the armed forces and the war industry at the end of each world war.

The Soviet Union, which recently passed a law on the considerable reduction of its armed forces, is conducting a number of measures ensuring employment to demobilized armymen at industrial enterprises, construction sites, in transport and agriculture and catering for their material and everyday needs. These measures include the sending of demobbed men to schools and courses to acquire various specialities, paying them grants amounting to 75 per cent of the monthly earnings of their future specialities, paid travelling expenses for themselves and their families to their place of work, loans for individual home-building amounting to 7,000 rubles, and many other privileges. We are certain that the demobbed armymen will all be given employment in the shortest possible time.

We understand that this problem is more complicated in the West. Everybody knows that unemployment in certain Western countries is displaying a tendency to grow.

This is precisely why the cold war adherents frequently strive to over-emphasize and exaggerate the difficulty in giving people employment and attempt to show

that unemployment will soar as a result of disarmament. In this way they try to attract uniformed people to the side of the disarmament opponents, and to minimize in the eyes of the public the significance and feasibility of any steps towards disarmament.

However, a scientific examination of the thesis that disarmament will lead to a rapid rise in unemployment and to a sharp worsening of the population's circumstances, proves it to be absolutely unfounded. We shall try to demonstrate this by taking the United States as an example.

The total number of people engaged in military preparations in the United States tentatively amounts to 9 or 10 million of whom 2.5 million are in the armed forces, 2 to 3 million are employed at military plants, while the rest are engaged in the administrative apparatus and various branches of economy producing goods for the war industry and the armed forces and rendering them various services.

Providing employment to 9 or 10 million people is certainly a big problem even for such an economically highly developed country as the United States.

However, we must first of all bear in mind that general and complete disarmament, if the proposal advanced by the U.S.S.R. at the United Nations session is put into practice, will be conducted gradually, in three stages during the course of four years.

The feasibility of such a reduction for the United States without increasing unemployment can be confirmed if only by the following fact: The total number of people directly engaged in war occupations in the United States dropped by 3.4 million during the two years (1953-55) immediately following the end of the war in Korea, while the number of people engaged in civilian occupations rose by 3.8 million during the same period.

Finding employment for about 6 million more people released from the armed forces and from jobs in military plants during the following disarmament stages will con-

stitute an additional serious problem for the United States. In this connection we should recall that many problems far more considerable in scope and complexity were solved after the Second World War ended. The corresponding regearing of plants will require many highly skilled workers as well as technicians and engineers. Thus, the process of reconversion may even lead to reducing the present number of unemployed.

What are the practical possibilities and prospects for enhancing the civil sphere of production in the course of disarmament and the corresponding possible means of utilizing the manpower relieved from war occupations?

In order to characterize this aspect of the disarmament problem it is necessary to dwell on how it can influence the distribution and utilization of the national budget.

Many statements in the West dealing with the economic aspects of disarmament, show in a well-grounded way that the reduction of military expenditures connected with it will greatly decrease the tax burden which today is quite serious and growing steadily.

According to the data cited at a United States Congress session in 1956, every American family with an annual income from 2,000 to 4,500 dollars paid out 27 to 32 per cent of this sum in taxes.

Various opinions have been expressed as to the size and form of reducing the tax burden in connection with disarmament. The American economist Seymour Harris presumes it will be possible to reduce the total sum of taxes collected in this country even under partial disarmament by 11,000 million dollars, another American economist, Howard Nicholson—by not less than 17,000 million dollars, etc.

It should be stressed that the cut in taxes as a result of disarmament, no matter what scale and form it takes, should primarily affect the taxes paid by the broad masses of the population. Thus the population's increased purchasing power will ensure greater demand for consumers' goods, i.e., will expand the home market and

make it possible to increase capital investments in all branches of economy including the means of production industry.

Such a rise in the home market will ensure peaceful occupations to a substantial proportion of the people disengaged as a result of disarmament.

Naturally, the process of replacing military purchases will take some time in the course of which, if the necessary economic measures are not adopted, a possible fall in the home market of certain countries will entail.

