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All that is an unexampled gross violation of the armistice agreement.

It is openly under the direction of the American dealers in cannon fodder that the Syngman Rhee traitors have been planning to turn the Geneva Conference into a failure and thus to prevent a peaceful solution for the Korean question.

The South Korean representative at the Geneva Conference, Pyun Yung Tao, is insistently demanding that the American troops remain in South Korea. He is trying to pass off the puppet government as the legitimate government. He is fighting against the unity of the Korean nation and is servilely supporting the policy of the United States which is against the national interest of the Korean people.

By supporting with enthusiasm the proposal of our delegation and by preventing all attempts at dividing the nation, the entire Korean people are today placing great hopes in the Geneva Conference and are awaiting a positive solution to the Korean question.

All peoples are concerned in the positive solution to this question for it is on this solution that peace throughout the world depends, and especially in the Far East.

Dear Friends,

Allow me on behalf of the Korean delegation to express our complete approval of the report given by our friend D'Astier de la Vigerie and to say that we warmly support the statements of the representatives of the Soviet Union, Mr. Tikhonov, of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Kuo-Mo-Jo and of India, Mr. Kitchlew.

On behalf of all Koreans who are fighting for the sacred cause of peace, and in the name of hundreds of thousands of mothers and war orphans whose hearts are still bleeding, the Korean delegation makes the following proposals:

1. We demand of all States who are taking part in the Geneva Conference the peaceful solution of the Korean question, the establishment of security in the Far East and lasting peace throughout the world.

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2. We demand that the base intrigues of the Syngman Rhee traitors and their masters be exposed and condemned and that an immediate end be put to their undermining actions which are endangering the peaceful solution of the Korean question and constitute the threat of a new world war.
3. We demand the adoption of the proposals for the peaceful unification of Korea made by the representative of the People's Republic of Korea at the Geneva Conference and which calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and for the formation of a central democratic and unified government based on a Parliament voted in by free elections carried out through the whole of Korea.
4. We demand the banning of weapons of extermination - atomic and hydrogen bombs - and the setting up of international bodies for their control.

With this aim, we propose at the present extraordinary session of the World Council of Peace to adopt an appeal to the Geneva Conference and to develop the peace movement simultaneously in all parts of the globe for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. We ask you, dear friends, and through you, all men of good will to bring together still more closely the millions of fighters for peace, to expose completely the vile manoeuvres and intrigues of the fomenters of a new world war and to raise still higher our victorious banner on which is inscribed in letters of gold the word which is dearest to us - PEACE !

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EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE WORLD  
COUNCIL OF PEACE.

Berlin 23-28 May, 1954.

KUO MO-JO - CHINA.

At the last session of the World Peace Council, held in Vienna in November 1953, millions of people throughout the world had joyfully and enthusiastically been welcoming the Korean armistice. The appeal which the World Council of Peace had been repeating for three years had finally been fulfilled. The Korean war, which had been a serious threat to world peace for three years, had at last come to an end, thereby bringing about some relaxation of international tension.

The Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and France, held in Berlin in the early part of this year was the occasion for a broad exchange of views on the following questions: European Security, the German and Austrian questions and the question of the reduction of armaments. Although no agreement was reached on these questions, the Berlin Foreign Ministers Conference did achieve one important agreement - this was to hold in Geneva on April 26th. a Conference in which the Soviet Union, the United States, France, Great Britain, the People's Republic of China and other interested states should take part, and which should discuss the questions of the restoration of peace in Indo-China and the peaceful solution of the Korean question.

Now that the Korean war, which lasted for three years, is ended, the only existing large-scale war is the war in Indo-China. This war has been going on for eight years and certain circles are trying to internationalise it. All people of goodwill in the world are now calling for the restoration of peace in Indo-China with the same eagerness as they called for the ending of the Korean war for more than three years.

Therefore it has become the earnest hope of the people of the world that the Geneva Conference may attain

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satisfactory results.

At the Geneva Conference the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and other interested states have sat down together to examine and solve the urgent problems of Asia. This in itself is of great historical significance. The Geneva Conference is the first realisation of the Five-Power negotiation which the World Council of Peace has been demanding for five years. This means that there is a greater possibility of solving international disputes through peaceful negotiations. It also means that all important Asian and international questions must be solved with the participation of representatives of the People's Republic of China.

