

N.S.

KHRUSHCHOV



COMMUNISM-
P E A C E
and HAPPINESS
for the PEOPLES

N.S.KHRUSHCHOV

**COMMUNISM-
PEACE AND HAPPINESS
FOR THE PEOPLES**

IN TWO VOLUMES

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FROM THE PUBLISHERS

This two-volume collection, *Communism—Peace and Happiness for the Peoples*, contains speeches and interviews by N. S. Khrushchov on the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. and the international situation published in the Soviet press in 1961, and his radio and television speeches. The Report of the C.C. C.P.S.U. to the Twenty-Second Party Congress, the Report on the Programme of the C.P.S.U. and the Concluding Speech delivered by N. S. Khrushchov at the Twenty-Second Party Congress are given in Volume II.

An index and a list of talks, interviews and receptions given by N. S. Khrushchov to foreign political and public figures are given at the end of Volume II.

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SPEECH
AT A RECEPTION AT THE EMBASSY
OF THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA

January 2, 1961

Our esteemed friend, the Ambassador of freedom-loving Cuba, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Dear Friends,

Allow me to thank our host for his hospitality, his kind words about the Soviet Union, and his good wishes to our people.

For our part, we should like to congratulate the Cuban people, the Government of Cuba, and the national hero and leader of the Cuban people, Fidel Castro, on the second anniversary of the victorious revolution of the Cuban people. By this revolution the people of Cuba overthrew the dictatorship of Batista, a henchman of the foreign monopolies that brutally exploited the Cuban people, plundered them and enriched themselves at the Cubans' expense.

We hail the revolutionary gains of the Cuban people who, having freed themselves from colonial slavery and the oppression of foreign monopolies, established the system for which they fought with arms in hand.

The Soviet people hail the Cuban revolution. We know from our own experience that domestic counter-revolu-

tionaries do not give in without a fight. The victory of the Cuban people is only the first stage. The enemies will now fight against the working people of Cuba in new ways. They are organising sabotage at factories, terrorist acts, and subversive activities wherever they can, with the support of foreign reactionary circles, especially those that had economic interests in the country and exploited the Cuban people.

Alarming news is now coming from Cuba that the more aggressive U.S. monopolists are preparing a direct attack on Cuba. They allege that Soviet rocket bases are being, or have been, set up in Cuba against the United States.

Everybody knows, however, that this is foul slander. Everybody knows very well that there are no Soviet military bases in Cuba, or in any other country.

Speaking of the policy of military bases in foreign territories, it is the present U.S. Government that is obsessed by it. It is the U.S. Government that has set up military bases around the Soviet Union. That is a policy not of peace, but of war, a policy of aggression. We are against such a policy and censure all governments that pursue it.

Indeed, why should the Soviet Union want military bases in foreign territories, why should we ask Cuba to let us have such bases in its territory? Technology has now provided us with the means of striking crushing retaliatory blows directly from our territory against any spot on the globe if the need arises. We have said this many times, and the American imperialists know this perfectly well.

The aggressive U.S. monopoly groups are trying in every way to suppress the will of the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence by means of the big stick. But they should not forget that the times have changed and the conditions are not what they used to be. In our day the will of the peoples has to be heeded.

Whenever the peoples rise for their freedom and independence, the U.S. imperialists hasten to the aid of reac-

tionary forces suffering defeat under the onslaught of the people. It is rightly said in the recent Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties that American imperialism is the chief citadel of international reaction and an international gendarme. At present, this gendarme is rushing to and fro like a fire brigade when extinguishing a fire. It directs its efforts against Cuba to restore the rule of its monopolies and eradicate the gains of the revolution, then plots against the lawful Government of Laos, which has declared that it will pursue a policy of neutrality, that is, a policy of non-alignment with military blocs, and interferes in the internal affairs of the Congo, in order to prevent the Congolese people from pursuing the independent policy proclaimed by the lawful government of Prime Minister Mr. Lumumba.

And all this is being done by the Eisenhower Administration, which has continually demonstrated its aggressiveness. Even now, as it lives its last days, this Administration is pursuing the extremely dangerous policy of trying to suppress the Cuban revolution. The present U.S. Administration has revealed itself to the world as a government that conducts an extremely reactionary policy in the interests of the bellicose monopolists and colonialists. It was no accident, therefore, that the Eisenhower Administration voted with the colonialists when abolition of the infamous colonial regime was put to the vote in the United Nations.

We hope that there are enough sober-minded people in the U.S.A. who will not permit the aggressive plans to be carried through and will not let the forces of reaction bring the world to the brink of war.

The most sensible thing in the present circumstances is not to aggravate the situation, but to try and normalise the international climate. This calls for strict observance of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and for a policy based on the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. Let

every nation independently choose the path it considers best for itself.

Nobody should hinder the Cuban people from establishing their own order in their own house and building their life as they wish. The dangerous seat of the flames spreading in Laos must be extinguished before it is too late, a meeting of states like the 1954 Geneva Conference should be urgently convened and the activities of the International Commission on Laos resumed. It is high time the imperialists stopped interfering in the internal affairs of the Congo and gave the lawful Cōngolese Government headed by Mr. Lumumba a chance to resume its normal activities.

We call upon all governments to exert their efforts in solving these urgent problems. It must be borne in mind that if one side helps the reactionary forces in the struggle against the peoples, this can only lead to an extension of the conflict, fraught with serious consequences to the cause of peace.

The monopolists and colonialists should realise clearly that the times have changed, that we are living in the second half of the twentieth century. The peoples want to be masters in their own countries, masters of their wealth, and they want to avail themselves of the fruits of their labour. The peoples refuse to tolerate being plundered any longer. They do not want to live in poverty and to suffer from hunger and disease. They do not want their labour to enrich the monopolists.

We rejoice at the successes of the Cuban people, at their achievements. A united people that fights courageously for its interests and clearly sees the goal ahead, is invincible.

We are glad that relations of friendship, trust and co-operation have arisen between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba. We are convinced that these relations will grow and gather strength. The Cuban people can al-

ways count on the support and assistance of the Soviet people.

Permit me to wish the Cuban people and their government, headed by the national hero of Cuba, Fidel Castro, new outstanding successes in strengthening their national independence and developing their economy and culture.

May I propose a toast to the happiness and prosperity of the entire Cuban people, to the health of the leader of the Cuban people, Fidel Castro, to the President of Cuba, Osvaldo Dorticos, to the leaders of the Cuban revolution, to the health of the esteemed Cuban Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., Faure Chomon, and the other Cuban friends present here, to eternal friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Cuba, to world peace!

(N. S. Khrushchov's speech was heard with close attention and frequently interrupted by applause.)

**FOR NEW VICTORIES
OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT***

**RESULTS OF THE MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES**

January 6, 1961

Comrades, the Meeting of Representatives of Eighty-One Marxist-Leninist Parties, held in Moscow in November 1960, will go down in the history of the world communist and working-class movement as one of its most vivid chapters. The Meeting made a profound analysis of the contemporary international situation and worked out a line common for our movement on the major issues. As a result of the Meeting, which proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternal unity, the millions-strong family of Communists of all countries has drawn still closer together on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and multiplied its strength in the heroic struggle for the triumph of peace and socialism.

The Meeting, which was the most representative in the history of the communist and working-class movement, was attended by veterans steeled in class battles who

* Speech delivered at a general meeting of the Party organisations of the Higher Party School, the Academy of Social Sciences, and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C. C.P.S.U.

had gone through long years of grim struggle and who did not flinch under torture by fascist executioners and other enemies of the working class. It was attended by leaders of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries, by representatives of Communist Parties that in difficult conditions are fighting valiantly against capitalism, and by militant leaders of the national-liberation movement. In short, the Meeting was attended by the flower of the world communist movement.

Now, when Communists in all countries are with animation discussing the Statement issued by the Meeting and the Appeal to the Peoples of the World, both of which they approve unanimously, it is particularly obvious that the time and effort devoted by the participants in the Meeting to their common task were not wasted. Working people everywhere see now that the Marxist-Leninist parties have justified the hopes of the nations.

Over a thousand million people in the socialist countries followed the Meeting with close attention. They were confident that it would result in the further consolidation of the socialist camp and the still closer unity of the world communist movement. The working class, all working people in the capitalist countries wanted to know how best to fight for their revolutionary aims, for social progress and for democratic rights and liberties, and how to repulse imperialist reaction more effectively. The fighters for national independence expected the Meeting to tell them how to abolish, speedily and for ever, the disgraceful colonial system and how to ensure the development of the liberated countries along the road of national independence, peace and social progress.

All peace-loving people waited for the answer the Meeting would provide to the most burning question of the day—how to prevent a world nuclear war and establish lasting peace on earth and friendship among all nations, and how to ensure the peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems.

Hundreds of millions of people all over the world were deeply satisfied when they learned the results of the Meeting.

The Meeting has greatly enriched the ideological treasure-house of international communism. The Statement, which was adopted unanimously, is a militant Marxist-Leninist document of the utmost international significance. It reaffirms the loyalty of the Communist Parties to the 1957 Declaration. At the same time, it furnishes a profound analysis of the new developments in the world arena and contains theoretical and political conclusions important to all the Marxist-Leninist parties. For the Communists, the working class and the progressives in all countries this Statement will serve as a reliable compass in the further struggle for their great aims.

The Statement contains a Marxist-Leninist assessment of the contemporary epoch, and points to the new prospects opening to the international communist, working-class and liberation movement. The documents of the Meeting show the line of development of the world socialist system, and of the further consolidation of the socialist camp; they define the major problems of the working-class struggle in the capitalist countries, the fight for the final abolition of the infamous colonial system, and for the unity of all the forces working against the peril of a new war.

The Appeal to the Peoples of the World contains a fervid call for unity in the struggle to solve the most pressing problem of our time—to prevent a world war. The Appeal shows once again that it is we, the Communists, who are the most consistent champions of the interests of the people, and that it is we who are showing the only correct way to preserve and strengthen peace.

The work of the Meeting was imbued with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, Party democracy and the desire to reinforce still more the unity of the Communists. The delegations from all the Parties expressed their views,

shared their experience, and contributed to the assessment and elaboration of the basic problems of our day.

The chief results of the Meeting were greater unity of the world communist movement and the further consolidation of the international communist front on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This is a new ideological and political victory for the Communists, a victory of great historical significance. At the same time it is a fresh defeat for the enemies of communism and progress. The imperialists and their stooges were bitterly disappointed when they read the documents of the Meeting. We have every reason to state firmly that the unity of the world communist movement, which the imperialist reactionaries fear so terribly, is now stronger than ever. This is a great success for our common cause.

1. OUR EPOCH IS THE EPOCH OF THE TRIUMPH OF MARXISM-LENINISM

An analysis of the world situation of the early sixties of the 20th century cannot but rouse a sense of deep satisfaction and legitimate pride among all members of the great communist movement. Indeed, comrades, reality has greatly surpassed the boldest and most optimistic of predictions and expectations.

In the past we used to say that history was working for socialism. What we meant was that eventually mankind would consign capitalism to the dustbin and that socialism would triumph. Today we can say that socialism is working for history, because the rise and consolidation of socialism on a world-wide scale is the basic content of the contemporary historical process.

In 1913, that is, four years before the October Revolution, V. I. Lenin, our immortal leader and teacher, wrote that since the time of the *Communist Manifesto* world history broke down clearly into three main periods, the first being from the revolution of 1848 to the Paris Commune

of 1871, the second from the Paris Commune to the Russian Revolution of 1905, and the third from the Russian Revolution of 1905 onwards. Lenin concluded his description of the three periods with these words:

“Each of the three great periods of world history since the appearance of Marxism has brought it new confirmation and new triumphs. But a still greater triumph awaits Marxism, as the doctrine of the proletariat, in the period of history that lies ahead.”*

Those were prophetic words. They have come true with amazing force and accuracy. The historical epoch so brilliantly predicted by Lenin is a qualitatively and fundamentally new epoch in world history. None of the previous epochs can compare with it. Those were epochs when the working class was gathering strength and when its heroic struggles, while shaking the foundations of capitalism, were as yet unable to solve the main problem, that of the transfer of power to the working people. The new epoch differs from all the others because of the historic victory of socialism, ushered in by the October Revolution in 1917. Ever since, the Marxist-Leninist doctrine has been winning one resounding victory after another. Today its great impact and revolutionising role are felt not merely in separate countries and continents, but in social development throughout the world.

There are a number of factors which make the march of socialism unconquerable. To begin with, Marxism-Leninism has won the minds of hundreds of millions of people and has thus become, to use Marx's expression, a mighty material force. Furthermore, in the eyes of mankind Marxism-Leninism is today not just a theory, but also a living reality. Socialist society, being built up in vast areas of Europe and Asia, today embodies that theory. There is no force on earth strong enough now, nor can

* V. I. Lenin, *On the International Working-Class and Communist Movement*, Moscow, p. 170.

there be, to halt the constantly growing urge of vast masses of the people to see with their own eyes and, so to speak, "feel" with their own hands what socialism is like—not in books or manifestos, but in reality, in practice. There is no force on earth now able to prevent the peoples of more and more countries from advancing to socialism. There is yet another fact of prime importance. Yesterday hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America languished under the yoke of the imperialist "civilisers", while today the picture is changing completely. The revolutionary emergence in the arena of history of a growing number of nations provides most favourable conditions for an unprecedented expansion of the sphere of influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas. The day is not distant when Marxism-Leninism will win the minds of most of the people on earth. The world developments of the forty-three years since the victory of the October Revolution furnish conclusive proof that the Leninist theory of world socialist revolution is scientifically sound and viable.

It will be useful to recall how Lenin described the process of the world socialist revolution and the forces involved in it. "The socialist revolution," he said, "will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie—no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries against international imperialism."* Lenin stressed that this struggle aimed primarily at national liberation, and said:

"It is perfectly clear that in the coming decisive battles of the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the world's population, initially aimed at national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism,

* V. I. Lenin, *On the International Working-Class and Communist Movement*, Moscow, p. 335.

and will, perhaps, play a much greater revolutionary role than we expect.”*

Now that a world socialist system exists and there is a marked upsurge of anti-imperialist national-liberation revolutions, we have had to determine the further course and outlook of world development. And this is impossible without a profound understanding of the essence, content and nature of the decisive tasks of the present epoch.

The question of the character of the epoch is not an abstract and purely theoretical question. Inseparably linked with it are the general strategy and tactics of world communism, and of every Communist Party.

The ideologists of imperialism, and their reformist and revisionist accomplices go to great pains to misrepresent the character of the present epoch. This falsification has a definite purpose—to mislead the masses, to divert them from the revolutionary path, to hitch them to the imperialist bandwagon—to create the impression that capitalism is not in its death-throes, but is creeping into socialism through a sort of deliberate “evolution”. That is the notorious theory of the so-called “transformed” capitalism. The falsifiers maintain that this “transformation” is in the best interests of all classes, and that peace and harmony reign therefore in capitalist society. That is how the bourgeois ideologists, the Right-wing Social-Democrats and the revisionist renegades of communism depict the present epoch. It is no accident that the capitalist ideologists substitute far-fetched definitions, such as “people’s capitalism” and “welfare state”, for “capitalism” and “imperialism”.

It stands to reason that we must expose these ideological manoeuvres of distraction and counter them with our scientific Marxist-Leninist description of the epoch. We must do so in order properly to assess the balance of forces and use the new opportunities offered by the present epoch for the further advancement of our great cause.

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 32, p. 458.

What, then, are the requirements which a Marxist-Leninist characterisation of our epoch should meet? It should give a clear idea of what class holds the key place in this epoch, and what are the basic content, trend and tasks of social development. Secondly, it should cover the entire revolutionary process from the emergence of socialism to the complete victory of communism. Thirdly, it should show the forces aligned with the working class, which holds the key place in our epoch, and the movements that are part of the general torrent against imperialism.

At a time when the socialist revolution has triumphed in many countries, when socialism has become a powerful world system, when the colonial system of imperialism is on the point of final collapse, and imperialism in a state of decline and crisis, the definition of our epoch should reflect these decisive developments.

The Statement of the Meeting defines the epoch in these terms:

"Our time, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale."

This definition of the character of the present epoch may be regarded as an example of a creative, genuinely scientific solution of an important and responsible problem. The strength of this definition lies in that it faithfully characterises the main achievements of the world liberation movement and provides the communist and working-class movement with a clear perspective for the world-wide victory of communism.

In defining the essence and character of the present

epoch as a whole, it is highly essential that we should be clear about the main peculiarities and distinguishing features of its current stage. With respect to its chief motive forces, the post-October period is clearly divided into two stages. The first began with the victory of the October Revolution. To use Lenin's phrase, it was the period of the emergence and development of a national dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, dictatorship of the proletariat within the national bounds of Russia alone.

Although the Soviet Union exerted a very great influence on international affairs from its very inception, it was imperialism that largely determined the course and character of international relations. But even in those early days imperialism proved incapable of crushing the Soviet Union, of preventing it from growing into a mighty industrial power that became the bulwark of progress and civilisation, a centre of attraction for all the forces fighting against imperialist oppression and fascist enslavement.

The second stage in the development of the contemporary epoch relates to the emergence of the world socialist system. This was a revolutionary process of historic significance. The October Revolution broke one of the links of the imperialist chain. After this the chain was broken frontally. We used to speak of breaking one or more links of the imperialist chain. At present there is no longer any all-embracing chain of imperialism. The dictatorship of the working class has gone beyond the confines of one country and become an international force. Imperialism has lost not only the countries where socialism has triumphed. It is rapidly losing nearly all its colonies. Naturally, as a result of these blows and losses, the general crisis of capitalism has become extremely acute and the balance of forces in the world has changed radically in favour of socialism.

The main distinguishing feature of our time lies in that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor

in the development of human society. This is also directly expressed in the sphere of international relations. In the present conditions premises have been created for socialism to determine more and more the character, methods and trends of international relations. This does not mean that imperialism is an "insignificant factor" which can be thrown off the scales. Not at all. Imperialism is still very strong. It controls a powerful militaristic machine.

Imperialism has built up a gigantic peacetime war machine and a ramified system of blocs, and has subordinated economy to the arms drive. The U.S. imperialists are bent on bringing the whole world under their sway, and are threatening mankind with nuclear-missile war. Modern imperialism is increasingly tainted by decay and parasitism. Marxists-Leninists do not, and must not entertain any illusions with regard to imperialism in their evaluation of the prospects of international development.

The facts indicating that the imperialists are pursuing a policy of outrageous provocations and aggressions are countless. That is no novelty. The novelty is that all the intrigues of the imperialists are not only being conclusively exposed, but also firmly repelled, and their attempts to start local wars are being frustrated.

The present balance of world forces enables the socialist camp and the other forces of peace for the first time in history to set themselves the entirely realistic task of forcing the imperialists, under pain of the downfall of their system, to refrain from starting a world war.

In connection with the possibility of preventing a world war, I should like to deal with the prospects of the further development of the general crisis of capitalism. It is common knowledge that both the first and the second world wars greatly influenced the onset and aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism. Does it follow that world war is an indispensable condition for the further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism? Such an inference would be absolutely wrong, because it distorts

the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution and inverts the true causes of revolution. Proletarian revolution is not caused solely by military cataclysms; first and foremost, it is a result of the development of the class struggle and the internal contradictions of capitalism.

It is quite obvious that the rise of the world socialist system, the rapid process of the disintegration of the colonial system and the unprecedented upsurge of the struggle of the working class for its vital rights and interests are undermining the foundations of capitalism and intensifying its general crisis. Capitalism has suffered irretrievable losses from these blows. This applies equally to the capitalist system as a whole and to its main power—the United States.

The strongest capitalist country has been affected by the general crisis to the greatest degree. It is the United States that has been hit by economic upheaval more frequently than other countries in the post-war years. Since the war it has already experienced three slumps—in 1948-49, 1953-54 and, especially, in 1957-58.

U.S. industrial production last year, according to the American press, rose by only 2 per cent, and for 1961 U.S. economists forecast not a rise, but a drop of about 3.7 per cent, and perhaps more. Soviet production in 1960 rose roughly by 10 per cent.

U. S. monopoly capital is showing an inability to utilise available productive forces. The richest country of the capitalist world is the country with the greatest chronic unemployment. Obviously minimised official U.S. figures show that the number of wholly unemployed in the United States rose from 2,600,000 in 1956 to 3,800,000 in 1959, and exceeded 4,000,000 towards the close of 1960. In addition there are millions of semi-unemployed in the United States.

Under-capacity operation of industry is continually spreading in the U.S.A. In 1959, the U.S. steel industry operated 37 per cent under capacity, although steel out-

put rose somewhat after a steep decline in the crisis year of 1958. By the end of 1960 the U.S. steel industry used less than half of its capacity. Despite the big increase in military appropriations, the rate of growth of production has slowed down there in the post-war years, barely exceeding the growth of population. In 1956 to 1959, U.S. industrial production per head of population remained at the same level.

Although the United States is still the main economic, financial and military force of contemporary imperialism, its weight in the economy and politics of the capitalist world is declining. The share of the United States in the industrial output of the capitalist countries dropped from 54 per cent in 1950 to 47-48 per cent in 1959. In 1950 the United States accounted for 57.4 per cent of all the steel produced in the capitalist countries; in 1959 this percentage dropped to 40.4. The share of the United States in the total export of the capitalist countries shrank from 30 odd per cent in 1946 to 21 per cent in 1953, and to 17.4 per cent in 1959. Nevertheless, the U.S. monopolists were, and still are, the chief usurers and exploiters of peoples.

There is every reason for drawing the conclusion that both economically and in the sphere of international affairs the principal capitalist power has entered the twilight phase, a phase of growing difficulties and crises.

As for the economy of the other capitalist countries, it, too, is characterised by increasing instability.

At present the capitalist world is not split into two imperialist camps as it was prior to the two world wars. But it is far from united, and is rent by bitter internal conflicts. Even behind the so-called "Atlantic solidarity" there is the unprepossessing picture of internal strife and conflict, and increasing resistance to United States leadership and *diktat*. The revival of German militarism and revanchism in the heart of Europe is restoring the complex entanglement of Anglo-German, Franco-German and other

imperialist contradictions. One has only to compare the present state of capitalism with what it was after the end of the Second World War to see clearly that its general crisis has become much deeper.

Having made a profound analysis of the international situation as a whole, the Meeting reached a conclusion of great theoretical and political significance, namely, that "*a new stage has begun in the development of the general crisis of capitalism*". The feature of this stage is that it originated not in connection with a world war, but in an environment of competition and struggle between the two systems, the increasing change in the balance of forces in favour of socialism, and the intense aggravation of all the contradictions of imperialism, an environment where the successful struggle of the peace forces for the practice and consolidation of peaceful coexistence has prevented the imperialists from wrecking world peace by their aggressive actions, an environment of rising struggle by the masses for democracy, national liberation and socialism. All this speaks of the further development and deepening of the general crisis of capitalism.

Our comrades-in-arms of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries bear this in mind when charting their further tactical course of struggle for the working-class cause. And we can confidently say that the near future will be marked by new successes for the combined forces of world socialism, the working class and the national-liberation movement.

2. FULL-SCALE BUILDING OF COMMUNISM IN THE U.S.S.R. AND THE PROSPECTS OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM

Comrades, the world socialist system is the greatest motive power of our time. The international working class and its communist vanguard see their duty in reinforcing in every way the might and unity of the socialist camp—the bastion of peace, freedom and the independence of nations.

You will recall that the Meeting paid close attention to problems related to the further development of the world socialist system. The Statement of the Meeting formulated important theoretical and political propositions on this score. I should like to dwell on some of them.

As pointed out in the Statement, the cardinal task of the socialist countries is to utilise the possibilities inherent in socialism and to surpass the world capitalist system as speedily as possible in physical industrial and agricultural output, and thereafter outstrip the most developed capitalist countries in output per head of population and in the standard of living.

The economic strength and international prestige of the world socialist system have grown rapidly since the previous Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957. From 1957 to 1959 industrial production in the socialist countries rose 37.1 per cent, while in the capitalist countries it rose 7.4 per cent. In the same period, industrial output in the Soviet Union increased 23 per cent, and in the United States only 4.6 per cent. The average annual rate of growth amounted to 17 per cent in all the socialist countries, and to 3.6 per cent in the capitalist countries. The average annual rate of growth in the Soviet Union was 10.9 per cent, and in the United States 2.3 per cent.

The changes wrought by socialism in all spheres of life in the People's Democracies are so profound that now we can say with legitimate pride that not only in the Soviet Union but also in all the other countries of the socialist camp the socio-economic possibilities of restoring capitalism no longer exist. The world socialist system has entered upon a new stage in its development.

The Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party held that it was its duty to inform the world communist forum about the work of our Party and to indicate our immediate prospects.

Our Party is concentrating its efforts on the full-scale building of communist society. The main tasks are, first, to establish the material and technical basis of communism; second, to develop upon this basis communist social relations; and, third, to mould the man of the future communist society.

The Seven-Year Plan is a most important stage in the building of the material and technical basis of communism in our country. The industrial output target for the first two years of the Seven-Year Plan called for a rise of 17 per cent. The actual rise was 22.1 per cent. At the present rate of growth industrial output will rise approximately 100 per cent in the seven years, instead of the 80 per cent envisaged in the plan. This will mean that about 90,000 million rubles (in the new currency) worth of manufactured goods will be produced in excess of the planned amount. To get a better idea of what this figure means, let me remind you that Lenin proudly reported to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International that in 1922 our country was able for the first time to invest 20 million rubles in heavy industry.

So modest were the sums in 1922, and so great the possibilities we have today!

In this connection I should like to say a few words about our iron and steel industry. The Seven-Year Plan set a target of 86-91 million tons of steel for 1965. Last year's output was 65 million tons. The increase planned for 1961 is 6 million tons. This will bring the output up to 71 million tons. If the annual increase in the remaining years of the plan were the same as in 1961, we could produce 95 million tons in 1965. And if we pushed steel production up at the same rate as in the first three years of the plan, the 1965 steel output could be 100-102 million tons.

But in all probability we will not pursue a policy of developing iron and steel to the full. The likelihood is that we will divert some of the funds into agriculture and

light industry. Communism cannot be built by offering nothing but machines, iron, steel and non-ferrous metals. People should have a chance to eat and dress well, to have good housing and to enjoy other material and cultural amenities.

This is not a revision of our general line, it is rather a rational utilisation of our material possibilities. When we were surrounded by enemies and our industry was weaker than that of the capitalist countries, we economised on everything—even on schools, as Lenin said. Things are different now. We have a powerful industry, and our armed forces are equipped with the most up-to-date weapons. Why deny ourselves the things we can have without prejudicing the further development of our socialist state?

At present the Central Committee of the Party and the Government are drawing up a general economic development plan for 1960-80. Truly exciting prospects arise for building the material and technical basis of communism and improving the living standard through the realisation of the grand projects made by Lenin, our immortal leader and teacher.

The rise in the cultural level of the masses is one of the most imposing achievements of socialism. In 1959 we had 2,200,000 students, and the number of non-manual workers now exceeds 20 million.

The number of manual workers who have a secondary or university education has grown considerably. Before the Revolution no worker or peasant had a secondary, let alone a university education, whereas now, according to the last census, 32 per cent of the citizens engaged in manual labour have a secondary or university education. The percentage for workers is 39, for collective farmers 21. This shows convincingly that we have made very tangible progress in the gradual elimination of the essential distinctions between manual and mental labour.

The results of this great cultural revolution in our country are strikingly reflected in the achievements of Soviet science. The whole world admires these achievements. The three Soviet earth satellites, the solar satellite, and our luniks and spaceships are impressive tokens of the successes and advantages of the socialist system, and of the socialist genius of a people that is building communism.

The first stage of the full-scale building of communism, encompassed by the Seven-Year Plan, is at once the decisive stage in the fulfilment of the basic economic task of the U.S.S.R. In 1950, the industrial output of the Soviet Union amounted to less than 30 per cent of U.S. output. Today, it is approximately 60 per cent. Economists estimate that in 1965 the Soviet Union will surpass the United States in physical output, and by about 1970 in output per head of population

The peoples of the other socialist countries, too, are working with devotion to solve the basic economic task of socialism. The time is not far off when socialism will advance to first place in world production, and capitalism will suffer defeat in the sphere of material production, this decisive sphere of human endeavour. To be sure, after the Soviet Union fulfils and overfulfils its Seven-Year Plan, and thanks to the rapid rates of economic development in the People's Democracies, the countries of the world socialist system will be producing more than half of the world industrial output.

The victory of the Soviet Union in the economic competition with the United States, and the victory of the socialist system as a whole over the capitalist system, will be a major turning point in history, one that will have a still more powerful revolutionising influence on the working-class movement of the world. When this happens even the most inveterate sceptics will see that socialism alone provides everything needed for man's happiness, and will choose in favour of socialism.

The most important thing today is to win time in the economic competition with capitalism. The faster our economic development, the stronger we will be economically and politically and the greater will be the influence of the socialist camp on the trend and rate of historical development, on the future of the world.

The Statement of the Meeting stresses the need for steadily improving political and economic work and continuously perfecting the management of the national economy, the need for running the socialist economy on scientific lines. We know from experience that it is highly important to solve these problems correctly. We are devoting special attention to gearing economic management to the objective conditions, so as to avoid running ahead and, equally, to avoid retarding the rates of development.

Measures are being taken on a vast scale in the U.S.S.R. to make the most of the country's natural resources in the building of communism. Forty-one million hectares of virgin and long-fallow land—an area equal to that of several West-European countries—have been brought under the plough. A cascade of giant hydropower stations has almost completely harnessed the waters of the great Russian river, Volga. The Angara cascade will consist of a series of even larger hydropower stations, including the more than 4,000,000 kw Bratsk Station. Still more powerful stations of up to 5,000,000 kw will make the great Siberian river Yenisei serve communist construction. One of the world's richest iron-ore deposits, the Kursk magnetic anomaly, in the centre of the European part of the country, is now being worked.

Oil derricks are springing up farther and farther east. Three-fourths of the oil in pre-revolutionary Russia was extracted in the Baku region. The oil output in Baku has more than doubled since the Revolution, yet in 1959 it was less than 15 per cent of the total Soviet oil output. The inexhaustible mineral wealth of Siberia is being developed, yielding millions of tons of ferrous, non-ferrous

and rare metals, a wide range of other mineral raw materials and industrial diamonds. Millions of hectares of arid land are being irrigated. We are studying the possibility of altering the flow of some of the biggest northern rivers. These are just a few examples of how fruitful are the results obtained through scientifically reasoned methods of economic management, which enable us to make full use of the creative possibilities of socialism.

Elaboration of the theoretical problems arising in everyday life is an important and organic part of the Party's work in guiding communist construction. The practical experience of communist construction poses many questions for which we have no ready answer. In building communism we are following hitherto unexplored paths. Man has as yet no exhaustive theoretical grounding and experience in organising all aspects of social life in communist conditions. Marxists, it is true, have a good knowledge of the general laws and principles which will shape the mode of life under communism. But now knowledge of the general laws alone no longer suffices. Communism has emerged from the sphere of theory into the sphere of practice. The Party is resolving the new problems of communist construction correctly because it treats Marxism-Leninism not as a dogma, but as a creative, constantly developing doctrine.

In carrying out the practical tasks of building communism, our Party is continuously developing Marxist-Leninist theory. The great Lenin teaches us that revolutionary Marxist theory is inseparable from revolutionary practice, that theory and practice interact and supplement each other, that theory lights the way for practice.

Allow me to name some of the theoretical problems on which our Party has worked in the last few years. They are the problems of the two phases of communism, of the transition from its first phase to the second, higher phase, and problems concerning the development of the productive forces and relations of production during the transi-

tion from socialism to communism, the development of the socialist state into communist public self-government, the communist education of the working people, etc.

I should like to dwell on some of these questions. As we advance towards communism, management of the socialist economy becomes more complicated and the links between its branches and between the country's economic regions become closer. Consequently, our Party is devoting close attention to questions of economic management and to the improvement of planning. In 1957 we reorganised the management of industry and building, abolished the ministries for branches of industry and set up Economic Councils in the economic administration areas. The purpose was to shift the centre of gravity in the day-to-day management of economic development to the localities concerned, while retaining the principle of centralised planning. As a result, democratic centralism has been further developed. This is in keeping with Lenin's words that with the advance towards communism and the rise in the cultural level of the working people, economic management will become more and more democratic.

Further, our Party has indicated the ways of elevating collective-farm and co-operative property to the level of national property and has worked out their development into the single form of communist property. The C.P.S.U. has worked out and effected a series of economic, political and organisational measures designed to invigorate and develop all aspects of the collective-farm system and collective-farm and co-operative property (e.g., reorganisation of the machine-and-tractor stations, sale of machinery to the collective farms, alteration of the procurement system and the price policy, assistance in providing the countryside with personnel, and so on).

Our Party is devoting close attention to the correct application of the socialist principle of distribution and to the future transition to the communist principle of distribution. It has demonstrated that it is economically un-

sound and wrong to level pay and neglect incentives. It may be recalled that in the past there were departures from the principle of incentives, particularly in agriculture. These caused grave harm to agriculture and to the collective-farm system. Neglect of the material needs of working people and emphasis chiefly on enthusiasm and political consciousness, on social and moral forms of encouragement and reward, impeded growth of production and improvement of the living standard. This had bad effects at home and even abroad, because it hurt the prestige of the collective-farm system and played into the hands of the enemies of communism.

We have eliminated these shortcomings and are working for a consistent application of the principle, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work". This principle makes work obligatory for all. Its realisation is of immense importance for raising labour productivity, improving skills, and for educating people in the communist attitude to work as life's prime necessity. At the same time, our Party sees to it that material and moral stimuli are combined. As we draw nearer to communism, the role of the moral factor will steadily increase. It is highly important even now. The appearance and spread of the movement for communist work teams, shops and enterprises is one of the outstanding developments in Soviet life.