In order to avoid this, it would be expedient, as many people in Western countries expressing themselves on the disarmament problem propose, that as military expenditures are cut, the governments should spend a substantial part of the budget's income thus released for urgent national needs that have not been met for years because of the arms drive.

These needs should include the housing problem, creating normal living conditions, the inadequate number of schools and hospitals, insufficient improvements in towns and rural localities, the demand to better social maintenance, improve transportation and the distribution of its network, irrigation and the struggle against floods, conservation and restoration of natural resources, etc.

According to a special census, 13 million houses in the United States do not come up to elementary standards.

Despite the acute character of the housing problem, only about one million flats have been built annually in the United States in recent years thus covering the demand by just some 50 per cent.

Using 15 to 20 per cent of the funds now being spent on military purposes for housing would make it possible to erect another 500,000 houses yearly thus increasing the number of workers employed in the building industry of the U.S.A. and in its auxiliary branches by 800,000 to 900,000 men.

Other developed countries are faced with similar needs.

Already in 1960 the Soviet Union has set a splendid example of utilizing for peaceful purposes a substantial part of the forces and means formerly allocated for armaments.

Soon after the law on the new reduction in the numerical strength of the armed forces was passed, a number of decrees on using the economized funds for further improving the well-being of the masses of the people was published. Thus, a decree on measures for further improving medical services and health protection of the population of the U.S.S.R. and for developing medical science was published on January 20.

The volume of capital investments for the period 1961-65 for building public health establishments, enterprises of the medical industry, research institutes, experimental plants, etc., is being increased (above the Seven-Year Plan target figures) by 1,800 million rubles.

Soon after this (on January 27) a detailed decree was published on measures for increasing the output and improving the quality of various foodstuffs. It was decided to allocate 1,836 million rubles for the period 1960-65 above the Seven-Year Plan figure for the construction of new and reconstruction and enlarging of existing enterprises of corresponding branches of the food industry.

If the Soviet proposal on general and complete disarmament is implemented, half of all the workers of the U.S.S.R. will have a six-hour day already in the current seven-year period. All our people would enthusiastically welcome such a utilization of funds economized as a result of disarmament.

Thus, general and complete disarmament from the economic point of view is practicable and profitable not only for some one state or group of states. It opens up the road to a durable peace, the development of economy, science and culture for all countries and nations, socialist and capitalist, big and small, industrial and economically underdeveloped.

As N. S. Khrushchov noted in his speech to the Indian parliament, general and complete disarmament, the establishment of a stable peace on earth "would serve as a powerful incentive for the decisive liquidation of poverty and backwardness, starvation and diseases, ignorance and illiteracy which have been the evil companions of mankind for thousands of years."

The detailed elaboration of these problems is a major task for our economic science and its solution will make an important contribution to the great struggle for complete disarmament, a stable peace and the happiness of all peoples.

V. V. BAIKOVA, agronomist of the Stalin collective farm, Noginsk District, Moscow Region, told the Conference how unanimously the collective farmers of Moscow region were supporting the Soviet Union's peaceable foreign policy.

"When N. S. Khrushchov spoke on the reduction of the Soviet Union's armed forces at the Fourth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.," V. Baikova said, "our collective farmers all declared: We are with you with all our heart, Nikita Sergeyevich. Your thoughts are our thoughts."

Telling about the great achievements of her collective farm, V. Baikova said that the farmers wanted to live and work in peace and to consolidate friendship with all nations.

"Cinematography, one of the most graphic and forceful of arts, should undoubtedly play a major part in popularizing peace," said S. I. YUTKEVICH, People's Artiste of the U.S.S.R.

Yutkevich read an excerpt from G. Koltunov's script for the film *Master of the World* as an example of how cinematography depicts mankind's struggle against the threat of a new war. The script tells what may take place in the next few years—general disarmament.

OKHTAR USMANOV, machine-operator of the Central Asian machine-testing station in the Uzbek Republic, expressed the thoughts and aspirations of the peace-loving Uzbek people.

"We are proud that precisely our country, possessing powerful weapons, has come out with a proposal for complete disarmament and for dissolving the armies," Usmanov said.

