

DOCUMENT 1. Danger of War and Appeal for Peace.

This Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries is deeply concerned that, even apart from already existing tensions, the grave and critical situation which, as never before, threatens the world with the imminent and ominous prospect of conflict, would almost certainly later develop into a World War. In this age of nuclear weapons and the accumulation of the power of mass destruction, such conflict and war would inevitably lead to devastation on a scale hitherto unknown, if not to world annihilation.

This Conference considers that this calamity must be avoided, and it is therefore urgent and imperative that the parties concerned, and more particularly the United States of America and the U.S.S.R., should immediately suspend their recent war preparations and approaches, take no steps that would aggravate or contribute to further deteriorations in the situation, and resume negotiation for a peaceful settlement of any outstanding differences between them with due regard to the principles of the United Nations Charter and continue negotiating until both they and the rest of the world achieve total disarmament and enduring peace.

While decisions leading to war or peace at present rest with these great powers, the consequences affect the entire world. All nations and peoples have, therefore, an abiding concern and interest that the approaches and actions of the great powers should be such as to enable mankind to move forward to peace and prosperity and not to the doom of extinction. In the certain knowledge that they seek peace, this Conference appeals to the President of the United States of America and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. to make most immediate and direct approaches to each other to avert the imminent conflict and establish peace.

This Conference expresses the earnest hope that all nations not represented here, conscious of the extreme gravity of the situation will make a similar appeal to the leaders of the Powers concerned thereby proclaiming and promoting the desire and determination of all mankind to see the achievement of lasting peace and security for all nations.

DOCUMENT 2. Declaration of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. (The Belgrade Declaration.)

The Conference of Heads of State or Government of the following non-aligned countries: Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Lebanon, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia and of the following coun-

tries represented by observers: Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador was held in Belgrade from September 1 to 6, 1961, for the purpose of exchanging views on international problems with a view to contributing more effectively to world peace and security and peaceful co-operation among peoples.

The Heads of State or Government of the aforementioned countries have met at a moment when international events have taken a turn for the worse and when world peace is seriously threatened. Deeply concerned for the future of peace, voicing the aspirations of the vast majority of people of the world, aware that, in our time, no people and no government can or should abandon its responsibilities in regard to the safeguarding of world peace, the participating countries—having examined in detail, in an atmosphere of equality, sincerity and mutual confidence, the current state of international relations and trends prevailing in the present-day world—make the following declaration:

The Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, noting that there are crises that lead towards a world conflict in the transition from an old order based on domination to a new order based on cooperation between nations, founded on freedom, equality and social justice for the promotion of prosperity; considering that the dynamic processes and forms of social change often result in or represent a conflict between the old established and the new emerging nationalist forces; considering that a lasting peace can be achieved only if this confrontation leads to a world where the domination of colonialism-imperialism and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations is radically eliminated; and recognizing the fact that acute emergencies threatening world peace now exist in this period of conflict in Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America and big power rivalry likely to result in world conflagration cannot be excluded; that to eradicate basically the source of conflict is to eradicate colonialism in all its manifestations and to accept and practice a policy of peaceful coexistence in the world; that guided by these principles, the period of transition and conflict can lay a firm foundation of co-operation and brotherhood between nations; state the following:

I

War has never threatened mankind with graver consequences than today. On the other hand, never before has mankind had at its disposal stronger forces for eliminating war as an instrument of policy in international relations.

Imperialism is weakening. Colonial empires and other forms of foreign oppression of peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America are gradually disappearing from the stage of history. Great successes have

been achieved in the struggle of many peoples for national independence and equality. In the same way, the peoples of Latin America are continuing to make an increasingly effective contribution to the improvement of international relations. Great social changes in the world are further promoting such a development. All this not only accelerates the end of the epoch of foreign oppression of peoples, but also makes peaceful co-operation among peoples, based on the principles of independence and equal rights, an essential condition for their freedom and progress.

Tremendous progress has been achieved in the development of science, techniques and in the means of economic development.

Prompted by such developments in the world, the vast majority of people are becoming increasingly conscious of the fact that war between peoples constitutes not only an anachronism but also a crime against humanity. This awareness of peoples is becoming a great moral force, capable of exercising a vital influence on the development of international relations.

Relying on this and on the will of their peoples, the Governments of countries participating in the Conference resolutely reject the view that war, including the "cold war," is inevitable, as this view reflects a sense both of helplessness and hopelessness and is contrary to the progress of the world. They affirm their unwavering faith that the international community is able to organize its life without resorting to means which actually belong to a past epoch of human history.

