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LETTER DATED 14 SEPTEMBER 1961 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE  
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS TO THE UNITED NATIONS

On the instructions of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, I have the honour to request that the attached statements, one by the Soviet Government, dated 31 August 1961, and the other by Mr. N.S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, dated 9 September 1961, should be published as United Nations documents.

(Signed) V. ZORIN  
Permanent Representative of  
the USSR to the United Nations

31 August 1961

STATEMENT BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

Before the eyes of the peoples, the NATO military bloc is adopting an ever more aggressive policy. The United States of America and its allies are giving ever greater impetus to their military machine, stepping up the arms race to unprecedented proportions, increasing the size of their armies and bringing international tension to white heat. Matters have reached the point where the leading statesmen of the United States and its allies are threatening to take up arms and unleash war in reply to the conclusion of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic.

Faced with these facts, which cannot but cause anxiety, the Soviet Government considers it its duty to take all the necessary measures so that the Soviet Union will be fully prepared to render harmless any aggressor who tries to launch an attack. The tragedy of the first months of the Great Patriotic War, when Hitler, after ensuring that he was superior in military equipment, attacked the USSR, is too fresh in people's memories for us to let this happen now. That is why the Soviet Government has already taken a number of important measures to strengthen the security of the USSR. For the same reason, after close and thorough consideration of the question, it has decided to carry out experimental explosions of nuclear weapons.

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

Those who are preparing a new world holocaust are spreading the false idea that if a new war was launched it could be waged without the use of thermo-nuclear weapons. But in this they are deceiving the peoples. History shows that it has never been possible to confine a military conflagration within predetermined limits. Wars have their own cruel and inexorable laws. An aggressor starts a war in order to bring his victim to his knees, to impose his will on him. But even the aggressor realizes that if he is defeated he will suffer the very fate

that he was preparing for his victim. Therefore any State engaged in a war, regardless of whether it is the attacker or the defender, will stop at nothing in order to achieve victory and will not accept defeat until it has used and exhausted all the means of waging war at its disposal. In these circumstances any armed conflict, even if insignificant at first, will inevitably grow into a universal war involving rockets and nuclear weapons once the nuclear Powers are drawn into it.

The Soviet people, who but recently knew war in their own homes and paid for the restoration of peace with incomparable sacrifices, have a special sympathy and understanding for the desire of the peoples to be done with the arms race and to free themselves for ever from wars of destruction. But everything that people went through in past wars pales before the horrors which just a few thermo-nuclear bombs could bring upon them. And yet today the great Powers have in their arsenals not just a dozen or a hundred but thousands of such bombs. Being one of the nuclear Powers, the Soviet Union has accumulated sufficient scientific and technical knowledge about the destructive power of the new types of weapons, about the means of delivering thermo-nuclear charges to the target and about the consequences of using such weapons to realize fully the nature of modern war.

The Soviet Government was the first to speak out in favour of general and complete disarmament and the cessation of nuclear weapons tests. It has more than once submitted concrete proposals to the United Nations which would have made it possible to achieve those ends. From the rostrum of the United Nations, in messages and statements by the Head of the Soviet Government, N.S. Khrushchev, wherever representatives of the socialist camp have met representatives of the Western countries at the conference table, the world has heard a sincere and urgent appeal by the Soviet Union for an agreement to destroy, once and for all and under the strictest international control, all types of armaments, to the last bomb and the last shell, to disband armies to the last soldier, to abolish completely general staffs and war ministries.

It will be no exaggeration to consider that today mankind could be living in peace, without weapons and armies, if only the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and certain other States which are members of Western military blocs had shown that that was what they too desired.

The opponents of disarmament still pretend that the obstacle to an agreement on disarmament is the difference of approach between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers to the question of control. No one denies that to establish international control over disarmament is a very complicated and delicate matter, involving as it does the most vital interests of States, the interests of national security. The control question, indeed, has for years been a stumbling block in the way of a disarmament agreement. This has happened because the Western Powers have used control as an excuse to reject any proposals on disarmament. Even earlier they were never anxious to achieve control over disarmament. This was stated in the clearest possible fashion in the United Nations by the former President of the United States, Mr. D. Eisenhower, who declared unequivocally that the question was not one of control over disarmament, but of control over armaments.

In order to prevent the essential idea, disarmament itself, from being destroyed, the Soviet Government plainly stated that it was ready in future to accept any proposals by the Western Powers on international control. Only one thing was expected from the Western Powers in return, that they would associate themselves with our proposals for general disarmament and introduce their own proposals on general control. But the extraordinary thing is that those who until then had been expressing such concern about international control apparently lost the power of speech when they were offered unlimited opportunities to formulate and put into practice their ideas on an international control system!

How are we to explain the fact that no concrete proposals have yet come from the Western Powers on this matter? The only possible explanation is that they are afraid that the Soviet Union will accept their proposals on control and that the Western Powers will then either have to agree to general and complete disarmament or expose themselves altogether as opponents of disarmament and thus as opponents of control over disarmament.