The team of which Usmanov is a member is doing its best to mechanize the labour-consuming processes in cotton-growing; it is thus making its contribution to the cause of peace, which is necessary for the building of communism in our country.

All our sailors want to carry peace-time cargo on their trips, V. P. BYANKIN, captain of the *Asia* of the Far East Shipping Service, said in his speech. "We are profoundly convinced," he said, "that it is much more pleasant for an ordinary American seaman to transport the Soviet passenger car 'Moskvich' than to deliver rockets and other arms to West Germany."

At the same time navigation maps of the seas and the Pacific Ocean are speckled with areas prohibited for sailing: that's where the air force and the navy of the U.S.A. and its allies conduct manoeuvres. V. Byankin draws the conclusion that disarmament is necessary to liquidate the threat of a new war. Our country sets an example of a business-like approach to disarmament.

Academician N. V. TSITSIN observed that the funds spent on manufacturing arms should be used to improve the conditions of life on our planet whose resources are far from being efficiently utilized.

Pointing out the anti-scientific character and groundlessness of the "overpopulation" theories, and the "law of diminishing returns" advanced by certain foreign scientists to prove man's impotence against nature, N. Tsitsin spoke about the extensive work conducted in the Soviet Union for the purpose of reshaping nature.

Disarmament will make it possible to free large sums and use them to the advantage of the peoples of all countries.

A passionate protest against war resounded in the speech of A. S. MALYSHKO, Ukrainian poet.

"It has turned out most unhappily that ever since man first appeared on earth, he has been compelled to hold on to the handle of a plough with one hand and to the hilt of a sword with the other," A. Malyshko said.

The same number of people have been destroyed in wars in the course of 5,500 years, A. Malyshko recalled, as the number inhabiting the globe today. Speaking on how labour is valued in our country, the poet expressed the hope that all people throughout the world would be decorated only for labour exploits and not for military feats.

V. V. RUDNITSKY, leader of a masons' team of the Stalingrad Building Trust, has been working on Stalingrad construction sites for more than 10 years. He said that the Stalingraders would not allow the horrors of war to recur after all the efforts made in rebuilding the heroic city of Stalingrad and the other towns and villages of our country.

V. Rudnitsky appealed to the citizens of Coventry which, like Stalingrad, suffered heavily during the war, to support the Soviet Union's humane and peaceful proposals for general disarmament.

The Armenian poet NAIRI ZARYAN noted the great achievements his country has attained since the inception of Soviet government.

The Armenian people do not want to see their beautiful capital in ruins.

"We want all the towns and villages of the globe to prosper," Nairi Zaryan said.

"The word 'war' always followed the word 'weapons.' These two words are twins. Speaking of disarmament means to come out against war,"—this is how the Moldavian writer P. A. KRUCHENYUK, editor-in-chief of the

newspaper *Culture of Moldavia*, started his speech. "Give me peace and you shall gain 100-fold," is a saying that has been current among the Moldavians for hundreds of years. When Moldavians greet each other they say, "Happiness and peace to you."

This is why the Moldavian people are proud that the Soviet Union was the first to reduce its armed forces, thereby performing a great humane act; this is also why they expect the Summit talks to be successful.

Hero of Socialist Labour M. Y. KUZNETSOVA, chairman of the "Krestyansky Trud" collective farm, spoke on the fine deeds of Ryazan farmers.

"Dear sisters," she said addressing the women of the whole world, "the future of peace depends on us to a great extent, on how we are rallied in the struggle against the threat of war, how unanimous we are in our demands for general and complete disarmament, and how persistent we are in our striving to put an end to the production of the terrible and destructive atomic and hydrogen weapons."

E. ZDOROVA, student of the Moscow Regional Pedagogical Institute, spoke for the Komsomol and the youth of Moscow. For the younger generation peace means the realization of all their happy plans. "If we must fight," our young people say, "we shall fight against disease, for the longevity of man, rich harvests, the wealth and happiness of people."

E. Zdorova, a delegate to the Vienna Youth Festival, is certain that differences in opinion are no hindrance to the common struggle for peace.