We Chinese people are profoundly aware of the fact that we have important responsibilities for the maintenance of peace in Asia and in the world. Our delegation, headed by Foreign Minister Chou En-lai, has gone to the Geneva Conference representing the will of the five hundred million people of China. They have the important task of making the Conference succeed by seeking to negotiate with boundless sincerity and patience. That is to say, they will make the Conference succeed so as to restore peace to Indo-China and transform the existing unstable armistice in Korea into a genuine peaceful solution of the whole Korean question.

The Geneva Conference has been going on for exactly one month, and its development has caused us increasing anxiety. Admittedly the matters on the Conference agenda are important and complicated. If the representatives of all the countries taking part were sincere and eager in pursuing the discussions, then we should not need to worry. However, this is not so.

We should now like to recall to the members of the World Council of Peace and friends present at this meeting the development of the Geneva Conference. On April 27th., the second day of the Conference, as we all remember,

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Mr. Nam Il, Foreign Minister of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, put forward a concrete proposal for the peaceful settlement of the Korean<sup>question</sup>, whereas it was not until May 22nd. that is four weeks after the opening of the Conference, that Mr. Ryun Yung Tae, Foreign Minister of South Korea, made a counter-proposal containing nothing new.

The same thing happened with the question of the restoration of peace in Indo-China. Mr. Pham Van Dong, Acting Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, arrived in Geneva on May 4th., and, likewise, on the second day of the discussions on the Indo-Chinese question, that is on May 10th. he made an eight-point proposal for the restoration of peace in Indo-China. On May 14th., Mr. Molotov, Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, made additional proposals for the conclusion of an armistice under the supervision of a neutral nations' commission. But the other side has not been willing, up till now, to enter into discussion on matters of substance, thus making it not possible to reach agreement.

These facts make it clear that someone is trying to protract and obstruct the Geneva Conference, so as to prevent it from reaching an agreement. Who is responsible for this?

If we coolly examine the content of the proposals put forward by both sides, it is easy to determine who is responsible.

Foreign Minister Nam Il's proposal to prevent the resumption of war in Korea and for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question contains the following points:-

- All foreign troops should be withdrawn from Korea in six months;

- There should be free elections, in which all the people of both South and North Korea should take part, in order to set up a united, democratic national Government. An All-Korea Committee should be formed by a joint meeting of representatives of both South and North Korea in order to discuss concrete measures for the preparation and carrying-out of democratic elections. This Committee would take

steps to promote the economic and cultural rapprochement of North and South Korea.

These proposals were opposed and rejected by the US Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles. At the Conference Mr. Dulles put forward an argument logically ridiculous, saying that the US troops should not be withdrawn from Korea because the USA is far away from Korea, and once the US troops were withdrawn it would not be easy for them to come back. Isn't this ridiculous? To put it simply, the intention of the US Government, which Mr. Dulles represents, is to occupy South Korea for an indefinite period. And it has not relinquished its intention to take over the whole of Korea in the name of the United Nations. Mr. Dulles once more brought up the resolution adopted on October 7th. 1950, by the United Nations General Assembly through the manipulation of the United States. He thought it contained a "practical programme" for the unification of Korea. This programme aims at nothing other than the maintenance of the Syngman Rhee regime and the holding of so-called "supervised" undemocratic elections in North Korea only with the intervention of the US occupation forces. On May 22nd. Mr. Ryun Yung Tae made a proposal similar to that of Mr. Dulles and which is nothing more than a reproduction of American intentions in Korea.

I would now like to ask: which of the two sides' proposals are more fair and reasonable, which side's proposals are more practical, more genuinely expressive of the will of the Korean people and in conformity with the interests of the Korean people?