The transition to the communist principle of distribution according to needs will not be effected until the productive forces and the productivity of labour attain a level that ensures an abundance of material values and until work becomes life's prime necessity for the members of society. At present, the bulk of the national consumption fund is distributed according to work done. At the same time, a considerable portion of the working people's requirements are satisfied free of charge. Allocations for social and cultural measures, public education and the health services, which all citizens are provided with free of

charge, amount at present to nearly 25,000 million rubles a year. The increasing of public funds for personal consumption is for us a communist way of raising the standard of living.

The Party is devoting close attention to the theory of the socialist state. In our country, where exploiting classes have long ceased to exist, there is a gradual withering away of administrative bodies, and primarily of those exercising functions of compulsion. Our Party has set its sights firmly on extending democracy, transferring certain functions of the administrative bodies to public organisations, encouraging public initiative in all spheres of political and cultural life, and drawing the greatest possible number of working people into economic management, the maintenance of public order, the struggle against infringements of the law, etc. This line, far from weakening socialist society, is strengthening it and is in keeping with the perspective of socialist statehood evolving into communist public self-government.

These and other questions of the theory and practice of communist construction will be reflected in the new Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This Programme, now being drafted, will be discussed by the Party and adopted at its coming Twenty-Second Congress.

The Statement expresses the common wish of the Marxist-Leninist parties that the affairs of each of the socialist countries go smoothly and that the problems stemming from the building of socialism and communism are solved correctly in the interests of the country concerned and the socialist camp as a whole.

In this connection, emphasis is laid on the very great importance of the collective experience of the socialist camp, accumulated through socialist construction in the different countries.

Our Party is closely studying the experience of the fraternal parties in these countries, for they are making

a valuable contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory of building new society. The accumulated collective experience of socialist construction is a valuable asset of the entire international communist movement. The study and correct application of this experience by all the fraternal parties is a highly important condition for the development of every socialist country.

The prototype of new society for all mankind is being created in the part of the globe occupied by the world socialist system. This puts a special responsibility on the Communist Parties of all the socialist countries. With proper political and economic guidance conforming to the general laws governing the building of socialism, the specific features of the respective countries and the peculiarities and demands of each stage of development, we are able to utilise the advantages of socialism with still greater energy and attain new successes.

The countries of the world socialist system are drawing closer to each other; their co-operation in all fields is growing. This is a natural development. There are no insoluble contradictions between the socialist countries. Nor can there be. The more developed and economically stronger countries are rendering disinterested fraternal aid to the economically less developed. For instance, some 500 industrial enterprises and other projects have been built in the fraternal socialist countries with Soviet help. Our loans and credits to these countries add up to 7,800 million new rubles. At the same time, we are bound to acknowledge that the fraternal socialist countries are aiding in the development of the Soviet economy.

The world socialist system is at present an aggregate of the national economies of sovereign, independent countries. The steady strengthening of bonds between the national economies of the socialist countries is a law of the world socialist system as a whole. There is good reason to say that the further development of the socialist coun-

tries will follow the line of consolidating the world system of socialist economy. As the Statement points out, the Marxist-Leninist parties at the helm in these countries are unanimous in their striving actively to further this process.

They are working jointly for a correct solution of the problems of specialisation and co-ordination of production and the international division of labour. By so doing, they are helping to utilise the advantages of socialism more fully. Co-ordination of national economic plans is the main form of pooling the production efforts of the socialist countries at the present stage. It is in the best interests of all the socialist countries to perfect this work, especially in connection with the long-term economic development plan that is to be drawn up for these countries.

The consolidation of the common economic basis of the world socialist system and the creation of the material basis for the more or less simultaneous transition of all the peoples of the socialist system to communism will proceed more rapidly, the more fully the internal resources of each of the socialist countries are utilised and the better the advantages of the socialist international division of labour are employed, with the different levels of economic development being evened out. By gradually eliminating the disparity in levels of economic development, that arose in the course of history, we are showing the peoples of the world the communist way of ending the economic and cultural backwardness to which imperialism doomed them. The effectiveness of this way was first demonstrated by some of the formerly backward peoples of Central Asia and the Caucasus, who, with the generous aid rendered by the more developed socialist nations, the Russian nation first and foremost, rapidly overcame their backwardness and caught up with the industrially developed regions of the country. This process is now taking place throughout the socialist system.

It is our common duty to continue to strengthen in every way the solidarity, unity, co-operation and mutual aid of the socialist countries. The Statement of the Meeting reads: "*The Communist and Workers' Parties tirelessly educate the working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism and intolerance of all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. Solid unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties and of the peoples of the socialist countries, and their loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine are the main source of the strength and invincibility of each socialist country and the socialist camp as a whole.*"

The Communist and Workers' Parties have defined, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the right principles governing the relations among the socialist countries and nations. It stands to reason that some shortcomings and snags are bound to crop up in such a new and momentous undertaking. But the socialist community is characterised not by incidental shortcomings, but by the essentially internationalist nature of socialism, by the internationalist policy of the fraternal parties and countries, and the epoch-making successes achieved through this policy. As to the shortcomings, we must remove them, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, international solidarity and fraternal friendship, seeing our main aim in consolidating the socialist camp. The Soviet Union has always faithfully done its internationalist duty, putting uppermost the unity of the socialist countries and of the international communist movement. Our Party will steadfastly adhere to this policy.

Closer unity of the socialist countries on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism will provide still better opportunities for solving the paramount problems of the day in a new way, in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism.

3. PREVENTION OF A NEW WAR IS THE QUESTION OF QUESTIONS

Comrades, the Meeting centred its attention on the issues of war and peace. All of us at the Meeting saw clearly that prevention of a world-wide nuclear war was the most burning and vital problem facing mankind.

Lenin pointed out that since the First World War the issue of war and peace had become the basic question of the policy of all countries—a matter of life and death for tens of millions. Lenin's words sound even more forcefully today, when weapons of mass annihilation threaten unprecedented destruction and death to hundreds of millions of people. There is no task more pressing today than to avert such a catastrophe.

The Meeting charted ways and means of making still more effective use of the new possibilities of averting world war afforded by the emergence of the socialist camp and its increased might, by the new balance of forces in the world. The peoples trust that the Communists will use all the might of the socialist system and the enhanced strength of the international working class to rid mankind of the horrors of war.

Marx, Engels and Lenin saw the historic mission of the working class and its communist vanguard not only in abolishing oppression, exploitation, poverty, and rightlessness, but also in delivering mankind from sanguinary wars.

Lenin instilled in our Party the spirit of uncompromising struggle against imperialism, for durable peace and friendship among all nations. These principles have always been, and are, the essence of our foreign policy. Our Party remembers Lenin's words to the effect that capitalism, even while disintegrating and dying, is still capable of causing mankind great misfortunes. Our Party, always vigilantly on guard against the danger emanating from imperialism, is educating the Soviet people accord-

ingly and doing everything to prevent the enemy from ever taking us by surprise. We alert the peoples to the danger of war in order to heighten their vigilance and rouse them to action, to rally them to the struggle against world war.

The attitude of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to questions of war and peace is known to all. It has been stated time and again in the resolutions of its congresses and in other Party documents.

Wars arose with the division of society into classes. This means that the ground for all wars will not be completely eliminated until society is no longer divided into hostile, antagonistic classes. The victory of the working class throughout the world and the triumph of socialism will destroy all the social and national causes of war and mankind will be able to rid itself of this dreadful scourge.

In the present conditions we must distinguish between the following kinds of war: world war, local war, and war of liberation or popular uprising. This is necessary in order to work out the proper tactics in regard to each.

Let us begin with the problem of *world wars*. The Communists are the most resolute opponents of world wars, as they are of wars between states in general. Only the imperialists need these wars in order to seize foreign territories and to enslave and plunder the peoples. Prior to the emergence of the world socialist camp, the working class was unable to exert any decisive influence on the decision of whether there should or should not be a world war. In those circumstances the finest representatives of the working class advanced the slogan of turning imperialist war into civil war, that is, of the working class and all working people using the situation created by the war to win power. A situation of that kind obtained during the First World War, and was used classically by the Bolshevik Party, by Lenin.

In our time the conditions are different. The world socialist camp with its powerful economy and armed forces

is exerting an ever-growing influence on the questions of war and peace. To be sure, acute contradictions and antagonisms between the imperialist countries and the urge to profit at the expense of others, the weaker countries, still exist. However, the imperialists are compelled to keep in mind the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp, and are afraid to start a war between themselves. They try to minimise their differences. They have formed military blocs and have drawn many capitalist countries into them. Although these blocs are torn by internal conflicts, their members are united, as they themselves say, by their hatred of communism and, naturally, by their common imperialist nature and aspirations.

In the present circumstances it is not war between the capitalist, imperialist countries that is most likely to occur, although this possibility should not be ruled out entirely. The imperialists are preparing war chiefly against the socialist countries, and above all against the Soviet Union, the most powerful of the socialist countries. They would like to sap our might and thereby restore the one-time dominance of monopoly capital.

The task is to raise insurmountable obstacles to the unleashing of war by the imperialists. Our possibilities for blocking the warmongers are growing, and we can consequently prevent a world war. It stands to reason that we cannot as yet completely exclude the possibility of war, since imperialist countries continue to exist, but it is now much more difficult for the imperialists to start a war than was the case previously, before the powerful socialist camp came into existence. The imperialists can start a war, but they have to think of the consequences.

I have said before that the maniac Hitler, if he had had an inkling of how his sanguinary gamble would end and of his having to commit suicide, would have thought twice before starting the war against the Soviet Union. But at that time there were only two socialist countries—the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's

Republic. Yet we smashed the aggressors, and in doing so made use also of the contradictions existing between the imperialist states.

Today the situation is entirely different. At present the imperialist camp is confronted by the socialist countries, which are a mighty force. It would be wrong to underestimate the strength of the socialist camp, its influence on world developments and, consequently, on the question of war or peace. Now that there is a mighty socialist camp with powerful armed forces, the peoples can undoubtedly prevent war and thus ensure peaceful coexistence, provided they rally all their forces for active struggle against the bellicose imperialists.

Now about *local wars*. There is much talk in the imperialist camp today about local wars, and the imperialists are even making small-calibre atomic weapons for use in such wars. They have even concocted a special theory on local wars. Is this mere chance? Not at all. Some of the imperialist groups fear that a world war might end in the complete destruction of capitalism, and are laying their stakes on local wars.

There have been local wars in the past and they may break out again. But the chances of the imperialists' starting wars of even a local nature are dwindling. A small-scale imperialist war, no matter which of the imperialists starts it, may develop into a world thermo-nuclear, missile war. We must, therefore, fight against world wars and against local wars.

The aggression of Britain, France and Israel against Egypt is an example of a local war started by the imperialists. They wanted to strangle Egypt and thereby intimidate the other Arab countries fighting for their independence, and also to scare the rest of the peoples of Asia and Africa. When we were in London, British statesmen, Mr. Eden included, spoke to us quite frankly about their desire to settle accounts with Egypt. We told them plainly: "If you start a war, you will lose it. We shall not

be neutral." When that war broke out, the United Nations formally condemned it, but this did not disturb the aggressors; they went ahead with their dirty business and thought they would soon reach their goal. The Soviet Union, and the socialist camp as a whole, came to the defence of Egypt. The stern warning which the Soviet Government issued to Eden and Guy Mollet stopped the war. Local war, the gamble in Egypt, failed ignominiously.

That was in 1956 when the balance of forces between the socialist and imperialist countries was not what it is now. We were not as powerful then as we are today. Moreover, the rulers of Britain, France and Israel expected to profit by the difficulties that had arisen in Hungary and Poland. Spokesmen of the imperialist countries whispered to us, "You have your difficulties in Hungary and we have ours in Egypt, so don't meddle in our affairs." But we told the whisperers where to get off. We refused to shut our eyes to their knavish acts. We intervened and frustrated their aggression.

There you have an example of how a local war started by the imperialists was thwarted through the intervention of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp.

I have already said that local wars may re-occur. It is our task, therefore, always to be on the alert, to summon to action the forces of the socialist camp, the people of all countries, all peace-loving forces, in order to prevent wars of aggression. If the people of all countries are united and roused, if they fight indefatigably and combine their forces both in each country and on an international scale, wars can be prevented.

Now about *national-liberation wars*. Recent examples of wars of this kind are the armed struggle waged by the people of Viet Nam and the present war of the Algerian people, which is now in its seventh year.

These wars, which began as uprisings of colonial peoples against their oppressors, developed into guerilla wars.

There will be liberation wars as long as imperialism

exists, as long as colonialism exists. Wars of this kind are revolutionary wars. Such wars are not only admissible, but inevitable, for the colonialists do not freely bestow independence on the peoples. The peoples win freedom and independence only through struggle, including armed struggle.

Why was it that the U.S. imperialists, though eager to help the French colonialists in every way, did not venture directly to intervene in the war in Viet Nam? They did not do so because they knew that if they gave France armed assistance, Viet Nam would receive the same kind of assistance from China, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and that the fighting could then develop into a world war. The outcome of the war is known—North Viet Nam won.

A similar war is being waged today in Algeria. What kind of a war is it? It is an uprising of the Arab people of Algeria against the French colonialists. It has assumed the form of a guerilla war. The U.S. and British imperialists are helping their French allies with arms. Moreover, they have allowed France, a member of NATO, to transfer troops from Europe to fight the Algerian people. The people of Algeria, too, get help from neighbouring and other countries who appreciate their love of freedom. But this is a liberation war, a war of independence waged by the people. It is a sacred war. We recognise such wars; we have helped and shall continue to help peoples fighting for their freedom.

Or take Cuba. A war was fought there too. But it began as an uprising against a tyrannical regime backed by U.S. imperialism. Batista was a puppet of the United States and the United States helped him actively. However, the U.S.A. did not directly intervene with its armed forces in the Cuban war. Led by Fidel Castro, the people of Cuba won.

Can such wars recur? Yes, they can. Are uprisings of this kind likely? Yes, they are. But they are wars in the

nature of popular uprisings. Can conditions in other countries reach the point where the cup of popular patience overflows and the people take up arms? Yes, they can. What is the Marxist attitude to such uprisings? It is most favourable. These uprisings cannot be identified with wars between countries, with local wars, because the insurgent people fight for the right of self-determination, for their social and independent national development; these uprisings are directed against corrupt reactionary regimes, against the colonialists. The Communists support just wars of this kind whole-heartedly and without reservations, and march in the van of the peoples fighting for liberation.

Comrades, mankind has arrived at the stage in history when it is able to solve problems that were too much for previous generations to solve. This applies also to the most burning problem of all, that of preventing world war.

The working class, which today rules in a vast section of the world and in time will rule throughout the world, cannot let the forces doomed to destruction drag hundreds of millions into the grave with them. For a world war in the present conditions would be waged with missiles and nuclear weapons, that is, it would be the most destructive war in history.

Among the H-bombs already tested there are bombs several times more powerful than all the explosives used in the Second World War and, indeed, ever since mankind exists. Scientists have estimated that the explosion of a single H-bomb in an industrial area could kill up to 1,500,000 people outright and cause the death of something like 400,000 more through subsequent radiation. Even a medium hydrogen bomb would be enough to wipe out a large city. According to British scientists, four megaton bombs, one each for London, Birmingham, Lancashire and Yorkshire, would wipe out at least 20 million people. According to data supplied to the Senate by U.S. experts, the anticipated casualties in the United States in twenty-

four hours of nuclear war are estimated at 50 to 75 million people. The well-known American physicist, Linus Pauling, says that the areas likely to suffer powerful nuclear blows are inhabited by about a thousand million people and that 500 to 750 million people are likely to perish within sixty days of a nuclear blow. Nor would nuclear war spare the people in the countries not directly subjected to bombing; in particular, many millions would die of subsequent radiation.

We know that if the imperialist maniacs were to begin a world war, the peoples would wipe out capitalism. But we are resolutely opposed to war, chiefly because we are thinking of the destiny of mankind, its present and its future. We know that the first to suffer in the event of war would be the working people and their vanguard—the working class.

We remember how Lenin approached the question of the destiny of the working class. Just after the Revolution, when the first socialist country of the workers and peasants was in a ring of fire, he said, "If we save the working man, if we save the main productive force of society—the worker—we shall get everything back, but should we fail to save him, we are lost."*

There exists in the world today not just one country of workers and peasants, but a whole system of socialist countries. It is our duty to safeguard peace and ensure the peaceful development of this grand creation of the international working class, and to protect the peoples of all countries from a new war of annihilation. The victory of socialism on a world scale, inevitable by virtue of the laws of history, is now near. Wars between countries are not needed for this victory.

A sober consideration of the inescapable consequences of a nuclear war is indispensable if we are to pursue, with due consistency, a policy of averting war and mobilising

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 29, pp. 334-35.

the masses for this purpose. Because the very realisation of what a nuclear war implies strengthens the resolve of the masses to fight against war. It is necessary, therefore, to warn the masses about the deadly consequences of a new world war and so arouse their righteous anger against those who are plotting this crime. The possibility of averting war is not a gift from above. Peace cannot be got by begging for it. It can be secured only by active purposeful struggle. That is why we have been waging this struggle, and will continue to do so.

The entire foreign policy of the Soviet Union is focussed on strengthening peace. We have used and shall continue to use the growing might of our country not to threaten anyone, not to induce a war fever, but to pursue a steadfast policy of combating the war danger and averting world war.

We have always proceeded from the desire to maintain and extend friendly relations with all peoples for the benefit of peace, in keeping with the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Comrades, experience has demonstrated the soundness of the Leninist policy of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems consistently pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Our Party considers the policy of peaceful coexistence, which Lenin has willed us, to be the general line of its foreign policy. Peaceful coexistence is the highway in the relations between the socialist and capitalist countries.

Consistent implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence strengthens the positions of the world socialist system, furthers the growth of its economic might, international prestige and influence among the people, and provides good opportunities on the world scene for peaceful competition with capitalism.

And because the socialist countries pursue a correct policy, a policy of active struggle against the imperialist warmongers, the prestige of the Soviet Union and all the

other socialist countries is higher than ever. It is a fact that the socialist countries today are in an extremely favourable international position. The prestige of the fraternal parties in the capitalist countries, parties which carry on their work in particularly difficult conditions, is likewise growing daily. The whole world now acknowledges that the vigorous, effective and weighty foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is winning the support of more and more millions for peace and socialism.

This active struggle for peace imparts dynamic force to the foreign policy actions of the socialist countries. In recent years the initiative in world affairs has belonged to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, while the imperialist countries and their governments have had to go completely on the defensive. Their prestige and international influence have never been so low.

The policy of peaceful coexistence promotes the development of the forces of progress, the forces fighting for socialism; and in the capitalist countries it facilitates the work of the Communist Parties and other progressive working-class organisations, makes it easier for the peoples to combat the aggressive war blocs and foreign military bases, and contributes to the successes of the national-liberation movement.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is thus, so far as its social content is concerned, a form of intense economic, political and ideological struggle between the proletariat and the aggressive imperialist forces in the world arena.

The struggle against imperialism can succeed only if its aggressive actions are firmly resisted. Verbal exhortations will not halt the imperialist adventurers. There is only one way in which they can be curbed: continuous strengthening of the economic, political and military power of the socialist countries, vigorous consolidation and reinforcement of the world revolutionary movement, and mobilisation of the people for the struggle to avert war.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet Government will continue to do everything to increase the military might of our country, since the imperialists are continuing the arms drive.

In rebuffing the aggressive actions of imperialism, our Party and Government always display firmness and self-control. In upholding the interests of the socialist camp, we invariably strive to direct developments in such a way as not to allow imperialist provocateurs to launch a new world war.

We aim to expose the aggressive nature of all the politico-military alignments of the imperialists, such as NATO, SEATO, and CENTO, and to work for their isolation and eventual dissolution. We have repeatedly declared that we are ready to follow suit and dissolve the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. All the nations of the world will gain from the dissolution of the military alignments.

This would be a real and redoubtable contribution to peace and the improvement of the international climate, and a big achievement for the policy of peaceful coexistence. All their efforts notwithstanding, the imperialists have in recent times failed to draw a single new state into their military blocs. It is significant that all the newly-independent states have declared their intention to pursue a policy of non-participation in military blocs.

Of special importance for peace in Europe, and not only in Europe, is the struggle against the revived West German militarism. The Soviet Union is waging this struggle together with the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries in various ways, the most important being the struggle for a peace treaty. The initiative of the socialist states in advancing a programme for the peaceful settlement of the German question, and for the solution, on this basis, of the question of West Berlin, has done much to unmask the aggressive elements in the U.S.A., the Federal Republic and other NATO countries as opponents of a *détente*. The international position of the German Democratic Republic—the

outpost of socialism in Western Europe—has been strengthened.

The positions of the U.S.A., Britain and France have proved to be especially vulnerable in West Berlin. These powers still cling to the old pattern, but they cannot fail to realise that sooner or later the occupation regime in that city will end.

It is necessary to keep on bringing the aggressive-minded imperialists to their senses, and to compel them to reckon with the real situation. And should they balk, we shall take resolute measures. We shall then sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, since we are firmly resolved to conclude a peace treaty with Germany at long last, to end the occupation regime in West Berlin, and thereby remove the thorn from the heart of Europe.

Comrades, if prevention of a new war is today the question of questions, then disarmament is the most radical way to that end. The Meeting of representatives of the Marxist-Leninist parties declared that the realisation of the Soviet programme for general and complete disarmament would be an act of historic importance to the future of mankind.

Our struggle for disarmament is not a tactical move. We sincerely want disarmament. In this we stand squarely on Marxist-Leninist ground. Engels pointed out as far back as the end of the last century that disarmament, which he described as the "guarantee of peace", was possible. In our times disarmament was first advanced as a practical goal by Lenin, and the first Soviet proposals for complete—or partial disarmament if the capitalists object to complete disarmament—were made at the Genoa Conference.

The struggle for disarmament is a most important factor for the prevention of war; it is effective struggle against imperialism. In this struggle the socialist camp has most of mankind on its side.

Peace and progress are our cherished ideals. The Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association, written by Marx, contained the appeal "to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations".*

When we call for a world without arms and without wars we are naturally conscious that in present conditions, with two differing world social systems, there are still forces in the imperialist camp, and fairly strong forces at that, who not only refuse to support this call, but are waging a struggle against it.

The question of the struggle for communism is a class question. As for the struggle for peace, it is a cause that can unite not only the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, but also that part of the bourgeoisie which sees the real danger of a thermo-nuclear war.

Consequently, the slogan of the fight for peace does not contradict the slogan of the fight for communism. The two go hand in hand, for the masses see communism as a force capable of saving mankind from the horrors of a modern destructive nuclear-missile war, whereas imperialism is increasingly associated by the masses with war as a system that engenders wars. That is why the slogan of the fight for peace is, as it were, a satellite of the slogan of the fight for communism.

As correctly pointed out in the Statement, "the peace movement is the broadest movement of our time, bringing together people of diverse political and religious creeds, of diverse classes of society, who are all united by the noble aim to prevent new wars and to secure enduring peace". There are people of different social strata, different political views and different religious beliefs among the peace supporters.

* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1958, p. 385.

The fight for disarmament is an active fight against imperialism, for curtailing its war potential. The peoples must do their utmost to secure the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of wholesale annihilation. Peace will then be ensured and the peoples will have most favourable opportunities for arranging their lives in keeping with their wishes and interests.

The primary condition for progress in disarmament is the mobilisation of all sections of the people, their growing pressure on the imperialist governments.

There are two trends in evidence in the capitalist camp towards the socialist countries—one bellicose and aggressive, and the other moderately sober. Lenin pointed to the need of establishing contacts with those circles of the bourgeoisie who gravitate towards pacifism, "be it even of the palest hue".* In the struggle for peace, he said, we should also avail ourselves of the sensible representatives of the bourgeoisie.

The soundness of these words is confirmed by current events as well. Fear for the future of capitalism dominates the ruling classes of the imperialist camp. The more reactionary groups show growing nervousness and a tendency towards reckless acts and aggression, whereby they hope to mend their fences. At the same time, there are also groups among the ruling circles of these countries who realise the dangers that a new war holds for capitalism. Hence the two trends: one aimed at war, the other at accepting in some form the idea of peaceful co-existence.

The socialist countries take both of these trends into account in their policy. They work for negotiations and agreements with the capitalist countries on the basis of constructive proposals, and promote personal contacts between statesmen of the socialist and capitalist countries. We should continue to use every opportunity of exposing

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 33, p. 236.

the cold war warriors, the protagonists of the arms drive, and of showing the masses that the socialist countries are sincere in their efforts to safeguard world peace.

The peoples are becoming increasingly aware that it is the Communists who advocate that relations between countries be based on the principle of peaceful coexistence, that it is they who are the most ardent and consistent fighters for peace. We can be proud that the peoples are coming to associate more and more the notions of peace and communism.

The Communists believe that if all the progressive and peace-loving forces of our times—the socialist countries, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, the newly-established national states and all other countries opposed to war, and all supporters of peace—wage a determined fight against the war danger, they will be able to tie the hands of the warmongers and prevent the catastrophe of another world war. The passivity which unfortunately still prevails among some sections in the bourgeois countries should be overcome, and every day fresh sections of the people should be drawn into the struggle for peace. "*The struggle against the threat of a new world war,*" the Statement of the Meeting stresses, "*must be waged now and not when atom and hydrogen bombs begin to fall.*"

The fact that communism is the standard-bearer of peace is one of the main sources of its moral strength and its tremendous influence over the masses. It is the banner of peace that enables us to rally the masses round us. If we hold this banner high, we shall be even more successful.

The Communists consider it their sacred duty to make full use of all the available opportunities to bridle the warlike forces of imperialism and prevent a new war.

The international communist and working-class movement has become so powerful and so well organised that it is now setting itself the practical task of saving mankind

from the ordeal of another war. The Statement of the Meeting says:

"The Communists regard it as their historical mission not only to abolish exploitation and poverty on a world scale and rule out for all time the possibility of any kind of war in the life of society, but also to deliver mankind from the nightmare of a new world war already in our time. The Communist Parties will devote all their strength and energy to this great historic mission."

4. ABOLITION OF COLONIALISM AND THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEWLY-FREE COUNTRIES

Comrades, the peoples that have gained national independence have become another mighty force in the struggle for peace and social progress.

The national-liberation movement is striking ever more telling blows at imperialism, helping to strengthen peace and accelerate the social progress of mankind. At present, Asia, Africa and Latin America are the most important centres of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. Some forty countries have won national independence since the war. Nearly 1,500 million people have broken free from colonial slavery.

The Meeting noted with good reason that the breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national-liberation movement is second in historical significance only to the rise of the socialist world system.

A splendid new chapter is opening in the history of mankind. It is easily imagined what great things these peoples will do after they completely oust the imperialists from their countries and feel themselves masters of their own fate. This multiplies enormously the progressive forces of mankind.

Take Asia, for example, that ancient cradle of human civilisation. What incalculable strength the peoples of that

continent possess! What a great role the Arab peoples with their heroic traditions and all the peoples of the Middle East, those liberated or in the process of liberation from political and economic dependence upon imperialism, could play in resolving the issues now confronting mankind!

The awakening of the peoples of Africa is one of the outstanding events of our epoch. Dozens of countries in North and Central Africa have already won independence. The south of the continent is beginning to seethe. The fascist dungeons in the Union of South Africa will undoubtedly crumble to dust, and Rhodesia, Uganda and other parts of Africa will become free.

The forces of the national-liberation movement are multiplying largely because one more front of active struggle against U.S. imperialism, Latin America, has come into being in recent years. Only a short time ago that vast continent was identified by a single concept—America. And that concept accorded largely with the facts, for Latin America was bound hand and foot by Yankee imperialism. Today, the Latin American peoples are showing by their struggle that the American continent is not a preserve of the U.S.A. Latin America is reminiscent of an active volcano. The eruption of the liberation struggle has wiped out dictatorial regimes in a number of Latin American countries. The thunder of the glorious Cuban revolution has reverberated throughout the world. The Cuban revolution is not only repulsing the onslaught of the imperialists; it is spreading and taking deeper root, and constitutes a new and higher stage of the national-liberation struggle, one in which the people themselves come to power and become the masters of their wealth. Solidarity with revolutionary Cuba is the duty not only of the Latin American peoples, but also of the socialist countries, the entire international communist movement and the proletariat all over the world.

The national-liberation movement is an anti-imperialist movement. Imperialism has become much weaker with the disintegration of the colonial system. Vast territories and large masses of people have ceased, or are ceasing, to serve as a reserve for it and as a source of cheap raw materials and cannon fodder. Asian, African and Latin American countries, supported by the socialist countries and the progressive forces of the world, are inflicting defeat upon the imperialist powers and coalitions with increasing frequency.

We were glad to welcome at the Moscow Meeting representatives from the fraternal Communist Parties of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, staunch fighters for the independence and free development of the peoples. Today there are Communist Parties in nearly fifty countries of those continents. This has extended the sphere of influence of the communist movement, making it truly world-wide.

Speaking in 1919 at the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East, Lenin said: "If the Russian Bolsheviks have succeeded in forcing a breach in the old imperialism, in undertaking the exceedingly difficult, but also exceedingly noble, task of blazing new paths of revolution, you, the representatives of the toiling masses of the East, have a still greater and still more novel task before you."*

Lenin saw that task in rousing the working masses to revolutionary activity and organisation, irrespective of the level they had attained, in using communist theory in the specific conditions of their countries, and in merging with the proletarians of other countries for the common struggle.**

This task had not yet been effected anywhere when Lenin first set it, and there was no book to tell how it

* V. I. Lenin, *On the International Working-Class and Communist Movement*, Moscow, p. 335.

** See *ibid.*, p. 338.

should be carried out in practice. The Communist Parties in countries now fighting for national independence and in the newly-independent countries are in an incomparably more favourable position, for there is now a vast store of experience in applying Marxist-Leninist theory to the conditions existing in countries and areas which capitalism had doomed to age-long backwardness.

This experience gained by the world communist movement is a rich treasure-house for all Communists. Obviously, only the Party operating in the country concerned can make proper use of this experience and work out the right policy.

These parties are concentrating on the main point—how best to approach their own peoples, how to convince the masses that they cannot win a better future unless they struggle against imperialism and the reactionary forces at home, and how to strengthen international solidarity with the socialist countries, with the communist vanguard of the working people of the world.

The renovation of the world along the principles of freedom, democracy and socialism, in which we are now taking part, is a great historical process wherein different revolutionary and democratic movements unite and interact, with socialist revolutions exerting the determining influence. The success of the national-liberation movement, due in large measure to the victories of socialism, in turn strengthens the international positions of socialism in the struggle against imperialism. It is this truly Leninist concept of the historical processes that is the basis of the policy of the Communist Parties and socialist countries, a policy aimed at strengthening the close alliance with the peoples fighting for independence and peoples that have already won it.

Bourgeois and revisionist politicians claim that the national-liberation movement develops independently of the struggle for socialism waged by the working class, independently of the support of the socialist countries, and

that the colonialists themselves bestow freedom on the peoples of the former colonies. The purpose of these fabrications is to isolate the newly-independent states from the socialist camp and to try and prove that they should assume the role of a "third force" in the international arena instead of opposing imperialism. Needless to say, this is sheer humbug.

It is a historical fact that prior to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the peoples failed in their attempts to break the chains of colonialism. History proves that until socialism triumphed in at least a part of the world there could be no question of destroying colonialism.

The imperialist powers, above all the United States, are doing their utmost to hitch to their system the countries that have cast off the colonial yoke and thereby strengthen the positions of world capitalism, to infuse fresh blood into it, as bourgeois ideologists put it, and to rejuvenate and consolidate it. If we look the facts in the face, we have to admit that the imperialists have powerful economic levers with which to exert pressure on the newly-free countries. They still manage to enmesh some of the politically independent countries in the web of economic dependence. Now that it is no longer possible to establish outright colonial regimes, the imperialists resort to disguised forms and means of enslaving and plundering the newly-free countries. At the same time, the colonial powers back the internal reactionaries in all these countries; they try to impose on them puppet dictatorial regimes and to involve them in aggressive blocs. Although there are sharp contradictions between the imperialist countries, they often take joint action against the national-liberation movement.

But if we consider all the factors shaping the destinies of the peoples that have shaken off colonial rule, we shall see that in the final analysis the trends of social progress opposing imperialism will prevail.

However, these matters are resolved in bitter struggle within each country. The Statement of the Meeting contains important propositions on the basic issues concerning the development of the national-liberation movement. It defines the tasks of the Communist Parties and their attitude to the various classes and social groups. The Statement expresses the identity of views held by the Marxist-Leninist parties, and calls for the maximum utilisation of the revolutionary possibilities of various classes and social strata and for the drawing of all allies, even if inconsistent, shaky and unstable, into the struggle against imperialism.

The Communists are revolutionaries and it would be a bad thing if they failed to see the new opportunities, to find new ways and means of reaching the set goal with the greatest certainty. Special note should be taken of the idea set forth in the Statement about the formation of national democratic states. The Statement describes the main characteristics of these states and their tasks. It should be stressed that in view of the great variety of conditions in those countries where the peoples, having achieved independence, are now making their own history, a variety of forms for solving the tasks of social progress is bound to emerge.

Correct application of Marxist-Leninist theory in the newly-free countries consists precisely in taking note of the peculiarities of the economic, political and cultural life of the peoples and in seeking forms for uniting all the sound forces of the nations, ensuring the leading role of the working class in the national front, in the struggle for the final eradication of the roots of imperialism and remnants of feudalism, and for paving the way for the ultimate advance to socialism.