Observing that the Soviet Government's proposal on disarmament expressed the ideas and aspirations of our people, E. Zdorova conveyed the young people's fervent gratitude to the Party, the Government and to N. S. Khrushchov personally for their tireless activities in defence of peace.

V. M. KHVOSTOV, Corresponding Member of the Acad-

emy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., spoke on behalf of the Soviet intelligentsia, 900,000 strong, united in the ranks of the Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge.

Responding to the call of N. S. Tikhonov, Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, who in his report expressed the wish that "all peace champions should draw as many new participants and fighters into their ranks as possible," V. Khvostov assured the Conference that the Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge and its many hundred thousands of active members would do everything possible to make a major contribution to this important historic cause.

N. S. CHERNYKH, rolling-mill worker at the Verkh-Isetsk Iron and Steel Plant, Sverdlovsk Region, noted that, unlike the capitalist countries, the Soviet Union had passed from words to deeds in the disarmament issue. Taking his native Urals as an example, N. Chernykh showed that the peaceable foreign policy makes it possible to improve the well-being and to raise the cultural level of the people. Housing would double in Sverdlovsk alone during the seven-year period. Every year the Sverdlovsk higher educational establishments graduate more engineers than all Britain.

The father of four children, Chernykh appealed to all upright men and women of the world not to permit a new war and to achieve general disarmament.

The speech made by A. F. TRESHNIKOV of Leningrad, chief of the Antarctic department of the Arctic and Antarctic Research Institute, served as a convincing refutation to the assertions of the cold war proponents that it was necessary to arm in the interests of peace. There already exists a world without weapons and a world of mutual assistance and trust in the Antarctic as a result of which mankind has learned more about the Antarctic in four years than in all its preceding history. The Agreement on Peaceful Utilization of the Antarctic concluded in

December 1959 prohibits all measures of a military nature—anywhere on the continent—including the building of military bases, conducting war manoeuvres and testing any weapons.

The example of this continent graphically demonstrates that mutual assistance and trust can be established throughout the world.

Y. A. ZAVADSKY, People's Artiste of the U.S.S.R., dwelt on the part art plays in the struggle for peace.

"Art is the most direct road to mutual understanding and friendship," Y. Zavadsky believes.

"The people of all countries have the same ideas of what is beautiful, lofty and inspiring...."

The growth in international cultural relations graphically testifies to the practicability of peaceful creative co-existence on earth. However, art can benefit the cause of peace only "when it is profoundly humane, goes from heart to heart, and makes man *really human*."

In conclusion, on behalf of the art and theatrical workers of our country, urging his colleagues of other countries to be in the front ranks of the peace champions, Y. Zavadsky assured the Soviet people, the Party and the Government of the boundless loyalty of Soviet art workers to the struggle for peace and the happiness of mankind.

I. M. ULYANOV, sailor of the *Memory of S. M. Kirov* floating station in Murmansk, recalled: "we struck up a fast friendship with foreign sailors during the Great Patriotic War.

"One general aim—to achieve victory over the fascists on behalf of peace—cemented this friendship."

At present, when Murmansk is playing such an important part in developing international trade, it is especially joyful to hear how foreign seamen, despite their various points of view and convictions, expressed the fervent desire and readiness to preserve peace and supported the idea of disarmament. I. Ulyanov related how the working

people of Murmansk Region fully supported the decision of the Fourth Session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and the disarmament policy pursued by the Soviet Government.

A captain of the Soviet Army in the past, S. M. SURIKOV, hewer of the 17-17 bis "Rutchenkovugol" colliery in the Donbas, now heads a communist work team composed chiefly of demobbed soldiers. The former soldiers are excellent workers and lead a happy life.

"Come to us to the Donbas. Everybody can find work to his liking there," S. Surikov invited those who are returning to peaceful labour after the historic decision of the Fourth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on the new reduction in the armed forces. The members of Surikov's "soldier" team asked him to convey to the Central Committee of the Party and to dear N. S. Khrushchov that they would respond to this new peaceable measure of our government by multiplying their efforts for the good of the country.