The most important thing in our time is disarmament, general and complete, and an agreement on disarmament of that kind would also settle the question of nuclear tests. Indeed, once the arms race has come to an end and stockpiles of weapons have been destroyed there will no longer be any incentive to improve weapons nor, consequently, to carry out experimental nuclear explosions. A mere agreement on the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests, on the other hand,

cannot in itself put an end to the arms race. Those States which already possess atomic weapons will inevitably be tempted to get round such an agreement, continually to seek new loopholes and new ways of improving their weapons, to say nothing of the fact that three or four Powers have carried out quite enough tests already to be able to pile up limitless stocks of extremely dangerous thermo-nuclear weapons of existing types.

The States which do not yet possess thermo-nuclear weapons will try in their turn to make them, regardless of any agreement prohibiting atomic tests. Incidentally, in doing so, they may well put forward arguments which those who are in favour of nuclear disarmament will not find it so easy to answer. Indeed, is it realistic to think that a situation can long continue in which some States which have leapt ahead in developing the use of atomic energy for military purposes will continue to manufacture mountains of atomic and hydrogen bombs on the basis of the experiments they have already carried out, while the others will simply fold their arms and watch themselves falling further and further behind the nuclear Powers in military strength and, consequently, in their ability to ensure their own safety.

Experience teaches otherwise.

There was a time when there was a monopoly of atomic weapons in the world and the United States tried to retain it. Taking advantage of the fact that it possessed weapons the like of which no other State had at that time, the United States tested atomic bombs where and when it pleased without any regard for what the peoples thought and said about this. The United States did not even hesitate to test this monstrous weapon on the living - children, women, old people - dropping atomic bombs on the Japanese towns of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, on the territory of an enemy who was in fact already defeated. Brandishing the atomic bomb, those who then determined United States policy tried to impose their will on practically the whole world, seeking to blackmail the socialist countries. This created an extremely dangerous situation. The Soviet people were compelled to mobilize all their material and spiritual resources in order to break the United States atomic monopoly which had become a threat to peace, and to make their own nuclear weapons in the shortest possible time. Soon the circle of nuclear Powers was enlarged still further. It was joined by the United Kingdom.

The peoples realized in time the danger of more and more new countries entering the arms race and responded fervently to the demand that nuclear weapons tests should be stopped. The leading spokesman in voicing this demand was the Soviet Union which for many years consistently and tenaciously strove for a cessation of tests of nuclear weapons of all kinds everywhere and for all time. To that end it unilaterally stopped carrying out nuclear tests, although this action involved a certain risk, since the United States and the United Kingdom had at that time carried out a greater number of nuclear explosions than the Soviet Union. It was as a result of the initiative and efforts of the Soviet Union that the negotiations were begun between the three nuclear Powers in Geneva, during which the Soviet Government patiently sought mutually acceptable solutions, frequently taking major steps to meet the wishes of the United States and the United Kingdom.

But what line did the Governments of the Western Powers oppose to the clear and honest position of the Soviet Government?

They responded to the unilateral cessation of nuclear tests by the Soviet Union by conducting an unprecedentedly intensive series of nuclear explosions. The Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom each time responded to the Soviet Union's repeated attempts to reconcile the positions of the participants in the negotiations by going back on their own proposals which they had defended only the day before. They did everything possible to prevent the reaching of an agreement. In fact they waved away the conclusions and recommendations unanimously adopted by scientific experts, including their own United States and United Kingdom experts, in regard to methods for detecting nuclear explosions and ensuring proper control over the observance of an agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests.

The Governments of the Western Powers persistently demanded and continue to demand that the treaty on the cessation of nuclear tests should not include a prohibition of underground nuclear explosions. Yet it is obvious to every well-informed person that the carrying out of such explosions, even if it is claimed that this is being done for peaceful purposes, is nothing other than an obvious way of perfecting existing nuclear weapons or of devising new types. If a nuclear explosive device can serve, for example, for "moving earth" - and

the Western Powers wish to reserve for themselves the right to carry out such explosions - then the same device can be also used for military purposes. Thus, although the United States and the United Kingdom say that they favour the cessation of nuclear tests, in actual fact they are concerned with something quite different - with providing loop-holes in the treaty permitting them to perfect further their thermo-nuclear weapons through underground explosions or explosions for so-called peaceful purposes.

The Soviet Government has proposed that an agreement be reached giving the socialist States, the capitalist States belonging to military blocs and the neutral States equal representation in the international control organ and the same possibilities of control. In contrast to this, the Western Powers advanced proposals which, if carried into effect, would give them an advantage over the Soviet Union in that it would give them complete command over the control organ and enable them to cover the territory of the Soviet Union with a network of espionage centres in the guise of control posts and groups.