However, the existing military blocs, which are growing into more and more powerful military, economic and political groupings by the logic and nature of their mutual relations, necessarily provoke periodical aggravations of international relations.

The cold war and the constant and acute danger of its being transformed into actual war have become a part of the situation prevailing in international relations.

For all these reasons, the Heads of State and Representatives of Government of non-aligned countries wish, in this way, to draw the attention of the world community to the existing situation and to the necessity that all peoples should exert efforts to find a sure road towards the stabilization of peace.

II

The present-day world is characterized by the existence of different social systems. The participating countries do not consider that these differences constitute an insurmountable obstacle for the stabilization of peace, provided attempts at domination and interference in the internal development of other peoples and nations are ruled out.

All peoples and nations have to solve the problems of their own political, economic, social and cultural systems in accordance with their own conditions, needs and potentialities.

Furthermore, any attempt at imposing upon peoples one social or political system or another by force and from outside is a direct threat to world peace.

The participating countries consider that under such conditions the principles of peaceful coexistence are the only alternative to the "cold war" and to a possible general nuclear catastrophe. Therefore, these principles—which include the right of peoples to self-determination, to independence and to the free determination of the forms and methods of economic, social and cultural development—must be the only basis of all international relations.

Active international cooperation in the fields of material and cultural exchanges among peoples is an essential means for the strengthening of confidence in the possibility of peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems.

The participants in the Conference emphasize, in this connection, that the policy of coexistence amounts to an active effort towards the elimination of historical injustices and the liquidation of national oppression, guaranteeing, at the same time, to every people their independent development.

Aware that ideological differences are necessarily a part of the growth of the human society, the participating countries consider that peoples and Governments shall refrain from any use of ideologies for the purpose of waging cold war, exercising pressure, or imposing their will.

III

The Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries participating in the Conference are not making concrete proposals for the solution of all international disputes, and particularly disputes between the two blocs. They wish, above all, to draw attention to those acute problems of our time which must be solved rapidly, so that they should not lead to irreparable consequences.

In this respect, they particularly emphasize the need for a great sense of responsibility and realism when undertaking the solution of various problems resulting from differences in social systems.

The non-aligned countries represented at this Conference do not wish to form a new bloc and cannot be a bloc. They sincerely desire to co-operate with any Government which seeks to contribute to the strengthening of confidence and peace in the world.

The non-aligned countries wish to proceed in this manner all the

more so as they are aware that peace and stability in the world depend, to a considerable extent, on the mutual relations of the Great Powers.

Aware of this, the participants in the Conference consider it a matter of principle that the Great Powers take more determined action for the solving of various problems by means of negotiations, displaying at the same time the necessary constructive approach and readiness for reaching solutions which will be mutually acceptable and useful for world peace.

The participants in the Conference consider that, under present conditions, the existence and the activities of non-aligned countries in the interests of peace are one of the more important factors for safeguarding world peace.

The participants in the Conference consider it essential that the non-aligned countries should participate in solving outstanding international issues concerning peace and security in the world as none of them can remain unaffected by or indifferent to these issues.

They consider that the further extension of the noncommitted area of the world constitutes the only possible and indispensable alternative to the policy of total division of the world into blocs, and intensification of cold war policies. The non-aligned countries provide encouragement and support to all peoples fighting for their independence and equality.

The participants in the Conference are convinced that the emergence of newly-liberated countries will further assist in narrowing of the area of bloc antagonisms and thus encourage all tendencies aimed at strengthening peace and promoting peaceful co-operation among independent and equal nations.

1. The participants in the Conference solemnly reaffirm their support to the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples," adopted at the 15th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and recommend the immediate unconditional, total and final abolition of colonialism and resolve to make a concerted effort to put an end to all types of new colonialism and imperialist domination in all its forms and manifestations.

2. The participants in the Conference demand that an immediate stop be put to armed action and repressive measures of any kind directed against dependent peoples to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence and that the integrity of their national territory should be respected. Any aid given by any country to a colonial power in such suppression is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations. The participating countries respecting scrupulously the territorial integrity of all states oppose by all means any aims of annexation by other nations.