Professor O. D. SOKOLOVA-PONOMARYOVA, member of the Academy of Medical Sciences and a specialist in children's diseases, referred to the great concern displayed by the Party and the Government for the health of Soviet citizens and children in particular.

At the same time she expressed anxiety that all the efforts to protect the health of people made by medicine in the course of centuries would be defeated by continued atomic weapon tests. The accumulation of radioactive strontium found in the bones of small children has doubled in the last three years.

Sokolova-Ponomaryova urged the children's doctors of the entire world to fight passionately for disarmament and for ending atomic tests.

P. K. KOLESNIKOV, planer of the Rostov Agricultural Machinery Rostselmash plant, participant in the Patriotic War and member of the Regional Peace Committee, told about the peaceful endeavours of the working people of

Rostov Region. "The awareness that labour serves the further consolidation of peace seems to imbue us with new strength and energy and makes us want to work better and better," he said.

Professor A. A. KURBANOV, pro-rector of the Turkmen State University and Corresponding Member of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the Russian Federation, spoke on the importance of peace for formerly backward peoples.

After the Revolution Turkmenistan was transformed from a backward outskirts of tsarist Russia into a blossoming area. Today there are native scientists, composers, writers and people's artistes in the republic that had only a primer in the Turkmen language before the Revolution.

A. Kurbanov conveyed the Turkmen people's fervent gratitude to the Central Committee of the Party headed by N. S. Khrushchov, tireless fighter for peace, for the wise peaceable policy that has won the enthusiastic support of all the peoples of the world.

S. N. ATAMANOV, demobilized officer of the Soviet Army, joiner of the "Saratov Chemistry Heavy Industry" trust spoke on the thoughts and ideas agitating his fellow-townsmen.

"We don't think about war because we live well," S. Atamanov noted. "After the army I went to a construction site and I am quite satisfied with peaceful labour. My family have everything they need for a good life and interesting recreation." This is why the working people of Saratov Region warmly support the activities of the Soviet Government and of N. S. Khrushchov personally, aimed at solving international problems of which disarmament is Problem No. 1.

Dr. Z. P. KHOJAYEV, Director of the Stalinabad Medical Institute of Tajikistan, recalled words by Karl Marx to the effect that people, like the good fathers of families, should leave the earth improved for the next generations.

For this it was necessary to solve the disarmament problem as the arms drive prevented people from doing socially useful work, froze huge funds and created the threat of war.

The Tajik people who had been practically on the verge of extinction prior to the Revolution and who have made fantastic progress from century-old ignorance to the summits of knowledge, also yearn for peace. Tajikistan has caught up with Britain for the number of doctors per 10,000 of the population and has far outstripped Turkey, Iraq and Pakistan.

"Long live world peace! Long live our great Soviet Union, the cradle of peace!" Z. Khojayev proclaimed in conclusion.

"We builders are working for peace. What's the sense of our exerting so much effort and then have everything go to ruin?" asked *I. P. SOPLINOV*, leader of a combined painters' team engaged in building the Siberian Academy of Sciences. His father was killed in the war against the Nazis. His daughter will start attending school this year.

"I want to build for many years to come, and I want all the houses to stand for centuries. May there be everlasting peace on earth!" Soplinov exclaimed.

KUDAIKUL ABDRAIMOV, chairman of the Engels collective farm, Bazar-Kurgen District, Kirghiz Republic, on behalf of the farm workers of Kirghizia, conveyed sincere gratitude to the Party, the Government and to N. S. Khrushchov, the outstanding peace champion, for the bold peaceable act—the substantial reduction in the Soviet armed forces.

The collective farmers understand that this decision denotes more machinery and new young workers on the fields, and this, in turn, means greater success in fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan.

"Kirghiz collective farmers would like to believe that other countries will follow the lofty example set by our homeland," K. Abdraimov said.

The Kaliningrad fishing boats sail many seas and oceans. And everywhere, dockers and ordinary people come out for peace and against war, said V. P. PRILYUD-KO, chief captain of the Fleet of the Experimental Catch Department of the Baltic Fishing Trust.