The entire course of the negotiations at Geneva proves that the Western Powers count on virtually legalizing those types of nuclear tests which they are interested in conducting and setting up an international control organ which would be an obedient tool in their hands and would in fact be an appendage to their Military Staffs. The hypocritical statements by the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom on the subject of the cessation of tests and of international control turn out on closer inspection to be nothing other than camouflage. In order to get the negotiations out of this impasse, the Soviet Government proposed that the solution of the question of the cessation of nuclear weapons tests should be linked to the problem of general and complete disarmament. This important proposal was advanced in an aide-memoire introduced at the Vienna meeting between Mr. N.S. Khrushchev, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Mr. J. Kennedy, the President of the United States. This initiative by the Soviet Government opened up additional possibilities for reaching mutually acceptable solutions for the whole range of disarmament questions and, what is especially important, it removed the obstacles to the establishment of the widest and most comprehensive international control possible, including control over the cessation of nuclear tests.

How did the Western Powers react to this latest attempt by the Soviet Union to facilitate mutual understanding? Instead of giving serious consideration to

the Soviet proposals, the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom chose to engage in a distortion of their contents and idle fabrications about the intentions of the Soviet Union. At the same time responsible representatives of the United States began to hint broadly that the United States would resume testing nuclear weapons in the very near future.

The Soviet Government considers it its duty to draw the special attention of the peoples of the world to the fact that at the present time the United States is nursing projects for the development of a neutron bomb - a bomb which would kill everything living without destroying property. Only aggressors dreaming of plunder and of seizing the territory and the goods of others, can mobilize the efforts of their scientists for the development of such a weapon. In annihilating human beings, they wish to reap the fruits of their victims' labours and inherit their victims' wealth. These are the morals of monsters. The plans for the development of a neutron bomb reveal all the essential inhumanity of modern imperialism, which is no longer content with merciless exploitation of people's work, but is ready, for the sake of profits, to stoop to crimes so monstrous as to eclipse all memory of the gas chambers and murder devices of Hitler's butchers.

It is no secret that the United States is on the verge of conducting underground nuclear tests and is only waiting for the first likely pretext to begin them. It must be clear to everyone that since the United States Government intends to resume nuclear weapons tests it is only a question of time before it does so.

Nor can the USSR Government overlook the fact that France, a NATO ally of the United States, has been conducting nuclear tests for a considerable time. While the Soviet Union was refraining from nuclear tests and attempting at the conference table to reach agreement with the United States and the United Kingdom on their cessation everywhere, France was exploding one nuclear device after another. It continues to do so despite the United Nations appeal to all States to refrain from such tests, despite the protests of broad sectors of the population in all countries of the world, and despite the warning of the Soviet Union that it will be forced to resume testing unless France discontinues its nuclear weapons tests.

If the Soviet Union had not drawn the proper conclusions from France's testing of nuclear weapons, it and its allies would be placed at a disadvantage in relation to the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the other members of their military bloc. Let those people in the United States and the United Kingdom who may be disconcerted by the Soviet nuclear weapons tests just imagine that it was not their ally, France, but an ally of the USSR, Czechoslovakia for example, which was carrying out tests of thermo-nuclear weapons at a time when all the other Powers were refraining from so doing!

How would the United States, the United Kingdom and the other NATO countries react in such a case? Would they reconcile themselves to a situation which was clearly prejudicial to their security interests? Yet it is not Czechoslovakia or any other socialist country which is carrying out nuclear tests, but France, a member of NATO. So how can the Soviet Union be asked not to take counter measures to safeguard its security? No Government which really cared for the vital interests of its people and for its country's ability to defend itself could do otherwise.

While the yield of the French explosions in the Sahara may still be comparatively small, their political repercussions are many times more dangerous. The blast from the French nuclear tests has struck at the hopes of people in the most remote corners of the globe, arousing universal anger and indignation. It even reached Geneva, where it swept from the conference table the proposals aimed at putting an end once and for all to nuclear weapons tests. Many people rightly link the continuation of nuclear weapons tests and the French Government's active role in the NATO aggressive military bloc with the shameful colonial war in Algeria and the attack on Bizerta in Tunisia.

It is legitimate to ask, where were the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom when France was exploding nuclear devices on the African continent, throwing down a challenge to the United Nations and the peoples of the whole world? Instead of influencing their partner in their military bloc and restraining it from carrying out nuclear explosions, they actually encouraged the French Government. This is shown quite conclusively by the simple fact that the United States and the United Kingdom refused to support the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly calling on States not to carry out nuclear tests.

But the Soviet Government would not be telling the whole truth if it passed over the fact that not only the States belonging to the Western military blocs, but also many other countries, which voted for that resolution, have in practice accepted the fact that the French Government acted counter to the will of the United Nations, counter to the will of the peoples. The Soviet Government, of course, knows that those States include many which are sincerely in favour of stopping nuclear tests. But if the nuclear arms race is now being stepped up again, the Governments of those States should recognize openly and honestly that they themselves bear a certain measure of responsibility for this situation, since they failed at the proper time to rebuff those French circles which are driving the world towards the continuation of nuclear tests.