3. The participating countries consider the struggle of the people of Algeria for freedom, self-determination and independence, and for the integrity of its national territory including the Sahara, to be just and necessary and are, therefore, determined to extend to the people of Algeria all the possible support and aid. The Heads of State or Government are particularly gratified that Algeria is represented at this Conference by its rightful representative, the Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of Algeria.

4. The participating countries draw attention with great concern to the developments in Angola and to the intolerable measures of repression taken by the Portuguese colonial authorities against the people of Angola and demand that an immediate end should be put to any further shedding of blood of the Angolan people, and the people of Angola should be assisted by all peace-loving countries, particularly member states of the United Nations, to establish their free and independent state without delay.

5. The participants in the Conference demand the immediate termination of all colonial occupation and the restoration of the territorial integrity to the rightful people in countries in which it has been violated in Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as the withdrawal of foreign forces from their national soil.

6. The participating countries demand the immediate evacuation of French armed forces from the whole of the Tunisian territory in accordance with the legitimate right of Tunisia to the exercise of its full national sovereignty.

7. The participating countries demand that the tragic events in the Congo must not be repeated and they feel that it is the duty of the world community to continue to do everything in its power in order to erase the consequences and to prevent any further foreign intervention in this young African state, and to enable the Congo to embark freely upon the road of its independent development based on respect for its sovereignty, unity and its territorial integrity.

8. The participants in the Conference resolutely condemn the policy of apartheid practiced by the Union of South Africa and demand the immediate abandonment of this policy. They further state that the policy of racial discrimination anywhere in the world constitutes a grave violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

9. The participating countries declare solemnly the absolute respect of the rights of ethnic or religious minorities to be protected in particular against crimes of genocide or any other violation of their fundamental human rights.

10. The participants in the Conference condemn the imperialist policies pursued in the Middle East, and declare their support for the full restoration of all the rights of the Arab people of Palestine in conformity with the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations.

11. The participating countries consider the establishment and maintenance of foreign military bases in the territories of other countries, particularly against their express will, a gross violation of the sovereignty of such States. They declare their full support to countries who are endeavoring to secure the vacation of these bases. They call upon those countries maintaining foreign bases to consider seriously their abolition as a contribution to world peace.

12. They also acknowledge that the North American military base at Guantanamo, Cuba, to the permanence of which the Government and people of Cuba have expressed their opposition, affects the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.

13. The participants in the Conference reaffirm their conviction that: a) All nations have the right of unity, self-determination, and independence by virtue of which right they can determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development without intimidation or hindrance. b) All peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic cooperation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence. The participating countries believe that the right of Cuba as that of any other nation to freely choose their political and social systems in accordance with their own conditions, needs and possibilities should be respected.

14. The participating countries express their determination that no intimidation, interference or intervention should be brought to bear in the exercise of the right of self-determination of peoples, including their right to pursue constructive and independent policies for the attainment and preservation of their sovereignty.

15. The participants in the Conference consider that disarmament is an imperative need and the most urgent task of mankind. A radical solution of this problem, which has become an urgent necessity in the present state of armaments, in the unanimous view of participating countries, can be achieved only by means of a general, complete and strictly and internationally controlled disarmament.

16. The Heads of State or Government point out that general and complete disarmament should include the elimination of armed forces, armaments, foreign bases, manufacture of arms as well as elimination

of institutions and installations for military training, except for purposes of internal security; and the total prohibition of the production, possession and utilization of nuclear and thermo-nuclear arms, bacteriological and chemical weapons as well as the elimination of equipment and installations for the delivery and placement and operational use of weapons of mass destruction on national territories.

17. The participating countries call upon all States in general, and States exploring outer space at present in particular, to undertake to use outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes. They express the hope that the international community will, through collective action, establish an international agency with a view to promote and coordinate the human actions in the field of international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space.

18. The participants in the Conference urge the Great Powers to sign without further delay a treaty for general and complete disarmament in order to save mankind from the scourge of war and to release energy and resources now being spent on armaments to be used for the peaceful economic and social development of all mankind. The participating countries also consider that: (a) The non-aligned Nations should be represented at all future world conferences on disarmament; (b) All discussions on disarmament should be held under the auspices of the United Nations; (c) General and complete disarmament should be guaranteed by an effective system of inspection and control, the teams of which should include members of non-aligned Nations.

19. The participants in the Conference consider it essential that an agreement on the prohibition of all nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests should be urgently concluded. With this aim in view, it is necessary that negotiations be immediately resumed, separately or as part of the negotiations on general disarmament. Meanwhile, the moratorium on the testing of all nuclear weapons should be resumed and observed by all countries.