The working people of Kaliningrad Region warmly approve the Soviet Government's business-like approach to the disarmament question and the fishermen are expecting new forces to replenish their ranks.

TEOFILIS J. TILVYTIS, People's Poet of the Lithuanian Republic, Chairman of the Lithuanian Peace Committee, said that Lithuania had been a blood-stained road to the East for many centuries.

This is why the Lithuanians detest war. The results of man's creative labour should not be used to destroy man himself.

"Man must always pay the dearest price for what he values most," Tilvytis observed. "Peace will not come of its own accord. We must fight for it wisely, persistently and untiringly."

N. I. BYKOV, machine-operator of the first overall team of the "Kuban" collective farm, Novo-Titarovskaya District, Krasnodar Territory, said that, like all Soviet people, he was very happy that hundreds of thousands of soldiers would return to their families and peaceful labour. He promised to teach anyone who may work on his team the trade of machine-operator.

"But we also have the right to expect and demand of other governments that they follow the noble example set by the U.S.S.R. in disarmament," Bykov said. He urged the ordinary people of the West to impel their governments to embark on the road of peace and disarmament.

Archbishop **GUSTAV TURS**, Doctor of Theology, member of the Soviet Peace Committee, said that the Evangelist Lutheran Church of Latvia would participate in the sacred struggle for peace together with everyone. Gustav

Turs observed that the Church supported the idea of peace through prayers, sermons, radio broadcasts and press articles. Participation in a number of foreign conferences of Christians, reciprocal trips of Church leaders to various countries facilitated the consolidation of East-West relations.

Hailing the Soviet Government's historic proposal on all-round and complete disarmament on behalf of all the believers of Latvia, Gustav Turs recalled the prophetic words of the Bible, "and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up swords against nation."

R. I. ABAKUMOVA, senior nurse of the Orel regional tubercular dispensary, spoke about the heroic resistance of the Brest fortress and the courage of its defenders. On behalf of the working people of Orel Region she hailed the wise decision of the Party and the Government on the new substantial reduction in the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. and appealed to all the working people to struggle more persistently for general and complete disarmament.

V. TELLING, Chairman of the Estonian Peace Committee, gave a detailed account of the work of the Estonian peace supporters. An important part of their work is the establishment of contacts with foreign visitors. Familiarizing themselves with the life of Soviet people has convinced them of the sincerity of our striving for peace and has drawn them into the ranks of active peace champions.

V. Telling invited all foreign friends to attend the traditional Song Day to be held this July and which coincides with the celebration of Soviet Estonia's 20th anniversary.

In conclusion Telling described the danger threatening the Baltic states in the event of an atomic war and urged all the Baltic peoples to agree on concrete measures for transforming the Baltic Sea into a peace zone.

M. I. ABDRAKHMANOV, professor of philosophy and representative of Tataria, veteran and invalid of the Pa-

triotic War, expressed confidence that war would soon be banned from public life as exploitation, national strife, etc., have been banned from the life of our country.

This faith is based on the ever expanding peace movement and the support which the great and daring initiative of our country finds in the hearts of ordinary people of the globe.

EZHI-DORZHI SHARAPOV, Chairman of the Buddhist Religious Board of the U.S.S.R., assured the Conference that the Soviet Government's proposal on general and complete disarmament corresponded to the aspirations of the peoples of all Buddhist countries of the East.

During his travels in a number of Asian countries, Sharapov became convinced that the population of these countries regarded our country with immense sympathy and esteem as the most peaceable power.

Sharapov called upon all Buddhist fellow-believers to support the Soviet Government's proposal on general and complete disarmament.

The Moscow economist *Y. S. SKURATOVSKY* noted that wars not only took a heavy toll of lives but also gave rise to starvation, disease and poverty.

Instead of improving the people's living standards and raising their educational and cultural level, material resources and money are squandered on armaments, militarization of economy, and mass destruction of society's productive forces.

When more than half of the children in underdeveloped countries are dying of starvation and disease before reaching the age of 15, certain madcaps suggest that a "great hole" be dug for conducting atomic tests.