Today, when the imperialist reactionaries are striving to foist the policy of anti-communism on the young independent states, it is most important to give a truthful explanation of the communist views and aspirations. The

Communists support the general democratic measures of the national governments. At the same time, they explain to the masses that these measures are not socialist at all.

Nobody appreciates and understands the aspirations of the peoples now smashing the fetters of colonialism better than the working people of the socialist countries and the Communists of the whole world. Our world outlook and the interests of all the working people, for which we are fighting, impel us to do our best to ensure that the peoples follow the right road to progress, to the flowering of their material and spiritual forces. By our policy we must strengthen the peoples' confidence in the socialist countries.

The aid extended by the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist states to the newly-independent countries has but one aim—to help strengthen the position of these countries in the struggle against imperialism, further the development of their national economy and improve the life of their people. Noting that the working class of the developed countries is deeply interested in the advance “towards independence” of the colonial countries “as rapidly as possible”, Engels wrote: “One thing alone is certain: the victorious proletariat can force no blessings of any kind upon any foreign nation without undermining its own victory by so doing.”*

The international duty of the victorious working class consists in helping the peoples of the economically underdeveloped countries to smash the chains of colonial slavery, and in rendering them all-round aid in their struggle against imperialism, for the right to self-determination and independent development. However, it does not follow that socialist aid exerts no influence on the prospective development of the newly-free countries.

The Soviet Union has always been, and remains, a sin-

* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, p. 423.

cere friend of the colonial peoples; it has always championed their rights, interests and aspirations to independence. We shall continue to strengthen and develop our economic and cultural co-operation with countries which have won their independence.

The Soviet Union submitted to the Fifteenth U.N. General Assembly a Declaration on the Granting of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples.

After an acute political struggle which raged round this proposal both within and without the U.N., the General Assembly adopted the Declaration. The basic point made in the Soviet Declaration—the need for abolishing colonialism in all its forms and manifestations rapidly and for all time—was in the main reflected in the resolution adopted by the United Nations. This was a big victory for the progressive forces and all the socialist countries, which are firmly and consistently championing the freedom and independent national development of the peoples.

It should be stressed that when the matter was debated in the General Assembly the colonialists were isolated by the socialist and neutralist countries—the countries that are working for the abolition of the colonial system. Even some of the members of the aggressive blocs, such as Norway and Denmark, voted for the abolition of colonialism. The colonialists comprised a wretched group of nine countries that abstained during the voting. This is highly indicative. It shows the world what countries favour abolishing the colonial system, and what the so-called “free countries” stand for. Is it not revealing that the group of countries which abstained included the United States, Britain, France, Spain, Portugal and Belgium?

Though doomed, colonialism still has considerable power of resistance and does untold harm to many peoples. All the moribund and reactionary elements are rallied round it. Colonialism is the direct or indirect cause of the many conflicts that threaten humanity with another war. Colonialism, which has caused bloodshed on so many oc-

casions, is to this day a source of the war danger. It manifests itself again and again in outbursts of malicious fury, as eloquently illustrated by the bloodshed in Algeria, the Congo and Laos; it still holds tens of millions of people in its tenacious clutches. And not all the peoples that have won national independence enjoy its fruits, because their economies are still dominated by foreign monopolies.

The peoples of the socialist countries, the Communists and progressives all over the world, see their duty in abolishing the last remnants of the colonial system of imperialism, in safeguarding from the intrigues of the colonial powers the peoples now liberating themselves, and in helping them to realise their ideals of liberation.

5. SOME IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

In summing up the historic victories of the communist movement we address our first word of gratitude to our great teachers Marx, Engels and Lenin. Their teaching has made the international communist movement all-powerful and secured its victories. As we work out our strategy and tactics for the future, we again consult with Marx, Engels and Lenin. Our loyalty to Marxism-Leninism is the guarantee of all our further victories.

The path of the communist movement is a difficult and thorny one. No other party has suffered so many trials and casualties as the Communists. Hosts of reactionaries have made a try at destroying communism. But communism emerged from all these trials stronger than ever, and has become the mightiest force of our time.

You have all seen sturdy and handsome trees whose roots go deep down into the soil. Such trees fear neither storms nor hurricanes. Though the slender tree may break under the gale, the sturdy one weathers the storm, the foliage of its crown grows denser, reaching still higher to

the sun. The same applies to the communist movement. Though imperialist reaction unleashes storm after storm against it, the communist movement is unshaken; it keeps on growing and becomes more seasoned.

Forty-one years ago, when the First Congress of the Comintern took place here in Moscow, Communist Parties and Left socialist organisations from thirty countries were represented. Not counting the Communist Parties of the Republics which today are part of the U.S.S.R., there were only five Communist Parties in Europe at the time. There were no Communist Parties in Asia, Africa, Australia and Oceania. On the American continent there was only the Communist Party of Argentina. Today Communist and Workers' Parties exist in eighty-seven countries. They have more than 36 million members. Communist ideas have won the minds of millions in all corners of the globe. That is a good thing, a very good thing, comrades!

We are witnessing the birth of ever new Communist Parties. Twelve such parties have appeared and established international contacts since the Moscow Meeting of 1957. If Marx, Engels and Lenin had been present at the November Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, how happy they would have been to see this mighty army of Communists of the whole world!

The growing membership of the Communist Parties reflects the gravitation of the masses to communism. That is one of the finest developments of our time.

The way for the communist system, for which the Marxists-Leninists are fighting, has been paved by the entire process of social development, and the time is ripe for the transition to it. Marxists-Leninists cannot but concern themselves with indicating the ways of transition to the new society, and are doing so. Many complex questions arise in this regard. The fraternal parties have lavished high praise on the contribution made by the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. in elaborating the urgent problems of our day. Both the 1957 Meeting of Represent-

atives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, and the November 1960 forum of the world communist movement devoted considerable attention to these problems and have advanced the theory and practice of the communist movement.

Recognition of the need for the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into socialist society is axiomatic for us Soviet Communists, the sons of the October Revolution. The road to socialism lies through proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. As regards the forms of the transition to socialism, these, as pointed out by the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U., will become more and more varied. The transition to socialism will not everywhere and in all cases be necessarily associated with armed uprising and civil war. Marxism-Leninism holds that the forms of transition to socialism may be peaceful and non-peaceful. It is in the interests of the working class, of the masses, that the revolution be carried out in a peaceful way. But if the ruling classes respond to the revolution with violence and refuse to submit to the will of the people, the proletariat is obliged to break their resistance and go to the length of a resolute civil war.

We are convinced that increasingly favourable conditions for socialist revolutions will arise with the growth of the might of the world socialist system and the better organisation of the working class in the capitalist countries. The transition to socialism in countries with developed parliamentary traditions may be effected by utilising parliament, and in other countries by utilising institutions conforming to their national traditions. It is not a question of using the bourgeois parliament as such, but of employing the parliamentary form, making it serve the people and filling it with a new content. It is thus not a matter of electoral combinations or simple skirmishes at the ballot box. Communists leave that sort of thing to the reformists. Such combinations are alien to them. For Com-

munists the absolute condition for winning a stable majority in parliament is to unify and consolidate the revolutionary forces of the working class and of all the working people, and to launch mass revolutionary actions. To win a majority in parliament and transform it into an organ of people's power, given a powerful revolutionary movement in the country, means to smash the military-bureaucratic machine of the bourgeoisie and to set up a new, proletarian people's state with a parliamentary form.

It is quite obvious that in the countries where capitalism is still strong and commands a huge military and police apparatus, the transition to socialism will be inevitably attended by sharp class struggle. Political leadership by the working class, headed by the communist vanguard, is the decisive condition no matter what the forms of transition to socialism are.

These conclusions of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. are based on the theory of Marxism-Leninism, on the practice of the fraternal Communist Parties, on the experience of the international communist movement, and take account rightly of the changed international conditions. They orient the Communist Parties to unite the working class, the majority of the people, and to master all the forms of struggle—the peaceful and non-peaceful, the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary. Lenin taught the Communists to be ready to use the various forms of struggle depending on the situation, and to educate the masses of the working people in the spirit of preparedness for decisive revolutionary action.

It stands to reason that the working class in each country, and its communist vanguard, must decide what forms and methods of struggle are to be employed in the concrete historical situation.

It should be stressed in this connection that in the present conditions the following thesis, formulated in the Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, acquires particular importance:

“The Communist Parties, which guide themselves by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, have always been against the export of revolution. At the same time they fight resolutely against imperialist export of counter-revolution. They consider it their internationalist duty to call on the peoples of all countries to unite, to rally all their internal forces, to act vigorously and, relying on the might of the world socialist system, to prevent or firmly repel imperialist interference in the affairs of any people who have risen in revolution.”

To lead the masses to socialist revolution is a very complicated thing. We know from the experience of our own Party that when the Bolsheviks were fighting for power they focussed prime attention on work among the masses, on forming and cementing the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry, on preparing the political army of socialist revolution. Leninists worked wherever the masses were—among industrial workers and peasants, among women and the youth, and in the army. Each party knows best what slogan is most suited at any given moment to the task of winning the masses, of leading them forward and of furthering the consolidation of the political army of the socialist revolution.

The importance of working among the youth was stressed at the Meeting. Bourgeois propaganda is spreading lies about the contemporary youth, calling them a “lost generation”, and depicting them as apolitical. But the latest revolutionary manifestations in a number of countries show that the young people are a powerful revolutionary force. No political party can attract the youth as does the Communist, the most revolutionary of all parties, for the youth like bold, revolutionary actions.

The working class is the leading revolutionary force of our time. The working class in the developed capitalist countries forms a large proportion of the world army of labour. It numbers 160,000,000 factory and office workers, which is at least three-fifths of the total in the non-

socialist world, and constitutes a great revolutionary force not only because of its numbers, but above all because it is organised. It has its mass trade unions and its mass parties. We are well aware that the Communists in Western Europe and in the United States have to cope with great and specific difficulties. They have to deal with an experienced bourgeoisie that has vast material resources and a powerful military, police and ideological machine. But we have every confidence in the working class of the West European countries, the successor to the revolutionary traditions of the Communards of Paris and the English Chartists, the leader and organiser of the anti-fascist resistance movement. The working class, which in many countries has experienced mass Communist Parties with seasoned Marxist-Leninist cadres, will make its contribution to the revolutionary transformation of society.

Comrades, the greater the successes of the socialist system and the greater the international army of Communists, the more the bourgeoisie fumes and rages. It resorts to fascist methods of government and tyrannical regimes. It musters all its means of propaganda in an attempt to whitewash the capitalist system and to smear socialism and our communist ideas. Bourgeois propaganda is becoming more and more insidious and subtle. It is using anti-communism as its principal weapon in the struggle against the socialist camp and the Communist Parties. We must vigorously expose this anti-scientific ideology, false from beginning to end.

The socialist cause cannot be successfully advanced without relentlessly combating opportunism in the working-class and communist movement, without combating revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism.

All of you know very well that three years ago the communist movement was furiously assailed by the revisionists. In some countries it was a matter of life and death for the revolutionary working-class parties. For example, the revisionist Gates group was active in the Communist

Party of the United States, and the Larsen group conducted disruptive work in the Communist Party of Denmark. The revisionists were a grave menace also to some other fraternal parties. We can now say with deep satisfaction that the revisionist evil has been exposed, and the parties have been cleared of it. The Communist Parties have emerged from the struggle against the revisionists stronger and more steeled and experienced. The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of contemporary revisionism.

The struggle against revisionism, against any deviation from Leninism, is as vital as it ever was. It is a struggle for strengthening the socialist camp and for the consistent application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin pointed out with his innate foresight that the struggle against the evil of nationalism, against the most deep-rooted nationalistic petty-bourgeois prejudices "becomes the more necessary, the more the task of transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national one (i.e., existing in one country and incapable of determining world politics) into an international one (i.e., a dictatorship of the proletariat covering at least several advanced countries and capable of exercising a decisive influence upon the whole of world politics) becomes a pressing question of the day".*

The struggle against revisionism in all its varieties is to this day an important task of the Communist Parties. As long as the bourgeois system exists there will be fertile soil for the revisionist ideology. That is why we must always keep our powder dry and conduct an uncompromising struggle against revisionism, which is trying to emasculate Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary substance, to embellish contemporary capitalism, undermine the unity of the communist movement and confine the Communist Parties to their national quarters.

* V. I. Lenin, *The National-Liberation Movement in the East*, Moscow, 1957, pp. 253-54.

The communist movement faces yet another danger—dogmatism and sectarianism. At present, when all forces must be united to fight imperialism, prevent war and end the omnipotence of the monopolies, dogmatism and sectarianism can do great harm to our cause. Leninism is uncompromising towards dogmatism. Lenin wrote: "It is essential to realise the incontestable truth that a Marxist must take cognizance of actual events, of the precise facts of *reality*, and must not cling to a theory of yesterday, which, like all theories, at best only outlines the main and general, and only *approximates* to an inclusive grasp of the complexities of life."*

Dogmatism nourishes sectarian bigotry, which impedes the rallying of the working class and of all progressive forces round the Communist Parties. Dogmatism and sectarianism conflict irreconcilably with the creative development of revolutionary theory and its creative application. They lead to the isolation of Communists from the masses. They doom Communists to passive waiting or to reckless ultra-leftism in the revolutionary struggle, and prevent them from utilising all available opportunities for furthering the victory of the working class and of all the democratic forces.

The Statement stresses that the Communist Parties will continue to wage a resolute struggle on two fronts—against revisionism, which is still the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism. Unless a consistent struggle is waged against them, dogmatism and sectarianism may also become the main danger at some stage in the development of the Parties.

The internationalist duty of the Communist and Workers' Parties is to hold aloft the banner of creative Marxism-Leninism as the decisive condition of all our future victories.

* V. I. Lenin, *Marx-Engels-Marxism*, 6th Eng. ed., Moscow, p. 400.

6. FOR THE FURTHER CONSOLIDATION OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM-LENINISM

Comrades, the battle between the Communists and all popular forces, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism, on the other, is entering a new stage. In these circumstances, the unity of the socialist camp, of the entire international communist movement, acquires paramount importance. Our solidarity, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, is the main condition for the victory of the working class over imperialism. The great Lenin's behest to advance shoulder to shoulder is sacred to us. Unity of our ranks multiplies the forces of communism tenfold. Unity, unity, and again unity—this is the law of the world communist movement.

The very essence of Leninism implies that no Marxist-Leninist party can permit either in its own ranks, or in the international communist movement, any actions liable to undermine unity and solidarity.

The common goal of the struggle of Communists throughout the world demands, as in the past, the unity of will and action of the Communist Parties of all countries. The Meeting has made a big contribution to the further consolidation of the international communist movement by declaring, fully in keeping with Lenin's teachings, that the Communist Parties will do all in their power to strengthen the unity of their ranks and of the entire international communist movement.

"The interests of the struggle for the working-class cause," the Statement says, "demand of each Communist Party and of the great army of Communists of all countries further consolidation of their ranks and ever closer unity of will and action. It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist party to work continuously for greater unity in the world communist movement.

“A resolute defence of the unity of the world communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the prevention of any actions which may undermine that unity, are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the socialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism. Violation of these principles would impair the forces of communism.”

It should be noted that at the Meeting the delegation of the C.P.S.U. expressed its point of view concerning the formula that the Soviet Union stands at the head of the socialist camp and the C.P.S.U. at the head of the communist movement. Our delegation declared that we regarded this formula above all as a high appreciation of what our Party, founded by Lenin, has done, and expressed its heartfelt gratitude to all the fraternal parties. Our Party, reared by Lenin, has always seen its prime duty in fulfilling its internationalist obligations to the working class of the world. The delegation assured the Meeting that the C.P.S.U. would continue to hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism and would spare no effort in carrying out its internationalist duties.

Yet the C.P.S.U. delegation suggested that the formula should not be included in the Statement or any other document of the communist movement.

As for the principles of relations between the fraternal parties, the C.P.S.U. expressed its views very definitely on this matter at its Twenty-First Congress. We declared to the whole world from the rostrum of the Congress that in the communist movement, and in the socialist camp, there has always been, and is, complete equality and solidarity of all the Communist and Workers' Parties and socialist countries. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union does not in fact govern other parties. There are no “superior” and “subordinate” parties in the communist movement. All the Communist Parties are equal and independ-

ent, all bear responsibility for the state of the communist movement, for its victories and setbacks. Every Communist and Workers' Party is responsible to the working class, to the working people of its country, to the entire international working-class and communist movement.

The role of the Soviet Union does not lie in its leading the other socialist countries, but in its being the first to have blazed the trail to socialism, in its being the most powerful country of the world socialist system, in having accumulated extensive positive experience in the building of socialism, and in being the first to embark on the full-scale building of communism. It is stressed in the Statement that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains, the universally recognised vanguard of the world communist movement, being its most experienced and steeled contingent.

At the present time, when there is a large group of socialist countries each facing its own specific tasks, when there are eighty-seven Communist and Workers' Parties, each with its own tasks, it is impossible to lead all the socialist countries and Communist Parties from any single centre. It is both impossible and unnecessary. Seasoned Marxist-Leninist cadres capable of leading their parties and their countries have grown up in the Communist Parties.

Furthermore, it is well known that the C.P.S.U. does not in fact issue directives to other parties. Being called "the head" spells no advantages to our Party or the other parties. Quite the reverse. It only creates difficulties.

As evident from the Statement, the fraternal parties agreed with the arguments brought forward by our delegation. The question may arise: Will our international solidarity be weakened by the fact that this proposition is not written down in the Statement? No, it will not. At present there are no rules regulating relations between parties, but we have a common Marxist-Leninist ideology, and loyalty to this ideology is the main condition of our soli-

darity and unity. It is essential that we guide ourselves consistently by the directions of Marx, Engels and Lenin, that we perseveringly put into effect the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The international solidarity of the communist movement will then constantly increase.

Our Party, being an internationalist party, closely follows the struggle of its class brothers in all countries of the world. We are well aware of the difficulties which the Communists have to overcome in their struggles under capitalism.

From the rostrum of the Meeting the delegation of the C.P.S.U. expressed our Party's boundless solidarity with the fighters for communism in the capitalist countries, and especially with our comrades languishing in the prisons of Spain, Portugal, Greece, West Germany, the U.A.R., Iraq, Iran, the U.S.A. and Paraguay, and with all the other prisoners of the capitalists. We are confident that our words of greeting will encourage the selfless fighters for the people's happiness.

Comrades, representatives of the Communists of all countries gathered at their Meeting at the auspicious time when the world communist movement is making great headway. Striking successes have been attained by the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. Ever new victories are scored by communism in the countries where the working class has triumphed. Not only have these countries withstood the onslaught of foreign and domestic class enemies, but, acting upon the Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist construction, they have achieved progress in their economic, cultural, scientific and technical development, and in improving the living standard of the people. The peoples in these countries are showing monolithic solidarity with the Communist and Workers' Parties.

In the past the slogan of struggle for socialism, for communist changes, was a slogan of the Communist Parties. Today the struggle for socialism, for communism,

has in those countries become a nation-wide cause, a nation-wide struggle for the triumph of the new communist world. In this way life itself confirms the correctness of our revolutionary theory, the correctness and vitality of Marxism-Leninism.

It is a great reward for us Communists that the potent force of communism is now realised not only by the peoples of the socialist countries, but even by people who do not accept the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. They cannot help acknowledging the great results of the development of our countries, achieved on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory. And that, comrades, is immensely important.

Marxist-Leninist theory is a guide to action, the guiding star for us Communists. Being the front-rank contingent of the working class, the Communists have always regarded it as the scientific programme of their struggle for victory. They have always put implicit trust in it, and have always fought perseveringly for its realisation. Today, when, guided by this doctrine, the socialist countries are attaining major successes in the economic competition with the capitalist states, the masses see that socialism, communism, is the greatest force of our time, and that the future belongs to communism.

It stands to reason that in the process of socialist and communist construction new forms and methods emerge, which yield good results in the achievement of the great socialist aims. Inasmuch as the conditions in the socialist countries differ from country to country, it is natural that each Communist Party applies Marxist-Leninist theory in keeping with the conditions prevailing in its country. For this reason, we must show understanding of this urge of the fraternal parties, which are in the best position to know the conditions and features of their countries.

We act upon the behest of the great Lenin that "all nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but not all will do so in exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some

variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the rate of socialist transformations in the various aspects of social life".*

Naturally, one must not inflate the importance of these distinctive features, exaggerate them and overlook the main and general line of socialist construction charted in the doctrine of Marx and Lenin. We have always firmly championed the purity of the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism and the basic principles for its realisation, and will continue to do so.

Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties exchanged opinions on questions concerning the current international situation, and discussed the pressing problems of the communist and working-class movement, or, as comrades put it figuratively at the Meeting, "we synchronised our watches". Indeed, the socialist countries and the Communist Parties need to synchronise watches. Whenever someone's watch is fast or slow, it is adjusted, so as to show the right time. The communist movement, too, needs to synchronise its watch, so that our mighty army marches in step and advances with confident stride towards communism. Putting it figuratively, Marxism-Leninism and the jointly prepared documents of international communist meetings are our timepiece.

Now that all the Communist and Workers' Parties have adopted unanimous decisions at the Meeting, each Party will strictly and undeviatingly abide by these decisions in everything it does.

Comrades, the importance of the Meeting lies in the fact that its participants now feel even better, stronger and more confident, and have an even broader view of the great epic struggle of all the Communist and Workers' Parties. All this furthers the unity of the international communist movement. At the international forum each

* V. I. Lenin, *The National-Liberation Movement in the East*, Moscow, 1957, p. 187.

fraternal party gained added confidence in the victory of our common cause, and this is of tremendous importance for the consolidation of the entire international communist movement.

The unity of every Communist Party, the unity of all the Communist Parties, is what makes up the integral world communist movement which is to achieve our common goal, the victory of communism throughout the world. The main thing required of all the Communist and Workers' Parties today is perseveringly to strengthen with the greatest of energy the unity and cohesion of their ranks. The unity of the ranks of the communist movement is especially important in present conditions. This is due to the historic tasks the communist movement is called upon to perform.

On behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union our delegation assured the participants in the Meeting that, for our part, we would do our best to strengthen further our close fraternal bonds with all the Communist Parties. Our Party will do everything to make the socialist camp and the world communist front still stronger.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is firmly determined to strengthen unity and friendship with all the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, with the Marxist-Leninist parties of all the world. In this connection I want to emphasise our continuous effort to strengthen bonds of fraternal friendship with the Communist Party of China, with the great Chinese people. In its relations with the Communist Party of China our Party always proceeds from the premise that the friendship of our two great peoples, the unity of our two Parties, the biggest parties in the international communist movement, are of exceptional importance in the struggle for the triumph of our common cause. Our Party has always exerted, and will continue to exert, every effort to strengthen this great friendship. We have a common goal with People's China, with the Chinese Communists, as with the Communists of

all countries—to safeguard peace and to build communism; common interests—the happiness and well-being of the working people; and a firm common basis of principle—Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people will do their utmost further to strengthen the unity of our Parties and our peoples, so as not only to disappoint our enemies but to jolt them even more strongly with our unity, to attain the realisation of our great goal, the triumph of communism.

Comrades, we live in a magnificent time! Communism has become the invincible force of our epoch. The further successes of communism depend to a tremendous extent on our will, our unity, our foresight and determination. By their struggle, by their work, the Communists, the working class will achieve the great aims of communism on earth.

Men of the future, the Communists of the coming generations will envy us, they will keep going back in their thoughts to our times, when the lines of the Party anthem ring out with special force:

*We'll change forthwith the old conditions,
Let those who labour hold the reins.*

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, is, and will always be loyal to the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism and friendship among the peoples. It will always fight for world peace, for the victory of communism, as the great Lenin taught us!

(N. S. Khrushchov's speech was repeatedly interrupted by stormy applause, and his closing words were followed by a prolonged ovation.)

**SPEECH
AT A MASS MEETING IN MOSCOW
IN CELEBRATION OF THE WORLD'S FIRST
SPACE FLIGHT**

April 14, 1961

Dear Comrades,
Dear Friends,
Citizens of the whole world,

It is with a sense of great joy and pride that I address you. For the first time in history a man, our Soviet man, in a ship made by Soviet scientists, workers, technicians and engineers, broke away from the planet Earth into outer space and made the first unexampled voyage to the stars. (*Stormy applause.*)

The spaceship *Vostok* climbed an altitude of more than 300 kilometres, orbited the Earth, and landed happily in a predetermined spot of the Soviet Union.

We heartily welcome the splendid cosmonaut, this heroic Soviet man, Yuri Alexeyevich Gagarin. (*Stormy applause. Cheers.*) He has shown fine moral qualities: courage, self-possession, and valour. He is the first man to have in an hour and a half surveyed our whole planet, the Earth, which is in perpetual motion, and to have viewed its tremendous oceans and continents.

Yuri Gagarin is our pioneer of space travel. He is the first to have orbited the globe. If the name of Columbus, who crossed the Atlantic Ocean and discovered America, has lived through the ages, there is so much more to be

said about our wonderful hero, Comrade Gagarin, who soared into outer space, circled the globe, and returned safely to Earth! His name will be immortal in the history of mankind. (*Stormy applause. Cheers.*)

We all understand what a world of thought and feeling our first space traveller has brought back to Earth. Everyone here in this historic square appreciates the deep emotion, pride and joy with which we greet you, our dear friend and comrade. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Permit me on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government, and our entire people heartily to congratulate you and to express our heartfelt gratitude for your unexampled feat. (*Stormy applause.*)

Permit me, also, heartily to welcome and congratulate the scientists, workers, engineers and technicians who developed the rocket ship *Vostok*, and to congratulate all Soviet people who created the conditions for the successful flight of a manned spaceship to outer space. (*Applause.*)

We are proud of Yuri Gagarin's feat, we are filled with admiration for the scientists, engineers, technicians and workers who put their minds and hearts into the development of this ship and into its amazing flight. The work and dedication of millions of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, of the entire Soviet people, are combined in their glorious feat. By this flight we have once more shown the world what the genius of a free people can do.

Now, when Soviet science and technology have demonstrated the highest achievement of scientific and technical progress, we cannot help looking back at the history of our country. We cannot help mentally surveying the past years.

After wresting power from the tsar, the capitalists and the landlords, we defended it in the fire of civil war, even though we were often unshod and in rags. How many mil-

itary strategists there were in those days who predicted the inevitable defeat of what they called the "barefooted armies"! But where are these wretched strategists today?

When we went to our first Communist *subbotniks*, when we laid the foundations for new blast furnaces and built mines, when we flung to the whole world the winged words: five-year plan, industrialisation, electrification, collectivisation, country-wide literacy, there were so many inflated "theoreticians" who forecast that bast-shoe Russia would never become a great industrial power! Where are these sorry prophets today?

We were no simple Ivans without kith and kin. We used all the good things created by the foremost men of our land for the benefit of the people. The socialist state provided an outlet for the dreams and plans of many scientists, engineers and technicians to the vast field of Soviet industrial and collective-farm development. Under the conditions of tsarist Russia these people could not even think of applying their minds and hands.

As we stand today beside the man who made the first space flight, we cannot help recalling the name of the Russian scientist and revolutionary, Kibalchich, who dreamed of flights into space, but who was executed by the tsarist government. We cannot help recalling and paying tribute to the memory of Mendeleyev, Zhukovsky, Timiryazev and Pavlov, and to the many other great scientists whose names are linked with the outstanding feats of the Soviet people.

It is with special veneration that we now recall the name of Konstantin Eduardovich Tsiolkovsky, the scientist, dreamer, and theoretician of space travel. (*Applause.*)

The dream of conquering outer space is indeed the greatest of man's great dreams. We are proud that it is the Soviet people who have made this dream, this golden vision, come true. (*Applause.*)

The words "Citizen of the Soviet Union" are proud words. There was a time when people abroad, and even

some in our country, spoke of us with contempt. But poet Vladimir Mayakovsky said proudly at that time:

Read.

*Envy me,
I am a citizen
of the Soviet Union.*

(Prolonged applause.)

How forcefully these words ring out today! What profound meaning they contain!

But our pride does not stem from any denial by us that other nations and countries can perform a similar feat. We are internationalists. Every Soviet citizen is brought up in the spirit of socialist patriotism, and at the same time he is ready to give freely of his scientific wealth, his technical and cultural knowledge to all who wish to live with us in peace and friendship. *(Applause.)*

The Soviet workers, collective-farm peasantry, and the working intelligentsia are proud that it was we, the working people of former tsarist Russia, that had the great honour of making the October Socialist Revolution under the guidance of the immortal leader of the working class, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, and the Communist Party. *(Prolonged applause.)*

It was a feat unparalleled in history. The working class and the people had to show enormous courage and daring, a profound understanding of their aims and problems, in order to perform that feat. The working class was not afraid of difficulties. It made the greatest of revolutions and assumed power in a country which was economically backward and almost completely illiterate, and whose people were trampled down by tsarism and capitalism.

In those conditions, when, it would seem, there was no time to dream of lofty deeds of the present and future, and when it was necessary to think of how to end the war and heal the wounds on the body of old Russia, the great Lenin spoke with unswerving confidence of the in-

evitable triumph of socialism and communism. He took steps to end the imperialist war through revolution, through the victory of the working class, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the revolutionary liberation of all the peoples of our country.

Lenin persistently and tirelessly explained that only when people are completely emancipated from capitalist slavery, only when the people are really free, when all the material and spiritual potentialities and all efforts are concentrated on the good of the working people, will a new era come for mankind. (*Applause.*)

The great exploit of the working class of Russia and the people of our country, who accomplished the October Socialist Revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party, will go down in the ages as an inspiring example of the revolutionary endeavours of the people.

Socialism offered our country the greatest scope for development. In 43 years of Soviet government, formerly illiterate Russia, of which some people spoke with disrespect, regarding it as a barbaric nation, has travelled a magnificent road. Today, our country is the first to have created an orbital spaceship, the first to have broken through into outer space. Is this not a brilliant demonstration of the genuine freedom of the freest of free people on earth—the Soviet people! (*Stormy applause.*)

By creating all the conditions for the launching and successful landing of the space vehicle, we have shown what a nation can do when it is truly free and unfettered both politically and economically. The truly free countries are not the countries where the rich freely exploit those who lack a crust of bread and call that a “free world”, but those countries where all men and women of labour, all the peoples, have the opportunity of enjoying all material and spiritual benefits.

Our conquest of space is an outstanding milestone in the development of mankind. This victory is a fresh triumph for Lenin’s ideas, a confirmation of the correct-

ness of the Marxist-Leninist teaching. This triumph of human genius is an embodiment and graphic expression of the glorious achievements of the peoples of the Soviet Union in the conditions created by the October Socialist Revolution. This exploit marks a new upsurge of our nation in its onward march to communism. (*Prolonged applause. Cheers.*)

With pride and unshakable assurance we declare to the world that, having successfully completed the building of socialism begun by the October Revolution in 1917, we are advancing confidently and boldly along the road indicated by the great Lenin, towards communism. We say that there is no force in the world capable of diverting us from our course. Victory will be ours, and it will be the most noble, the most brilliant victory. (*Prolonged applause.*) It does not lead to the dominance of one group of people over another, the dominance of one country over another country or group of countries, of one nation over another. It yields benefits to all people on earth. (*Applause.*)

The movement of the peoples towards communism, the noble aspirations of men and women to reach that great goal, cannot be belittled or retarded. This movement has acquired tremendous and irrepressible momentum and no obstacle can halt this great process of human development. The Soviet people, the socialist nations, the peoples of the whole world, including the peoples that have not yet gained their victory and are working doggedly for the triumph of progress over exploitation and oppression, will win and erect the bright edifice of communism. And this will be a great boon to mankind, the crown of its perpetual development. (*Applause.*)

Comrades! At this hour we hail the scientists of the world, to whom the space flight is a great joy and happiness. Soviet science is developing in close connection with the whole of world science.

The flight of the spaceship *Vostok* is, so to speak, the first Soviet swallow in outer space. It soared into the sky in the wake of our many sputniks and spaceships. It is a natural sequel to the titanic scientific and technological work carried out in our country for space exploration.

We shall carry on this work. More and more Soviet people will fly along unexplored routes into outer space and further probe the mysteries of nature, pressing them into the service of man and his well-being, the service of peace.

We stress: into the service of peace! Soviet people do not want rockets, which fulfil man-made programmes with such amazing accuracy, to carry lethal loads.