20. The participants in the Conference recommend that the General Assembly of the United Nations should, at its forthcoming session, adopt a decision on the convening either of a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to discussion of disarmament or on the convening of a world disarmament conference under the auspices of the United Nations with a view to setting in motion the process of general disarmament.

21. The participants in the Conference consider that efforts should be made to remove economic imbalance inherited from colonialism and imperialism. They consider it necessary to close, through accelerated economic, industrial and agricultural development, the ever-widening gap in the standards of living between the few economically advanced

countries and the many economically less-developed countries. The participants in the Conference recommend the immediate establishment and operation of a United Nations Capital Development Fund. They further agree to demand fair terms of trade for the economically less-developed countries and, in particular, constructive efforts to eliminate the excessive fluctuations in primary commodity trade and the restrictive measures and practices which adversely affect the trade and revenues of the newly-developing countries. In general, they demand that the fruits of the scientific and technological revolution be applied in all fields of economic development to hasten the achievement of international social justice.

22. The participating countries invite all the countries in the course of development to co-operate effectively in the economic and commercial fields so as to face the policies of pressure in the economic sphere, as well as the harmful results which may be created by the economic blocs of the industrial countries. They invite all the countries concerned to consider to convene, as soon as possible, an international conference to discuss their common problems and to reach an agreement on the ways and means of repelling all damage which may hinder their development; and to discuss and agree upon the most effective measures to ensure the realization of their economic and social development.

23. The countries participating in the Conference declare that the recipient countries must be free to determine the use of the economic and technical assistance which they receive, and to draw up their own plans and assign priorities in accordance with their needs.

24. The participating countries consider it essential that the General Assembly of the United Nations should, through the revision of the Charter, find a solution to the question of expanding the membership of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council in order to bring the composition and work of these two most important organs of the General Assembly into harmony with the needs of the Organization and with the expanded membership of the United Nations.

25. The unity of the World Organization and the assuring of the efficiency of its work make it absolutely necessary to evolve a more appropriate structure for the Secretariat of the United Nations, bearing in mind equitable regional distribution.

26. Those of the countries participating in the Conference who recognize the Government of the People's Republic of China recommend that the General Assembly in its forthcoming Session should accept the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate representatives of that country in the United Nations.

27. The countries participating in the Conference consider that

the German problem is not merely a regional problem but liable to exercise a decisive influence on the course of future developments in international relations. Concerned at the developments which have led to the present acute aggravation of the situation in regard to Germany and Berlin, the participating countries call upon all parties concerned not to resort to or threaten the use of force to solve the German question or the problem of Berlin, in accordance with the appeal made by the Heads of State or Governments on September 6, 1961.

The Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries resolve that this Declaration should be forwarded to the United Nations and brought to the attention of all the Member States of the World Organization. The present Declaration will be also forwarded to all the other States.

DOCUMENT 3. Letter Addressed to President Kennedy (and Premier Khrushchev).

Your Excellency,

We, the Heads of States and Governments of our respective countries attending the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held at Belgrade from September 1 to September 6, 1961, venture to address Your Excellency on a subject of vital and immediate importance to all of us and to the world as a whole. We do so not only on our own behalf, but at the unanimous desire of the Conference and of our peoples.

We are distressed and deeply concerned at the deterioration in the international situation and the prospect of war which now threatens humanity. Your Excellency has often pointed to the terrible nature of modern war and the use of nuclear weapons, which may well destroy humanity, and has pleaded for the maintenance of world peace.

Yet we are at the brink of this very danger that menaces the world and humanity. We are fully aware that Your Excellency is anxious as any of us to avoid this dreadful development which will not only end the hopes that we all have cherished for the advancement of our peoples but is a challenge to human survival. We are certain that Your Excellency will do everything in your power to avert such a calamity.

Having regard, however, to the gravity of the crisis that menaces the world and the urgent need to avert the developments that may precipitate it, we take the liberty of urging on the Great Powers concerned that negotiations should be resumed and pursued so that the danger of war might be removed from the world and mankind adopts ways of peace. In particular, we earnestly request for direct negotiations between Your Excellency and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers

of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,¹ who represent the two most powerful nations today and in whose hands lies the key to peace or war. We feel convinced that devoted as both of you are to world peace, your efforts through persistent negotiations will lead to a way out of the present impasse and enable the world and humanity to work and live for prosperity and peace.