As to the restoration of peace in Indo-China, the proposals of the Acting Foreign Minister of Viet-Nam, Mr. Pham Van Dong, contain the following points:-

- The recognition of the independence and sovereignty of the three nations in Indo-China;
- The withdrawal of foreign troops and the holding of free general elections without any interference from outside, in order to establish a unified Government for each of the three countries. When the three countries have their unified Governments some adjustments will be made in

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recognition of France's economic and cultural interests in Indo-China, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. The three Governments are prepared to consider the question of making a statement on joining the French Union on the basis of free choice. But M. Bidault, the French Foreign Minister, still regards himself as the ruler of a colony and gives himself the airs of a conqueror. He put forward conditions similar to those laid down by the French Premier, Laniel, in the National Assembly on March 5th., demanding that the people's forces in Indo-China, which he calls rebels, either disarm or be concentrated in given areas under supervision. French public opinion has described these conditions as surrender terms for Indo-China.

Again I would like to ask: which of the two sides are more fair and reasonable, which side's proposals are more practical, more genuinely expressive of the will of the people of Indo-China, and in conformity with the interests of the people of Indo-China?

It is obvious that someone is trying to protract, obstruct and even destroy the Geneva Conference.

This someone is the influential ruling circles of the United States.

The basic aim of the United States Government is to foment international tension. During Truman's term of office, the then US Secretary of State, the five-star General Marshall, once openly said that the United States should keep the international situation tense for at least ten years. Although the Democratic Administration has been replaced by a Republican one, US war policy has not changed under the leadership of a soldier President. The US President has not given up all thoughts of war although world public opinion and serious military losses forced the ending of the Korean war. Why? Because the monopoly capitalists of the USA can make super-profits from war. This is the hidden motive behind US world policy and all its actions.

The United States Government is fundamentally opposed to a relaxation of international tension. But, subjected

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to the pressure of world public opinion, it finds it difficult to offer open opposition and can therefore only sabotage negotiation by adopting a hypocritical attitude towards negotiation, and destroy peace by paying lip-service to peace. The so-called "prevention of the Communist menace" and the "defence of the free world" are nothing but a pretext for the fomenting of international tension. The US ruling clique thought themselves very clever in undertaking the following: brazen interference in the independence and sovereignty of other countries; the brazen establishment of military bases in other countries; the brazen imposition of blockades and embargoes; the monopoly of raw materials for their war machine; wholesale robbery in the name of "aid"; occupation and invasion in the name of the false "mutual defence against Communism". All this, however, amounts to nothing more than "stealing a bell by shutting one's ears" as the Chinese proverb has it.

We have not forgotten that the US Government was not very keen about the conclusion of the Korean armistice, nor about the convocation of the Berlin Conference. They were particularly displeased at the calling of the Geneva Conference. We are confronted by a certain number of facts which cannot be covered up. On the eve of the Geneva Conference the United States ruling circles and their propaganda organs incessantly spread an atmosphere of pessimism and despair, prophesying that the Conference could, of course, produce no results.

Mr. Dulles, particularly, has the habit of having two strings to his bow. If a conference is coming off, he will say, "Well, I'll come. But I'll only stay there for a fortnight. If you want to discuss the restoration of peace in Indo-China, well, I'll come. But what I'm really interested in is the formation of a South-East Asia Military Alliance."

In order to patch up this military alliance, he flew to Great Britain and France on the eve of the Geneva Conference in an attempt to force Britain and France to adopt "united action". He flies to Europe one day, to Asia the next, and then post-haste back to America.



He flew to Geneva, and then only a week later he flew back to the US again. Now why did he fly back? One of the reasons he has told everybody - namely, the same old business of plotting the formation of the South-East Asia Military Alliance.

Dear friends, what is the purpose of the US ruling circles in striving with such feverish anxiety to set up the South East Asia Military Alliance?

It is only the purpose of squeezing out its old rivals, Britain and France, from Asia, so as to realise its ambition of transforming the Pacific Ocean into an American lake.

Let us take a look at the members of this so-called alliance. They are - Australia, New Zealand plus Thailand, the Philippines and the three puppet regimes of Indo-China. The most ridiculous of all is the attempt to include the Chiang-Kai-shek bandits in this "alliance".

As we all know, Taiwan is Chinese territory. Under the pretext of aiding the Chiang-Kai-shek bandits, the US Government occupied Taiwan and is actively planning to transform it into a base for sabotage and further aggression against the People's Republic of China. This is absolutely intolerable to the Chinese people.