The harmful effects of thermo-nuclear weapons tests on living organisms are well known in the Soviet Union and all possible measures are therefore taken to keep such effects to a minimum. Any experiments with nuclear weapons alarm people and cause them mental suffering. If the Soviet Government nevertheless decided to carry out nuclear tests, it did not do so lightly. It was forced to do this, with reluctance and regret, and only as a result of the most careful and thorough study of the matter. The Soviet Government has been obliged to take this step, whose significance it fully appreciates, under the pressure of the international situation created by the imperialist countries. The policy of the leading NATO Powers - the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Federal Republic of Germany - and of that aggressive bloc as a whole, leaves the Soviet Union no other choice.

The Soviet people and the Soviet Government cannot disregard the fact that, as happened twenty years ago, the ominous clouds of war are once again piling up over the approaches to the borders of our motherland, and that West Germany and the present allies of the German militarists are shaken by the fever of war preparations. Not only the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France, but also those of a number of European countries whose people suffered much from Hitlerite invasion are now themselves helping the German revanchists to equip themselves for new military ventures. The Governments of the smaller NATO States - Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Greece and other members of

this military bloc - also bear their share of the responsibility for the policy of rearming West Germany. They will not be able to hide behind their senior partners in NATO, but will have to answer themselves for all the grievous consequences of this short-sighted and dangerous policy.

Adenauer and the forces behind him are aiming to turn West Germany into a militarist State, armed to the teeth. The main purpose of this State's foreign policy is to get revenge and bring about a revision of the frontiers established in Europe as a result of the Second World War. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is now trying to make up what was lost in the first years after the unconditional capitulation of Hitlerite Germany, when the United States, the United Kingdom and France had not yet completely broken the allied agreements providing for the demilitarization of Germany.

Sixteen years have passed since the war, quite long enough to judge whether the people of West Germany have learnt the proper lessons, as is the case in the German Democratic Republic, from the militarist past, from the catastrophic defeats in the two World Wars unleashed by Germany. Unfortunately, there is too much evidence that those of the German people who live in West Germany are once more addicted to the drug of revanchism and are allowing latter-day fñhrers to carry them away down the path of war. How else can we explain the fact that every time there is an election to the Bundestag, the people of the Federal Republic of Germany obediently give their votes to Chancellor Adenauer and those politicians who are persistently driving the Germans to new acts of aggression? The Germans voting for Adenauer must surely know that Adenauer and the supporters of his policy in West Germany have armed themselves with the very same slogans of anti-communism and revanchism under which Hitler came to power and then launched the Second World War.

Every nation, of course, is free to place at the helm of the State whatever politicians it chooses. But no one can deprive the peoples of other countries, who more than once already have seen the seeds of militarism and aggression ripen inside Germany, of their right to raise a warning voice against a repetition of the tragic events of the past, a voice which must be heard by every German.

Bitter though the realization of that fact may be, it is not only the West Germans but also the peoples of certain other countries belonging to the Western military blocs that have failed to rise to the demands of the present day and are not making a sufficiently active effort to halt the preparations for another war. This conclusion is inevitably suggested by the very fact that, when elections are held, they, too, vote for the candidates and parties which form Governments dedicated to the policy of amassing arms. Declining to take part in efforts to end the cold war and safeguard peace, they are unable to muster the courage to deny their confidence and support to Governments which have shown by their every action that they are opposed to general and complete disarmament and are in favour of pursuing the arms race and fanning war hysteria. Only one conclusion can be drawn from the fact that these peoples are not doing everything in their power to curb the Governments which are driving the world towards the catastrophe of war, and that they are not joining efforts with other peoples in affirming their desire for disarmament and for the complete banishment of war from human affairs: the peoples of these countries have not yet awakened and are not yet aware of the full weight of responsibility for safeguarding peace that rests upon them.

As the danger that West Germany will precipitate a military conflict becomes more apparent, the need to conclude a German peace treaty which would protect the peoples against new encroachments by the German militarists becomes ever more urgent and pressing. The conclusion of such a treaty is, of course, precisely what the Soviet Union is seeking. However, the Soviet Union's avowed determination to conclude a German peace treaty and thus write "finis" to the Second World War has evoked, in response, threats to unleash a third world war.

The dispatch of additional United States and United Kingdom troops and weapons to West Berlin constitutes a new show of force in reply to the Soviet proposal for the conclusion of a German peace treaty. This move is of no particular value in strengthening the Western Powers' garrisons in West Berlin and was obviously made for purposes of provocation and for those purposes only - a fact of which those who decided to send this contingent to West Berlin are better aware than anyone else.

The Soviet Government would fail in its sacred duty to the peoples of the Soviet Union, the peoples of the socialist countries and all peoples striving for a peaceful life if, in the face of the threats and military preparations being made by the United States and certain other NATO countries, it did not do everything in its power to perfect the most effective types of weapons so as to cool off the hotheads in the capitals of certain NATO Powers.