We feel sure that Your Excellency will appreciate that this letter is written because of our love of peace and our horror of war and the compelling desire that a way out must be found before mankind is faced with a terrible disaster.

We are sending a letter in identical terms to this to His Excellency, N. S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.²

With assurance of our deep regard,

Yours sincerely,³

Belgrade, September 6, 1961

DOCUMENT 4. Letter from President John F. Kennedy to President Modibo Keita and President Sukarno.

September 13, 1961

Dear Mr. President:

I have studied with care the message from the conference of non-aligned nations which you were good enough to present in person. The United States Government is aware that the non-aligned powers assembled at Belgrade represent an important segment of world opinion, and, especially, that their peoples share with ours a vital stake in the maintenance of the peace. In our continuing deliberations within the United States Government and with our allies, we will give the message from the conference most careful consideration.

1. In the letter to Mr. Khrushchev, the phrase is substituted, "and the President of the United States."

2. In the letter to Mr. Khrushchev, the phrase is substituted, "to His Excellency Mr. John F. Kennedy, President of the United States of America."

3. The original draft of the letter was signed by Prime Minister Daud, Prime Minister Khedda, Prime Minister U Nu, Prince Sihanouk, Prime Minister Bandaranaike, Premier Adoula, President Dorticós, and President Makarios. It was drafted and signed on September 6, 1961, when some of the heads of state had already left Belgrade. A later draft of the letter was published signed by all heads of state or government or heads of delegations attending the Conference.

As regards the proposal that I enter into direct negotiations with Premier Khrushchev, we are prepared to use existing and appropriate channels to establish the possibility of surmounting the present impasse.

It has been and continues to be our policy to seek to settle our problems with others by peaceful means. We have not attempted to create crises, and we believe it is incumbent upon all responsible governments to explore all possible avenues, including negotiations at the highest levels, for mutually acceptable solutions of current international problems.

However, unless such negotiations are carefully prepared beforehand they risk failure and may lead to deterioration of the situation. We therefore feel that at a time of great tension it is particularly necessary that negotiations of the kind proposed by the Belgrade Conference not only have careful preparation but also a reasonable chance of success. . . .

The channels of diplomacy are open for the exploration of constructive steps toward a reduction of tension. Other means are available when they can serve a useful purpose. Meanwhile, it is clearly of the utmost importance that there be no unilateral acts which will make peaceful progress impossible.

Given a realistic approach and a sincere desire on the other side as well as ours to reach a mutually acceptable solution, we see no reason why eventual negotiations should not be successful in coping with the present crisis. However, we do not intend to enter into negotiations under ultimata or threats. It is also clear that we do not propose to discuss either abdication of our responsibility or renunciation of the modalities for carrying out those responsibilities.

Nevertheless, we believe it possible to find a solution which can accommodate vital interests on both sides of the crisis.

The United States has carefully noted the statements in the Belgrade declaration recognizing that the Berlin and German situations are of vital importance to future developments in international relations. It has consistently been, and will continue to be, our policy to settle differences with realism and responsibility.

We would note that this crisis has been initiated by Soviet, not by American action. We endorse the declaration's reference to the right of all nations to unity, self-determination, and independence, and its condemnation of intimidation, intervention, and interference in the exercise of the right of self-determination. We presume that these principles apply equally to the people of Germany and Berlin.

Our policies in this area have sought to respect these principles. We have absolutely no intention of resorting to force or threats of force to solve the Berlin and German problems, but we are determined

to honor our commitments and are prepared to meet force with force if it is used against us.

While the United States and its allies are all agreed there must be negotiations on the problem, the Soviet Union must give indication of a readiness to engage in discussion based on mutual respect. The only conditions it has yet exhibited any willingness to consider are conditions which involve the surrender of Western rights.

The United States continues to believe that conclusion of an adequately controlled test ban agreement is a matter of greatest urgency. We wish to reaffirm, however, our belief that test ban negotiations should be resumed separately from negotiations on general and complete disarmament. The Soviet resumption of atmospheric testing has increased the urgency which attaches to the signature of a complete treaty test ban. Complex negotiation on general disarmament should not be permitted to delay the achievement of this significant step forward.

I would emphasize again my regret that the Soviet Union has rejected the offer of the United Kingdom and the United States Government to halt atmospheric tests creating fallout.