Dear friends, is the whole thing not sufficiently clear? On the one hand, the United States takes part in the discussions on the restoration of peace in Indo-China at the Geneva Conference, while on the other, she shows much more interest in, and can hardly wait for, the organisation of the South-East Asia Military Alliance, in an attempt to extend the war in Indo-China. Who, therefore, could say that there is any sincerity in America's attitude to the Geneva Conference? Who could deny that it is the influential ruling circles in the United States who are protracting, obstructing and attempting to sabotage the Geneva Conference.

The ruling circles of France are also pursuing a two-faced policy. These followers of the aggressive circles of the United States are, on the one hand, pretending under the pressure of French and world public opinion to carry on peaceful negotiations, while, on the other, they are begging the United States Government for military aid. At Geneva,

there is some underhand business going on between M. Bidault and Mr. Bedell Smith. Even though the French people have long condemned the war in Indo-China as a "dirty war", those elements in French political circles who want the war in Indo-China to continue, want it to continue even at the cost of mortgaging Indo-China to America.

News has come recently that the French authorities are spreading rumours in Paris to the effect that the Geneva Conference is being sabotaged, and that it is the delegates from the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the People's Republic of China, and the Soviet Union, who are the saboteurs, and who are trying to prevent the Geneva Conference from reaching agreement so as to continue and extend the war. It is really an interesting thing that there are people who, in broad daylight, will swear that black is white! In our opinion, in the case of these Geneva Conference rumours, it is not the French who are speaking, but American dollars.

Although I am not a Frenchman, I respect the glorious traditions of the French people. When I was a young man, I read the works in translation of the great French masters, Descartes, Voltaire, Rousseau, Moliere and Victor Hugo. I hold in high esteem many French scientists, writers, and public figures. I love France. I have a firm conviction that the French people have the strength and determination to uphold their glorious tradition.

We Chinese people have always loved peace and opposed war. We Chinese people are working peacefully with all our might, and our aim is to make our country a Socialist country, to enable everyone to lead a happy and peaceful life. Our Government is a People's Government. It has faithfully carried out, and it will forever carry out, a peaceful policy. We are deeply conscious that we have a great responsibility for the maintenance of peace in Asia and the world. I would like to say once again, therefore, that our delegation to the Geneva Conference, headed by Foreign Minister Chou En-lai, is completely representative of the will of the Chinese people. The delegation is resolved, with the greatest sincerity and confidence, and in the spirit of peaceful negotiation, to enable the Conference to reach agreement. We Chinese people are looking forward eagerly to the results of the Geneva Conference.

On May 13th, two days before we left for Berlin to take part in this session of the World Council of Peace, we held a

public meeting in Peking in support of the Geneva Conference. Our watchword is: if only the American delegates and the French delegates are willing to sit down to talk with us, we are always ready to carry on negotiations with them with the greatest sincerity and patience, in order to find for Asian questions solutions beneficial to peace.

Not only the Chinese people look forward eagerly to the success of the Geneva Conference, the great majority of the peoples of Asia and of the governments of Asian countries are looking forward to it with an equal eagerness. May I be allowed to mention here two obvious examples to refresh your memories.

On April 24th, on the eve of the Geneva Conference, when the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, made a statement in the House of the People in the Indian Parliament, during which he said: "The conflict in Indo-China is in its origin, and essential character, a movement of resistance to colonialism." He opposed the extension of the war in Indo-China and took his stand on the restoration of peace in Indo-China on the basis of respect for the independence of the people of Viet-Nam, Khimer and Pathet Lao. I think these words were clear and wise.

Secondly, during the first days of the Geneva Conference, the Prime Ministers of India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan met in Colombo from the 28th to 30th April. They issued a communique which appeals for the restoration of Peace in Indo-China without foreign intervention and recognising the national rights of the peoples of Indo-China. It maintains that the People's Republic of China should take its rightful place in the United Nations. It also condemns the existence of colonialism as "a violation of fundamental human rights and a threat to the peace of the world."

Together, these are powerful voices from the Asian countries, and voices cannot be blockaded.

Fundamental changes have taken place in the history of Asia. The time is gone forever when the colonialists could manipulate as they like the destinies of the peoples of Asia and deprive them of their right to a say in the conduct of their own affairs.