Plans have been developed in the Soviet Union for the production of a series of high-power nuclear bombs, equivalent to 20, 30, 50 and 100 million tons of TNT, while powerful rockets, like those which enabled Major Y.A. Gagarin and Major G.S. Titov to make their unprecedented flights around the earth in outer space, are capable of carrying these nuclear bombs and delivering them to any point on the globe from which an attack might be made on the Soviet Union or any other socialist country. It would be unpardonably irresponsible on our part not to draw the appropriate conclusions from the situation which has arisen as a result of the aggressive policy pursued by the NATO military bloc and not to take steps to strengthen the security and might of the Soviet State, of the great socialist camp and of all peace-loving countries.

The Soviet Government addresses this statement not only to the friends of the Soviet people, who have a correct understanding of the Soviet Union's peace-loving policy, but also to those people in foreign countries who might be inclined to pass harsh judgement on the testing of new types of thermo-nuclear weapons by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government is taking this step in the firm belief that the peoples will recognize that it is compelled to do so and that its action is inevitable in the existing circumstances. If the aggressor is to be discouraged from the criminal practice of playing with fire, he must know and see that there is a force in the world that is prepared and equipped to resist any attack on the independence and security of peace-loving States and that the weapon of retribution will overtake him in his own lair.

The Soviet Government is mentioning all this not merely in order to make completely clear the motives which have prompted it to carry out nuclear tests at the present time. It is drawing attention to these facts above all so that the peoples of the entire world will know the source of the danger, so that their eyes will be opened to the machinations of the enemies of peace and so that they will

be able to join forces in combating this peril. Let all those who cherish peace know that they can confidently rely on the Soviet Union and on the colossal efforts it is making to bring to their senses those who are creating war hysteria and to halt the accelerating race towards another war.

Guided at all times as it is by the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union threatens no one and it certainly has no intention of attacking anyone. The Soviet Government solemnly states that the armed forces of the USSR will never be the first to resort to the use of arms.

The Soviet people would be happy if the arms race could be halted and if the need to carry out nuclear weapons tests vanished for ever and the peoples were relieved for all time of the heavy burden they have had to bear since war first became the ominous companion of mankind.

If every people, whether it is the people of a large country or a small one, an industrially advanced country or one just beginning to develop its economy, a country belonging to one of the military blocs or one adhering to a neutralist policy, will loudly raise its voice to demand that the military machines of the various States should at last be smashed and mankind delivered from the peril of a destructive nuclear war, then that goal will be achieved. Giving expression to the vital interests of the Soviet people and, it is convinced, to the interests of all sincere champions of disarmament and peace, the Soviet Government appeals to the peoples and Governments of all countries to increase tenfold their efforts to ensure that the idea of general and complete disarmament is given practical application and that nuclear weapons never again threaten the lives of human beings. It reaffirms the willingness of the Soviet Union to sign at any time an agreement on general and complete disarmament, which would also put an end to the testing of thermo-nuclear weapons.

The entire policy of the Soviet Government is directed towards ensuring that relations between States are based on peaceful coexistence and towards enabling the peoples of the world freely to develop their trade, to find mutual enrichment in each other's spiritual attainments and to compete, not in producing instruments of destruction, but in producing those material goods which mankind so urgently needs.

The draft of the new Programme for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which defines the practical tasks that the Soviet people has set itself for the next twenty years, is imbued with these lofty aspirations.

The Soviet Government is confident that the efforts of the Soviet people in the struggle to strengthen international security will not go for naught but will merge with the efforts of all other peoples to secure lasting, indestructible peace on earth and the triumph of the ideas of peace and progress.

The cause of peace and friendship among peoples will prevail, and the designs of the aggressive forces will be thwarted.

STATEMENT OF 9 SEPTEMBER 1961 BY MR. N.S. KHRUSHCHEV,  
CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR

The Soviet Government has examined the joint declaration of 3 September 1961 by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom concerning nuclear weapons tests. What is one to make of this declaration? Particularly striking is the fact that the leading statesmen of the United States and the United Kingdom have not said a single word about the gravity of the present moment and the tense international situation, although it must surely be apparent to them that the state of affairs with regard to nuclear tests cannot be considered in isolation from the present international situation. Inasmuch as the United States and the United Kingdom Governments direct matters in the Western military blocs, it is precisely from those Governments that the peoples of the world have the right to expect a clear, direct answer about when they intend to halt their sabre-rattling at last and to stop pushing the world towards the catastrophe of nuclear war.