"Disarmament is the road to amelioration in economics, improved well-being, and the liquidation of the needs and poverty of all underdeveloped countries," *Y. Skuratovsky* declared.

**APPEAL
AND RESOLUTIONS**

A P P E A L
OF THE SOVIET PUBLIC CONFERENCE
FOR DISARMAMENT TO ALL PEACE FORCES
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Acting upon the will of the Soviet people, the Soviet Public Conference for Disarmament addresses the following Appeal to all peace forces throughout the world:

The question of general and complete disarmament confronts mankind with utmost urgency, because the continued nuclear armaments race is the road to war, which would be disastrous to all mankind. Disarmament is no longer a daydream, but the only sane way out of the existing dangerous situation. That is the reason why the clear and realistic proposal on general, complete and controlled disarmament submitted by N. S. Khrushchov on behalf of the Soviet Union to the U. N. General Assembly met with the support of world public opinion. The decision of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to reduce the Soviet armed forces by another 1,200,000 men is a practical measure that can appreciably facilitate agreement on general and complete disarmament. The Soviet public calls on the Western Powers to follow this example.

Disarmament negotiations are to begin very soon. However, there are still many obstacles to agreement. The conceptions and customs of the cold war are still alive in many minds. Some groups in the world still urge that the armaments race be continued. There are still political and military leaders who do not wish to abandon the state of an armed peace. However, with modern weapons what they are, an armed peace is a terrible menace to all mankind, for any accident may lead to irremediable disaster.

Speedy and just solution of the disarmament problem demands that all forces of peace, all men of goodwill, find a common language and join hands for united action.

We wholeheartedly support the appeal of the World Peace Council to concentrate all efforts on achieving general and complete disarmament.

We welcome the fact that mutual understanding was achieved at the East-West disarmament conference in London attended by representatives from sixteen countries and that the conference unanimously approved the idea of general and complete disarmament.

We note with deep satisfaction that the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and other peace organizations are highly active in the United States.

We welcome the noble efforts of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Britain.

We support the appeal of the Committee of Indian Parliamentarians for Peace and welcome the fruitful work of the Japan Council Against A- and H- Bombs.

We highly appreciate the efforts of the various political, pacifist, religious and other organizations and movements in all countries working to end the threat of war for all time.

On behalf of all Soviet people, with a full sense of our responsibility, we say to all peace forces, all friends of peace throughout the world:

Let us join efforts!

Let us contribute to the success of the forthcoming negotiations on general, complete and controlled disarmament!

Let us put aside all that may divide us!

Let us rally to the simple and humane call: Down with arms! Long live peace!

SOVIET PUBLIC CONFERENCE
FOR DISARMAMENT

R E S O L U T I O N
OF THE SOVIET PUBLIC CONFERENCE
FOR DISARMAMENT ON THE CESSATION
OF NUCLEAR TESTS

We, participants in the Soviet Public Conference for Disarmament, have discussed a problem that troubles all mankind today—that of reaching agreement on ending nuclear weapons tests.

The people of the Soviet Union, like all friends of peace throughout the world, note with a sense of satisfaction that the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and Great Britain have refrained from making nuclear explosions for quite some time. The whole world knows of the Soviet Government's statement that it will not resume nuclear tests unless the Western Powers do so first.

However, all men of good-will are alarmed by the fact that the nuclear powers have not to this day concluded an agreement prohibiting all tests of nuclear weapons for all time. Lately their alarm has been heightened by statements in the United States indicating that there is a danger of nuclear tests being resumed.

Public opinion in the Soviet Union shares the righteous indignation of world public opinion at the atomic weapon test carried out in the Sahara by the French Government in spite of the appeal made by the U. N. General Assembly. This act of the French Government cannot but complicate the three-power negotiations that have been proceeding in Geneva since 1958 on a nuclear test ban

agreement. It plays into the hands of all opponents of disarmament, into the hands of all supporters of the atomic arms race.