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We welcome the fact that public opinion generally, as well as leading personalities in Western Europe and other parts of the world, have recently taken up a more realistic and reasonable position on Asian questions. Nevertheless, there are certain astonishing and regrettable features in the situation: a few obstinate colonialists, particularly the ruling cliques of the United States, are deliberately shutting their eyes to reality.

In my opinion, the problem of Asia is the same as the problem of Europe. The collective security of Europe is the key to the peace of Europe and the development of the peoples of Europe. So it is with Asia. In the long-term interests of peace for the nations of Asia, we have to solve not only the urgent problems of Korea and Indo-China, but to seek collective security for Asia, which should include all the Asian countries. Only this can ensure peace and national independence for Asia, the prerequisite for which is freedom from interference on the part of colonialists. Given this prerequisite, "we Asian states should respect each other's independence and sovereignty instead of interfering in each other's internal affairs, should settle disputes among ourselves by the peaceful means of negotiation instead of resorting to force or threats, and should establish and develop normal economic and cultural relations among ourselves on the basis of equality and mutual benefit instead of permitting discrimination or restrictions."

These are the principles for the establishment of collective security in Asia set out by our Foreign Minister Cho En-lai in his statement at the Geneva Conference.

Though the Asian countries were economically backward in the era of the old colonialism, they each have a long cultural history, an industrious people, rich natural resources and favourable geographical conditions, and they can develop. In the future development of Asian countries, if we abide firmly by the principles which I have outlined, and undertake mutual obligations, we can co-exist peacefully and maintain peace and security in Asia. This will contribute to the collective

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security of the world.

We Chinese people cherish our own independence and sovereignty, and therefore we respect those of our neighbours. We cherish our own peaceful construction and therefore we respect that of our neighbours. We cherish our own cultural creations, and therefore we respect those of our neighbours.

Since the foundation of the People's Republic of China, these principles have stood at the very heart of our foreign policy. Acting on these principles, we have established diplomatic relations with many countries, and have concluded trade agreements with business circles in Japan and with the Governments of Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Mongolia, Korea and other countries. Recently, moreover, we have signed a new agreement with India which clarifies the relations between China and India with regard to the Chinese territory, Tibet, which is based on the principle of mutual respect for territorial sovereignty. For two thousand years there has been contact between China and India. We have always co-existed in peace, and have never waged war against each other. We believe that this should be a historic proof of the claim that peaceful co-existence between nations is possible. Further, we have exchanged with India, Burma, Mongolia, Korea and other countries cultural delegations which have strengthened the friendship and understanding between the nations.

We are carrying out our first Five-Year Plan of peaceful construction. We want to raise the material and cultural standards of our people through socialist industrialisation. All honest and objective persons who have visited our country during the four years since the foundation of our Republic are in a position to testify to the constructive labours of the Chinese people and their will to co-exist in peace with the peoples of all nations. As long as three thousand years ago, our ancestors bequeathed to us a very wise maxim, "All men within the boundaries of the sea are brothers." We are willing to abide by this maxim. We will never commit aggression against others, but we will never tolerate aggression against us. History is our witness that whenever we have been invaded by a

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foreign aggressor, we have fought for the restoration of our freedom, independence and peace, even if it has meant a struggle lasting as long as two or three hundred years.

Dear friends, the discussion of collective security for all the nations of the world is one of the most important points on the agenda of this meeting. I have therefore dealt at length with the situation in Asia. Collective security is indivisible, and collective security in Asia is undoubtedly an integral part of world security. We Chinese people are not only striving for collective security in Asia, we are striving also for collective security in Europe.

We fully support the demand for the prohibition of hydrogen bombs and other weapons of mass destruction. The organisation and strengthening of collective security will help to ensure the carrying out of the prohibition of the use of hydrogen bombs and other weapons of mass destruction. And on the positive side, collective security will facilitate the control and peaceful development of atomic energy.

Dear friends, an earnest study in common of the important questions we are considering should, we believe, produce practical resolutions. We Chinese people will support and carry out with all our power the resolutions in favour of peace that result from our collective wisdom.