Disregarding all this, Mr. Kennedy and Mr. MacMillan not only divorce the question of nuclear weapons tests from the problem of disarmament, of which it is a part, but also attempt to consider it in complete isolation, in a test tube as it were, without reference to the important events taking place on the international scene. Every line of the declaration by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom bespeaks a desire to secure at all costs unfair military advantages for the Western Powers and their allies in aggressive military blocs at the expense of the security interests of the Soviet Union and the other socialist States. At the same time, the leaders of the United States and the United Kingdom attempt to give the impression that, in issuing their joint declaration, they are concerned with reducing international tension and safeguarding the interests of all mankind. Yet, however many flowery phrases they may have mustered in an effort to excuse the course they are pursuing with regard to nuclear weapons, their eloquence will not suffice to make an aggressive policy look like a peace-loving one or to make barbarism look like humanitarianism.

So that it will be clear what the aims of this declaration are, let us see precisely what it says.

It is proposed in the declaration that the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom should at once come to an agreement not to conduct nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere; such an agreement would not, however, deal with the question of nuclear test explosions underground or in outer space.

It is not very difficult to grasp the essential meaning of this proposal. It is suggested to us that the United States and the United Kingdom, not to mention France, which is not affected by the proposal, should have the right to go on perfecting nuclear weapons. But that is not all. An attempt is made to see whether the Soviet Union's hands cannot be tied even more securely to prevent it from increasing its defensive capacity. In other words, the United States and United Kingdom would like to kill two rabbits with one propaganda shot: to obtain the sanction of the Soviet Union for their military preparations in the field of nuclear armaments and, at the same time, to trip up their negotiating partner, the Soviet Union.

Indeed, it is common knowledge that the present United States programme for the development of new types of nuclear weapons is based precisely on underground testing, i.e. on the kind of testing for which the United States-United Kingdom proposal would give the green light. For a number of years, at the Geneva negotiations of the three nuclear Powers, the United States has been seeking to legalize underground nuclear tests, and that was one of the main obstacles to the conclusion of a treaty on the complete cessation of nuclear tests. It is, after all, no secret that the United States has long been planning underground nuclear tests and that the necessary mines and huge underground tunnels are in readiness in the state of Nevada.

If any further proof were needed to show that the purposes of the joint declaration by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom were transparently obvious, that proof was given by Mr. Kennedy himself when he ordered the resumption of nuclear weapons tests underground on 5 September, i.e., the day after his appeal to the Soviet Union. The United States Government was so impatient that apparently it did not occur to it to await the Soviet Government's reply to the United States-United Kingdom declaration, even for the sake of propriety. Is it not obvious that from the first it had

no intention of concurring its actions with the forthcoming reply of the Soviet Government to that declaration?

This is not the first time that the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom have tried to reduce the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests to the prohibition of such tests in the atmosphere. For instance, they made a proposal similar to the present one in 1959. Why did the Soviet Government oppose such an approach to the question of the cessation of nuclear weapons tests, and why does it still do so? It is because it would be a disservice to the cause of peace to reach agreement on the cessation of only one type of tests, i.e. in the atmosphere. It would be deceiving the peoples. Such an agreement might well foster among the nations the harmful and dangerous illusion that steps were being taken to put an end to the arms race, whereas in reality nothing of the kind would have been done. In actual fact the States would be continuing, legitimately, as it were, to develop existing models of atomic and hydrogen weapons, using for that purpose underground tests - including tests for so-called peaceful purposes and tests in outer space. Moreover, there would still remain the possibility of designing new and still more destructive nuclear weapons on the basis of the data obtained as a result of those tests. Of course, the military circles of the NATO Powers would rub their hands in satisfaction, since they are well aware that the implementation of such a plan would be grist to the mill of that potential aggressor, the NATO bloc.

The nuclear arms race would then continue and the likelihood of dangerous consequences would be no whit less great than it is now. The conclusion of an agreement making it possible to carry out nuclear tests underground, or, if desired, in outer space or under water, could justifiably be regarded by the peoples as a dishonest transaction. Of course the Soviet Government cannot and will not enter into such a transaction. A deal of this kind is made by those who base their policy on deceiving the peoples and playing at negotiations.

The Soviet Union advocates the cessation of all kinds of nuclear weapons tests without any exceptions, everywhere and for all time. It was as a result of its efforts that the negotiations between the representatives of the USSR, the United States and the United Kingdom on the cessation of nuclear tests

began three years ago. The Soviet Government entered into those negotiations in the hope that the Western Powers were also ready to reach agreement on the cessation of the tests. During the course of the negotiations the Soviet Union made a number of concessions to the position of the United States and the United Kingdom; and yet with every meeting (and there have already been more than 300), the hope of success receded, as a mirage in the desert disappears as one approaches it. However bitter it may be to acknowledge it, if we consider the matter realistically we have to come to the conclusion that the Geneva negotiations are as far from achieving the desired results today as they were three years ago.