We once again appeal to the governments of the world: science and technology have progressed so enormously and are capable of causing such devastation if an evil will so commands, that it is necessary to take all possible steps towards disarmament. General and complete disarmament under the strictest international control is the way towards lasting peace among nations. (*Stormy applause.*)

When we launched our first sputnik some myopic people across the ocean refused to believe it. Well, there have always been near-sighted and hidebound people. But now we can actually touch the man who has, so to speak, returned to us straight from heaven! (*Applause.*)

Let me embrace you again, our dear Yuri, and to convey through you our heartfelt greetings to your associates in your work and exploit. (*Khrushchov embraces Comrade Gagarin and kisses him. Stormy applause sweeps the square. Shouts of "Long live the Communist Party!", "Glory to Gagarin!", "Hurrah!"*)

You have glorified the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Motherland will never forget your exploit and will preserve your name in its annals. (*Applause.*)

We are proud that the world's first cosmonaut is a Soviet citizen. Yuri Gagarin grew up and was educated in

a Soviet school. He was active in public life, an active member of the Komsomol. He is a Communist, a member of the great Party of Lenin! (*Stormy applause.*)

It is a pleasure for me to announce that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. has awarded you the high title of Hero of the Soviet Union. (*Stormy, prolonged applause, shouts of "Hurrah!", "Hail Hero Gagarin!"*)

And you are the first to receive the fine title of Pilot Cosmonaut of the U.S.S.R. (*Stormy applause.*)

A bronze bust of the hero will be set up in Moscow and a special medal will be instituted to commemorate the world's first manned space flight. (*Stormy applause.*)

I heartily congratulate Yuri's parents, Anna Timofeyevna and Alexei Ivanovich Gagarin, on having brought up such a fine son, who has glorified our country by his exploit. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) -

I express warm congratulations to Yuri Gagarin's wife, Valentina Ivanovna, a fine Soviet woman. She knew that Yuri was flying into outer space, but did not try to dissuade him. On the contrary, she encouraged him, her husband, the father of two little children, to perform his great exploit. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

After all, no one could fully guarantee that the parting with Yuri Gagarin before his space flight would not be the last in his life. Her courage and appreciation of the tremendous importance of that unexampled flight speak for Valentina Gagarina's stout heart. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Yes, she is a real Soviet woman. Remember with what warmth and love Nekrasov, Pushkin and our other writers wrote about Russian women. Today, when speaking of Russian women we mean all the women of the Soviet Union. Valentina Gagarina showed strength of character, will-power and a deep understanding of Soviet patriotism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades! The people of the Soviet Union are celebrating a new victory, a victory of labour, science and human

genius. It was achieved by the peoples of our country through persevering and hard work. Soviet people have travelled a great road of struggle for the progress of the national economy and the development of technology and science, and have reaped their due reward by winning priority in the launching of a manned spaceship. This immortal exploit, this outstanding feat, will live through the ages as one of the greatest accomplishments of the human race. (*Stormy applause.*)

But success should not weaken our will, our perseverance and determination further to advance our economy and develop science and technology. The tasks of creating a reliable material and technical basis of communism charted by the Twenty-First Communist Party Congress are immense. They are of tremendous historic importance. By fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan and achieving, as a result, a new upsurge of the whole of our economy, science and technology, we shall make it possible to surpass the economic level of the most developed capitalist country, the United States of America, and multiply our advantages in scientific and technical development.

Fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan will bring us nearer to the time when we shall pass the highest point reached by the capitalist world and shall surge ahead in the development of our economy and in satisfying the needs of the people, just as we have now surged ahead into outer space. The material and cultural requirements of Soviet people will be satisfied more fully than in the most developed countries of the capitalist world.

This is why, comrades, new great accomplishments should not weaken our will, our desire to make the most of all our possibilities in advancing science and technology. We must place everything at the service of the people, so as to solve successfully the task of further developing industry and the whole of the country's economy, set by our Party.

The tasks confronting the Communists and Komsomol members of the countryside, the men and women of the collective farms, the workers of the state farms, in short, everybody engaged in agriculture, are especially great. We must raise agriculture to a level where it would always be abreast of industry.

Spring is a crucial time in farming. In this third year of the Seven-Year Plan we must especially show our ability in advancing agriculture. All farm workers must apply the maximum of effort in making agriculture meet the growing requirements of the people in greater measure.

Comrades, there are many wonderful chapters in the history of our country. They are written with the work, inspiration, talent, determination and courage of millions of Soviet people.

Long life and prosperity to our wonderful Soviet people, the builders of a new life, the builders of communism! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long life and prosperity to our socialist land, the country in which the Great October Revolution ushered in a new era in the development of humanity! (*Stormy applause.*)

Glory to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the great leader and founder of the Communist Party and the socialist land! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. Cheers.*)

Lenin's genius illuminates our road to communism, inspires us to new exploits for peace and the happiness of all mankind! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the peoples of the Soviet Union, the builders of communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. Shouts of "Glory!", "Hurrah!"*)

SPEECH
AT MEETING IN YEREVAN
ON THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY
OF SOVIET POWER IN ARMENIA
AND OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARMENIA

May 6, 1961

Dear Comrades and Friends,

Today the people of Armenia, and with them the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union, are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet power and the founding of the Communist Party of Armenia.

Forty years is not a long term in the many centuries of Armenian history, but it is these 40 years that mark the beginning of a new life for the Armenian people. The life-giving force of socialism has rejuvenated the Armenian people. It has advanced the Armenian people's science and culture, its well-being, and has brought out its talents and gifts. Soviet Armenia holds a worthy place in the constellation of Soviet republics. (*Stormy applause.*) The industrious and gifted Armenian people are making a substantial contribution to the great cause of communist construction. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Although, by the calendar, you are somewhat late in celebrating your jubilee, I think that the spring, the blooming of May, favours your great holiday most fittingly. (*Stormy applause.*)

Permit me, on behalf and on the instructions of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., heartily to congratulate you and through you all the working people of Armenia, its workers, collective farmers, the intelligentsia, and all Party members and non-Party people, on this great holiday—the fortieth anniversary of Soviet power and of the founding of the Communist Party of Armenia. (*Stormy applause.*)

This important date in the life of your people comes at an auspicious time. Throughout the country people are preparing assiduously for the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

We live in an amazing time. Every day socialism demonstrates its outstanding victories. Just recently news of the triumphant manned flight round the Earth in a spaceship spread across the globe like a mighty echo. It was precisely round the Earth, and not in any other way. (*Animation, applause.*) The first man to soar into outer space was a citizen of the Soviet Union, the Communist Yuri Gagarin, whose name is now known throughout the world. (*Stormy applause.*)

Progressives everywhere are overjoyed and proud of this momentous victory of Soviet science and technology. Our country has shown once more how boundless are the powers of man, who is wresting from nature secret after secret and pressing it into the service of mankind. True, to put it mildly, there are cranks in some countries who have their own opinion about Yuri Gagarin's flight. Some of them lost no time and declared that our Cosmonaut Gagarin is, of all things, a direct descendant of the Princes Gagarin. (*Laughter.*)

How the times have changed! For decades the bourgeois aristocracy said with disdain that working people, people of labour, would never scale the heights of science, technology and culture, that they would never learn to gov-

ern the state and society. Yet now, true to their parasitical custom, the "have-beens" are not loath to chisel in on the glory of the workingman. (*Laughter, applause.*) To this day they cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that the working class, the peasantry and the working intelligentsia of our country have shown themselves to be gifted builders and tireless workers of the mighty and prosperous socialist state. Soviet people are successfully continuing the building of communism, and ask no princes, counts and barons for permission or advice. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Since the guns of the cruiser *Aurora* ushered in the new era in man's history, our country and the Soviet people have scored many historic victories, demonstrating the advantages of the new socialist system over the capitalist.

The unexampled exploits of the peoples of our country performed under the leadership of the Leninist Communist Party are admired throughout the world and rouse fear among the enemies of socialism. The lofty ideas of the Great October Revolution and the immense accomplishments of our people are a source of inspiration for the working people of the capitalist countries in their struggle for freedom and independence, peace, democracy and socialism. By now more than 1,000 million people, or over one-third of mankind, have embarked upon the socialist path.

Year after year our country gets richer and stronger, and its economy and culture make great advances. The Soviet people are fulfilling with purpose and perseverance the programme of communist construction charted by the Twenty-First Congress of the C.P.S.U.

The results and prospects of our advance in the full-scale building of communist society are truly imposing. They rouse the legitimate pride of the Soviet people and the admiration of all our friends.

Comrades, the immense successes of our country, the

struggle for the victory of Lenin's ideas, the ideas of the Great October Revolution, contain no small share of labour put in by the people of your Republic. The people of Armenia have for ages been linked by close and unbreakable bonds of friendship with the great Russian people and the other peoples of our country. (*Prolonged applause.*) This friendship, which developed through the many years of struggle against foreign invaders, the tsarist autocracy and oppression by landlords and capitalists, gained added strength in the struggle for Soviet power and in the years of socialist construction.

The working people of Armenia won their bright and free life on the difficult and thorny path of revolutionary struggle under the banner of Lenin and under the leadership of the Communist Party. The workers and peasants of Armenia have every reason to be proud of their revolutionary traditions and their fighting past.

Armenia's working people founded their Marxist organisations at the dawn of the working-class movement in Russia. Ever since the founding of our Party, the Bolshevik organisations of Transcaucasia, Armenia included, have been its faithful revolutionary detachments. Lenin classed Transcaucasia among the centres where the mass character of the struggle was most clearly and strikingly evident.

In the years of struggle against the autocracy and capitalism the Bolshevik organisations of Armenia worked hand in hand with the Bolsheviks of all Transcaucasia, constituting one organisation. The finest sons of the Caucasian peoples fought jointly for the happiness of the working people and were equally uncompromising to the tsarist satraps, the capitalists and landlords, and the bourgeois nationalists—the Armenian Dashnaks, the Georgian Mensheviks and the Azerbaijan Mussavatists. The internationalist traditions which developed in the struggle against common enemies are a fine feature of the revolutionary movement of the Transcaucasian working people.

The Great October Revolution gave freedom to all the oppressed peoples of tsarist Russia. Inspired by the victory of the October Revolution in Central Russia, the working people of Transcaucasia launched a heroic struggle for Soviet power under the leadership of the Bolshevik organisations. It was solely due to the treacherous anti-popular policy of the bourgeois-nationalist parties and the foreign imperialists, whom they called to their assistance, that Soviet power did not triumph in Transcaucasia until somewhat later. The people of Armenia experienced the oppression of the Dashnaks and their foreign masters. In those years Armenia was a land of grief and tears, poverty and savage tyranny. But the working people of Armenia would not suffer the rule of the Dashnaks and interventionists. They did not lay down their arms and fought on until the day when Soviet power triumphed. Staunch Leninists, those faithful sons of the people, headed their revolutionary struggle. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Armenian people can be proud of the fact that Armenian Communists took part in founding the Communist International. The workers and peasants inscribed a heroic page in the history of the revolutionary movement in Armenia when they rose against the Dashnaks in May 1920. It was the Armenian Bolsheviks who organised and led the uprising. Hand in glove with foreign imperialists, the Dashnak counter-revolutionaries succeeded in gaining a temporary victory and drowning the uprising in a sea of blood. In those grim days of terror and bloodshed there fell at the hands of executioners the people's finest sons—S. Alaverdyan, S. Musayelyan, B. Garibjanyan, G. Gukasyan, O. Sarukhanyan, V. Alexeyev, M. Mashuryan, K. Mkrtchyan, P. Matichko, B. Badikyan, and others. The memory of these men will live for ever in the hearts of the working people!

But defeat did not break the Armenian people's spirit. They firmly believed in the strength of the working class and its communist vanguard, and in the fraternal help of

Soviet Russia, which was successfully smashing the domestic and foreign counter-revolution. The amalgamation of the local Bolshevik organisations into the Communist Party of Armenia as a composite section of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) was of great importance in the struggle for Soviet power. Led by the Communist Party, the workers and peasants rose up again in 1920 and overthrew the hated rule of the Dashnaks. Acting upon their internationalist duty Red Army units of the Eleventh Army came to the assistance of the revolutionary workers and peasants of Armenia on orders of the Soviet Government.

Lenin was happy to hear of the birth of the new, Soviet Armenia. In a telegram addressed to S. Kasyan, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Committee of Armenia, Lenin wrote: "In your person I greet the working people of Soviet Armenia liberated from the imperialist yoke."* (*Applause.*)

Lenin, our great leader and teacher, stood at the cradle of Soviet Socialist Armenia.

The workers, collective farmers and the working intelligentsia of the Republic will always pronounce with profound gratitude the names of the devoted Bolshevik Leninists who led the revolutionary struggle of the working people of Armenia and all the Transcaucasus, and held aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and the ideas of the October Revolution: J. V. Stalin (*applause*), M. I. Kalinin (*applause*), S. G. Shaumyan (*applause*), P. A. Japaridze (*applause*), A. I. Mikoyan (*applause*), S. S. Spandaryan (*applause*), G. K. Orjonikidze (*applause*), S. M. Kirov (*applause*), M. G. Tskhakaya (*applause*), M. Azizbekov (*applause*), I. T. Fioletov (*applause*), A. Myasnikyan (*applause*), B. M. Knunyants (*applause*), and others. (*Applause.*)

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 31, p. 409.

The victory of Soviet power saved the Armenian people from physical extermination, ensured them national independence, and paved the way to happiness and economic and cultural progress.

Of incalculable significance for the economic renaissance of all the Caucasian peoples was the letter Lenin addressed in early 1921 to the Communists of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Daghestan, and the Mountain Republic, in which he indicated ways and means of ending the chaos and repatterning the economy along socialist lines. He laid special emphasis on electrification and irrigation.

Soviet Russia rendered the Armenian people disinterested fraternal material assistance. In effecting Lenin's plan for the building of socialism in our country, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union regarded it as a task of prime importance to promote the rapid economic and cultural advancement of all the Union Republics, including the once backward border areas of tsarist Russia. A mighty socialist economy, based on highly-developed industry and collective, mechanised agriculture, was built up in these republics in an unusually short historical period.

The Armenian Communists acted on Lenin's advice that complete electrification is absolutely necessary, because the building of the material and technical basis of socialism and communism is inconceivable without it. Today we can proudly say that this programme is being successfully realised.

In the years of Soviet power more than 30 large and medium power stations have been built in Armenia. It now produces more than 2,700 million kwh of electricity annually. This is 40 per cent more electricity than the whole of tsarist Russia produced in 1913. For power output per capita Soviet Armenia has left behind such developed capitalist countries as Japan and Italy. The Republic's per capita output of electricity is 15 times greater than Turkey's and 41 times greater than Iran's. (*Applause.*)

When I came here, the Armenian comrades, the leaders of the Republic, told me in one of our conversations that if we went up in a helicopter after dark and flew along Armenia's frontiers, we would immediately tell where our state border was, no matter how much the helicopter swerved. We would see where Armenia and where its foreign neighbours lay. Why? Because Soviet Armenia is all lit up by electricity, while on the other side of the border there is inky darkness, as they say. (*Shouts of "Hear, hear!" Stormy applause.*) Not only is electric lighting non-existent in some areas there, but many peasants cannot afford kerosene lamps.

However, comrades, if we look back at the past we shall see that 40 years ago the population of Armenia lived in the same conditions as the people in the neighbouring capitalist countries still do today. What was it that elevated Armenia? What miracle was worked here? This miracle was the October Socialist Revolution, the fact that our people rose up, took power into their own hands, and became the real masters of their country and life. (*Shouts of "Hear, hear!" Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The enemies of communism abroad, who are very frightened of our successes, know how the peoples loathe the word "slavery". And so, in order to arouse a feeling of hatred against our country, at least among some people, they call us Soviet people "slaves of communism". As you see, they act crudely, but simply: they take the word "slave" and attach it to the concept of "communism". But it is not so easy now to find gullible people who, as before, believe this trick of the enemies of communism. (*Animation, shouts of "Hear, hear!" Applause.*)

The people who are unable to distinguish between slavery and communism are growing fewer. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Slavery, if we mean the really slavish dependence of people on the powers-that-be, exists not in our country but in the capitalist countries, where the monopolists mer-

cilessly exploit the people of labour. And it is not we Soviet people who are slaves, but the people in the capitalist countries who are slaves of capitalism. (*Applause.*) Why? Because in our country all the means of production, everything that people create by their work, is for society, for the people, while in capitalist countries the fruits of the labour of millions upon millions are appropriated by a comparatively small band of capitalists and monopolists. And one of the results is that Soviet Armenia is today flooded with electric light. (*Applause.*) Why is it that in the adjacent capitalist countries, where, as the ideologists of capitalism and imperialism say, "free people" are living, why is it that they, your neighbours, live in darkness? They are said to have "freedom" there! But what sort of freedom is it if people live in darkness? (*Shouts of "Hear, hear!" Prolonged applause.*)

What is freedom as understood by the bourgeoisie, by the capitalists and the monopolists? Freedom as understood by them is freedom for those who have capital, who own all the means of production, to plunder the working people ruthlessly. That is their "freedom". And we say that it is not freedom for the people of labour, for the masses, but a slavish existence. We are against a handful of exploiters having use of capital, having use of the means of production. We are resolutely opposed to a system in which the capitalists, the monopolists ruthlessly exploit those who possess only their hands, who live by their honest labour; we oppose those who squeeze all the strength out of millions of toilers to the last drop of blood and drain the toilers' sweat for their own enrichment, to increase their capital. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We will yet show the capitalists what achievements the people attain under socialism. We will show them what great things can be done by the people of socialist society, the people whom the monopolists call "slaves of communism". (*Applause.*)

The monopolists tremble for their safes. Well, for all

we care, let them tremble. The threat to their safes does not emanate from us—not from the Soviet Union. What they fear most is the threat from their own peoples, who will sooner or a little later also want to embark on the road we have been following so gloriously for almost 44 years. (*Stormy applause.*)

Our mighty power resources and natural wealth have enabled us to industrialise the national economy in an unprecedentedly short time. Some 500 factories and other major industrial works have been built in the years of Soviet power. In just the post-war period we have built such big undertakings as the aluminium works in Yerevan, copper and molybdenum works, and the Akhtala mines. The Alaverdy Copper and Chemical Works and the Kafan Copper Works have been expanded considerably. The Republic now has a powerful and versatile industry equipped with the latest machinery, which firmly occupies the leading place in the Republic's economy. Armenia's industrial output is almost 70 times greater than in 1913.

Soviet Armenia is today characterised by its mining and non-ferrous metals industry, its instrument and machine-tool works, its large electrical engineering industry, and its light and food industries.

Armenia's chemical industry is developing by leaps and bounds. Today the Republic's chemical works, whose output has increased 21-fold over 1940, manufacture more than 60 different products of importance for our country's economic development.

Armenia's working class and its splendid engineers and technicians, those organisers of production, have grown and matured in effecting the Republic's industrialisation. Comrades of the older generation remember, and the young people know from history and literature, that pre-revolutionary Armenia had no industry to speak of. There were only small semi-handicraft enterprises. The working class was small in number. Today the Republic's economy em-

employs more than 400,000 industrial and office workers, engineers and technicians proficient in operating modern machinery.

The supply of natural gas from fraternal Azerbaijan offers fine new prospects for the further development of Soviet Armenia's chemical industry.

The construction of the gas pipeline not only solves the fuel problem and helps to improve the life of the people, but also provides a cheap raw material for industry. All in all, the aggregate output of Armenia's chemical industry will increase 230 per cent in the Seven-Year Plan period.

The working people of Transcaucasia have named the Baku-Tbilisi-Yerevan gas pipeline—a pipeline of friendship among the peoples. That is a very good and fitting name for it. Recently, the Armenian power system was merged with the power systems of the fraternal republics of Azerbaijan and Georgia. A single power system for Transcaucasia has thus been created, forming a reliable foundation for the further industrial development of the Transcaucasian republics.

The peoples of the fraternal Transcaucasian republics forged their friendship over the many decades of joint struggle for freedom and for the building of a new life. The friendship of the peoples is one of the greatest gains of Soviet power. This fraternal friendship should be cherished, tended and cultivated!

The boundless love of country and unshakable ideological unity of all Soviet people, including the working people of Armenia, came strikingly into evidence at the time of the Great Patriotic War. Our peoples stood shoulder to shoulder, and not only upheld the honour and independence of our land, but also saved humanity from fascist enslavement. The heroic efforts of Armenians in the Armed Forces were highly commended by the Party and Government. The high title of Hero of the Soviet Union was conferred on 106 Armenians, and some 70,000 Armenians

were awarded Orders and Medals. Outstanding military leaders have come from the midst of the Armenian comrades. I am well acquainted with Marshal of the Soviet Union Ivan Khristoforovich Bagramyan. (*Prolonged applause.*) We spent quite a long time together on the fronts of the Great Patriotic War. Admiral I. S. Isakov has played a prominent role in building up our naval forces. (*Applause.*) Air Marshal S. A. Khudyakov (*applause*) and many others distinguished themselves in the Patriotic War.

I could name many Armenians who played a prominent role in the Great Patriotic War. When I was member of the Military Council of the Kiev Military District, later renamed the South-Western Front, and Bagramyan was a colonel in charge of Operations Division, many commanders of the service arms were Armenians, such as Parsekov, Tamruchi, Galajev, Arushanyan and Ter-Gasparyan. As you know, I. F. Tevosyan was in charge of the country's metal production during the war, and did an excellent job. (*Applause.*) You are, of course, drawing the correct conclusion from this. (*Applause.*) This was on our section of the front. It was naturally not so everywhere, for you are a smaller people than some of the others, say, the Russians or the Ukrainians. Unless you bear this in mind, some of you may get a swelled head, and that is never good. (*Animation. Applause.*)

In a word, I said to Bagramyan at the time: The Armenians are not a big people, but they have their representatives everywhere. (*Animation. Applause.*)

I have once already told the story about our delegation visiting China in 1954 and calling at Port Arthur to meet the Soviet soldiers and to see how well they were prepared in the event of an imperialist attack on that fortress. We looked in on a battery of heavy fort artillery. Suddenly a handsome young man emerged from a dugout and reported that he was Karapetyan, commander of the battery. (*Animation.*)

Later we arrived in the Soviet Far East. We visited Russky Island which guards the entrance to Vladivostok, and met the people there. Once more an energetic young commander appeared—his name, I think, was Gasparyan or something of that kind—and made the report. (*Animation. Applause.*) I then said jokingly to Anastas Mikoyan: "It's you, probably, who are appointing Armenians everywhere." (*Animation.*)

Today Bagramyan reminded me that when we went to see how atomic and hydrogen bombs are made—it was a secret inspection—it was also an Armenian who approached us and made the report. (*Animation. Applause.*)

What does this show, comrades? It shows that in our country all the peoples have received an opportunity to show their worth, whether in the field of science, in matters of defence, or in culture. (*Applause.*) Regardless of whether a man's name ends in "ov", "ko", or "yan", or in any other endings common in the various republics of the Soviet Union, the doors are open to everybody. Every citizen is given an opportunity to work for the good of our country. (*Stormy applause. Cheers.*)

We are proud of this. It is a gain won by the working people, a gain of all the nations of the Soviet Union. It is a gain of our Leninist national policy and we must do our utmost to further still more the friendship of the peoples of our country. (*Stormy applause.*)

After the war Soviet Armenia, like the rest of our country, made a tremendous stride forward in developing its economy and culture, and improving the living standard.

The Seven-Year Plan is an important stage in our country's advance. It is being successfully fulfilled.

The Soviet Union as a whole, and your Republic in particular, are forging ahead of the set rates of economic development. Armenia's aggregate industrial output in the first two years of the Seven-Year Plan period increased 25 per cent instead of the 18 provided for in the yearly plans.

It is a pleasure and a joy to learn that the workers of the industrial enterprises of the Republic, who embarked on a socialist emulation movement to mark the coming Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U., have exceeded the aggregate output plan for the first quarter of 1961 by three per cent.

Tens of thousands of the foremost workers, engineers and technicians of Armenia are working with dedication in the van of the drive for the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan. Country-wide respect is enjoyed by Ashot Melkonyan, team-leader at the Kafan Copper Works, Sergei Amirkhanyan, team-leader at the Kirov Works, and Khachik Koshkaryan, bricklayer of the Zhilgrazhdanstroï house-building development, all of whom have the high title of Hero of Socialist Labour. Good work is being done in communist work teams by Alexander Borisov, shop-hand of an electric bulb factory, Batish Grigoryan, fitter at the Yerevan Electrical Engineering Works, Betkhem Abgaryan, knitter at the Leninakan Hosiery Mill, and many, many others. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The enthusiasm and feats of labour shown by the working class instil confidence that the Seven-Year Plan assignments will be fulfilled and overfulfilled.

But victory does not come of itself. Much hard work has still to be done if the tasks of the Seven-Year Plan are to be fulfilled. Production capacities must be increased all the time. Under the Seven-Year Plan Armenia's industry is to more than double.

They say it is not customary in the Caucasus to say unpleasant things to the host at a feast. But on jubilees we must speak both of shortcomings as well as achievements, for this is in the interests of our common cause. That is why I want to speak to you on this festive occasion not only of accomplishments, but also of some faults in your work. I think you will not be offended if I do so.

Allow me to depart from this good custom. It stands to reason that to have a good feast and a good jubilee

you have to work well before and after the jubilee. There will then be something to celebrate and someone to honour. This is why we must speak on anniversaries not only of successes, but also of shortcomings.

Some comrades asked me before this meeting whether I would make any critical remarks. I said I would, for I cannot go against my nature and keep silent if I see faults, but probably I would not criticise as strongly as at the recent conference. (*Animation in the hall. Applause.*) I repeat, this is in the interests of our common cause. We are not afraid of criticism. We get stronger after it.

The vital tasks to be solved in the Seven-Year Plan period call for the mobilisation of all available potentialities. Yet the potentialities of the Republic's industry have not so far been utilised to the full. You still have enterprises that are not fulfilling the state assignments in output and labour productivity. Some factories have excessive overhead expenditures and wastage, and produce goods of inferior quality.

Yesterday I saw the Republic's Exhibition of Economic Achievement. Any republic can be proud of such an exhibition and such economic indices. While examining this very interesting exhibition with its wonderful computers, instruments, turning lathes and milling machines, and many different consumer goods, I saw a little boy's cap with a ribbon. It was a sailor's cap, but, frankly, it looked dreadful. I picked it up, showed it to the comrades, and asked: Why should a child's cap with an anchor on the ribbon, a cap that should please the child and its mother and father, a cap that should not only cover the child's head but also look attractive, be so poorly made and, what is more, displayed at the exhibition? (*Laughter, applause.*) Why should your factories be held up to disgrace? You are able to put out good and attractive things. Why show such disrespect for the labour of people and sully your national pride? The comrades agreed with me and said they would remove the cap. (*Laughter.*)

It is probably gone by now. It should also be removed from production, and replaced by better, more attractive things. Such poor goods should not be manufactured. (*Animation, applause.*)

Neither should it be tolerated that the sums allocated by the state for house-building are not fully used. Due to the unsatisfactory work of the Republic's building organisations the 1960 state housing plan has been fulfilled only 95 per cent in terms of the allocations, and only 78 per cent in buildings ready for occupancy. The working people of the Republic have been done out of about 50,000 square metres of housing.

In the two days I have been here I received many letters from working people, most of them about housing. The housing question is an acute one. That is why better use should be made of the funds allocated for house-building, in order to supply the people houses with all amenities.

This is my first visit to Armenia and to your capital, Yerevan. I have been told that Armenians visiting you for the first time since the early years of the Revolution—they have become your guests because they live in other places—say that now everybody can be proud of Yerevan as the capital of the Armenian people. (*Applause.*)

The unworthy practice of letting tenants move into houses with serious defects has not yet been halted. Is it normal that houses were opened to occupancy before electric and water mains were completed and other important shortcomings eliminated, even in Yerevan? You should see to it that the building materials industry is further expanded and up-to-date mechanised methods of producing building materials are introduced more boldly.

Comrades, over the past years our Party has carried out measures that have further fortified the collective-farm system, developed the state farms, sharply increased the production of grain and animal products, and advanced all branches of farming.

The working people of the Armenian Republic have also achieved weighty successes in agricultural development. Armenia's agriculture changed radically with the victory of the collective-farm system. Boundless opportunities appeared for increasing agricultural production. The powerful irrigation systems built in the Republic at the time of the pre-war five-year plans, which fertilised thousands of hectares of formerly unused land, are of immense importance.

The collective and state farms now have a material and technical basis that enables them to operate according to the rules of up-to-date agronomy, to make good use of the land and to lighten the work of the collective farmers to the utmost. The technical equipment of the collective and state farms will continue to improve all the time. It is now a question of making the best use of the machines and of working for high labour productivity.

Armenia's collective farmers and state-farm workers have considerable achievements to their credit. The aggregate farm output in 1960 was almost three times higher than in 1913 in comparable prices. The collective farms are growing stronger from year to year. Their non-distributable assets are increasing, and so are the incomes of the collective farmers.

In 1958 the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic was awarded the Order of Lenin, the highest award, for major successes achieved by farm workers in increasing agricultural production and fulfilling and overfulfilling the assignments for the sale to the state of raw cotton, sugar beet, grain, meat, milk and wool. (*Stormy applause.*)

It is a pleasure to note that in 1960 the Republic fulfilled the plan for the sale to the state of cotton, meat, milk and sugar beet ahead of schedule.

The Armenian Republic has favourable natural and economic conditions for developing all branches of agriculture, particularly animal husbandry, and vine, fruit and vegetable growing.

It should be noted, however, that insufficient use is so far being made of the possibilities and potentialities available in the Republic's agriculture. The plans for the sale of grapes and vegetables to the state were not fulfilled in 1960. In the last few years the Republic has reduced the grain areas. This is intolerable in your conditions. In 1960, compared with 1953, for example, the grain area in the collective and state farms of the Republic was reduced by more than 130,000 hectares, while the area sown to fodder crops was increased quite inadequately.

It should be noted that stock-breeding is making slow headway in the Republic. It is absolutely impermissible that last year there was a considerable loss of sheep in the collective and state farms of the Republic due to a shortage of fodder.

Yet that is a fact. Sheep are essential for a good diet, for making good shashlyk. (*Animation, applause.*) Comrade Mzhavanadze is probably telling himself now that Khrushchov is likely to say the same thing in Georgia. He is quite right! We cannot stop talking about these shortcomings until we have seen to it that they do not recur, that the slaughter of sheep is stopped. (*Animation.*)

The many remarkable achievements of the leading farm workers of the Republic, who have been increasing the yield of grapes, cotton, meat, milk and other products from year to year, show that the collective and state farms of Armenia have every opportunity of increasing their output more rapidly if they keep pace with these front-rank workers.

Let me give you just a few examples from the experience of the leading farm workers. At the village of Saratovka, in Kalinin District, the collective farm headed by Chairman Comrade Avdalyan last year produced 53.4 centners of meat and 494 centners of milk per 100 hectares of land. Each cow yielded 3,112 kilograms of milk, although the average milk yield per cow for the collective and state farms of the Republic was 1,520 kilograms.

To be sure, the leaders of Armenia may say: The average is 1,520 kilograms now, while seven years ago it was only 300 kilograms per cow—yet he still thinks it is too little! (*Animation.*) Yes, it is too little! Not too little for me, but for you, because your Republic is growing, its economy and culture are growing, and so is the demand of the people. (*Applause.*) Due thanks have been tendered for what has been done in these seven years. We have doubled, and trebled, and more than trebled the output of animal products in recent years.

But that is not enough either. We are still not meeting the demand of the population for these products. The incomes of the working people have risen, and so have their requirements. Production growth must keep pace with the demands of the population. That is why you must not rest content with what has been done. What has been done is good. But we must make much higher demands on ourselves if we want to reach a still higher level tomorrow, to produce more foods and manufactured goods of all kinds, and so enable the people to satisfy their demands more and more fully.

Comrade Tunyan, a collective-farm shepherd of the village of Hyndzoresk, in Goris District, secured 5.4 kilograms of wool from each of the 369 sheep in his care, and got 127 yearlings from each of 100 ewe.

At the Kakhtsrashen village collective farm in Artashat District the team under Hero of Socialist Labour Yegiazaryan, who is a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., grew 180 centners of grapes per hectare. This year the team has pledged itself to raise the grape yield to 230 centners per hectare.

I hope you won't misunderstand me. I am praising those who get good grape yields, although grape-growers say that a big grape yield per hectare is not always a good thing, because if the crop is not watered in time the yield may be high, but the grapes will be bad. A person drinking the juice of these grapes will roll his eyes, though it will

not be from pleasure but from the sour taste. A sense of proportion is called for. We want to grow good products for popular consumption.

Last year Satenik Meloyan, a team-leader at the Myasnikyan Collective Farm in Oktemberyan District secured 1,300 centners of maize for silage per hectare; she has undertaken to grow 1,400 centners of maize silage per hectare in 1961. Maize means milk and meat.

Comrades, the interests of communist construction and steadily higher living standards require higher rates of agricultural development. The January Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union formulated the task of keeping the supply of farm products ahead of the popular demand.

The measures for increasing the output of grain, meat and milk outlined by the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee are perfectly realistic and feasible. There can be no doubt that the farmers of Soviet Armenia will do their best in the wide socialist emulation drive for pre-schedule fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan and make a worthy contribution to the common effort of increasing the output of foodstuffs and industrial raw materials, scoring new victories in communist construction. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Armenian people can be legitimately proud of their achievements in the development of public education and health protection, and the advancement of their national culture, science, literature and art. The immense work done in Armenia in the Soviet period is vividly evidenced by the striking changes in the appearance of Yerevan, the capital of the Armenian Republic.

What was Yerevan before the Revolution? It was a small provincial town with a population of about 30,000 and crowded rows of adobe houses.

Skilled building workers have transformed Yerevan in the Soviet period into a modern city with a distinctive architectural pattern of new factory buildings, scientific

institutions, theatres, and tall bright apartment houses. It is quite safe to say that the city has been built anew.

The Republic, where the number of literate persons prior to the Revolution did not exceed 10 per cent of the population and where there was no university-level school and no permanent theatre, today has a large number of schools, hospitals, and scientific and cultural establishments. More than 300,000 children go to school.

Broad opportunities are provided to the working people for acquiring a higher or specialised secondary education. In 1960 alone the Republic's educational establishments graduated 6,500 engineers, technicians, agronomists, doctors, teachers and other specialists.

A vivid illustration of the further improvement of the living standard is provided by the rise in the real incomes of industrial and office workers and collective farmers. The incomes of the Armenian collective farms are double the 1953 level.

The culture of the Armenian people has blossomed. Great are the achievements of Soviet Armenia in scientific development.