Finally, I would like to draw your attention once again to the Geneva Conference, which plays so important a role in the present international situation. The Geneva Conference must, and can, reach agreement on the peaceful settlement of the Korean question and the restoration of peace in Indo-China. But in the same way as the actual calling of the Geneva Conference was due to the increased pressure of public opinion on those who are afraid of peace and promote wars, so, in order to make the Conference reach agreement, the peace-loving people of all countries must be vigilant to ensure that the sinister designs of the American aggressive circles and their followers may be foiled. The peace-loving people of all countries should continue to encourage public opinion to support strongly every

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proposal made at the Geneva Conference that contributes to the preservation of peace and the maintenance of national independence: only thus will peace be victorious.

Peace must prevail, and the struggle of oppressed peoples for national independence and the defence of their territorial sovereignty must be victorious.

Colonialism is finished in China, its days are numbered in Asia, and it will inevitably come to an end throughout the world. We hope the day is not far off when all the peoples of the world will unite and co-operate in collective security, and will, like brothers, live in peaceful co-existence.

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EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE  
Berlin 23 - 28 May, 1954

M. JEAN-PAUL SARTRE (France)

If the atomic bomb were dropped it would inflict on men a danger we know only too well. But even when it is only a threat, it constitutes a radical change in the relations between nations. It is the atomic bomb that characterises what we call the cold war.

The appearance of national armies had the effect of enormously increasing the massacre of human beings, but all the same they could, to a certain extent, restrain the leaders. But yesterday, you needed millions of men to kill millions of men and to get the masses to accept death and to inflict it, the conflict had to reflect, if not their interests, at least their passions to a certain extent, and it had to avoid shocking their sense of justice. It is the entry of the masses into the national army which has obliged the governments to distinguish between wars of aggression and defensive wars - wars of aggression being those waged by others, and defensive wars being those waged by ourselves. Thus, even in the bourgeois democracies, at a time of national war, opinion exercises a control. But especially during the Second World War and after, in occupied Europe, in the Soviet Union, then in China and in Indo-China we have seen the appearance of popular armies which live among the people and not on the people, which take to the people, as the Chinese say, as a fish takes to water. In this instance, the people take over complete control of the war they are supporting, and immediately they win Peace. A people's war is conducted against an aggressor, an occupying power or a colonial power; the people's army is formed on the spot, and sometimes it takes the place of a



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national army which is retreating or being routed. A people's war can only be a war of defence or of liberation; a people's army defends itself on its own soil, and it could not attack another nation nor cross its borders without losing its character. This was made quite clear when attempts were made to enlist our resistance fighters for the war in Indo-China.

But the people's army has found its exact counterpart in the nuclear weapon; the people's army and the atomic bomb are the two opposed characteristics of our time. At a time when the participation of the whole people in war has been finally seen to be a factor making for Peace, a terrible power enables the leaders of the West to make war without the people. At a time when the people's army is becoming a political organism living in complete harmony with the workers and often helping them to work, a handful of men, an instant of time, and an order given far away by a bureaucracy which is cut off from the nation, are all that is needed to blow up a capital. War becomes detached from mankind, it is no longer restrained by the masses who fought it and suffered in it. But yesterday, there was class conflict inside the army; today atomic war is in the hands of a few wealthy men and their mercenaries. An American journalist said to me frankly one day: "In the United States, people are so Peaceful that they would prefer to drop atomic bombs on their enemies rather than mobilise the infantry."

That, of course, is unjust and the American people as a whole want Peace. But the more they are persuaded that they are not needed to make war, the less action they have on events. Because of fatalism which is inculcated into them, atomic war is getting out of control, it could be

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launched tomorrow by a few Cabinet Ministers against the will and interests of the nation. That is perhaps the greatest danger.

Violence is always abstract, it ignores the natural course of things, their normal development, their affinities, and their organisation. It wants to force things and smashes everything. In this sense, the nuclear weapon is the most naked image of violence and makes of war the most abstract of abstractions. For this very reason, the atomic bomb is the only weapon suitable for oppressive minorities. Without it, their task would be impossible. Their task is the maintenance of abstract barriers between the nations and between people inside each country, and to govern against the necessities of history and political economy. But it is becoming more and more difficult to use men against their will and interests. How can one hope for long to use the Germans themselves to keep Germany torn in two? How can one use Frenchmen to set up a European army which would destroy them? How can one use Europeans to continue the cold war, since they are its first victims? To-day, the oppressors are finding fewer and fewer accomplices among the oppressed. Diplomacy, propaganda and even money are losing their potency. When the American government sent dollars and arms to Chiang Kai-Shek, did that prevent the Kuomintang soldiers from going over to the Communist people's army? And we who have had so much to say about making Asiatics fight Asiatics, have we ever succeeded in setting up Bao Dai's army? Today, the die is cast