We must also bear in mind that, while the United States and the United Kingdom were procrastinating in the Geneva negotiations, France, their partner in military blocs, became an atomic Power. The French Government carried out a number of nuclear explosions and let it be clearly understood that it would not regard itself as bound by any obligations in connexion with the cessation of nuclear weapons tests. The Soviet Government has repeatedly pointed out that the French nuclear tests made it difficult to continue the Geneva negotiations. The Soviet Union gave warning that it would be forced to resume testing if France did not cease its test explosions. However, it has become clear that we are faced with a division of functions among the NATO allies: the United States and the United Kingdom carry on negotiations with the USSR on the cessation of tests, thereby delaying the improvement of Soviet nuclear weapons, while France explodes one nuclear device after another. If some were credulous enough to believe the assurances that France was carrying out nuclear tests on its own and was not acting in collusion with the United States in the interests of the whole NATO military bloc, the agreement between the United States and France concerning co-operation in the use of atomic energy for military purposes, which has just been approved by the President of the United States, has dispelled all possible illusions on that point. It is clear that the results of nuclear tests conducted by any NATO Power are pooled by the NATO imperialists.

Mr. Kennedy's and Mr. MacMillan's declaration still mentions only three nuclear Powers - the USSR, the United States and the United Kingdom. But what about France? The authors of the declaration assume that France will continue as before with its nuclear tests. Is it not asking too much of the Soviet Union to expect it to accept such an intolerable situation?

The position has become more serious because in recent months the NATO Powers have sharply reoriented their policy and are preparing for a military conflict.

We might start by pointing out that in the spring of this year the United States Government requested a drastic increase in the military appropriations. The defence budget of the United States is now more than \$50,000 million. No State had ever before expended such huge sums for military purposes in peace time. Following that came the increase in the United States armed forces, the call-up of 250,000 reservists to active service, the reinforcement of the United States garrison in West Berlin, and the decisions of the United States Government to speed up the production schedule of new types of submarines and rockets and even to bring back into use obsolete United States ships and aircraft. There have been many such facts, too many to enumerate.

Military preparations are being made not only by the United States but also by its allies in military blocs, and primarily by West Germany, whose leaders, obsessed by ideas of militarism and revenge, are perhaps the busiest of all in trying to set the great Powers against each other over the conclusion of a German peace treaty and strike a spark which may set off a third world war.

But our greatest concern is caused by the attitude of the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Federal Republic of Germany towards the proposal to conclude a German peace treaty at last. In response to an invitation to sit down at the same table and, in an atmosphere of calm, to come to a business-like decision on a peaceful settlement with Germany and on that basis to bring the situation in West Berlin back to normal, the Governments of the Western Powers have embarked upon an avalanche of military measures. Blatant threats against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries are being heard more and more frequently.

All this has forced the Soviet Union, as the USSR Government has already stated, to concern itself with further strengthening its defence capacity. In the face of the feverish war preparations of the NATO Powers directed against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, we had no choice other than to take those measures which are dictated by the need of resisting these threats and of being fully armed and ready to meet aggression. This need arose against our will; it was not created by us, but by the policy of sabre-rattling and incitement to war which has been espoused by the leading NATO Powers, particularly in connexion with the question of concluding a German peace treaty. The Soviet Union has proceeded to resume nuclear weapons tests, since it would be verging on irresponsibility in these circumstances not to reckon with the possibility of an aggression being launched against it.

In taking the decision to resume tests, the Soviet Government realized, of course, that some people may at first be unable to evaluate the full complexity of the international situation and will show some lack of understanding of this step taken by the Soviet Union. We were well aware that certain people in the West would not fail to try to make propoganda capital of it. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union could not act otherwise. Having weighed all the pros and cons, the USSR Government, with anguish and with a heavy heart, was forced to resume the tests.

We feel certain that the overwhelming majority of mankind understands correctly the measures taken by the Soviet Government. A strengthening of the defensive might of the Soviet Union is at the same time a strengthening of the forces of peace throughout the world. The aggressor must know that there exists a reliable force capable of protecting the peaceful labour and the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The joint United States-United Kingdom declaration raises the question of the increasing danger of pollution of the atmosphere by radio-active materials. Unquestionably, this is an undesirable phenomenon. The Soviet Union is taking all possible measures to reduce to the minimum any harmful effects of the tests on living organisms.

It is, however, legitimate to ask why neither the United States Government nor the Government of the United Kingdom was concerned about the pollution of the

atmosphere when, over a period of years, the crash of explosions of atomic and hydrogen bombs carried out far from the populated centres of these States - on Bikini, Eniwetok and Christmas Island - rang out unceasingly and vast quantities of radio-active fallout polluted not only the earth's atmosphere but the waters of the Pacific Ocean, and, through the harvest of the sea, penetrated into the blood and bones of wholly innocent people.

Why did the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom fail to say one word to censure the actions of the French Government, which has been polluting the earth's atmosphere for nearly two years by carrying out test explosions in the Sahara?

Thus, a closer look at the concern expressed in the United States-United Kingdom declaration over the pollution of the earth's atmosphere shows that it is insincere and intended for show. Would it not be more honest to tell the peoples what actually awaits them if events continue in the direction in which they have been developing in recent months as a result of the increasingly aggressive policy of the NATO Powers? The situation has taken such a turn that, if the Western Powers do not change their policy in time, humanity may be caught up in the holocaust of a nuclear and missile war, the flames of which would incinerate tens and hundreds of millions of people.