In the Soviet years Armenia has trained her own scientists. At present its 10 university-level schools and 79 scientific establishments are successfully working out problems of great theoretical and practical importance. Armenian scientists are doing good work on important problems of nuclear physics, astrophysics, stellar astronomy, mathematics, computer engineering, cybernetics, etc. World science has greatly benefited by the efforts of the scientists of the Byurakan Observatory headed by Viktor Amazaspovich Ambartsumyan, President of the Armenian Academy of Sciences. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Armenian literature has written a worthy chapter into the history of Soviet and world literature. Its outstanding writers, such as Ovanes Tumanyan, Yeghishe Charents and others, created superb works that have won the appreciation not only of Armenians, but also of other peoples. De-

veloping the finest traditions of Armenian literature, the modern Armenian poets and writers create works glorifying the life of new Armenia.

Many wonderful cultural workers of your Republic devote their talent and inspiration to the building of new Armenia, the building of communism. History shows convincingly that the development of talent and rapid cultural progress occur in the life of a nation when favourable political and social conditions arise for it. And there have not been conditions more favourable and inspiring for art workers, scientists and writers in the history of mankind than those in our socialist country, which is the first to have begun the erection of the magnificent edifice of communism.

That is why the music written by Armenian composers is so beautiful and inspired. Many of them, including the great master Aram Khachaturyan, are known all over our country and the world. (*Applause.*) Aram Ilyich Khachaturyan is a Lenin Prize winner. Not long ago this high prize was awarded to the fine painter, Martiros Saryan. (*Applause.*)

Many other prominent cultural leaders of your Republic could be mentioned. I hope they won't take offence at my not having mentioned them. I would like to touch on the life-story of the splendid Armenian singer, Goar Gasparyan. She failed to win recognition abroad. When she came to her mother country, Goar Gasparyan found great human happiness in sunny Armenia, and became a People's Artiste of the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*)

The motherland has given broad opportunities for work and creative pursuits, for serving the people, to thousands of Armenians who were in the past, due to various reasons and circumstances, deprived of their homeland. Tragic fate has scattered the Armenian nation all over the world. Many people went under in the hard struggle for life, and many still have to suffer the yoke of forced labour.

I have been told that Armenians living in other countries have a song about the swallow which flies to Armenia every spring with greetings from those living abroad. When it goes back this swallow probably tells people many good things about your Republic. That is why Armenians willingly return to their motherland. They return to socialist Armenia and have every opportunity of comparing the past and present of their native land, of comparing what man is given by socialism and capitalism.

Home-coming, especially when a man was born and grew up abroad, and lived there for the greater part of his life, is always a complicated thing. It should be taken into account that these people have for long been under the influence of bourgeois propaganda, bourgeois norms and ways of life—in short, they have lived under the law of the jungle. Patience and equanimity are needed in instilling the new, Soviet traits of character in these people. What is beyond doubt, however, is that Soviet Socialist Armenia is now a centre, a magnet, which attracts the finest sons and daughters of the Armenian people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Republican organisations should, as before, show concern for the life and work of those who return home.

Dear comrades, all the great achievements and gains of the Armenian people have become possible thanks to the consistent implementation of the wise Leninist national policy, to the creation of new, socialist relations between all the peoples of our country—relations of fraternal friendship, mutual assistance and confidence.

The great friendship of the Soviet peoples, forged in the construction of socialism, in the struggle against all kinds of nationalistic parties and trends, is one of our most precious gains, the corner-stone of the strength and might of the multinational Soviet state.

Comrades, both the domestic and international position of our country is very good. The Soviet people are advancing confidently to their great goal. Our successes bring

joy to our friends all over the world, and cause confusion and anger in the camp of the imperialists.

Everybody knows that the international situation has deteriorated of late. The intrigues of the imperialist aggressors against the freedom-loving people of Cuba are rousing grave alarm among the peoples of the world.

The imperialists are whipping up war hysteria and intensifying the arms race, which causes a reckless squandering of resources. This arms race was started by the Western war monopolies, which are making money out of arms production. One can get an idea of what the peoples have to pay for this perilous arms race from, say, the fact that in the 1961/62 fiscal year, the U.S.A. plans to spend \$ 43,800 million for direct military purposes.

The imperialists are using the labour of millions upon millions of people to the detriment of working people, because this labour is being wasted on the production and stockpiling of death-dealing nuclear-missile weapons. The arms race and the stockpiling of weapons, especially of nuclear weapons, is fraught with extremely great peril for the peoples. Another world war, should the imperialists manage to set one off, would cause such a loss of life and such vast destruction of material values as defy the imagination.

Clearly, the peoples cannot agree with the idea that another world war is inevitable. The peoples must take steps to prevent the imperialist atomic maniacs from turning cities to ashes and fertile fields and orchards into unpopulated deserts.

The Soviet Union, the entire mighty socialist camp are mankind's indestructible bulwark in the fight for peace, against a nuclear war of extermination. It is a great good fortune that we have the Soviet Union and the mighty socialist camp, who adhere to the policy of peaceful coexistence. They are a factor that deters the forces seeking the outbreak of war. (*Prolonged applause.*)

It was not we who started the arms race after the Sec-

ond World War. On the contrary, we have always done our utmost, and are continuing to do everything we can, to end the arms drive. Everybody knows the Soviet Union's disarmament proposals. We have approached this vital issue from different angles. We have suggested partial measures and measures of an all-inclusive nature. The United Nations has before it the Soviet proposal for general and complete disarmament under strict international control. We have made it quite clear: Let the Western Powers accept our disarmament programme and we will accept any plan of theirs for control over disarmament. Acceptance of our disarmament proposals would not put any of the countries concerned at a disadvantage. Yet it would enable us to do away with the arms drive once and for all. The peoples would then be able to concentrate entirely on economic competition, on advancing their living standards. Indeed, would any people stand to lose anything from peaceful economic competition? Of course not.

Disarmament talks are to open shortly between the governments of the Soviet Union and the United States. We are preparing for them in full earnest and hope that the other side, too, will approach these negotiations with the same sense of responsibility. However, should anyone think that such talks may be reduced to a mere formality, to a discussion of procedural matters, let them then assume the responsibility for such an unbusiness-like approach. The peoples expect the disarmament talks to emerge from the stage of interminable discussion, and are looking forward not to control over armaments, but to disarmament under control.

The new government in the United States made some people hope that the new leaders of the United States would display a more sensible approach to the adjustment of international issues, including disarmament. This would improve the entire international situation. As to the Soviet Union, we strove before, and are striving now, to improve our relations with the Western countries, the United States

included. This is extremely important for solving the urgent international issues affecting the interests of all the peoples.

We want to settle the disarmament problem, eradicate the survivals of the Second World War in Europe, conclude a German peace treaty, and thus pull down all the barriers obstructing the normalisation of international relations and the preservation and maintenance of world peace. The peoples are interested in having conditions in which all the states could peacefully coexist, irrespective of their social and political systems.

Our aims are clear. We don't want anything for ourselves that would prejudice the interests of other states or nations. The Soviet Government has always done everything in its power, and is now doing everything it can, to eliminate the seats of tension and have disputed international issues adjusted pacifically.

We regret that the aggressive forces in the United States were able to provoke an attack on the Republic of Cuba. Not only our people, who sincerely respect other nations, but all honest people in other countries as well, could not remain indifferent in face of the invasion of Cuba by mercenary gangs.

It should be noted that voices condemning this reckless course were raised in the United States, too, by the ordinary people, intellectuals and journalists, and even prominent public leaders and Congressmen.

The peoples of the entire world were indignant at this perfidious attack on Cuba, which threatens no one. And we appreciate this wrath of the peoples. The Government of the Soviet Union sent messages to the U.S. Government, in which it condemned the armed invasion and warned that it could lead to grave consequences.

The aggression against Cuba has aggravated the international situation. But we should like to take an optimistic view of further developments in that area of the world. The peoples hope that U.S. statesmen will draw the cor-

rect conclusions and that the lesson of what has happened will not be lost on them.

Cuba has been a victim of aggression. But its leaders are not only reasonable about it, but also great-hearted, having proposed negotiations with the U.S.A. in order to eliminate the tension in the relations between the two countries and to normalise the situation in the Caribbean. Cuba and the U.S.A. are neighbours, and should live like good neighbours. Some sober-minded people in the U.S.A. advocate the principle of live and let live. It would be good if the U.S.A. adhered to this principle in its relations with Cuba and other countries. Such an approach would be of mutual advantage to Cuba and the U.S.A., without prejudice to the prestige of either. (*Applause.*)

If, however, the U.S. imperialists, contrary to common sense, start a new undisguised venture against the Republic of Cuba, they would create a situation fraught with serious consequences, and above all for the United States. In our time the imperialists can no longer proceed with their adventures with impunity. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The attention of the peoples is also centred on the events in Laos. Laos is a small state in South-East Asia. Back in 1954 the Geneva Conference on Indo-China defined its status as that of an independent and neutral state. But this was not to the liking of certain people. An uprising was organised against the lawful government with the aim of drawing Laos into the SEATO military bloc. But the people of Laos do not want to be in any military bloc. A struggle broke out, which threatened to expand into a large conflagration.

Measures are at present being taken to extinguish the sparks of war. The belligerent sides have already announced a cease-fire, and in a few days negotiations are to start in Geneva on a peaceful settlement in Laos.

All sincere peace champions can only welcome the conference on Laos. But it is only a beginning. All interested sides should help the Laotian people to secure peace

based on a genuinely independent and neutral Laos, safeguarded against outside interference in its domestic affairs. The people of Laos, like any other people, have the right to live as they wish, to build their state in conformance with their own interests.

We respect the statement made by Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister of Laos, that his government abides, and will continue to abide, by a policy of neutrality. That is the best policy for Laos, whose people are eager to devote their energies to peaceful constructive work, rather than participate in the arms race.

We wish that the coming conference in Geneva is successful. Success is within reach. The Western countries should abandon their attempts to transform Laos into their military bridgehead and not interfere in its domestic affairs. As for the Soviet Union, we declare once again that we want to see Laos independent and neutral, and not a member of any aggressive military bloc.

We have time and again called on the states involved in military blocs to realise that their participation in them and in the arms race is ruinous, because it is a policy that promises no good. The Soviet stand is that all military groupings should be abolished, that all disputes between states should be solved by peaceful means, through negotiation between them and through the United Nations. Of course, the United Nations, in the shape it is in today, needs treatment with an effective remedy. That organisation must be healed so that it may live up to its name and be able to examine and solve problems objectively, with due consideration for the interests of all states, and that it may be an efficient instrument of world peace and not an instrument doing the will of some states to the detriment of others.

The aggression against the Cuban Republic and the rebellion instigated by the imperialists in Laos against the lawful government of Souvanna Phouma are evidence of the fact that the situation in the world is rather strained.

The imperialist and militarist circles in the West have not abandoned the policy of war preparations, for this policy enables the monopolies to make huge profits out of the arms race.

The peoples must see all this. They must be vigilant, unite their forces, and fight resolutely against the intrigues of the imperialists. They must press for a solution of the disarmament problem and work for conditions that would meet their aspirations of living in peace and friendship.

The Soviet Government has been steadily and consistently seeking to ease the tension and improve relations between states in line with the principles of peaceful coexistence. This Leninist policy has justified itself completely. It gives us particular joy to note that the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and of the other countries of the socialist camp has won the recognition and respect of all the working people in the world. This policy brings the peoples peace and delivers them from the menace of another ruinous war, builds up the freedom and independence of the peoples and thwarts the schemes of the enemies of peace and progress. And we shall persevere in this policy. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, the Soviet Union, all the peoples of our country are forging ahead. The creative labour of the Soviet people, led by the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, brings in gain after gain and advances our country towards the final victory of communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

We may be proud of what we have done. But we must not rest on our laurels. This is unbecoming to us, men of labour who are building communist society. The Soviet people are busy preparing to meet the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as befits their great holidays—with additional millions of tons of steel, coal, oil, grain and meat—in a communist way. There can be no doubt that the Armenian people will

make a fitting contribution to this country-wide cause.
(Prolonged applause.)

(Then N. S. Khrushchov reads a message of greeting from the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, which is interrupted repeatedly by stormy applause.)

**TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF ARMENIA,
THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET
OF THE ARMENIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC,
AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE ARMENIAN S.S.R.**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. heartily greet and congratulate the workers, collective farmers, the intelligentsia and all working people of Armenia on the auspicious occasion of the fortieth anniversary of Soviet power and of the founding of the Communist Party of Armenia.

The Communist Party of Armenia is one of the militant detachments of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Hand in hand with the other peoples of our country, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the working people of Armenia travelled a long and glorious path of struggle against the autocracy and capitalism, and against the nationalist Dashnak gangs. After the victory of Soviet power, the Armenian working people gained true freedom and independence for the first time in history. Ending its centuries-long backwardness, Soviet Armenia has in the years of socialist construction grown into a prosperous, highly-developed socialist republic.

During the Great Patriotic War the workers, collective farmers and the intelligentsia of Armenia fought gallantly with the rest of the Soviet people for the freedom and in-

dependence of our country, displaying fervent Soviet patriotism and devotion to the Communist Party and the communist cause.

The great socialist transformations launched the Armenian people upon the highway to a bright future—communism.

The Twenty-First Congress of the C.P.S.U. has furnished our country with an imposing programme of full-scale communist construction, a programme for the further powerful development of the productive forces and the steady growth of the material and cultural standard of Soviet people. In fond friendship with the other Transcaucasian peoples and in the united family of the fraternal Soviet peoples, and the working people of Armenia are labouring devotedly to fulfil the Seven-Year Plan ahead of schedule and to build the material and technical basis of communism. The industry of the Republic is developing at a rapid pace, including such of its key branches as machine-tool building, electrical engineering, instrument making, the chemical industry and the non-ferrous metals industry. The production of consumer goods is rising steadily. The aggregate industrial output of the Republic will this year be nearly 70 times greater than in 1913. The recently completed Karadag-Yerevan gas pipeline, whose construction was a vivid example of friendship and mutual assistance among the fraternal Soviet peoples, is of great importance for the Republic's national economy.

The face of the Armenian countryside has changed radically. Poverty and backwardness are gone, never to return. The people on the Armenian farms are making the most of the advantages of the collective-farm system to work for the further growth of agricultural output.

The living standard of the working people is rising. Their housing and living conditions are improving. The socialist culture of the Armenian people is flourishing. In the schools of the Republic there are nine children today to every one child in 1913. Thirty-three thousand students

are enrolled in the higher educational establishments and specialised secondary schools. The Republic has a large number of research centres, cinemas, libraries, palaces of culture, clubs, museums, health institutions, kindergartens and nurseries. Armenia's literature and art are developing well.

The working people of Soviet Armenia are celebrating their glorious jubilee, the fortieth anniversary of the Republic, at a time when the whole Soviet people are preparing assiduously a fitting reception for the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The pre-Congress emulation movement is proceeding at the factories, offices and collective and state farms of Armenia. The people at the enterprises and building projects are bent on raising the productivity of labour, on fulfilling the plans ahead of schedule, on reducing production costs and improving the quality of what they produce. The farmers are working with devotion to carry out the programme for the further advancement of agriculture worked out by the Plenary Meeting of the C.C. C.P.S.U. in January.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. express their firm belief that the working people of Armenia will, under the leadership of the Communist Party, do their utmost to advance still more rapidly along the path of communist construction and honourably fulfil the big and responsible tasks facing the Republic.

We wish the gifted Armenian people new successes in the building of communism, in economic and cultural development and in the further steady improvement of the living standard.

Hail to the fortieth anniversary of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic!

Long live the Communist Party of Armenia, a militant detachment of the C.P.S.U.!

Long live our great country, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics!

Strength and prosperity to the indestructible fraternal friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union!

Hail to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

CENTRAL
COMMITTEE
OF THE C.P.S.U.

PRESIDIUM OF THE
SUPREME SOVIET
OF THE U.S.S.R.

COUNCIL
OF MINISTERS
OF THE U.S.S.R.

(Stormy, prolonged applause, all rise. Cheers for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government.)

**SPEECH
AT MEETING IN TBILISI
ON THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY
OF SOVIET POWER IN GEORGIA
AND OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GEORGIA**

May 12, 1961

Dear Comrades, Friends,

Today the working people of Georgia, and with them all our great country, the entire friendly family of fraternal Soviet peoples, are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet power in your Republic and the founding of the Communist Party of Georgia.

Allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., to greet you heartily, and through you all the working people of Georgia, and to wish your Republic, the workers, collective farmers and intelligentsia, happiness and prosperity and further labour achievements for the good of our beloved motherland. (*Stormy applause.*)

We are celebrating the glorious 40th anniversary of Soviet power and of the Communist Party of Georgia in an environment of very increased creative activity by the Soviet people. A giant wave of socialist emulation in honour of the coming Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is sweeping the country. The

drive is spreading everywhere to fulfil the economic development programme for the third year of the Seven-Year Plan, and to effect the tasks set by the January Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of our Party.

As we know, the Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U. will discuss and adopt a new Programme of the Party. The present Programme was inaugurated by the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in the early years of Soviet power. Those were the trying years of the Civil War when the Soviet Republic defended the gains of the October Revolution in the grim conditions of unheard-of destruction, famine and suffering. In those grim years socialism was still only a wonderful dream, but a realistic dream scientifically substantiated by the great Lenin. The Party already then realised that its principal aim and main purpose of struggle was to build the world's first socialist society, and this was reflected in the Programme it adopted.

We can proudly say that the second Party Programme, worked out by V. I. Lenin, has been honourably fulfilled by our Party. Socialism has triumphed in the Soviet Union fully and finally. The Soviet people are now successfully solving the tasks of full-scale communist construction. That is the main result of our victories and gains, which nobody will ever take away from us. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Through the efforts of the people, guided by the Communist Party, our country shook off its age-old backwardness in a historically short time and made such immense progress that even we Communists are sometimes astounded. Just think of it, in just four decades our country has become one of the world's greatest industrial powers. We have increased production scores and even hundreds of times over in the key branches.

What great revolutionary changes have taken place in agriculture! Backward and split up in the past, it has become large-scale, mechanised and abundantly supplied with

the latest machines. Lenin dreamed of one hundred thousand tractors. Last year alone our agriculture received hundreds of thousands of tractors, combine harvesters, lorries and many other machines. Yet the technical basis of petty farming in pre-revolutionary Russia consisted chiefly of wooden ploughs and harrows. There was a shortage of even the ordinary iron ploughs.

Socialism has transformed the face of our country. Each day Soviet people enjoy more and more of the material and spiritual benefits of socialism. Last year the Soviet national income, which is the basic indicator of the standard of living, was 23 times greater than the 1913 national income was within the present boundaries of the U.S.S.R. The conversion of all factory and office workers to a seven- and six-hour working day was completed in 1960. For the first time in history a law was adopted in our country abolishing taxes on factory and office workers. A housing development programme of unprecedented dimensions is under way. In just the past two years houses with a total living space of more than 165 million square metres, or 4,600,000 flats, have been built in cities and workers' estates. If we add the extensive house-building going on in the rural areas, it may be said that in the past two years more than 20 million citizens of the Soviet Union have moved into new homes. There is a steady increase in the real wages of factory and office workers, and the real incomes of collective farmers.

There was a time when we Communists could prove the advantages of the socialist system of economy over the capitalist only in theory, and when the rulers and ideologists of the bourgeois world made fun of our economic, technical and cultural backwardness and described socialism as a Utopia and our plans of technical and cultural revolution as a propaganda trick. But those times have passed, never to return. Today socialism speaks for itself, with the language of facts, and its young and powerful voice is heard in all parts of the globe! (*Applause.*)

As a Communist, I am pleased to note that in the recent statement made by U.S. President Kennedy, in which he defames our socialist system and our socialist states, he also acknowledges the progressive revolutionary impact our system and the achievements of socialism have on the peoples of the capitalist countries. But the main thing that gives us special pleasure and speaks convincingly of the strength of socialism, of communism, is the recognition of the might of socialism by the peoples of the entire world. The peoples of the world see by numerous facts the outstanding achievements of our country, the achievements of the working class, the working peasantry, and our people's intelligentsia. (*Prolonged applause.*) This recognition is in a way a testimonial to the work done by our Communist Party. (*Applause.*)

Yes, comrades, I liked the passage in Mr. Kennedy's statement where he says that the peoples of the Soviet Union have in 40 years attained great successes in economic development, which could be especially attractive to the peoples of the countries with a backward economy and a low standard of living. You are quite right, Mr. President. The Soviet people, our great Communist Party, all Soviet men and women are legitimately proud of, and rejoice at, the successes attained. And we are pleased to realise that our achievements possess a great power of attraction for all the peoples of the world. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The ideologists of capitalism like to say that there is no freedom in our country. But who are they to judge what freedom is! We Communists and revolutionaries are the truest champions of genuine freedom. The Soviet people are the freest of the free. We recognise freedom for those who create values by their work, who work in the mines and factories, in laboratories and research institutes, and on the collective and state farms, where people work for themselves, for their people's state, where they create material and spiritual values for themselves and them-

selves enjoy the fruits of their labour. For these people we have complete freedom. (*Stormy applause.*)

For those who mercilessly exploited the workingman, who oppressed the people and owned the capital and all the means of production—for those, it is true, we have no freedom to oppress people, to appropriate what people produce with their own working hands, brains, and creative endeavour. For those who robbed the peoples and who squandered the riches they plundered in idleness—for those we abolished freedom a long time ago, and there is not and cannot be freedom for them. We have had no freedom for the exploiters and oppressors to rob the people ever since the cruiser *Aurora* fired its guns, ever since the day the flag of victory of the working class and the working people was raised in our country. (*Applause.*) The first place in our country, all the honours and respect go to those who work, who produce the material and spiritual values of life, and we have no room for those who exploit people of labour, who live on the work of others. (*Cries of "Hear, hear!" Applause.*)

President Kennedy and I are people of opposite poles, but we live in one world. We shall probably always have different views and different ideas about the socialist and the capitalist systems. But it is essential to see the existing situation in a realistic light, to see that there are now on our planet socialist countries with a population of more than 1,000 million people, capitalist countries with highly-developed monopoly capital, and countries that have only just won freedom, or are on their way to liberation from colonial enslavement. Naturally, people in these various countries have different notions of freedom.

So, on the strength of the existing state of affairs, by dint of the fact that the peoples must live and develop on one and the same planet, we must find a common language in our international relations and work for peaceful coexistence. The struggle for peace, for the preservation of peace, concerns all people on earth regardless of the social and

political system under which they live. It is on this basis, striving to secure a lasting peace for the peoples, that we have always built our relations with the other nations. It is our desire to ensure world peace. (*Prolonged applause.*)

I have said time and again that we do not need war between states to secure the world-wide triumph of the most progressive ideas of Marxism-Leninism. We are convinced that on the basis of the scientific Marxist-Leninist propositions our socialist society will advance successfully towards communism, scoring one victory after another. We are convinced of the great advantages of communism over all the previous and existing systems. We are firmly convinced that the future belongs to communism, to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and that they will triumph! (*Stormy applause.*)

And we have no need to carry this victory to the peoples on bayonets or rockets. No! It will be won by the people of every country by themselves. We believe that all the peoples of the world, inspired and convinced by the example and experience of the Soviet Union and of all the other socialist countries, will follow the trail we have blazed. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades! I cannot deny myself the pleasure of repeating that we are legitimately proud it was we, the socialist land, we Soviet people, the peoples of all nationalities and all the republics of the great Soviet Union, that it was we who were the first to break out into space, that it was a Soviet citizen—the Communist Yuri Gagarin—who made the first cosmic orbit round the globe and landed in a predetermined area. (*Stormy applause.*)

This great exploit, which amazed all mankind, is an expression of the outstanding achievements of the heroic struggle and work of the free peoples of our country. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, why are we, figuratively speaking, stepping on the heels of the United States of America, that richest of countries? So far, it is richer than we are, but we are

catching up with it steadily in all the main economic fields. This is so because socialism has opened to the peoples of our country, to every Soviet citizen, unbounded opportunities of creative work, of applying the immense forces and capacities inherent in the people, which capitalism suppressed and strangled.

Take public education. It is not only constitutional opportunities for receiving an education that have been provided to all our people. The material requisites have been created for all those wishing to learn. In our country every person has a chance of learning; what is more, many of those who study receive material help from our socialist state, from our people.

Just look how many good-for-nothings (please forgive me this rather rude expression) there are in the capitalist countries among the sons and daughters of those who have big safes. What do these mother's and father's darlings do? They lead a dissipated life, spending the capital which their parents have raked in, and continue to rake in from the labour of others. In the meantime, millions of workers' and peasants' children thirsting to study cannot afford it. Therefore, the chances of showing the capacity of common people, of the most gifted of them turning into "polished precious stones", brilliant gems, are limited there.

In our country, countless talented, highly gifted men and women emerge from among the people to reach the summits of science and technology. They enrich and develop our science and technology. Many thousands of talented scientists, engineers and technicians, and workers in art and culture, who have emerged from the midst of the people, are now the glory and pride of world science, technology and culture.

As you ride along the roads of our land you see young mothers with infants in their arms. You wonder what this child is going to be when it grows up. And you tell yourself with pride that it may grow up to be a very important and respected person, but never a slave! (*Applause.*)

But if you take the capitalist countries, especially the colonial countries, you may say beforehand when you see a child in a woman's arms that a hard life lies ahead for it, that capital may make a slave of it, that it will work for the capitalists.

In the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries this has been wiped out once and for all. Everybody, if he or she has the will and the ability to attain the summits of science, has every chance of acquiring scientific knowledge. That is what our socialist system gives to people! Look how many gifted people have been given to the country by Soviet Georgia! But that is only a beginning, for this process will go on developing fast—and not only in your Republic, but in all our republics, among every people of our great country. (*Stormy applause.*)

That is why very hard times have set in for the monopolists, imperialists and other members of the old and dying world. In the competition with the capitalist system we no longer demonstrate the advantages of socialism, of communism by lectures and books alone. We are proving the great force of the ideas of communism, of its scientific propositions, and shall be proving it ever more convincingly as time goes on by our steadily mounting successes in all fields of life.

We are beginning to demonstrate the advantages of the socialist system not only by the most advanced and scientifically grounded theory, the theory of communism, the great Marxist-Leninist teaching, but also by the ever greater material and spiritual benefits our people are receiving, and will receive. And that is a very potent means of agitation for communism. For at times it is harder for a man to understand and grasp an advanced idea by his intelligence than by the life he leads, by the facts of life. When he sees that socialism, communism means not only the best and most just system, but also the most secure life for the people, for the nation, he will feel not only with his mind, but, so to speak, with his stomach, with all his being, that so-

cialism is a more progressive system than capitalism. (*Animation. Stormy applause.*)

We have already embarked upon the struggle for extending people's knowledge about communist society not only through the intelligence, but also through the constantly improving living conditions which socialism gives the people. And this enables us to multiply, to build up the successes attained by our people in the building of communist society.

I do not want to be up in the clouds. It is quite true that we still have lots of flaws, and that we have to put in much effort for the Soviet people to satisfy their requirements in full. All of us know it. Benefits do not drop from the sky. They are created by labour, by the efforts of the workers, the peasants and the people's intelligentsia. Only through strenuous work, without stinting our efforts in the building of communism, shall we be able to fill our communist bowl fuller and fuller, so as to meet the requirements of the Soviet people, the indefatigable builders of communism, more and more fully. (*Stormy applause.*)

The gigantic forces inherent in the socialist system are daily expanding and coming into operation. Truly boundless possibilities are coming to the fore for the rapid growth of the productive forces, improvement of the material well-being of the Soviet people, and for scientific and cultural progress.

Could it have been an accident that it was not a capitalist, but our socialist country that pioneered outer space, built the world's first sputniks, heavy spaceships, photographed the reverse side of the Moon, sent an automatic interplanetary station to Venus, and, finally, sent a man into space? It was an ordinary Soviet man, the Communist Yuri Gagarin, who was the first to fly round the Earth and land safely on it in a predetermined area. (*Applause.*)

The flight of the Soviet citizen, Yuri Gagarin, into outer space has for all time established the priority of our country, the country of socialism, in manned space flights.

It stands to reason that we welcome the launching of a manned space rocket by the Americans, and regard the event as natural. We always look at things realistically—what has been done by someone, may also be done by others; it is only a question of who is the first to achieve success. However, the whole world considers rightly that the flight of our spaceship *Vostok* has not been matched by anyone. And that is quite true. The Soviet spaceship made a flight round the world, while the Americans did no more than “jump” into space, as some journalists put it. But we believe that the Americans will repeat what we have done. Yet they will no more than *repeat* what we have already done. And this victory of Soviet science and technology does great honour to our country, and is a source of great satisfaction to the Soviet people.

Yuri Gagarin's flight into space is something of a milestone in the scientific and technical development of our country. It speaks of the mighty Soviet leap from backwardness to progress. This flight was an expression of the heroic accomplishments of the Soviet people, the working class, the collective farm peasantry, the working intelligentsia, and of our splendid scientists who developed that technical wonder of our time, the spaceship *Vostok*. That is the greatest triumph for Lenin's immortal ideas.

We Soviet people derive immense satisfaction from the knowledge that our work and daring are not centred only on our own well-being, but benefit the whole of mankind, that we have the great honour of blazing the trails to socialism and communism, and paving the road to the stars.

Our country is marching steadily and confidently to communism. The stupendous targets of the Seven-Year Plan are being fulfilled with success. It may be recalled that in 1960 the aggregate industrial output was higher than planned. The output of heavy industry is growing rapidly. The output of consumer goods has increased.

At the conference of front-rank farm workers of Transcaucasia I have already spoken in detail about the develop-

ment of our agriculture. The January Plenary Meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee set out concrete measures for ensuring such rates of growth in agriculture as would allow us fully to meet the growing demand in farm products. The farm workers have tackled the task in earnest, and we have no doubt that it will be successfully solved. In 1961 agriculture will have shaken off its shortcomings and reached new heights.

Soviet people have made a good start in the third year of the Seven-Year Plan. Aggregate industrial output for the first three months of the year exceeds the plan by 2.5 per cent, and represents an increase of nearly 9 per cent over the first three months of 1960. The collective and state farms are handling the spring field work better than last year. All that is a source of joy.

The main thing is that the whole country is gripped by labour enthusiasm, an enthusiasm which is mounting every day, that the building of communism is becoming a truly nation-wide cause. The words of the great Lenin that socialism opens an inexhaustible spring of popular initiative and mass labour heroism have come true. It is this nation-wide labour enthusiasm that constitutes a reliable guarantee that the plans of communist construction will be fulfilled.

The great historic victories and achievements are the result of the labour efforts of all the fraternal Soviet peoples. The working people of Georgia have made a big contribution to the building of socialist society and are now devotedly building the material and technical basis of communism. Together with the rest of the country, Soviet Georgia has made a tremendous step along the road of historical progress. In four decades it has changed into a flourishing socialist republic with a highly-developed and ramified industry, large-scale mechanised agriculture, advanced science and socialist culture.

The achievements of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic are graphic testimony to the triumph of the Leninist

national policy of the Communist Party, a policy of friendship and brotherhood among the peoples.

The people of Georgia travelled a hard and thorny path, and suffered much grief, before they won happiness in the family of Soviet people. Many times over they had to defend their freedom and independence with arms in hand. They shed much blood and tears in their endless struggle against foreign invaders and domestic oppressors.

Georgia's attachment to Russia in the early 19th century was a turning point in its history. This progressive act, prompted by life itself, delivered the Georgian people from the threat of physical extermination and put an end to the barbarian invasions of the Transcaucasus by foreign oppressors who had for hundreds of years tormented and killed Georgians, Armenians and Azerbaijanians.

Ilya Chavchavadze, the great Georgian writer, expressed the thoughts of his people about Georgia's attachment to Russia as follows: "Since that auspicious day Georgia has won peace and quiet. The protection afforded by a country of the same religion dispersed our fears of the enemy who menaced Georgia. The alarmed and tormented country found solace, rid of ruin and ravage, calmed by the absence of wars and invasions."

Mutual trust and respect has been growing between the Russian and Georgian peoples ever since. The finest men of Georgia perceived the bright future of their country, their citadel and hope in their friendship with Russia. In a message of greeting on the unveiling of a monument to N. V. Gogol in 1909, progressive Georgian cultural workers wrote:

"Together with Russia, which is surging forward to light, we believe that in the depth of the life of the Russian people there is a force that will at long last vanquish darkness and create a new life for all the peoples of Russia."

Those were prophetic words, comrades! (*Applause.*)

On the other hand, Georgia and the Caucasus—that land

where freedom is loved—became near and dear to many of the finest men of Russian culture.

The friendship of the Georgian, Russian and other peoples of our country grew stronger, and was tempered in the joint revolutionary struggle against the tsarist autocracy and the oppression of the feudal lords and capitalists. The struggle became particularly successful when the working class emerged in the historic arena and the Party of Bolsheviks founded by Lenin assumed leadership.

The revolutionary working-class movement in Georgia has a long and glorious history. A Social-Democratic organisation was set up in Georgia back in the 1890s and a revolutionary Marxist wing emerged from it soon after. One of the most prominent leaders of the revolutionary Social-Democrats in Georgia and the rest of Transcaucasia was J. V. Stalin, who later became an outstanding leader of our Party. (*Stormy applause.*)

Ever since the Bolshevik Party was founded in Russia, the finest members of the working class in Georgia and all Transcaucasia took their stand firmly under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and have throughout the history of struggle and victory borne aloft the unconquerable banner of the great Lenin.

The mass revolutionary movement in Georgia and the whole of Transcaucasia was manifestly internationalist in character. Fighting shoulder to shoulder there were Georgians, Russians, Armenians and Azerbaijanians. Lenin thought very highly of the internationalist traditions of the Bolshevik organisations of Transcaucasia and held them up as an example to other organisations of our Party.