Only after a searching review of vital United States security interests and after the utmost provocation did we announce our intention to resume underground tests. The non-aligned nations may be assured of our continued willingness to negotiate an effective treaty; but, meanwhile, the national security interests of our country and of our allies in the free world must be protected. . . .

The United States is pleased to note that the participants in the recent conference in Belgrade mentioned the importance of an effective system of inspection and control. This is the crux of the matter. It is clear from United States proposals in the nuclear test negotiations that the United States contemplates inspection and control procedures in the disarmament field in which the non-aligned countries, as well as others, would participate.

For some months the United States has been conducting an intensive study of the problem of general disarmament which resulted in a request to Congress to create a disarmament agency. The study has also resulted in the development of a comprehensive plan for general and complete disarmament which is in the final stage of preparations for public presentation.

This plan provides for a program which will insure that the disarmament is general and complete; that war is no longer an instrument for settling international disputes; and that disarmament is accompanied by the creation of reliable procedures for peaceful settlement of disputes and maintenance of peace in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter. . . .

Talks between the United States and the Soviet Union resumed Sept. 6 in New York in a further effort to bring the two sides closer together and to work out a satisfactory disarmament forum. The proposals put forth by the United States by these talks provides for participation of non-aligned countries in future broad disarmament negotiations. They also provide for negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations if the Soviet Union will agree. . . .

In conclusion, let me say, Mr. President, that we found elements in the message and in the declaration which reflected a genuine desire to bring about a relaxation of tensions and which, if applied in a truly neutral and objective manner, could be of positive benefit in easing world tensions.

We respect, as always, the desire of other nations to remain non-aligned. We understand with sympathy and share their passion for peace. We are, as always, prepared to cooperate with all initiatives to bring about an improvement in the world situation. We look forward to continued friendly relations with the Government and peoples participating in the Belgrade meeting.

DOCUMENT 5. Letter from Premier Khrushchev to Prime Minister Nehru.

September 16, 1961

Esteemed Mr. Prime Minister,

I have studied with close attention and interest the letter from the recently ended conference of the heads of state and government of twenty-five non-aligned nations and I am deeply touched that you took the trouble to bring it to Moscow and deliver it to me in person. I express heartfelt gratitude to all distinguished Conference participants for this letter. It is gratifying that the views of the Soviet Government on the obtaining world situation coincide in many respects with the considerations set forth in the letter from the Conference participants. I was also favorably impressed by the other Conference documents full of concern for the destinies of the world.

How can one fail to rejoice that the governments of neutral states, whose population comprises a third of mankind, have lifted their voice in defense of peace and resolutely denounce the policy of war preparations. This will be of the greater importance for world developments since struggle to prevent war and consolidate peace was and remains the backbone of the entire foreign policy of the Socialist states, which compose another third of mankind.

This is how broad the circle of states which regard concern for peace as their vital cause has become.

The Conference's insistent call for the immediate conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament will unquestionably attract the attention of all people. Yes, it is indeed the most pressing and urgent matter, as it is in it that we have a reliable key to stable peace on earth.

The Soviet Government regards with great respect the Conference's considerations and conclusions on a number of other international questions, including the question of complete and final liquidation of colonialism. It can now be confidently said that soon, very soon, the pressure of joint forces of the peoples will break the resistance of states clinging to their colonial possessions which have served them for decades as a source of enrichment, but only because the colonialists robbed and brutally exploited the colonial peoples. The sweat and blood of these peoples—such is the source of the wealth of the colonial powers. The day is near when colonialism will be forever wiped off the face of the earth.

In the letter delivered to me the Conference participants expressed deep concern over the aggravation of the international situation and the danger of war. The Soviet Government fully shares this concern. In all the postwar period the threat of war has never, perhaps, been felt as keenly as today. As you are well aware, of course, this state of affairs has not come of itself. It is a result of the activities of definite forces which are interested in anything but stable peace.

One cannot escape the thought that the policy of the NATO powers is being increasingly influenced by circles which simply seek war, push to war. They apparently realize that time works against the old imperialist system founded on domination and oppression, on flouting the basic rights of the peoples, and are considering if the time has not come to stake everything on an attempt to stop by war the great shifts that are taking place in the life of the peoples throughout the world, and especially on the continents which only yesterday groaned under the whip of the colonial overseers.