The present policy of the NATO Powers is leading to a situation where it is not radio-active fallout that we shall have to fear, but the possibility that nuclear weapons, with all their death-dealing and destructive force, will be used against human beings. If we put on one scale the harmful effects of nuclear tests on human health, and on the other the consequences of the military use of nuclear weapons, it will be clear to everyone what choice faces mankind today and how much hypocrisy there is in the statements made by the Governments of the Western Powers about nuclear test explosions.

No, the Soviet Union cannot allow others to jeopardize the lives of millions and millions of human beings! The USSR Government would be remiss in its duty if it did not take appropriate steps to ensure the security of the Soviet people. If it has now accepted the harsh necessity of resuming nuclear weapons tests, it has done so only in order to save its people, and all mankind, from experiencing the

military use of this weapon at first hand, as happened in the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Soviet Union is anxious to save human beings from atomic, hydrogen and neutron bombs - bombs which are mentioned with increasing frequency in the West by those who seek to oppose the true humanism of the Socialist society and of our foreign policy with their policy of hatred of mankind, a policy which regards human beings as ore to be melted down in the furnace of nuclear war, and the material and cultural riches created by the peoples as potential booty, military trophies for imperialist aggressors.

Everyone knows that the Soviet Union has carried out but a fraction of the number of nuclear tests conducted by the United States, the United Kingdom and France. And yet we have every justification, both morally and from the standpoint of protecting our State interests, for carrying out the same number of test explosions as the Western Powers. The leaders of these Powers themselves often say that, so long as the arsenals of States are bursting with accumulated weapons, the security of these States to a large extent depends on a balance of powers. There is a great deal of truth in that. What the leaders of the Western Powers regard as justified in the security interests of their countries, which are threatened by no one, is far more justified in the case of the Soviet Union and the entire brotherhood of Socialist countries, which are forced to live in an atmosphere of imperialist threats and sabre-rattling.

In order to dispel the storm clouds of war and to restore the relations among States to normal, it is essential to solve the most important problem of our day, the problem of general and complete disarmament. This is advocated not only by the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries; many independent States of Asia, Africa and Latin America have now courageously raised their voice in support of this idea, which has captured the imagination of all who hold dear the cause of peace. This is borne out by the results of the conference, just held at Belgrade, of twenty-five uncommitted States, a conference which has made a solid contribution to the cause of shackling the forces of war and strengthening the forces of peace. Those who are able to look truth in the face will recognize that it is now possible to put an end to nuclear tests everywhere and for all time only on the basis of general and complete disarmament. Once this problem was solved, no one would be tempted to test nuclear weapons on the ground, underground, in the air or in outer space. Besides there would be nothing to test, since all weapons, and

above all, rockets and nuclear weapons, would have been scrapped. Circumstances have welded these two issues into an indissoluble whole.

Unhappily, as shown by the bilateral USSR-United States talks, the United States Government refuses to take any step in the direction of general and complete disarmament with strict international control over the actions of States in this matter. But in that case, the United States Government, and also the United Kingdom Government, which, it would appear, takes the same position, must also accept the responsibility for the question of the cessation of nuclear tests remaining unresolved.

In reply to the proposal that we confine ourselves to abandoning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, we can only say to the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom: Let us not direct the thoughts and energies of our peoples towards military preparations and the fanning of the cold war, but let us roll up our sleeves and jointly attack the foremost problem of our day - general and complete disarmament. Let us earnestly, honestly, seek a solution of the question of concluding a peace treaty with Germany in order, while there is yet time, to stop States from sliding towards the abyss of a nuclear and missile war. Then everything will fall into place; there will not only be no nuclear tests, but no threat of nuclear war itself.

One need not be a prophet to predict that Russians and Americans, Czechs and Englishmen, Arabs and Indians, and all the world's peoples will to the end of time remember kindly those statesmen, those Governments, which spared no effort to achieve general and complete disarmament and forever to rid mankind of war. And on the contrary, if this problem remains unsolved, the peoples will curse those leaders who took advantage of their position and their power to keep military preparations at fever heat and to maintain the constant threat of a nuclear and missile war. Likewise, they will never forgive a failure to do whatever may be necessary to write "finis" to the Second World War by concluding a peace treaty with Germany which would liberate the peoples of Europe - and not Europe alone - from fear and anxiety for the morrow and would grant them tranquillity and a peaceful life.

General and complete disarmament, including the abolition of the entire military apparatus of States, the early conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the writing of "finis" to the Second World War - this, in the present circumstances, is the direct path to saving the peoples from war and from the suffering and misery it inflicts upon them. We appeal to the Governments of the United States of America and the United Kingdom to enter upon this path.

9 September 1961

Moscow

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