The working people of Georgia and their communist organisations showed courage and determination in all the stages of the revolutionary struggle against the autocracy and capitalism.

The revolutionary struggle of the Georgian working people was headed by such prominent leaders as J. V. Stalin, L. Ketskhoveli, M. I. Kalinin, P. Japaridze, S. Shaumyan,

G. Orjonikidze, M. Tskhakaya, F. Makharadze, S. M. Kirov, V. Sturua, Kamo (Ter-Petrosyan), and many others. (*Stormy applause.*)

The victory of the Great October Revolution was welcomed by the Georgian working people with great joy and enthusiasm. But owing to the situation obtaining in Georgia at the time, the Mensheviks, who formed a bloc with the other counter-revolutionary parties of Transcaucasia—the Dashnaks and Mussavatists—managed to prolong the rule of capitalists and landlords for another three years, and to tear Georgia away from Soviet Russia.

The Mensheviks established a reign of savage terror and abuse, and brought the country to the brink of economic disaster. Theirs was a regime worse still than the tsarist regime, because it was maintained entirely by the bayonets of foreign occupationists, first the Germans and Turks, and later the British and Americans. The working people of Georgia had a taste of the attractions of bourgeois “democracy” at first hand. However, with the help of the Russian people and in alliance with the other Caucasian peoples they summoned up strength to fling the Menshevik riff-raff on the dust-heap of history. It was the Communist Party of Georgia, founded in May 1920, that was the guiding force in the struggle of the Georgian working people for Soviet power. (*Applause.*)

The victory of Soviet power in Georgia brought about a radical change in the life of the Georgian people, and opened a new page in their history.

Soviet power broke asunder the chains which had fettered the working people’s creative forces for ages, and delivered them from the nightmare of national strife. For the first time in their history, the workers, peasants and intelligentsia of Georgia found true happiness and freedom, and began to breathe freely.

Soviet power led the Georgian people on to the wide path of free creative activity, the path of building a new life. In fraternal unity with the other Soviet republics, Soviet

Georgia has been following this path, charted by Lenin, for 40 years. It has changed radically and flourished in this time. A powerful economy that many developed capitalist countries may envy has been built up in the Republic by the selfless labour of the people; culture has risen to unprecedented heights. The people live better and have developed spiritually.

Changes of great importance for the present and future of the Georgian nation have occurred in Georgia in the years of Soviet power. By the will of the Leninist Party, through the selfless work of the Georgian people and with the fraternal assistance of all the peoples of our country, Georgia has developed into an industrial republic with an advanced mechanised agriculture.

On the eve of the war the output of the Republic's large-scale industry had surpassed the 1913 level almost 27-fold, the new enterprises built in the years of industrialisation accounting for 81 per cent of it. Georgia has a large number of schools, research institutes and cultural establishments.

The Georgian people's loyalty to the Communist Party and to Soviet power, to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism was shown most forcefully in the grim years of the Great Patriotic War. All Soviet people remember the feat performed by Sergeant Kantaria who, together with Sergeant Yegorov, hoisted the Victory Banner over the Reichstag. The other glorious names of the finest sons of Georgia, who fought courageously in the front line and in the rear, defending the freedom and independence of their great country, the Soviet Union, will never fade from the memory of the Soviet people. (*Stormy applause.*)

I was pleased to meet Comrade Naneishvili here, with whom I spent one of the most difficult periods in our country's history, the time of the fighting on the Stalingrad front. The Germans had massed all their forces there at the time, in order to capture Stalingrad* and thus effect

* Now renamed Volgograd.

their objective of enslaving our people. Hero of the Soviet Union General Naneishvili was then second in command of an air army. He provided good leadership for the war pilots on this sector of the front against fascist Germany. (*Applause.*)

I would like to say a good word about the splendid General Chanchibadze whom I met in Stalingrad when Manstein's army was moving to the rescue of Paulus's army surrounded near Stalingrad. The Second Guards Army under Rodion Malinovsky had a corps commanded by General Chanchibadze. He was a fine general who fought courageously against the German invaders. (*Applause.*) Especially, I like to remember Comrade Chanchibadze for the following reason. Once I arrived in the corps under his command. The general reported that there had been a clash, and that his men had accounted for 14 tanks. Those who have been in the war know that fighting is sometimes much like hunting: you think you have bagged your prize, but it develops that the bird has flown. That sort of thing is quite liable to happen. I confess that I was sceptical about General Chanchibadze's claim, and said to him: Let's see where the tanks will be in the morning; maybe the Germans will have driven them away. (*Animation.*) I said so because I knew of a few cases when people reported that they had bagged so-and-so-many tanks, and after the number was checked they claimed that the Germans had managed to drive the damaged tanks off in the dark. Comrade Chanchibadze replied: "Let's go. See for yourself how many we've hit and how many the Germans have driven away!" (*Animation. Applause.*)

We inspected the battle-field and saw that there really were 14 hit tanks there. The deed was as good as the general's word.

I have the best of recollections about these generals and other Georgian servicemen. However, it is impossible to name all of them. I have met many gallant sons of our Soviet people. The sons of the Georgian people fought fas-

cism bravely, shoulder to shoulder with the other peoples, for the independence of our country, for socialism, for communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Republic's economy and culture developed still more rapidly after the war, and today we have every right to say that Georgia has achieved great economic and cultural progress for its glorious jubilee.

Georgia is rich and beautiful. Its natural wealth offers inexhaustible opportunities for developing the productive forces both in industry and in agriculture.

The development of its productive forces held no interest for the tsarist government. The latter regarded Transcaucasia, and Georgia in particular, as a "warm Siberia", to which many of the country's foremost people were exiled for free-thinking.

In our day we can see by Georgia's example how, in the environment of social and national liberation, Soviet man makes the most of the exceedingly rich natural resources of Transcaucasia and places its wealth at the service of the people.

Your Republic is a land of mountain rivers. They turn dozens of turbines at the numerous hydropower stations built in the years of Soviet power. Today, Georgia's power stations are generating much more electricity than was generated in all of tsarist Russia. Figuratively speaking, there is more electric light in your Republic than there was in the whole of tsarist Russia.

During the years of Soviet power the Republic developed a versatile industry: iron and steel, engineering, including the machine-tool and instrument-making industries, electrical engineering, the chemical industry and diverse branches of the light and food industries.

Comrades, a large number of industrial enterprises have been built in your Republic. There are the Transcaucasian Iron and Steel Works, the Kutaisi Motor Works, and the engineering and electrical engineering plants in Tbilisi; the Chiatura manganese mines have been developed into mod-

ern, well-equipped enterprises. Georgia has attained these great successes with the assistance of the Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian and all the other peoples of our country. The strength of our socialist community derives from the principles of mutual assistance and mutual respect. Every people considers it its internationalist duty to help the other peoples so as to advance towards the common goal as one family. It is the duty of every Soviet citizen to promote this socialist fraternity of the peoples of our land.

The Transcaucasian Iron and Steel Works in Rustavi produces pig iron and steel for the whole of Transcaucasia. The Peoples' Friendship Gas Pipeline services the three Transcaucasian republics. A single Transcaucasian power system has been built up. These are vivid examples of cooperation in production, of great achievements in the economic collaboration of the fraternal peoples.

Georgia's industry grew. Its working class grew and developed. It built up its own force of skilled and cultured industrial workers devoted heart and soul to communist construction. Your Republic has developed captains of production, engineers, technicians and scientists. The foremost men and women of your industries set a good pace for the life and labour of the whole Republic.

The selfless efforts of the workers in industry have yielded good results. The results of the first two years of the Seven-Year Plan show that there is every opportunity at hand not only for fulfilling, but overfulfilling the plan assignments. During the past two years the Republic's aggregate industrial output has increased almost 15 per cent instead of the 13 per cent envisaged in the plan. Two per cent is a weighty contribution to the great work of communist construction in our country.

The third year of the Seven-Year Plan period is a special year, the year of the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party. We have a good tradition—to mark the Congress with new successes, achievements and plans.

Your Republic has never gone back, and is not going back, on these fine traditions. Georgia's industry has overfulfilled the plan for the first three months of this year. Today, I want to say a good word about your front-rank workers and innovators, whose names are well known throughout the Republic. They are Guram Chaduneli, leader of a team of fitters at the Tbilisi Electric Locomotive Works, Archil Dzamashvili, blast furnace operator at the Transcaucasian Iron and Steel Works, Yelena Gegelashvili, weaver at the Gori Cotton Mills, Shota Kublashvili, miner of the Tkibulugol coal mines, Polina Bogdanova, seamstress at No. 1 Factory of Tbilisi, Mikhail Bagdasarov, leader of a toolmakers' team at the Sergo Orjonikidze Plant, Kuchkon Leiba, miner of the Tkvarchelugol coal mines, David Tedeyev, building-team leader at Glavtbuildstroï, and many, many others. (*Prolonged applause.*)

These people are the true heroes of our Seven-Year Plan, and all industrial workers in the Republic should take their cue from them. We are always proud of innovators, front-rankers, people of a searching mind and great energy. It is the effort of millions of such comrades that produces great successes.

The Seven-Year Plan sets the workers of Georgia's industry very serious and responsible tasks. If the majority of the workers make as good a showing as the front-rankers, the targets of the Seven-Year Plan will not only be fulfilled, but also overfulfilled. The Transcaucasian Iron and Steel Works overfulfilled its 1960 steel plan. But it could have produced many more thousands of tons of steel in excess of the plan if all the steelworkers had worked like the famous steelworkers Amiran Pantsulaya and Georgi Sigua. (*Applause.*)

Permit me, from the bottom of my heart, to wish the working class of Soviet Georgia new, still more resounding successes in their creative labour, which multiplies our national wealth and creates all material values. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, I hope you will not misunderstand me and think I am abusing your hospitality if I call attention to your drawbacks today. (*Animation. Applause.*) To be sure, the last time I spoke in Tbilisi, I made some critical remarks about agriculture, and you took them in the right spirit.

Don't worry, comrades agriculturists, at this celebration I shall confine myself to what I have already said. (*Animation. Applause.*) We Communists ought never to forget, be it on workdays or on holidays, about the shortcomings that interfere with our work.

Radical changes have occurred in the Republic's agriculture in the years of Soviet power. A large-scale and versatile socialist agriculture has been developed, based on powerful technical resources.

The favourable climate and soil of Georgia make it possible to cultivate valuable industrial and subtropical crops, apart from the usual crop farming, vegetable-growing and animal husbandry. In the years of Soviet power the area under tea plantations in the Republic has been extended 52-fold, the area under citrus crops 59-fold, and under orchards and vineyards 3-fold. Georgia is the country's main tea-growing area, and also the main area for essential oil crops, fruits and citrus crops.

Lenin pointed out in his day how important irrigation was for farming in the Transcaucasian republics. Acting upon his advice, the farmers of Georgia developed an extensive irrigation system, and considerably increased the area of irrigated land. This work will be continued, so that in the next few years extra hundreds of thousands of hectares of fertile soil will be put under cultivation, yielding additionally a large quantity of crops and animal products.

A good deal of aid has been given to Georgia's agriculture in modern machinery. A huge army of agronomists, zootechnicians, engineers and farm-machine operators has been built up. Today, every collective and state farm has an average of 4 to 5 specialists.

In 1960, your Republic overfulfilled its plans for the sale to the state of meat, milk, eggs, wool, fruit and bay leaves. Good results were achieved by the tea-growers, who picked and sold to the state 157,000 tons of high-grade tea-leaves, which is 50,000 tons more than in 1953.

I do not want other peoples to say I am especially partial to the Georgians, but I think it only fair to state that the tea grown in Georgia is the best in the world. (*Applause.*) I am sure you will agree with me that this is due not only to the climate. To be sure, many other countries have climatic conditions that are no worse, and perhaps even better, for tea-growing than Georgia has. I attribute the high quality of your tea to high standards of farming.

Such high standards do not exist in most of the tea-growing countries. For a long time now, in your Republic, tea is being grown and prepared not primitively, but according to the finest achievements of science and technology.

Our tea factories are well equipped. True, it is a long time ago, as far back as 1934, since I visited one of the tea factories in Batumi. But even in 1934 everything there was done by machines, and no human hand touched the tea-leaves. The preparation and drying of tea-leaves is based on precise scientific data, and is not done by rule of thumb. Since then, the efficiency of tea production has risen still higher. The people working at the factories are proficient and know their jobs thoroughly. There is every reason to say that no other country has standards of tea production as high as Georgia's. (*Applause.*)

Your Republic has trained excellent farmers, who enjoy well-deserved fame for the work they do.

A good labour example is shown by the tea-pickers Tatyana Chkhaidze, of Makharadze District, and Guli Avidzba, of Ochamchire District, by the machine operator Georgi Tinashvili, the pig-breeders David Sepiashvili, of Tsiteli Tskaro District, and Iyuza Dokuzova, of Staliniri District,

the shepherds Georgi Chalabashvili and Georgi Mchedlishvili, of Signakhi District, the milkmaids Sofia Delibashvili, of Samgora District, Meri Kvachantiradze, of Sagarejo District, Taisia Fedoseyeva, of Tetri Tskaro District, Emma Kuyumchyan, of Akhalkalaki District, the maize-breeder Konstantin Sandukhadze, of Zugdidi District, and many others. Hail to these splendid farm workers! (*Stormy applause.*)

The Plenary Meeting of the C.C. C.P.S.U. in January set big but quite feasible tasks for the further increase of farm output and a new advancement of all branches of farming. At the conference of front-rank farm workers, the Georgian Republic assumed high pledges for the production of grain, especially maize, and meat, milk, tea, grapes and fruits.

In his report, Comrade Mzhavanadze told us at length how farm work is proceeding in your Republic this year, and how you are solving in practice the tasks set by the January Plenary Meeting of the C.C. C.P.S.U. It is essential that you make full use of all your potentialities for increasing farm output.

Among the big and difficult things that Georgian farm workers are to accomplish this year a prominent place goes to the growing of a good harvest of maize, that wonderful crop which is the main factor for increasing grain production and building up fodder resources.

Maize is an old-time crop in Georgia, and we are entitled to expect high yields of it for grain and silage from Georgia's maize-growers.

There are districts in Georgia where, so they say, people couldn't live a day without having maize with their meals. I have been told that you like *gomi*, a tasty dish made of maize, especially delicious when served with a Georgian sauce. I said in joke that one could swallow nails with a Georgian sauce. (*Animation. Stormy applause.*)

The Moldavians, too, don't consider a meal complete without *mamalyga*. That is the national dish of many peo-

ples—nourishing and delicious, especially with a good sauce. (*Animation. Applause.*)

I would like, from the bottom of my heart, to wish the workers of Georgia's socialist agriculture new, still more imposing successes in their labour, which multiplies the wealth of our people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Further successes in all the branches of agriculture will make it possible to satisfy the continuously growing requirements of the people to a fuller degree.

Comrades, the tempestuous growth of the Georgian economy has laid a solid foundation for the steady rise of the material welfare of the Georgian people. The improvement of the Soviet living standard has been greatly stimulated by the historic measures taken by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government after the 20th and 21st Party Congresses, namely, the new law on pensions, the change-over to a seven- and six-hour working day and the readjustment of wages, and the planwise abolition of taxes on industrial and office employees. Thanks to the further advancement of collective-farm economics the incomes of the collective farmers have also been mounting in step with the living standard of the industrial and office workers.

The Republic is in the midst of a large-scale house-building programme. It is pleasing to note that in the first two years of the Seven-Year Plan more houses were built in the Republic on state funds than during the First and Second Five-Year plans combined.

However, we must not overlook the fact that we are still building slowly and that we are not using all the available opportunities to the full. The Communist Party has mapped out a big housing programme, calculated to provide living quarters for every Soviet family and an adequate number of hospitals, schools and children's establishments. To fulfil this programme, it is essential that we use the state building allocations in full and in the right way, that we accelerate the pace of building and cut costs through the use of untapped potentialities, and, mainly, that we

wage a relentless fight against superfluous ornamentation and the squandering of state funds.

By the way, the Central Committee of the Party has severely criticised the leaders of the Republic for not having drawn the due conclusions from the instructions of the Party and Government concerning the proper use of funds set aside for building.

Comrades, we look confidently to the future and will advance in our communist construction at a more rapid pace. But we must not get a swelled head. We must concentrate on utilising available resources to the best advantage, and we must never forget that values produced by man's work should be treated carefully, that funds allotted by the state for economic progress and for the improvement of living standards should be properly utilised and invested where most necessary in order to meet the vital needs of the people more quickly. For this reason, we must criticise people who slip up in their work, and also those guilty of excessive spending. We must never blunt our criticism, and will then advance more quickly.

The Georgian leaders are thinking at this moment: What is Khrushchov going to talk about, what is on his mind? Well, I'll say it, for I don't want to keep you in suspense.

Comrades, you have built a good Sports Palace. I think it is useful, and that you need it. (*Applause.*) However, we criticised the leading officials in Georgia, and the Ukrainians—your brothers. (*Animation. Applause.*) I believe it is right that we criticised them, and we shall always take them to task very severely for such shortcomings. I said yesterday in a conversation with the comrades, and repeat today, that the Georgian engineers have built an excellent structure. To be sure, one might say it is a masterpiece. The splendid cupola of the Sports Palace is set on a reinforced concrete ring. As a feat of engineering it pleases the eye. But I ask you: Have you children in Georgia who go to school in second and third shifts?

Exclamations: Yes, we have.

If you had not built the Sports Palace, you could probably have used the money and materials to put up at least 10 good schools, so that no children would have to go to school in the afternoon shift and all went to school in the morning. (*Voices: "Hear, hear!" Stormy applause.*)

We must not run ahead, therefore. The time will come when we shall build even better palaces than this one, but we must not depart from reality, from the needs of the people. Since some of our people still live in shabby houses and basements, the money allotted to building and improvement should be first used to satisfy the daily needs of the people, to improve the living conditions of people. And later, when we are in a better position to do so, we can erect such buildings. (*Applause.*)

I have already told Comrades Mzhavanadze, Javakhishvili and others as much.

As you know, I have come to you from Armenia. The Armenian comrades also wanted to show off. They built a large reinforced concrete structure in the shape of a sea-gull on the road. The sea-gull spread its wings and, as it were, covered the road with them. People travelled along the road and admired it. It is, indeed, very beautiful. But there are still many bad houses in Yerevan. And if good houses had been built in the Republic instead of the sea-gull, and people who need to have their housing improved had been moved into them, they would have been truly grateful to you, Comrade Zarobyan. (*Applause.*)

The same may be said of the Ukraine, Comrade Podgorny. Let us not forget of the needs of the working people, comrades. Whenever there is some extra money, let's see to it that it is used to satisfy the immediate needs of man. Houses, schools, hospitals, maternity homes, children's nurseries and kindergartens—those are things people cannot do without, while they can get along without such palaces as this one. Georgia has a splendid opera house. There is a fine auditorium in the Supreme Soviet House, where the conference of front-rank farm workers took

place. Some time later you would have built this palace, too, and we would not have criticised you for it. Today we do, even though it is a big holiday. (*Animation. Applause.*) The leaders of some other republics, territories and regions say: Well, thank goodness, it was the Ukrainians and Georgians who made the mistake. The lesson will not be lost on us. (*Animation. Applause.*)

Let's hope that the Republican Party and Government leaders will draw the necessary conclusions from this criticism. To begin with, it is essential to build what the people need most, such as new dwellings, schools, hospitals and clubs.

Georgian culture has truly flourished in the period of Soviet power. This advance was highlighted by the cultural revolution, the extensive development of public education and the transformation of Georgia into a republic where all the population is literate.

How far your Republic has advanced culturally is illustrated by the following facts: today, Georgia has 4,665 general schools with more than 700,000 pupils, and 18 higher educational establishments. The number of vocational, technical and specialised secondary schools has grown. In the number of primary and secondary school pupils per 10,000 population Soviet Georgia has considerably outstripped such developed capitalist countries as France, Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany. For every 1,000 population the Republic has 315 people with a secondary or incomplete secondary education and 38 people with a higher education.

The establishment of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian S.S.R. has powerfully stimulated the development of science. Today, the scientists of the Republic have ample facilities for work. They have at their disposal numerous research establishments and laboratories. In 1960 the Republic had 173 scientific establishments working on fundamental problems of modern science of great theoretical and economic importance.

Georgia has very many public libraries, clubs, houses of culture, cinemas and museums. A large number of newspapers and magazines are published in the Georgian, Russian, Armenian, Azerbaijani, Abkhazian and Ossetic languages.

Georgian scientists, writers and art workers are making a good contribution with their work and talent to the treasure-store of Soviet science and culture. Many of them have won world fame.

The name of Academician Nikolai Muskhelishvili, the distinguished mathematician, is known throughout our country and far beyond its borders. (*Applause.*) His works on mechanics, and particularly the theory of elasticity, are extensively applied and highly useful in the development of some of the branches of our socialist production.

Academician Ivan Beritashvili, whose papers on physiology have won general acclaim, is making a valuable contribution to Soviet science. (*Applause.*) Highly respected are such scientists as Lenin Prize Winner Georgi Melikishvili, the young historian (*applause*), the well-known astronomer Yevgeny Kharadze (*applause*), and Lenin Prize Winner Nikolai Antelava, the prominent surgeon. (*Applause.*)

Soviet people deeply appreciate the stage successes of People's Artists of the U.S.S.R. Vakhtang Chabukiani, who has been awarded the Lenin Prize for his outstanding performances. (*Applause.*)

I trust you are not going to hold it against me if I do not name other famous Georgians, no less deserving than those I have just mentioned. With all due respect, no matter how much I should like to, I could not name all of them.

Permit me to wish all the intelligentsia of Soviet Georgia still more impressive successes in their creative pursuits for the happiness of the people and the victory of communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Georgian culture is bound by unbreakable bonds with the culture of the other peoples of our country. These fraternal ties are rooted deep in history. The great Russian poets

Pushkin and Lermontov dedicated so many of their magnificent works to Georgia. Griboyedov was deeply devoted to Georgia. It is here, in Georgian soil, that he is buried.

David Guramishvili, the eminent Georgian poet, spent almost all his life in Russia and the Ukraine, while Lesya Ukrainka, the Ukrainian poetess, lived and wrote in Georgia for a long time. Progressive Russian culture left a deep imprint on Ilya Chavchavadze and Akaky Tsereteli, the great Georgian writers. Maxim Gorky and Vladimir Mayakovsky began their creative writing in Georgia.

In our day the internationalist contacts of Georgia's writers, painters, composers and actors with their colleagues in other republics have become still stronger. The works of the more prominent Georgian cultural workers are known not only throughout our country, but far outside it as well. Georgia's actors and art workers have brought fame to Soviet socialist culture far beyond the frontiers of our land.

Comrades, the friendship and fraternal co-operation of the peoples of our country are a great gain of Soviet power and the Leninist national policy of the Communist Party. This friendship is the foundation of the strength and power of the Soviet state. It is one of the decisive factors for our victories in communist construction. It is a pleasure to see people of different nationalities live in friendship and co-operate in Georgia. Georgians, Russians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, Abkhazians and Ossets are working shoulder to shoulder for the good of our great country. We must cherish and develop this fraternal friendship and always live up to the principles of proletarian internationalism, as the great Lenin willed us. (*Stormy applause.*)

Permit me to read the message of greeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian Soviet

Socialist Republic and the Council of Ministers of the Georgian S.S.R.

(N. S. Khrushchov reads the text of the message of greeting, interrupted time and again by stormy applause.)

**TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GEORGIA,
THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET
OF THE GEORGIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC,
AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
OF THE GEORGIAN S.S.R.**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. warmly greet and congratulate the workers, collective farmers, the intelligentsia, all the working people of Georgia, on the auspicious 40th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet power and the founding of the Communist Party of Georgia.

The Communist Party of Georgia is one of the oldest fighting units of Lenin's great Party. Its history is part and parcel of the history of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The founding of the Communist Party of Georgia was an event of great political impact in the life of the Georgian people. Under the leadership of the Leninist Central Committee, the Communist Party of Georgia headed the working people's struggle for social and national liberation, and, after the establishment of Soviet power, for the building of a new, socialist life and for the Republic's economic and cultural advancement.

For four decades Georgia's working people have in friendship with the peoples of Transcaucasia and all the other peoples of our land been successfully realising the communist transformation of society. In the grim years of the Great Patriotic War they, like all Soviet people, showed boundless devotion to their socialist country, to the Com-

munist Party, and to the Leninist friendship of the peoples, making a fitting contribution to the Soviet Union's historic victory over the fascist invaders.

It is with a sense of legitimate pride that the Georgian people today sum up forty glorious years of struggle and labour, marked by a radical change in their destiny. In these years Georgia has developed into a republic with a powerful industry, a versatile agriculture and a highly-developed socialist culture. Its industrial output is forty times greater than in 1913. The Republic produces much more electricity than all the power stations of pre-revolutionary Russia combined. Socialist Georgia has established and developed its own metallurgical, engineering, mining, electrical-engineering, chemical and other industries. The Karadag-Tbilisi gas pipeline and the atomic reactor of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian S.S.R. are among the important accomplishments of the last few years.

Immense and heartening changes have occurred in Georgia's agriculture in the years of Soviet power. The triumph of collectivisation has altered the appearance of the Georgian village beyond recognition. The collective-farm system opened the road to a happy life for the peasantry. The Republic now has a mechanised socialist agriculture, which it is successfully developing. Inspired by the decisions of the January Plenary Meeting of the C.C. C.P.S.U., the people on the farms are working for a further steady advancement of farm production.

The living standard in the Republic is rising continuously. The culture of the Georgian people, national in form and socialist in content, is flourishing. The Republic has a ramified system of schools, research institutions, clubs, libraries, museums and cinemas. Imposing successes have been achieved in the fields of literature and art.

The successes of the Georgian working people in economic and cultural development derive from the Leninist national policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, from the continuous assistance of the Rus-

sian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian and other fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union. In the friendly and united family of Soviet peoples, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the people of Georgia are working with devotion for the realisation of the historic decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-First Party Congresses, for new successes in the full-scale building of communist society. Together with all the Soviet people, Georgia's working people are preparing with great inspiration and enthusiasm for the Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U., eager to mark it with fresh accomplishments in economic and cultural development.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. express their firm trust that the working people of Georgia will not spare strength and energy in fulfilling the grand tasks of communist construction. We wish the gifted people of Georgia new successes in the building of communism, the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan assignments and the further economic and cultural advancement of their Republic.

Hail to the fortieth anniversary of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic!

Long live the Communist Party of Georgia—a militant detachment of the C.P.S.U.!

Long live the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union—the firm foundation of the power and prosperity of our great country!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is confidently leading the Soviet people to the victory of communism!

CENTRAL	PRESIDIUM OF THE	COUNCIL OF
COMMITTEE OF THE	SUPREME SOVIET	MINISTERS OF THE
C.P.S.U.	OF THE U.S.S.R.	U.S.S.R.

(Stormy, prolonged applause, ovation. All rise.)

**SPEECHES
MADE DURING THE VISIT TO THE U.S.S.R.
OF THE PRIME MINISTER
OF THE SOMALI REPUBLIC**

**SPEECH
ON THE ARRIVAL OF THE PRIME MINISTER
OF THE SOMALI REPUBLIC**

May 24, 1961

Dear Mr. Prime Minister of the Somali Republic,
Friends,
Comrades,

Mr. Prime Minister, I welcome you and your party cordially in the capital of the Soviet Union on behalf of the Soviet Government and myself.

We are happy that you have come, happy that you will see our country in the flower of spring, and we hope that your stay here will give you pleasure. You will see the life of our peaceful country, you will see the hospitality of Soviet people and the sincerity and warmth of their sentiments for guests from the African continent.

The Soviet people follows with deep sympathy the efforts of your people and those of the other African peoples who have cast off the chains of colonialism and are now working to eliminate the painful legacy of the past and further to consolidate their national independence. We wish you every success in these efforts.

I should like to note with satisfaction that our two governments have common points of view concerning a number of important international issues, as evidenced by the recent negotiations and the friendly exchange of opinions between the Soviet goodwill mission and the Government of the Somali Republic. We are pleased that friendly relations based on principles of mutual respect and non-interference in domestic affairs have arisen and are developing between the Soviet Union and the Somali Republic. There are good opportunities for the further fruitful development of Soviet-Somali relations, and for successful economic co-operation between our countries on the basis of equality and mutual advantage.

Mr. Prime Minister, we consider your coming to our country to be an important step towards stronger political, economic and cultural relations between the Soviet Union and the Somali Republic for the good of the peoples of our countries, and for world peace.

May the friendship and co-operation between the Soviet and Somali peoples grow stronger!

We bid you welcome!

SPEECH

AT A LUNCHEON IN THE KREMLIN FOR THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE SOMALI REPUBLIC

May 25, 1961

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

Dear Guests,

Comrades,

We are very happy to receive guests from the Somali Republic. It was a pleasure to make the acquaintance of the Prime Minister of that young state and of the distinguished statesmen and political leaders accompanying him, and to exchange opinions with them on matters of interest to both our countries.

Soviet people follow with great sympathy the emergence of a new life in Somali. They heartily wish the people of Somali every success, and are ready to co-operate with them in this big and difficult undertaking.

The Soviet Union is co-operating successfully with a number of African countries, helping them eliminate the painful consequences of colonial domination. Our assistance is unselfish. It stems from the very nature of the socialist state, in which there are no exploiting classes bent on profit-making.

The Somali Republic was established in the auspicious year that will go down in history as "Africa Year". Almost a score of new states appeared on the map of that continent in 1960. But the liberation of Africa is not yet complete. The highly important decision adopted by the 15th U.N. General Assembly, the resolution on the granting of independence to the colonial countries and peoples, has not yet been fulfilled. The colonialists are not only sabotaging it and keeping peoples in colonial captivity; recent events in, say, the Congo show that they are still trying to revive the colonial regime.

The colonialists are doing their utmost to retain control over the economies of states that have already gained political independence. It is their object somewhat to modify and modernise the outer form of colonialism, while preserving its predatory nature. To pursue their policy more conveniently, they are trying to embroil the African states in quarrels among themselves.

But from day to day the peoples of Africa are seeing more clearly through the designs of the colonialists, and are resisting them fittingly. In unity lies the great strength of Africa, and this strength will triumph. In their struggle the African peoples may rely on the support of the socialist countries. All progressives are on their side.

We hail the peoples that have flung off the colonial chains. We hail the peoples that are still fighting perseveringly for their freedom and independence. The people of

Angola have now risen against the brutal oppressors and are battling selflessly for liberation. We feel warmly for this just struggle, and wish the people of Angola every success. We are sure that the day is near when all the peoples of Africa will be free.

Our dear guests, you have come here from a torrid African country. Our climate may seem somewhat cool to you. But we hope that the friendly sentiments of the Soviet people for the peoples of Africa and their just struggle for liberation will help you feel at home with us.

Permit me, Mr. Prime Minister, to express my trust that your visit to the Soviet Union will be fruitful and will help strengthen Soviet-Somali relations. Favourable opportunities for this are, beyond doubt, available. The relations between our countries are developing along the lines of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual respect for each other's political and social institutions. Experience shows that this is a good and reliable foundation.

I propose a toast to the health of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Somali, to our dear guests, to the success of their mission, to the friendship between the Somali and Soviet peoples, and to the friendship among all the peoples of the world.

SPEECHES RELATED TO THE VIENNA VISIT

SPEECH ON ARRIVAL IN BRATISLAVA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

May 31, 1961

Dear Comrade Novotny, dear Czechoslovakian Friends,

Permit me to thank the Government of fraternal Czechoslovakia for its invitation to visit your country and spend some time with our Czechoslovakian friends on my way to Vienna. Permit me also to thank the inhabitants of sunny Bratislava from the bottom of my heart for their warm and cordial reception, for the kind words spoken here, and to convey to the working people of Czechoslovakia the warm greetings of the peoples of the Soviet Union. (*Stormy, prolonged applause. Cries of "Long live the Soviet Union!" Cheers.*)

We are sincerely pleased at the opportunity to meet our dear Czechoslovakian friends once again, and to see our good friend President Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and other leaders of your Republic. It is customary for a guest entering a friendly house to salute the host. I would therefore today like to tell the Czechoslovakian people, our hosts and masters of their country, of our feelings of great love and deep respect. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet people sincerely rejoice over the fact that the Czechoslovakian people have been able within a brief

period to make a historic turn in the development of their country and to score great victories in the building of socialism. Under the leadership of its tried Communist Party, which has just celebrated its fortieth anniversary, Socialist Czechoslovakia is making a fitting contribution to our common cause of strengthening the unity and might of the world socialist system, and of cementing peace and friendship among all the peoples.

As you know, we are going to Vienna for a meeting with the United States President, Mr. Kennedy. We do not want to foretell the outcome of the meeting at this point. However, as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, its voice will as always resound for peace, for the easing of international tensions. We are convinced that these high-minded aspirations accord with the most cherished hopes of the peoples of all continents, including the peoples of Europe, whose soil was so recently inundated with the blood of millions of people fighting against aggression, for freedom and independence. They also accord with the desires of the peoples of America, who, like all peoples of the earth, do not want war and yearn for peace. (*Stormy applause.*)

Allow me, dear comrades, to thank you once again for your friendly reception and to wish you with all my heart further success in your work, and the best of health and happiness. (*Applause.*)

Long live the Czechoslovakian people and their glorious vanguard, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the Government of Socialist Czechoslovakia! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live our brothers, the Czechs and Slovaks! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the everlasting and indestructible friendship of the Soviet and Czechoslovakian peoples! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. Cries of "Long live the Soviet Union!"*)

Long live world peace! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH ON ARRIVAL IN VIENNA

June 2, 1961

Dear Mr. Federal President,
Dear Mr. Federal Chancellor,
Dear Mr. Vice-Chancellor,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

A year ago, at the airport, when leaving your country, I said *do svidania* (until we meet again). And now we have again come to your wonderful capital and are happy to meet the statesmen of Austria and the inhabitants of beautiful Vienna, who received us so cordially last year.