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German unity must be achieved, the sovereignty of Viet-Nam must be recognised, Chiang Kai-shek must return to obscurity and Communist China must be recognised. All this must be done because it is in conformity with the movement of history, that is to say, with the interest of the masses who make history. It must be done because it will be done, because it is already done. Our soldiers are lacking neither in courage, discipline, nor intelligence. We have lost Indo-China because it was contrary to the necessity of history that a professional army, thousands of miles away from its bases, should defeat a people's army. There remains but one way out - the atomic bomb. The atomic bomb is a weapon against history.

Though brutal and violent, the ultimatums of the past were challenges and provocations. An ultimatum meant: if you don't give in, we shall fight, and if we have to fight, it is we who shall win. But the atomic bomb is a permanent ultimatum and it has nothing whatever to do with the ancient custom of the challenge. Those who try to intimidate us with the Bikini experiments do not speak of victory, because they know that other nations have split the atom and could also use it for destructive purposes if provoked. Because they also know that a hydrogen bomb can wipe out a people's army, but that no national army can defeat them. In fact, it is blackmail on the destruction of the human race. They try to stop history as Joshua stopped the sun, by threatening to blow up the world: "We will drop the bomb if the French loose the war, and it is just too bad for man, we will drop them on Indo-chinese, on the Chinese or on the Russians, it does not matter."

In order to stop the world turning round they are threatening to suppress History by liquidating those who make history. It is all they can do: wipe out man in case he changes. The bomb <sup>is in</sup> itself the basis and the sum total of a policy completely hostile to the true development of humanity which wants to impose this alternative: the status quo or total destruction. It is quite certain that we will not any more after we are dead. It is this dream of collective death which makes us realise that the atom bomb

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is in itself reactionary.

Fortunately, the warmongers are defeated by their very power; the catastrophe which they are preparing for us is too complete; it threatens everyone of us, but they do not dare unleash it. Can one wipe out the whole of humanity because of the retreat of a regiment of Marines in Korea or the loss of Dien Bien Phu? The weapon is too horrible, it cannot be controlled, every day it deviates further from concrete reality; too sure of their power, those who have this weapon have forgotten even the most elementary diplomacy; they confine themselves to threats but do not turn their threats into action. But meanwhile, barriers are falling, more contacts are made, the peoples cease to put fear in the hearts of their neighbours, new unity in Europe and indeed in the world, a new association of European states is maybe developing and there are no means of stopping it, because it wishes to fly in the face of History, the atomic bomb thereby risks falling out of History altogether.

No matter, as it can be dropped without the consent of the people, it represents in the hands of a few men an arbitrary power.

Up till now, anger, blundering, wrong calculations, stood in collective history as unimportant accidents; at present, they can become formidable, the moods of a leader can become historical factors. History must remove the warhead from the atom bomb, or else the bomb will blow up the world. The peoples have a double task, they must unite against the bomb, instead of war impose peace, replace abstract opposition by definite alliances, win victories for peace, without ever giving the nuclear weapon the time or the pretext for being exploded. Peace must be established in Korea and Indo-China, we must bring about German unity, in the face of the unshakable unity of the peoples the abstract character of atomic blackmail must show itself in its true colours. And then, we must fight against atomic terror. The peoples have demanded and still demand that the representatives of the Five Great Powers should unite to prohibit the manufacture and use of the nuclear weapon. These two tasks are also

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ours, those of the Peace Congress. We must redouble our efforts; in the past history was often made by war, but to-day, since war would mean the end of the world, peace alone can make history.

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**RECORDS RELATING TO THE 'TREASON TRIAL' (REGINA vs F. ADAMS AND OTHERS ON CHARGE OF HIGH TREASON, ETC.), 1956 1961**

**TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961**

***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:- Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand*

*Location:- Johannesburg*

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