This conclusion imposes when you see that the governments of the Western powers intensify military preparations in every way, increase the already inflated military budgets, call up reservists, and instill among the population of their countries a spirit of militarism of which there is already too much in some NATO powers. It appears that these countries are not averse to using for a general showdown the central question which brooks no delay—the question of a German peace treaty whose conclusion would radically improve the situation in Europe considering the actual situation which has developed in Germany in connection with the formation of two sovereign German states, and would render a serious service to the cause of universal peace. . . .

I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to declare that we are deeply convinced that the measures we have taken are in the

interests not only of the Soviet people, of our allies, who like ourselves, defend the cause of peace, the need of drawing a line under World War II and concluding a German peace treaty for this purpose, but also in the interests of all other peoples who crave a peaceful life. We express satisfaction with the fact that, on the whole, our defensive measures have been understood correctly by most broad public circles in many countries.

I should like to tell you openly and frankly, although that will be no news to you, that the Soviet Union would not like to follow in the rut of military rivalry with the Western powers. This is not our policy, this is not our road and we should not like to follow along this road unless forced to do so. Our greatest and most sacred desire is to live in friendship with all states, to live in a world without wars. It is for this reason that we are demanding so persistently that statesmen responsible for the destinies of the world take the only correct decision: to put an end to remnants of the Second World War, to smash completely the war machinery of states, destroy all armaments, including nuclear weapons which would finally remove the question of nuclear weapons tests; both of these questions are bound up organically, inseparably and can be solved only simultaneously. It is this that I tried to stress in every way during my recent meeting with President Kennedy in Vienna.

In their letter the participants in the conference of noncommitted nations urge negotiations between the great powers to remove the danger of war. In particular they suggest direct talks between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the President of the United States of America.

What can one say to that? You know, of course, that the Soviet Union always stood for a negotiated settlement of outstanding issues. Naturally now too we believe that talks between states, especially between the U.S.S.R. and the United States, as the mightiest and most influential countries, can and must play an important role in cleansing the international atmosphere. In the name of insuring peace we are ready for talks any time, any place and at any level.

The need has been ripe for a long time for statesmen of nations which fought against Hitler Germany to sit down at a peace conference table and together with representatives of both German states, in a calm atmosphere, without stirring up passions, work out a peace treaty which would quench the smouldering embers left after the world conflagration which raged a decade and a half ago. These do exist, and not just anywhere but in the center of Europe from which spread that conflagration in whose flames tens of millions of people had perished. We, the Soviet people, better than anyone else know what this tragedy had cost and how many human lives it carried away.

It goes without saying that negotiations on mature international

problems are needed and we have said so on more than one occasion. But they are needed not for the negotiations' sake. Bitter experience has taught us to speak about this straight. Talks would be useful only if statesmen go to these talks with a serious desire and readiness to achieve agreements which would represent a basis for strengthening peace. The participants in the talks must have courage to face realities and clearly realize that no one can turn the tide of events which reflect the national development of human society.

One has to speak about this because some Western leaders are not averse to striking attitudes even when most serious matters are at stake: "Just look at us, how we do not let ourselves listen to reason." Is it not a fact that certain Western leaders keep interspersing their statements with utterances to the effect that they are holding tough positions and savor this word "tough" in every way?

. . . I want you to get me right. The Soviet Government is ready to take part in negotiations which would be really aimed toward the speediest solution of pressing international problems, in the first turn in a peace conference on the question of concluding of a German peace treaty and normalizing the situation in West Berlin on this basis. It is convinced that the sooner such serious negotiations start the better it would be. It would be an expression of great statesmanship if such a treaty was concluded on an agreed basis at the earliest date.

To strengthen peace and normalize the situation in Europe and throughout the world it would be a good thing if other countries which have not recognized yet both German states—the German Democratic Republic [East Germany] and the Federal Republic of Germany—would recognize them *de jure*, establish relations with them. The admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations would serve the same purpose.

All this would raise a serious barrier to revenge-seeking circles in West Germany which, as it is known, are rallying forces to change the conditions which have arisen after World War II.

The entry of both German states into the United Nations and the establishment of relations with them would fix the situation which exists in Germany and that would be a great contribution to the cause of strengthening world peace.

Allow me, Mr. Prime Minister, to express once more satisfaction over the efforts which you personally, together with leading statesmen of other noncommitted nations, are making to cleanse the international atmosphere. I should like to assure you that faithful to its policy of peace, the Soviet Government, for its part, will continue to spare no efforts to enable the peoples to live without fear of war, in conditions of peace and prosperity.