Dear Mr. Federal President, allow me to thank you for your warm reception, for your kind words about the Soviet Union and our people. I should also like to convey to you, to the Government and to all the people of Austria the hearty greetings and best wishes of the Soviet Government and the Soviet people.

All along the way from Moscow to Vienna we saw people absorbed in peaceful and constructive labour. The hard-working people of Austria, like the peoples of other countries, want enduring peace and tranquillity to prevail in Europe and the rest of the world.

We have come to Vienna to meet Mr. Kennedy, the President of the United States, to establish personal contact with him and to exchange views on the fundamental prob-

lems pertaining to Soviet-American relations. We Soviet people would, of course, like all unsettled questions to be adjusted as quickly as possible. But we know that things like that are not done overnight. Yet, given the goodwill, much can be done, and in a short time. This is what the peoples want. They are insistently demanding an easing of international tension and a reinforcement of world peace. The Soviet Union, for its part, has always worked for peace, for better relations between states, and for Soviet-American relations to be based on the enduring foundation of peace and business co-operation.

Let us hope that the fine atmosphere of peaceful and neutral Austria tells favourably on the results of our coming meeting with the President of the United States.

Allow me to thank you once more, dear ladies and gentlemen, for your cordial welcome.

SPEECH ON DEPARTURE FROM VIENNA

June 5, 1961

Dear Mr. Federal President,
Dear Mr. Federal Chancellor,
Dear Mr. Vice-Chancellor,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

We leave for home in a few minutes. It has been a pleasure to visit once more your peace-loving country, and to meet the statesmen of Austria and the people of beautiful Vienna.

Mr. Federal President, allow me to express to you, the Government of the Austrian Republic and to the people of your capital our sincere thanks for your attention and hospitality. It may be noted with satisfaction that the international prestige of neutral Austria is mounting from year to year, and that its capital is being more and more frequently picked for assemblies of scientists, diplomats, jour-

nalists and public leaders of different countries, and also, as we see, for the meetings of statesmen.

The Soviet Union has always striven to ensure lasting peace for the peoples, to achieve a speedy and positive solution of the disarmament problem, to secure the peaceful settlement of disputed international questions by negotiation, and to establish and maintain good relations with all countries. This may be achieved through mutual understanding and co-operation designed to remove the residues of past conflicts from international affairs and to end the cold war.

We would like to believe that the meetings and conversations we have had here with U.S. President Mr. Kennedy will further these objects and the establishment of enduring international peace.

Allow me to thank you once more for your kind hospitality and cordiality.

As I leave Vienna I want to say again to you, *do svidania*, until we meet again.

SPEECH
AT A RECEPTION FOR THE PRESIDENT
AND PRIME MINISTER
OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

June 10, 1961

Dear Mr. President,
Dear Guests from Indonesia,
Friends, Comrades,

We are very happy again to receive on Soviet soil our dear guest, the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Dr. Sukarno.

I recall that in Indonesia, when people want to stress their friendliness to a guest, they address him as *bung*, which means "brother". This was how President Sukarno addressed me during my visit to his country. The warmest and heartiest word we use is the word "*tovarishch*" (comrade). You are our *tovarishch* in the struggle for peace. This is why I want to combine these two words and to address you as dear *tovarishch* Bung Karno.

A few days ago we celebrated an auspicious jubilee, your sixtieth birthday. We are pleased that of all the capitals you have chosen our Moscow to celebrate that day among your Soviet friends.

Allow me, *tovarishch* Bung Karno, to welcome you here in the Kremlin once more with all my heart as an out-

standing leader of the Indonesian people, a holder of the International Lenin Peace Prize and a good friend of the Soviet Union.

You have been holding the high office of President of the Indonesian Republic for more than 15 years. Your courageous voice of peace fighter firmly opposed to colonialism, to imperialism, working in defence of his people who are eager to liberate their territory occupied by the Dutch colonialists, is heard far outside Indonesia. It is heard by the whole world, by the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence.

We are happy to welcome the prominent Indonesian statesmen who have come in your party—Deputy Chief Minister, Mr. Leimena, Minister of National Security, General Nasution, Deputy Chairman of the Provisional People's Consultative Congress, Mr. Wilujo Puspojudo, and all the other members of the President's party.

The friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Indonesia is going from strength to strength each year. Soviet-Indonesian relations are a living example of the fact that distinctions in the socio-political systems of states, the traditions and customs of the peoples, and the immense distances that lie between them, are no obstacle to the establishment and development of sincere friendship and close co-operation. In that lies the great vital force of the principles of peaceful coexistence upon which the relations between our countries are based.

Our friendship is so much stronger for the fact that the Soviet Union and Indonesia have common views on many of the key international issues, such as general and complete disarmament, the abolition of colonialism and the struggle against imperialism. Our states and peoples are working with determination to safeguard the sacred right of the peoples of the Congo, Laos, Algeria and Angola to a free and independent life without anyone interfering in their domestic affairs. It goes without saying that the Soviet Government supports the just demand of the Indo-

nesian Government concerning West Irian's reunification with its motherland, the Republic of Indonesia.

Soviet people view with sincere sympathy the efforts of the Indonesian people to build a just and prosperous society. We appreciate the difficulties that our Indonesian friends have to cope with in building up a national industry, advancing agriculture and improving the material and cultural standards of the population. But we are certain that the gifted and hard-working people of Indonesia will surmount these difficulties.

We are happy in the knowledge that the Soviet people, who have put so much effort into industrialising their own country and building the economic basis of socialism, are co-operating with the Indonesian Republic in its efforts to develop its home industry, farming and culture.

Soviet-Indonesian friendship is based on mutual respect, trust and support. I believe I shall not be speaking for myself alone, but also for the esteemed President, Dr. Sukarno, if I say that the Soviet Union and Indonesia will both do their utmost for the further strengthening and development of this friendship for the good of our peoples and the good of world peace.

Allow me to raise a toast to the health of our dear guest, President Sukarno!

To the health of the distinguished Indonesian leaders in his party!

To the indestructible friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Indonesia!

To world peace!

(N. S. Khrushchov's speech was heard with close attention and frequently interrupted by applause.)

**SPEECH
OVER THE RADIO AND TELEVISION**

June 15, 1961

Dear Comrades,
Friends,

As you know, I have recently come back from Vienna, where I met and talked with John Kennedy, the President of the United States, for two days.

Quite a lot has been written in our press, and in the press of the world, on this score. Many of you have already read the memorandums handed to President Kennedy in Vienna. They are the memorandum on the discontinuance of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests and the one on the German peace treaty and the settlement on its basis of the West Berlin question.

Many of you have also probably read President Kennedy's speech over the radio and television, which was published in full in our newspapers. The Soviet public has thus been well informed about the point of view set forth by the President of the United States and about what he thinks of our meeting.

Today, I want to express a few ideas and state my opinions about our meetings and conversations with President Kennedy in Vienna.

As you know, the meeting was preceded by an exchange of opinions through diplomatic channels and by an ex-

change of messages between the United States President and myself. We agreed on a meeting, which took place in Vienna on June 3 and 4. It was an excellent opportunity for our first personal contact and for an exchange of opinions on the basic problems between myself, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, and the new President of the United States of America.

On the way to Vienna we spent a few days with our Czechoslovakian friends and, of course, had quite exhaustive talks with Comrade Antonin Novotny, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and other Czechoslovakian leaders.

I have visited fraternal Czechoslovakia a few times before, and have always been conscious of extremely warm and cordial feelings there. The same is true of my latest visit. We were received everywhere as close friends, as blood brothers, linked by common vital interests and goals.

I take this opportunity to thank once more the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and all our dear friends, the Czechs and the Slovaks, who treated us with so much warmth and hospitality during our stay in their wonderful country, which is advancing steadily along the path of communist construction.

Such are the relations between all our socialist countries. The great common cause of building a new, socialist world has made us kin and welded us into one friendly family. When they uphold and defend the interests of their people, the leaders of our countries are working for the best interests of all the peoples of the socialist countries, the great cause of socialism and enduring world peace.

As we set out for Vienna to meet the United States President, we were naturally most concerned over how this meeting would affect not only the relations between our two countries, but also the relations between the countries of the socialist world and the capitalist countries.

We believe that such meetings are necessary, because in the present conditions matters that cannot be solved through the usual diplomatic channels insistently demand contacts between the heads of governments. To be sure, such meetings are necessary, provided the heads of governments concerned are desirous of ensuring peace among the states. For our part, we are doing our utmost to ease international tension and settle the cardinal questions arising in the relations between states.

Before going on to the specific matters discussed during our conversations with the United States President, I should like to express our heartfelt gratitude to Mr. Adolf Schärf, Federal President of Austria, Mr. Alfons Gorbach, Federal Chancellor, and Mr. Bruno Pittermann, Vice-Chancellor, for their co-operation in making the Vienna meeting proceed in the most favourable conditions for both parties. We are grateful to the people of beautiful Vienna for the kindness and cordiality they showed us, representatives of the Soviet Union.

And now, dear comrades, let me state our point of view on the questions discussed by President Kennedy and myself. I would like to state some of our ideas on how we think it best to solve the disputed and unsettled problems in the relations of states, which are ripe and, I might say, overripe, and insistently demand a solution.

The question of general and complete disarmament is one of these key, cardinal issues.

It is well known that the Soviet Union is working perseveringly and consistently for a solution of the disarmament problem. The Soviet Union has been putting the matter before the whole world for decades. It may be recalled that at the Genoa Conference, as far back as 1922, the Soviet Union suggested on the great Lenin's initiative that the world effect general and complete disarmament. In 1927 we raised the question in the League of Nations. The effort to achieve a solution of the problem failed at the time, and the imperialists subsequently started a world war.

After the Second World War, which caused so much grief and suffering to the peoples, we have worked with redoubled energy for the speediest solution of the disarmament problem. We use every opportunity inside and outside the United Nations to achieve a positive solution of the disarmament problem and to remove the threat of a new world war.

The Soviet Union participated in the work of the U. N. Atomic Energy Commission, which was to draft an agreement on the prohibition of nuclear weapons. We also took part in discussions in the Conventional Armaments Commission. Ever since 1950, when the Disarmament Committee was established, the Soviet Union has been taking an active part in its work. Our representatives in its Subcommittee worked in London and New York for four years. Many proposals were submitted, many speeches were made, but disarmament made no progress at all.

A ten-nation disarmament committee, whose composition differed from those of the previous bodies, met in Geneva last year. Five socialist and five Western states were represented on it. But the Western Powers showed no desire to agree to disarmament, so that no positive results were achieved in that committee either.

They say that if all the piles of paper used up in the various disarmament committees and sub-committees were thrown into the Lake of Geneva, its waters would overflow its shores. Reams of paper were used up, but no progress was made towards an effective solution of the disarmament problem.

Why did all these committees and sub-committees fail in their work? It is because the Western Powers were obviously unwilling to negotiate in earnest, because they did not want disarmament, and, to be perfectly frank, do not want it to this day. It stands to reason that no government can come out into the open before the peoples with that sort of attitude. The Western Powers are afraid to tell the public openly and honestly that they do not want

business-like negotiations with the Soviet Union on questions of disarmament.

The capitalist monopolies are making money on the arms race and want it to continue. But to conceal this they evidently need at least a semblance of negotiations. That was why they picked the diplomatic approach and do not refuse outright to negotiate, while rejecting concrete proposals for disarmament. As the Russian saying goes, they are simply blowing the bagpipes, that is, simply gassing. A regular system has been worked out to impede progress and drive disarmament into a cul-de-sac.

The proposals for general and complete disarmament submitted by me on the instructions of the Soviet Government to the U. N. General Assembly are a good basis for solving the disarmament problem. If our proposals are accepted, the peoples will be relieved once and for all of the onerous burden of the arms race and the threat of a destructive nuclear-missile war. We declared—and I repeat it emphatically now—that if the Western Powers agree to general and complete disarmament, the Soviet Union is prepared to accept any system of control they may wish to propose.

But in spite of this the Western Powers maintain that the Soviet attitude to questions of control obstructs agreement on disarmament and that they cannot come to an understanding with us on these questions.

I repeat once more, the Soviet Union stands for strict and effective international control. Mr. President of the United States, we are ready to accept your proposals on control, provided you accept our proposals on general and complete disarmament. Then there will be no cul-de-sac in the disarmament negotiations.

We want honest disarmament. We want all countries to have equal conditions during disarmament, so that no one could ever use disarmament to obtain advantages at the expense of the security of other nations.

Our proposals provide for strict control in every stage

of disarmament. We believe that if complete disarmament is effected, most thorough control will be required. The control agencies should have access everywhere without any so-called veto, any ban, or any restrictions. There should be free access at any time to any place. And we are prepared to furnish this to the control agencies. It is only through general and complete disarmament under the strictest control that confidence may be built up and conditions created for peaceful coexistence under which no country or group of countries could secretly arm for an attack on other countries.

That is our point of view. What statement clearer than this one must we make for the Western spokesmen to stop saying that the Soviet Union does not accept control?

All these specious charges about the Soviet Union not wanting control reveal just one thing—how freely people are being deceived in the so-called free world. But our world, the world of socialist countries, is excellently informed and knows that we stand for effective control. In the “free world”, meanwhile, with its “free information”, society may be freely misinformed with deliberate falsehoods repeated over and over in order to mislead people.

The Soviet Union and the United States will begin negotiating disarmament questions in Washington on June 19. We hope that this time we shall at last see a constructive approach on the part of the United States.

Now I should like to deal with another question on which President Kennedy and I exchanged opinions—the banning of nuclear weapons tests.

We have been negotiating with the United States and Britain on that score in Geneva for nearly three years. At the outset of the negotiations we submitted the draft of a treaty for the consideration of the Western Powers. But although this draft accorded with the interests of all concerned and although we accepted some of the Western suggestions in the course of the talks, they have yielded no tangible results.

New difficulties have arisen now. The Western Powers refuse point-blank to accept our proposal on the forms of control.

What is the substance of our proposal? Let me tell you about it in brief. At first we thought it possible to agree with the Western proposal that one man appointed by agreement among the countries should head the executive agency of control over the discontinuance of tests. But the events in the Congo have put us on our guard; they have taught us what's what, as the saying goes.

The Government of the Congo Republic appealed to the United Nations for help in its struggle against the Belgian colonialists, who tried to restore their colonial domination over that country. The Security Council and the General Assembly adopted a number of fairly good decisions on the matter. But what happened later?

Mr. Hammarskjöld, who professes to be neutral, took advantage of his office of United Nations Secretary-General to interpret and implement these Security Council and General Assembly decisions to the advantage of the colonialists. Is this not proved by the foul assassination of the Prime Minister of the Congo Republic, Patrice Lumumba, the head of the very government which asked for armed U.N. help against the outrages of the colonialists? The tragedy of the Congolese people shows clearly what consequences are liable to arise from arbitrary acts by the U.N. executive in the person of one Secretary-General. Everything possible must be done to prevent such acts in the future. The interests of the peoples, the interests of peace call for it.

This is the reason why the Soviet Government has arrived at the firm conviction that control over the nuclear weapons test discontinuance agreement should be effected with the participation of representatives from the three existing groups of states—the socialist countries, the member countries of the Western military blocs, and the neu-

tralist countries. Furthermore, the representatives of these groups of states should adopt only agreed decisions.

The Soviet Union has never asked for any exclusive privileges, nor does it want them now. We do not want to dominate the control commission, but we shall not tolerate anybody else's domination over us either. We ask for the same rights as the other parties to the treaty will have. We want no abuses on the part of the control organisation.

What do the Western Powers want? They want to impose some "neutral" individual on us in the capacity of sole interpreter and executive of the agreement. They want some new Hammarskjöld, who would be in charge of control throughout the territory of our land. To put it bluntly, they want this individual to let them reconnoitre our territory without obstruction for the benefit of the West. It stands to reason that we cannot and never will agree to this, because it would jeopardise our security.

It is clear to everybody, of course, that discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests would not, as such, rule out nuclear-missile war. Nuclear weapons tests may be forbidden, but the existing stockpiles of these weapons will remain, their production will continue, and, therefore, so will their accumulation. The threat of a nuclear-missile war will thus keep mounting. It is only too obvious that the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests alone would not constitute any sort of barrier to the arms race.

Everything points to the conclusion that it will be difficult to reach agreement in the Geneva talks on the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests owing to the attitude of the Western Powers. At present, the main thing is to solve the question of general and complete disarmament without delay. We told the U. S. President: Let's tackle the two problems in combination, that is, the problem of discontinuing tests in combination with the problem of general and complete disarmament. It will then also be easier to agree on the establishment of an executive control agency.

In a world of general and complete disarmament the question of state security would have a different aspect—there would be no armies and therefore no threat of an attack by one state upon another. In these circumstances, the Soviet Government will be ready to accept the Western proposals on control.

We will be willing to accept provisions for a system of control without any restrictions whatsoever from any of the sides concerned, including the state in whose territory control is enforced. There would then no longer be any danger that control might be used for reconnaissance against any state. That is quite logical, because if there are no armies, and no arms race, the states will have no military secrets, and representatives of the Western countries could enter any door they pleased, any factory and any institution in our country, just as our representatives could do in theirs.

In assessing the outlook for an agreement on the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests in the absence of an agreement on general and complete disarmament, we should not ignore the following important fact either. While three states—the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Britain—are negotiating the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests, France is holding such tests and paying no attention to public protests and protests by governments. It is also ignoring the numerous decisions of the United Nations, which call on the states to refrain from making nuclear tests.

We have a strange situation indeed, for while we seek agreement with the Western Powers in Geneva, France, an ally of these Western Powers, is making nuclear weapons tests and saying that the Geneva talks are not committing it to anything. Hence, France, being a member of NATO, that aggressive military bloc which does not conceal the fact that it is spearheaded against the Soviet Union, has a chance of improving nuclear weapons in the interests of her Western allies.

Furthermore, we must reckon with the fact that other countries may follow France's example as soon as they have the necessary scientific and technical resources.

The unique logic of the Western Powers is, of course, quite understandable. Apparently, they do not rely on their allies in the military blocs and want to secure their independence by means of their own nuclear weapons. General de Gaulle, the President of France, says, for example, that he wants to have his own nuclear weapons in order to enable France to conduct an independent policy.

But other countries, too, caught in the trammels of the Western military blocs, may declare that they do not wish to rely on the nuclear test ban agreement while states that have nuclear weapons retain them after the said agreement is signed. They could evidently repeat the argument now used by France in order to justify their tests, to try to develop their own nuclear weapons and enter the so-called nuclear club.

It is a logic that naturally prejudices the cause of peace. It is a logic that can be and is used by people in the West who do not want to give up their nuclear weapons and are putting their stakes on weapons of mass annihilation.

All this brings us up to the conclusion that the settlement of the nuclear weapons test question should be linked with the problem of general and complete disarmament. It seems that no other solution can be found in the existing circumstances.

During our exchange of opinions with the President we submitted our point of view in detail concerning a combined solution of the general and complete disarmament problem and the discontinuance of all nuclear weapons tests. We would like the U.S. Government to understand our point of view correctly. That would help us find a basis for agreement.

The peoples expect the governments to speed the solution of the general and complete disarmament problem in

order to safeguard peace. This is why world opinion makes its voice heard and demands that the governments who show no interest in solving this problem stop sabotaging and dragging out the negotiations. It is high time to take the disarmament problem out of the maze of empty verbiage, where it has been for many years.

Allow me now to go on to the German question, which occupied a prominent place in our conversations with President Kennedy.

The Soviet Government has repeatedly set out its attitude to the matter, and the Western Powers have no reason to complain that our proposals are not well enough known to them. We have always done our utmost to convince the governments of Britain, the United States, France and the other countries who fought the war with us against Hitler Germany that the absence of a German peace treaty has created an abnormal and dangerous situation in Europe.

It has always been taken for granted that after a war ends the belligerent states conclude a peace treaty. This has become a custom and, if you like, a rule of international law. You will find examples of this in the international practice of the post-Second World War period as well. More than 14 years ago peace treaties were signed with Italy and the other countries that had fought on the side of Hitler Germany. In 1951 the United States, Britain and other countries concluded a peace treaty with Japan. Yet the governments of these countries reject the very idea of a peace treaty with Germany.

I ask, can this situation continue? After all, the peoples of Europe are vitally interested in a peace treaty with Germany. The peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia and all the other neighbours of Germany have been waiting for it a long time. The treaty is necessary for the two German states—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. The population of these two states lives by the hope that *finis* will at last be written to the Sec-

ond World War and the German people will base their relations with the neighbouring nations on mutual confidence.

It would seem that the question is clear: a peace treaty with Germany is essential. It goes without saying that any new alteration of the borders is out of the question. It is our point of departure that the German peace treaty will formalise what has already been established by the Potsdam Agreement. The Government of the German Democratic Republic has stated repeatedly that it recognises Germany's eastern border established by this Agreement along the Oder-Neisse line as being final and that it regards this border as a frontier of peace between the German and Polish nations.

The Western governments, too, seem to realise how senseless it would be at this point to raise the question of changing Germany's frontiers. In their talks with us their representatives have said so many times. The President of France, General de Gaulle, has publicly said that the German people should not "question the present frontiers in the West, East, North and South". Even Chancellor Adenauer, that proponent of cold war and expert in whipping up tension between states, has come out with statements to the effect that the Federal Republic of Germany is not seeking to alter the borders by means of war or violence.

Why not sign the peace treaty if it is clear to everybody that the present German frontiers cannot be altered without a war, while the Western governments say war is something they do not want.

It would seem a fairly simple operation to register what actually exists and what the peoples have long been demanding. What is it that keeps the Western governments from taking this sensible step?

The reason apparently is that some people speak of peace while actually wanting to preserve the embers still smouldering since the Second World War, so as to pick a propitious moment and fan them into the flames of a new

war. That is what the new divisions are being formed for in West Germany, and why Chancellor Adenauer demands atomic weapons for his army.

Why is all this being done? There is no need for either a big army or atomic weapons to preserve what West Germany possesses today. But West Germany has forces that still covet what belongs to other people, and won't reconcile themselves to the existing frontiers. But what would an attempt to alter the frontiers mean in the present environment? It would mean war and, moreover, a thermonuclear war.

This is why the attitude of the opponents of a German peace settlement cannot but put the nations on their guard. They are entitled to say—if you are for peace, prove it by your deeds, sign the peace treaty, and shape your foreign policy accordingly.

In his talks with me, President Kennedy argued—and, by the way, other Western spokesmen did too—that the Western Powers had some obligations to the population of West Berlin and that these obligations could not be affected even by the conclusion of a German peace treaty. It would be natural to ask, however, what obligations they mean if all of them stem from Hitler Germany's surrender and from the provisional Allied agreements, and are therefore valid only until the conclusion of a peace treaty.

Furthermore, there are no special Allied obligations at all with regard to West Berlin. The Allied commitments concerned all of Germany, and it is precisely those commitments that have been grossly violated by the Western Powers. They have turned West Germany into a militarist state. They have founded a military bloc against us, and the Federal Republic of Germany is playing a foremost part in it. The generals who once commanded the Nazi troops and committed atrocities in the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Yugoslavia, France, Greece, Belgium, Norway and other countries, today hold posts of command in NATO.

Once a peace treaty is signed, surrender terms become inoperative throughout the territory covered by this treaty, and the occupation regime is lifted throughout that territory. This has always been so. Therefore, after the peace treaty is signed, West Berlin, which is situated in the territory of the German Democratic Republic, will be released from all the terms imposed by the surrender of Hitler Germany and the establishment there of an occupation regime.

It should be noted that when a peace treaty with Germany is discussed, and, consequently, a normalisation in West Berlin, Western spokesmen often depart from the legal side of the case and fall back on reasons of prestige. But such attempts, too, cannot withstand criticism. I should like to tell of a fairly recent example.

We waged war against Japan together with the United States. Our peoples shed blood together. The Soviet Army smashed the main body of the Japanese troops—the Kwantung Army—in Manchuria. The Soviet Union, the United States and other countries that had fought against Japan jointly drafted measures for controlling Japan's post-war development. A Far Eastern Commission was set up in Washington and an Allied Council for Japan had its seat in Tokyo. Soviet representatives worked in these bodies very assiduously, on an equal footing.

Then came the time to sign a peace treaty with Japan. Our allies scorned the opinion of the Soviet Union and concluded a separate treaty with Japan. It is needless to delve into the reasons that shaped the attitude of the Soviet Union at the time in the matter of the Japanese peace treaty, for we are dealing with something else at the moment, namely, with how the United States conducted itself in that case with its ally. It unilaterally disbanded the Allied Council for Japan and deprived the Soviet representatives of all their rights. In effect, our representatives were left dangling between heaven and earth; their stay in Tokyo was made insufferable.

Yet we had clearly defined rights and obligations implicit in the surrender of Japan and inscribed in pertinent agreements. As you see, the Americans did not at the time heed either the rights of the Soviet Union or international agreements. They took advantage of their superiority in atomic arms and tried to dictate terms not only to defeated Japan, but also to their allies in the anti-Japanese war.

We published our draft of the German peace treaty more than two years ago. There is nothing in it to prejudice the interests of our former allies, and, for that matter, those of the Germans themselves.

The Soviet Union, which made much greater sacrifices than all the other allies of the anti-Hitler coalition combined, proposes that a peace treaty be signed to normalise the situation in Europe and relations with both the German states. The United States, Britain, France, and the Federal Republic of Germany, on the other hand, do not want to sign a peace treaty and are bent on perpetuating the insecure and dangerous situation. They refuse to remove the survivals of the last war by concluding a peace treaty, and insist on keeping the occupation regime and their troops in West Berlin.

Any person in his right mind will realise that a peace treaty is a means of improving relations between states. The refusal to sign a peace treaty and the perpetuation of the occupation regime in West Berlin are aimed at prolonging the cold war. But who can tell where the line runs between cold war and war in the true sense of the word? Is it not obvious that cold war is preparation and accumulation of strength for a shooting war?

I speak of this because I want everybody to appreciate the grave danger of any further delay in the conclusion of a German peace treaty.

When we make the proposal to sign a peace treaty with Germany and turn West Berlin into a free city, we are accused of wanting to rob the Western Powers of access to that city. But that is an incorrect and groundless argument.

The status of free city would mean that all countries of the world who wish to have economic and cultural relations with West Berlin would possess the right and opportunity of exercising their relations unhindered. To be sure, this will require an agreement with the country through which the communication lines run to and from West Berlin. That is normal. Otherwise the sovereignty of the country in which West Berlin is situated would be prejudiced.

The Western governments aver that they promised to defend the freedom and well-being of the West Berlin population. The quadripartite agreements concerning Berlin, to be sure, say nothing of these obligations of the United States, Britain and France. But the idea of ensuring freedom for the people of West Berlin is not likely to rouse anybody's objections. None other than the Soviet Union proposes that the political and social regime in West Berlin be what its inhabitants want it to be.

No attempt is therefore being made upon the freedom of West Berlin, and no obstacles are being erected to access into that city. We have said on countless occasions and repeat now that a peace treaty will create all the necessary conditions for maintaining the freedom of the free city of West Berlin and for exercising contacts between West Berlin and the outside world without any hindrance.

It stands to reason that in settling the questions of access to West Berlin we should all observe the generally accepted international custom, that is, use the territory of the country crossed by the lanes of access solely with the consent of its government.

This provision is generally considered normal. So why consider it not normal if the consent of the German Democratic Republic will have to be obtained for passage to West Berlin? After all, the land routes to West Berlin lie across its territory, the water routes also lie across its territory, and so do the air lanes. After a peace treaty is concluded, therefore, the countries wishing to maintain

contacts with West Berlin will have to reach an understanding with the Government of the German Democratic Republic on the procedures of access to West Berlin and communications to and from that city.

What we suggest is not at all unusual. This has been the usage in relations between all sovereign states for hundreds, perhaps many hundreds, of years. We did not invent it, and it exists not only *de facto*, but also *de jure*, and has long been a general rule.

What the Soviet Union wants to achieve by its proposal of signing a peace treaty and normalising the situation in West Berlin on this basis, is peace. What it wants is to eliminate all the factors in international relations that cause friction and may set off a dangerous conflict.

It is not the socialist countries but the Western Powers that are defying the world by stating contrary to common sense that they will not recognise the peace treaty and will try to maintain the occupation regime in West Berlin which, they say, they conquered. That is not a policy of peace, but contempt of the most elementary rules of international conduct. It is a wish to maintain the state of extreme tension in international relations and, what is much more, it is a threat of war.

The Soviet Union and our friends do not want a war, and we shall not start one. But we shall stand guard over our sovereignty and will do our sacred duty in defence of our freedom and independence.

If any country breaches the peace and crosses the frontier of another country, be it by land, air or sea, it will assume full responsibility for the consequences of aggression and will be duly repulsed.

The press of the world has printed numerous comments on our meetings and conversations with President Kennedy. Many sensible things are said in some of these comments in the United States, Britain, France and West Germany, to say nothing of the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist countries.

But there are also embittered people out of their right senses, who oppose negotiations with the Soviet Union and urge a crusade against communism. They organise fresh provocations all the time. It was no accident that numerous gatherings of revenge-seekers in the Federal Republic, at which Adenauer and other Bonn leaders made warlike speeches, were timed to coincide with the Vienna meeting.

The opponents of a normalisation of international affairs have again staged a big provocation in West Berlin, where committees of the West German parliament have been in session since the beginning of June and where the Bundestag is to assemble on June 16, although West Berlin has never been, and is not, a part of the Federal Republic of Germany. There is evidently a shortage of *Lebensraum* in West Germany for provocative undertakings.

The height of folly that people reach in their blind hatred of socialism is revealed by the statement of the Canadian-American inter-parliamentary group, published some days ago. The MPs concerned howl like hyenas and threaten nuclear war. They have not seen war in their own land. I don't know if they were on active service during the war, but it is quite obvious that they have not the faintest idea of what modern thermo-nuclear war is like if they are urging their own and other countries into battle. Today, any sort of war, though it may break out as an ordinary non-nuclear war, is likely to develop into a destructive nuclear-missile conflagration. The peoples must put strait jackets on the maniacs who urge war.

The peoples of Europe know what war is like. We have had to fight in two world wars. Twenty years ago the Soviet people were dragged into the costliest and bloodiest war in our history. The enemy came to Moscow's doorstep, he reached the Volga, he occupied and laid waste a considerable part of Soviet territory. But the Soviet Union stood its ground and won the war. We came to Berlin and brought to book the men who had started it.

We do not want another world war. What we want is peace. The Soviet people have established good mutual understanding with the Germans of the German Democratic Republic. The best of relations have been developed between the Soviet Union and the G.D.R. The conviction has taken root that there is no need for enmity between us, that it is best to be friends, and that our friendship is fruitful and beneficial for the two peoples. Soviet people also want good relations with the Germans of West Germany.

Our people want to be friends with the French. We fought together against Hitler Germany, and everyone of us has learned from experience what fascism and war are like. We want to be friends with the British, the Americans, the Norwegians and the other peoples of the anti-Hitler coalition, with whom we fought shoulder to shoulder for world peace. We have no cause at all to quarrel with any nation. We want to live in peace and concord with all the nations of the world.

This is why the Soviet Union has made the proposal of concluding the German peace treaty jointly with other countries. Yet this peaceful move is described as a threat, or as much as an act of aggression. But the only people who can say things like that are people who want to malign and misconstrue our intentions, and to poison the minds of the peoples with the venom of falsehood.

We want everybody to understand us properly—the German peace treaty cannot be put off any more. A peaceful arrangement in Europe must be achieved this year. We call on all the countries that fought against Germany to take part in the peace conference once an understanding is reached to convene it.

It is not a question now of whether or not to sign the peace treaty, but of whether it will be signed with the two existing German states—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—or with one German state, and whether all the countries that fought

against Germany, or only some of them, will join in the peace settlement.

The governments of some countries have announced in advance that they will not come to the peace conference. The Soviet Union will, of course, regret it if any states decline to sign the German peace treaty. We have always wanted and still want all the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition to participate in the peaceful settlement of the German issue.

But even though some countries may decline to negotiate a peace treaty, we are not going to be deterred by this and will, together with the other countries who wish it, sign a peace treaty with the two German states. Should the Federal Republic of Germany refuse to sign a peace treaty, we will sign it with just the German Democratic Republic, which has already announced its desire to conclude a peace treaty and has consented to the establishment in its territory of the free city of West Berlin.

Some people in the West have threatened us. They warned that if we sign the peace treaty it will not be recognised and that there will even be resort to arms to prevent its implementation. They seem to forget that the times have changed. The policy "from positions of strength" was ineffective vis-à-vis the Soviet Union in the past, and is all the more doomed to failure now. The Soviet Union opposes the use of force in relations between states. We favour peaceful settlements of disputed inter-state matters. But we are quite able duly to repulse every kind of violence, and possess all the requisite resources to safeguard our interests.

There was an exchange of opinions at the meeting in Vienna on the Laos situation and on a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question.

The Communiqué says on this score that the U.S. President and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. "reaffirmed their support of a neutral and independent Laos under a government chosen by the Laotians

themselves, and of international agreements for insuring that neutrality and independence, and in this connection they have recognised the importance of an effective cease-fire”.