Agreement has been reached between the Powers on many important questions, and the road to the conclusion of such an agreement has in substance been cleared. The obstacle to agreement is the reluctance of the United States to prohibit underground tests of nuclear weapons on the pretext that not all underground nuclear explosions can be detected, although it is well known that the Geneva Conference of Experts in 1958 recommended sufficiently effective methods of control over all underground nuclear explosions.

Soviet public opinion like public opinion in other countries, cannot recognize that argument as sufficient ground for refusal to sign an agreement on ending all tests of nuclear weapons. When an agreement is signed, it will place upon its signatories a great responsibility for its strictest observance.

After an agreement on ending nuclear weapons tests is concluded and a system of control is instituted, no government is likely to effect an underground explosion secretly and thereby risk exposure and disgrace in the eyes of all nations. Technical experts at a number of conferences have established that it is fully possible to detect various explosions, and have determined the basic structure of an appropriate system of control. Modern science offers extensive possibilities of resolving any technical details so far unsettled.

The only right thing to do in the present circumstances is to conclude the earliest possible international agreement on ending nuclear tests and to establish a system of control in accordance with the recommendations of the experts. The further rapid development of science and technology and the practical experience accumulated in the operation of that system will subsequently enable the system of control to be perfected.

Soviet public opinion expresses the sincere hope that an agreement to ban nuclear weapons tests everywhere and for all time will be concluded at the Geneva conference. This is expected by peaceful people throughout the world, and by world opinion.

*SOVIET PUBLIC CONFERENCE
FOR DISARMAMENT*

**R E S O L U T I O N
O F T H E S O V I E T P U B L I C C O N F E R E N C E
F O R D I S A R M A M E N T
O N T H E F U R T H E R R E D U C T I O N
O F T H E S O V I E T A R M E D F O R C E S**

The participants in the Soviet Public Conference for Disarmament unanimously and wholeheartedly approve the law on the reduction of the Soviet armed forces by one-third—that most important act of peace adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The workers, collective farmers and the intelligentsia, all sections of Soviet society, highly appreciate this wise and bold step taken on the initiative of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government.

The masses and progressives in all countries welcome this worthy continuation of the other outstanding acts by the Soviet Union facilitating the ending of the cold war and practical implementation of the great programme of general and complete disarmament.

We are convinced that today all countries, all governments, all parliaments should act in the same manner, in order to facilitate agreement on disarmament. Such bold steps designed to lessen the war danger contribute to greater trust between countries, to the easing of international tension, and bring nearer the time when the menace of war will vanish for ever.

We condemn the efforts of those who oppose disarmament and seek to belittle the importance and to distort the substance of the historic law of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on a further considerable reduction of the Soviet armed forces. Only a country which has no plans

of conquest can reduce the strength of its army and navy by 1,200,000 men. And reversely, the reluctance of a government to reduce its army gives rise to the legitimate fear that it still continues to regard war as an instrument of its policy.

There is no task more important than that of consolidating world peace. The road to durable peace lies through general, complete and controlled disarmament. The reduction of armed forces and military expenditures, the dismantling of military bases on foreign territory and the ending of nuclear weapons tests everywhere and for all time—all these measures will facilitate agreement on the complete disarmament of all countries.

Let millions of soldiers return to peaceful labour! Let billions of dollars, pounds, francs and rubles be transferred from military budgets to the budgets of economic development, public education, public health and assistance to underdeveloped countries!

This Conference voices the hope that the Disarmament Committee of Ten will fulfil the U.N. General Assembly resolution on general and complete disarmament and will prepare an international agreement creating conditions for the destruction of all means of waging war.

The honour of performing a mission of tremendous historic importance has fallen to us. May practical measures to make disarmament a reality multiply with each day! May the latest peaceful initiative of the Soviet Union serve as a start for big concrete acts in all countries of the world! May disarmament be general and complete!

SOVIET PUBLIC CONFERENCE
FOR DISARMAMENT

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ЗА РАЗОРУЖЕНИЕ
Москва, 15—16 февраля 1960 г.
СБОРНИК МАТЕРИАЛОВ И ДОКУМЕНТОВ.