The Laotians are a peaceable people. After embarking on its independent development, Laos has never threatened anyone, and has never been a source of tension. This was true until the imperialists decided to turn Laos into a military staging area, a base for the preparation of aggression.

A rebellion was organised against the lawful government of Prince Souvanna Phouma. The rebels were supplied arms and military advisers by the United States. The peace in the country was breached and a war began, which threatened to develop into a big conflagration owing to interference from without. A situation greatly imperilling peace arose in South-East Asia.

The American side makes no secret of it now that the previous U.S. Government is to blame for the dangerous developments in Laos, and that its policy in that region of the globe was not always wise. In March 1961 Mr. Kennedy declared that his Administration would work for a neutral and independent Laos.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we have always wanted Laos to be an independent and neutral state, not the tool of any military bloc, and that nobody should interfere in its domestic affairs.

Hence, there was sufficient ground before the Vienna meeting to find a basis for agreement in the matter of a peaceful adjustment in Laos.

During the discussion of the Laotian question with President Kennedy, we noted that our approach was much the same. I said it was essential in settling the matter to ensure the establishment of an independent and neutral Laos. Concurrently, I said it was essential to draw a distinct line between external questions and internal affairs.

The domestic policy of Laos cannot and must not be

shaped by either the Soviet Union, the United States, or any other country. If any countries should prescribe how Laos is to live and what government it is to have, we would not have an independent and neutral Laos, but a Laos ruled from without. This is intolerable.

The three political forces operating in Laos should themselves create a government capable of making an independent and neutral stand. The Soviet Union welcomes such a policy and will do its utmost to promote it.

I said all this to President Kennedy and had the impression that the President showed understanding for what I had to say. He declared that our two countries should bring our influence to bear on the respective political groups in Laos with the object of promoting an understanding between them on the establishment of a single government and its programme, based on the recognition of independence and neutrality. We consider this approach sensible.

We are firmly convinced that no one should interfere in the domestic affairs of Laos, because interference by any one party may entail very dangerous consequences. The approach to the Laotian problem should be careful and cautious, and anything that may spoil the chances of a peaceful settlement there should be avoided.

It is in this context that we draw attention to the fact that the presence of American officers in the capacity of military advisers with the rebel troops constitutes interference in domestic affairs in behalf of a definite political group. This is a departure from the recognition of Laotian neutrality and is outright interference in internal Laotian affairs. The sooner the American side abandons this interference, the better it will be. If the present policy of assistance to the rebels continues, the course of events may lead to undesirable consequences.

So much the more insufferable is it that some people in the United States have not as yet abandoned plans of sending marines to Laos and using special military formations to fan a war there. In the United States these form-

ations are for some reason called guerillas. In fact, however, they are nothing but subversive units or saboteurs designated to combat the peoples of countries whose regimes are not to the liking of the U.S. ruling quarters. It may be predicted that those who resort to methods of that sort will not have weighed all the consequences implicit in these methods for themselves.

If the United States Government really wants peace in Laos it should contribute to the speediest success of the negotiations in Geneva. Nobody should hold up these talks on various invented grounds to the effect that the cease-fire agreement there is being violated. If anything like that has happened, the national patriotic forces are not the guilty party. The American side and its military advisers in Laos know this very well.

We shall continue our efforts for a peaceful settlement in Laos, and call on all the other countries party to the Geneva talks to do the same.

We believe that if there is a real desire for peace, and not war, relations between states with different social systems should be based on peaceful coexistence.

Our conversations with President Kennedy revealed that we have different conceptions of peaceful coexistence. The substance of what the President said boiled down to the notion that a sort of dam should be erected to stem the movement of the peoples towards establishing in their countries political systems that go against the grain of the Western ruling circles.

If we were to adopt this stand, we would have to conclude an agreement and undertake to control other countries, and not allow any changes in the order existing there even if the peoples rise against that order. It would mean that if a people in some country wished to alter the socio-political system, this should not be allowed to happen.

This is obviously an absolutely wrong conception, and, naturally, we cannot agree with it. Nothing on earth is able to stem the desire of the peoples for freedom. No re-

gime based on the oppression and exploitation of the peoples can endure, can exist for ever. No matter how ingenious the system of exploitation and oppression may be, the peoples will ultimately win freedom and overthrow the oppressors.

Changes in social and political life are an inevitable process. This process does not depend on agreements concluded between statesmen. Should anyone go to the length of such folly and try to reach an agreement to that effect, he would thereby demonstrate his incompetence and ignorance of the events and changes proceeding in the world.

It is impossible to erect barriers to the movement of the peoples towards progress and a better life. This has been proved by the entire course of human development. There was the slave system once, followed by the feudal system, which was in due course replaced by the capitalist system. One system replaced another, because the new system was more progressive.

Take the example of the United States, which emerged in a struggle against British colonial oppression. The people of America waged a persevering struggle for liberation and won independence with arms in hand. In those days the United States considered this course of events normal. Now they try to intervene and to preserve the old order whenever peoples rise up against reactionary regimes, against their oppressors.

The spokesmen of the imperialist countries want to find ways and means of stopping the spread of the ideas of liberation, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Whenever the people of some capitalist or colonial country show dissatisfaction with the existing political system and try to alter it, to set up a new order consistent with the interests of the people, the governments of the imperialist countries lose no time in branding this as a communist intrigue and say that it is the hand of Moscow, and the like. They are not loath to using these inventions as an excuse for interference in the domestic affairs of other countries.

The help rendered by the imperialist countries to the reactionary forces in the various countries is fraught with great danger and may lead to considerable complications. The Soviet people and the other freedom-loving peoples work with determination for non-interference in the domestic affairs of any country. This is an essential condition for the maintenance of peace.

Every people has the right to independent and free national existence, and no country must interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. A class struggle is under way within the capitalist countries. The peoples are fighting against their oppressors, against the reactionary regimes. It is impossible to control these processes by any sort of agreement. Whoever tries to do so will only show that he has not grasped the purport of historical events and the laws of social development.

We believe that the main thing the Western Powers, and particularly the United States, should grasp is that socialism is now deeply rooted in the world and that nobody is able to alter this. It is common knowledge that the ruling circles of the Western Powers have been nursing plans of abolishing the socialist system, that they are still nursing them. But such attempts failed in the past, and will fail again.

The existence in the world of two social systems is a fact that people must go by in shaping the relations between the socialist and capitalist states so as to ensure peaceful co-operation between them. That is the only sensible policy to follow in international relations in order to safeguard peace.

* * *

That is what I wanted to tell you, comrades, about our conversations with the U.S. President. I must say that all in all I am pleased with our conversations. If I were asked whether it was worth while arranging the meeting, whether it was worth while holding it, I would say without a second

thought that it was indeed worth while and, what is more, that it was necessary,

In our conversations with the U.S. President neither party evaded the touchiest problems. We may say that the dialogue has been frank. We listened with attention to the standpoint of the U.S. Government, and presented in detail the attitude of the Soviet Government to a number of major international issues. This alone was of considerable importance. It stands to reason that nobody expected us to achieve complete agreement, for the lines followed by our two countries diverge far too much.

I came away with the impression that President Kennedy appreciated the great responsibility devolving upon the governments of two such powerful states. I should like to hope that the sense of this responsibility will prevail in the future as well, so that outstanding international matters may be solved, and the rocks strewn the road to lasting peace and better relations between the Soviet Union and the United States may be cleared out of the way.

The relations between our countries today leave much to be desired, but the Soviet Union is not to blame for that. We should like to hope that a time will come when Soviet-American relations improve and that this has a beneficial influence on the international situation as a whole.

In Vienna, one may say, we kept hectic schedule. The thought that we represented the great Soviet Union gave us inspiration and lightened our task. We knew that our Leninist foreign policy has the unanimous support of the Soviet people and the peoples of the other socialist countries.

The sympathy of hundreds of millions of people the world over is on our side.

The Soviet Government will continue consistently to pursue its Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, the policy of strengthening peace and friendship among the nations.

Thank you, dear comrades.
Good-bye and good night.

SPEECH
AT MASS MEETING IN MOSCOW
ON THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE OUTBREAK
OF THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR

June 21, 1961

Dear Comrades,

Twenty years have elapsed since the day when fascist Germany perfidiously attacked the Soviet Union without a declaration of war, interrupting the peaceful labour of the Soviet people and thrusting upon us a difficult and devastating war.

The Soviet people rose as one man in defence of their great country, in defence of the gains of socialism. A sacred people's war began against the nazi invasion. The Soviet people, closely rallied as they were round their Communist Party, showed their gigantic powers and unbending will in all their greatness. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The Minister of Defence, Marshal of the Soviet Union Rodion Malinovsky and the other speakers spoke very well here today about the immortal exploit of the Soviet people and our gallant Armed Forces in the Patriotic War. We look back again and again to the events of the Second World War, because the war itself and the pre-war period offer the peoples highly instructive lessons.

At the time when Hitler and the German fascists were still battling for power, our Communist Party and the Soviet Government resolutely exposed the predatory nature of fascism and warned the nations of the impending danger. The Soviet Union was the only country to call tirelessly for measures to bridle the fascists and to prevent them from starting another world war. Soviet representatives in the League of Nations and at anti-war congresses persistently urged actions to repel fascism, and called for unity in face of the impending disaster of war. The Soviet Government suggested concrete measures to safeguard the security of the peoples. It submitted to the League of Nations a proposal for general and complete disarmament and advocated a system of collective security which, if accepted, would have tied the hands of the fascist aggressors.

When an imminent danger of war arose for the world, the Soviet Government proposed that France and the U.S.S.R. act jointly against Hitler Germany in defence of Czechoslovakia. We also tried to reach an agreement for the bourgeois governments of Poland and Rumania to let our troops pass across their territories to help Czechoslovakia.

But the ruling quarters of the bourgeois states, blinded by hatred for our socialist country and afraid of the world revolutionary movement, turned down every one of the Soviet proposals, though it was clear to everybody that they were advisable.

The pre-history of the Second World War is throughout a disgraceful chapter in the policy of the so-called Western democracies. The ruling quarters of Britain, France, Poland and other states did not hesitate to betray the national interests of their peoples. Mankind will never forget the disgraceful Munich deal of 1938, when the rulers of Britain and France abandoned the Czechoslovak Republic to the tender mercies of the fascist invaders. The peoples have had to pay for this treacherous policy

with the lives of millions of their sons and daughters, and with terrible hardships.

Take the case of the British and French military missions sent to Moscow in the summer of 1939. The Soviet Government suggested very definite plans at the time for joint action by the armed forces of the three powers in case Germany should start a war in Europe. It was not too late at that time to halt the aggressor. Had the ruling quarters in Britain and France shown the desire and determination to repel the aggressor, Hitler would have thought twice before starting the war. History could have taken an entirely different course. There might not have been a world war. Mankind would not have sustained such tremendous losses in lives and property.

The Soviet Government saw through the cunning designs of the imperialists, who connived with the aggressor with the aim of crushing the Soviet Union with Hitler's war machine. We saw that by their policy of flirting with Hitler the Western Powers pursued the one aim of directing German aggression against the Soviet Union. It was clear to us that the German fascists were the mailed fist of world reaction, which was dreaming of crushing our country—the stronghold of the international revolutionary movement.

The Western Powers had far-reaching designs. They meant to destroy the Soviet Union and at once weaken Germany in order to win undivided sway over the world and dictate their own terms to everybody. This was articulated most cynically by Harry Truman, the ex-Senator and later President of the United States. "If we see that Germany is winning," he said, "we ought to help Russia, and if Russia is winning, we ought to help Germany and that way let them kill as many as possible."

This was indeed the policy of the Western Powers, whose substance Truman so frankly spelled out. These ideas are still alive in the minds of the aggressive Western imperialists. They would not be averse to trying this once

again if they found a force they could fling against the Soviet Union.

But there is no such force today. The strength of the Soviet Union and of the socialist camp as a whole has grown so much that if the Western Powers engaged all their forces in an insane attempt to wipe out the achievements of the peoples of the socialist countries, they would suffer utter defeat. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Representatives of the imperialist powers themselves say now that an equilibrium of strength has set in between the Western states and the socialist countries. It is progress on their part to realise this. But this progress would be greater still if the men who hold this view of the situation actually conducted a policy consistent with the prevailing balance of forces, that is, a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence.

On the eve of the Second World War the so-called Western democracies pursued a two-faced policy, and the Soviet Government had ample evidence that they did not want to join forces with the Soviet Union against the fascist countries, Germany and Italy, and that they wanted to direct nazi Germany against our country. In the circumstances, the Soviet Government had no choice but to enter into negotiations with Hitler, although it realised that it was striking a deal with the devil incarnate.

It was the perfidious policy of the British and French ruling circles that compelled us to conclude a non-aggression pact with Germany in August 1939. We had no other alternative. We had to prevent a united anti-Soviet front of the imperialist powers and to give our people a peaceful breathing spell.

Subsequent events showed the near-sightedness of the Western policy and the soundness of the Soviet position.

Hitler Germany's first blow fell on the Western countries. But they offered such weak resistance that, after routing them one by one without exhausting his forces, Hitler returned to his main goal—the attack on the Soviet

Union. In the war against the Soviet Union the German imperialists pursued not only predatory, but also class objectives—destruction of the first socialist state in the world. They expected to attain their goal in double-quick time at a low price in manpower. This was how the notorious Barbarossa Plan was fashioned, whereby the nazis expected to overrun our country before the end of autumn 1941.

But the designs of the German militarists were one thing, and reality was another. Our Armed Forces, the whole Soviet people, stood their ground heroically. The war dragged out and developed into the most bloody war in history. It took a toll of many millions of lives and caused unspeakable hardships to the peoples. Enormous material values created by the labour of many generations were destroyed. But the peoples withstood the ordeal and smashed fascist Germany. Hitler had to shoot himself, while those of the fascist chiefs who did not commit suicide were brought to justice.

But many war criminals, such as Adolf Heusinger, Hans Speidel and Friedrich Foertsch, have escaped retribution. Their conscience is not troubled by their black deeds. Far from it. They have succeeded in having their "services" recognised by our former allies, and occupy posts of command in NATO. The lessons of the past have apparently been wasted on the ruling quarters of the Western Powers.

It is all of sixteen years since the war ended, but no peace treaty has yet been concluded with Germany. Every sober-minded person knows that people who want peace terminate wars by signing a peace treaty and see to it that the state of war is ended as quickly as possible. The Western Powers do not want to do the proper thing and end the war by signing a peace treaty. They are eager to maintain the state of war with Germany. What for? For the good of peace? Certainly not! When a peaceful settlement is artificially delayed and, what is more, when those

who propose the peace treaty are threatened with war, the peoples must treat the situation seriously. They must block the way of those who are pushing matters towards a third world war, in which not scores but hundreds of millions of people may die.

Who is interested in there being no German peace treaty? What forces are preventing its conclusion?

Certainly not the German people or the peoples of Europe, who have experienced the horrors of two world wars within a few decades. The peace treaty is opposed by those forces in West Germany which dream of revenge and are hatching plans of new military gambles. It is clear to everybody, however, that the Bonn militarists and the surviving Hitlerites are not the only ones involved. The revenge-seekers are being encouraged and supported by the ruling quarters of the Western Powers.

When the war ended, the peoples of the anti-Hitler coalition hoped and believed that Germany, the initiator of the two world wars, would never again become a seat of militarism and aggression.

But what do we have in fact? West Germany is now an influential member of the aggressive military NATO bloc. Hitler's generals not only command the Bundeswehr, but also hold key posts in the NATO armed forces. They are in command of the French and British soldiers whose fathers fought and died in battles against the nazi invaders. With the consent of the governments of France and Britain, West German army units are being instructed and trained in these countries for new campaigns. The militarists of the Federal Republic of Germany have already obtained rocket weapons and are insistently demanding atomic weapons for the Bundeswehr.

We discussed all these questions at length recently with the United States President, Mr. Kennedy, in Vienna.

We explained to him at length why the conclusion of a German peace treaty could not be delayed indefinitely. The treaty is to seal the situation that has arisen after

the Second World War. Essentially, we want nothing more than that. The Soviet position on this question is known to all the world. It was set forth exhaustively in the memorandum handed to the U.S. President and later published in the press. I dwelt at length on the German question in my recent radio and television speech and, I believe, there is no need to expound our proposals again in every detail.

What is the Western reaction to our position?

The Soviet proposals roused considerable interest and a broad response in all countries. All people bent on strengthening peace see the need for solving the question of a German peace treaty. They realise that the question is more than ripe for a solution. They support our proposals, which are aimed at a peaceful settlement of the German problem and offer a good basis for it.

It should be noted, however, that the ruling circles of the Western Powers still oppose the conclusion of a German peace treaty and that they would like to make the German question a trial of strength.

Today I should like to warn those who, like Chancellor Adenauer, respond to the peaceful Soviet proposals with calls for a "firm stand" or go so far as to threaten "retaliation".

We have frequently reminded the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany about the virtue of prudence. Have you forgotten the inglorious experience of your predecessors by any chance? Do you want to repeat it, gentlemen? You can try to repeat it, but that would be the beginning of your end. (*Applause.*) The times are not what they were twenty years ago. Not only the German revenge-seekers, but all who support them in any new adventure against us, would share Hitler's fate. (*Applause.*)

This is not meant to be a threat. It is an appeal to reason. It is high time to grasp the fact that the Soviet Union has changed, that the world has changed and that the balance of forces and armaments has changed.

Therefore, Herr Chancellor, do not try to frighten us with your "firmness". You say you will stop at nothing if we conclude a peace treaty with the G.D.R. That is clearly an indication of the weakness of your position.

Everybody knows that we do not want a war. But if you really threaten us with war, we are not afraid of your threat. If you touch off a war, it will be tantamount to suicide for you. (*Prolonged applause.*)

It is true that some silly person may commit suicide. His relations weep over him, but humanity does not suffer from it. But when statesmen invested with great powers play with fire, when they threaten to plunge their country into the maelstrom of war, they jeopardise not only their own lives but also the future of the peoples. By dragging West Germany into a gamble you are egging on your people to suicide.

The Soviet people do not want a war. This is why we are eager to remove its causes. It is with this end in mind that we and other peace-loving countries are going to sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic at the close of the year. (*Stormy applause.*)

What the Soviet Union is offering is not a war, not an alliance of some countries against others in order to build up strength for a war. We want one thing only—lasting peace. A peace treaty is essential to strengthen peace and eliminate the remnants of the Second World War. We proclaim this openly and we want everybody to understand us correctly. The Soviet Union wants to sign a peace treaty with Germany together with our former allies.

Contrary to the howls of the people who want international tension to continue, we are not threatening West Berlin at all by urging the conclusion of a peace treaty. We are quite sincere about our wanting to come to terms on this question too with the countries that fought against Hitler Germany with us, and have the same commitments with regard to Germany.

We propose that West Berlin get the status of a free city. We have no intention whatsoever of changing its socio-political system. That is an internal matter for its population to decide. Neither the Soviet Union, nor the German Democratic Republic intend to restrict West Berlin's relations with any country of the world. However, in conformity with international law, the sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic, across whose territory the communications to and from West Berlin run, are to be respected.

In the question of West Berlin the governments of the United States, Britain and France are clinging to an out-of-date position. Western political leaders admit this too. Senator Michael Mansfield, Democratic majority leader, said in the Senate on June 14, 1961, that he could not agree with the Kennedy Administration, which ignores the immense changes, fraught with the germs of a nuclear war, that have transpired since the war in both parts of Germany and in Europe. Courage is not clinging adamantly to untenable positions, but seeking agreement with the other parties concerned on a business-like basis. This is a correct approach, and we can only welcome it.

Senator Mansfield does not deny that, given the appropriate international guarantees, the free city idea is the most suitable in the present circumstances. He suggests that the F.R.G. and the G.D.R. put their signatures under this solution and contribute to its realisation.

To be sure, Mansfield then loses his sense of reality and demands that the free city status be applied not only to West Berlin but also to Democratic Berlin, which, as everybody knows, is an integral part, the capital, of the sovereign German Democratic Republic. Why add to the complexities of normalising the situation in West Berlin, difficult as that job already is?

The Soviet Union proposes that the present *de facto* and *de jure* situation be taken as the point of departure for the solution. Nobody wants to break up the existing

way of life of the West Berlin population. Nobody has any intentions of interfering in its affairs. But neither should anybody expect the Soviet Union to agree to a violation of the German Democratic Republic's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

We propose that the peace treaty concluded with Germany should not infringe on the rights and interests of any of the sides and that it should not give any of the states an advantage over the others. The Soviet Union only proposes that the state of affairs that has long since arisen and prevails in reality be put on the record. We propose that Germany's present frontiers be endorsed *de jure*.

The present frontiers may not be to the liking of the West German revanchists, but they have only themselves to blame. We did not start the war for the revision of frontiers. Germany's present frontiers emerged as a result of nazi Germany's defeat, the defeat of those who had started a predatory war. (*Applause.*) The new frontiers restored historical justice, violated by the ancestors of the present German militarists. (*Applause.*)

We are told that the peace treaty we intend to conclude with the German Democratic Republic will be a separate treaty. I have already said in my radio and television speech that the United States took no notice of us when they signed a peace treaty with Japan, though we had been its allies in the war against that country. The United States demonstrated thereby that it regarded itself entitled to sign a treaty without us, though our rights as one of the victor countries were indisputable.

Now, in the German question, we, in turn, want to exercise the same rights as the United States and its friends exercised in the Japanese question. We are no more than following their example. (*Applause.*)

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

I should like to repeat that all sensible people, no matter how bitterly they feel against communism, against the Soviet Union, should grasp the fact that this is 1961, and not 1941. We have all the necessary means of defence. We shall not use them for attack, but solely to defend our land, the peaceful life of the Soviet people, the peoples of all the socialist countries, who stand with us on positions of peace and guard it against the intrigues of the West German revenge-seekers and their patrons. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, the indomitable might of socialism was demonstrated conclusively in the Great Patriotic War. The Soviet Union bore the brunt of the struggle against Hitler Germany, which had conquered most of the European countries before it attacked our country.

We have always said that we triumphed over fascism jointly with our allies of the anti-Hitler coalition. The Soviet people appreciate the wartime help of the United States, Britain, France and other countries. Yet I believe our former allies are aware that the decisive contribution to the victory was made by the Soviet people, and that the merits and efforts of our former allies are not depreciated in the least by our recalling the selfless heroism of the Soviet people.

All the decisive battles of the Second World War were fought on the Eastern Front. The United States lost approximately 300,000 men in the Second World War, and Britain lost approximately 250,000, while on our front such figures applied to losses sustained in single battles. There is scarcely a family in our country that has not suffered from the war. Our people lost many millions of their finest sons and daughters.

Yes, it was a very hard struggle, but the Soviet Union stood its ground. Not only did it stand its ground, but emerged from the ordeal of the Second World War even stronger than before. The Soviet people repaired the war damage in a short time. Even our sworn enemies admit

today that the Soviet Union is militarily the strongest power. Besides, the Soviet Union is no longer alone. We live and work in the great community of socialist countries, whose population exceeds one billion. (*Stormy applause.*)

When they started the Second World War the imperialists hoped to bury socialism. But actually it was the fascism of Hitler and Mussolini that was buried under the ruins of war, while socialism became still stronger in the world. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We Communists believe in the triumph of the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, for which the Soviet people fought in the Second World War, unsparing of their lives and effort. We have faith in our ideas, and that is the reason why we stand for peace and friendship among the peoples, and why we work for general disarmament. (*Applause.*)

As early as 1922, on Lenin's instructions, the Soviet delegation at the Genoa Conference made a disarmament proposal. In 1927 the Soviet Union submitted its disarmament proposals to the League of Nations. After the Second World War the Soviet Union has been pressing for a solution of the disarmament problem with still greater insistence. In 1959, on the instructions of the Soviet Government, I submitted to the United Nations a detailed plan for general and complete disarmament under strict international control. We adhere firmly to this standpoint, because we sincerely want disarmament, which is essential to ensure peace for all people.

In our plea for disarmament, international peace and security and the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, we are acting on the idea that the political and social system of a country is the internal affair of its people and that none may impose a social order upon it that is not of its own choice.

The monopoly bosses who make the policy of the Western Powers naturally adhere to a socio-political concep-

tion that is diametrically opposed to ours. They are eager to perpetuate the capitalist system at all costs, to preserve the order existing in their countries, where strong plunders weak and rich exploits poor, appropriating the fruits of his labour.

The socialist countries are developing on a different foundation. In socialist society all people are really equal, because we have no capitalists and no proletarians; each member of society discharges his definite social function, working for the good of the whole people, and hence for his own. The higher production rises, the richer becomes our country, the richer becomes all our society, and every member of this society enjoys the fruits of social labour. In socialist society all are equal, and this equality is real, and not formal as it is in the so-called "free world", where the strong is free to plunder and oppress the weak.

Such are the two antipodal conceptions of the two worlds—the capitalist and the socialist. They will never become reconciled, and it is our firm conviction that the socialist conception, being the more progressive, will prevail over the capitalist. But we stress over and over again: The social system is the affair of the people of each country and is a matter for the people themselves to decide without any outside interference.

The Soviet Government does its utmost that states with different social systems coexist peacefully, that they not only coexist without war, but also co-operate closely and maintain lively and purposeful relations in the fields of trade, culture, science, etc.

It is for the sake of lasting peace that we are working for disarmament. Although the Western Powers, especially the United States, reject disarmament stubbornly on one pretext or another, we shall insist on our proposals again and again, and shall persevere in our efforts to make it clear to all people that the disarmament problem has to be solved, because it is in the best interests of the peoples.

The ruling circles of the capitalist countries lack the courage to say frankly that they oppose disarmament. They pretend to be ready to negotiate. They show a willingness to sit endlessly on various committees and sub-committees. There have been so many different disarmament meetings in the sixteen years since the Second World War, but the matter has not made any progress at all.

The spokesmen of monopoly capital countries negotiate disarmament with the sole purpose of misleading their peoples, dangling the hope of agreement before them, while actually sabotaging disarmament and continuing the insane arms race. And they would like to do it so cunningly as to shift the blame for the failure to achieve agreement on the socialist countries. For this purpose bourgeois diplomats and propagandists go to great pains to spread the fabrication that we are proposing disarmament without control and are thereby thwarting a disarmament agreement.

We have exposed this dodge. We have declared in the United Nations: Gentlemen, if you want agreement not in word but in deed, accept our proposals for general disarmament, and we shall then accept any proposals you may make for control.

The enemies of disarmament have no come-back to that. They have no alternative but to mislead the peoples and to harp endlessly on the yarn that we want disarmament without control. But, as the saying goes, lies have short legs and one cannot get far on them!

In the circumstances, with the Western governments stubbornly sabotaging disarmament, the solution of this crucial problem depends entirely on the peoples. All peoples must appreciate how serious the present situation is, and bring pressure to bear on the governments which are obstructing the solution of the disarmament problem, the most important problem of our time.

The working people, the intelligentsia, all people who want peace, can and must make the capitalist governments agree to disarmament. If this is not done, the imperialist groups may thrust a war on the peoples, and it will then be too late to look for the culprits. Modern war has its own inexorable law—mass extermination of people and destruction of all material values.

I speak about this in all earnest to bring it home to everybody that it is important to work actively for disarmament, since the future of mankind depends largely on the outcome of this effort. As for the Soviet Union, people in all countries may rest assured that we shall not let them down. We are ready to sign an agreement for general and complete disarmament, tomorrow if need be, with any, be it the strictest, international control. (Applause.)

But we shall not accept control without disarmament, because such control would, in effect, be espionage. In this connection I should like to say a few words about the question of a nuclear weapons test ban. At the Geneva talks, the Western Powers assumed an attitude that makes it impossible to reach an agreement on discontinuing nuclear tests.

In its recent memorandum the Soviet Government made the proposal of an interdependent solution of the test ban problem and the problem of general and complete disarmament. A few days ago the United States Government sent us a memorandum rejecting our proposal. We shall reply to the White House memorandum. But I can say now that we adhere firmly to the viewpoint we have set out.

For nearly three years the Soviet Union has not made any nuclear weapons tests, although we have no agreement to that effect with the Western Powers. We can continue refraining from nuclear tests, and offer the Western Powers to reach an agreement on the disarmament

problem as a whole, and on its components, including the question of nuclear weapons tests.

Some American leaders urge the United States Government to resume nuclear weapons tests if the Soviet Union does not accept the Western terms. What is there to say about these threats? They will frighten nobody, and merely show how lacking in good sense the people are who resort to them. We must warn these gentlemen: As soon as the United States resumes nuclear explosions, the Soviet Union will at once start testing its own nuclear weapons. Quite a number of devices which need to be tested have been developed in the Soviet Union. These tests will unquestionably add to the fighting power of the Soviet Armed Forces. They will enable us to develop still better atomic and hydrogen bombs, and to improve the techniques of their manufacture. If we did not start testing our weapons in response to the resumption of nuclear tests by the Western Powers, we would damage the defence potential of our country and of the socialist community as a whole.

The full burden of responsibility for the resumption of nuclear weapons tests will, therefore, fall on the Western governments.

The Soviet Union is persevering in its policy of peace, of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, a policy of non-interference by states in the internal affairs of other states. The Soviet Union is pressing in the negotiations for an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict control, and an agreement banning nuclear weapons.

We have always maintained as we steadily pursued our peace-loving foreign policy that questions of the social and political system of states, questions of class struggle and of changing the system within a country are the affair of the people of each state.

The Soviet foreign policy has won recognition and trust among the peoples, and we are proud of it. The Soviet

Union and the other socialist countries are making tremendous efforts to safeguard world peace. They are working for a peaceful settlement of disputed and unsolved questions in international relations.

The Soviet Union possesses immense economic and military power, but has never employed, nor ever will employ, it for aggressive purposes. On the contrary, it concentrates all its efforts on ensuring peace.

Comrades, I am proud of the high award conferred on me—the Lenin Prize for the Promotion of Peace among the Nations. (*Stormy applause.*) I have already said that I regard this award as a recognition not only of my personal efforts as head of the Soviet Government, but also of the determined efforts made by all the peoples of our country for lasting peace. (*Stormy applause.*)

It is often said in our press that Khrushchov is a peace champion, that he will ensure world peace and so on. This is flattering, of course. But to pin hopes on just one country, on one man, even one who stands at the head of the government of a country such as the Soviet Union, and to expect that he alone can ensure peace while others are inactive, is a service not to peace, but to the forces of aggression, the forces of war.

Experience shows that it is not enough to depend on the efforts of some one country to win world peace. It is not enough to find some “heroes” and depend on them to ensure peace. In order to ensure enduring peace on earth it is essential for the peoples of our entire planet to apply the maximum of effort to strengthen peace. The peoples and the peoples alone can force the governments which resist disarmament, which stockpile arms for starting a war, to stop their dangerous and senseless policy.

Peace cannot be safeguarded unless the peoples of each country stop relying on other countries and launch an uncompromising struggle within their own country against the forces that stand for war, unless they apply the maximum of effort to ensure peace. (*Applause.*)

All the peoples want peace and peaceful coexistence. Only the handful of imperialists, representatives of monopoly capital, the handful of aggressive revenge-seekers in West Germany have a different opinion. Yet the trouble is that men belonging to these quarters hold the commanding heights in the Western countries, that they occupy key posts in governments and make the policy of the Western countries.

That is why no people that really wants to prevent the terrible calamity of a most devastating war can stand aloof from the common struggle for peace. The peoples should realise that they alone can and must make their governments renounce the dangerous policy of fanning a war psychosis and the arms race, that they can and must render harmless the people who conduct a policy of building up aggressive power, a policy of war preparations.

The Soviet Government and our people must follow closely the trends in the international situation. It is well known that the Soviet Union exerted much effort to achieve a relaxation of international tension. Our government made the proposal for general and complete disarmament, which won an enthusiastic response and support in all countries of the world. We have dismantled all our military bases abroad. The Soviet Union has repeatedly reduced its Armed Forces on a unilateral basis.

However, the Western Powers, with whom we are negotiating disarmament, have not reciprocated and have done nothing to reduce their armed forces. Far from it. The United States is increasing this year's appropriations for armaments by nearly \$2,500 million over last year's figure. The question of increasing the numerical strength of the U.S. Armed Forces is now being discussed. They are forming so-called guerilla detachments, which are to be dispatched to other countries to suppress liberation movements and to fight against governments and political systems that do not suit the Western imperialists. These

detachments are being trained for murder, sabotage and subversion.

Chancellor Adenauer is demanding nuclear weapons for the Bundeswehr. The West German militarists do not want them to play with. That goes without saying. They want nuclear weapons for the revanchist gambles that they are planning against the Soviet Union, all the socialist countries and other states.

Naturally, such measures of the Western Powers are not designed to improve the international climate or reach a disarmament agreement, but to aggravate relations between states, to whip up the cold war. We must take a sober view of the situation, we must be vigilant, so that the enemies of socialism, the aggressive militaristic circles, do not catch us unawares.

It is essential that we make every effort to strengthen still more the might of our homeland, to raise still higher our economy, science and technology, and to improve still further the living and cultural standards of the people. Now, as before, we must show constant concern for our country's Armed Forces, which stand guard over the gains of the October Revolution, the gains of socialism. Our Armed Forces must always be ready to ensure dependably the security of the Soviet Union. They must have all that is necessary to crush at once any enemy who dares to encroach on the freedom of our homeland. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) May those who harbour aggressive designs against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries know what lies in store for them if they begin a war and mount an attack. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Soviet Government is doing its utmost to end the arms race and relieve the peoples of the heavy burden of war expenditures. Unfortunately, the imperialist powers respond to our appeal to compete in the production of material and spiritual values by increasing military appropriations and building up the numerical strength of their armed forces. This may compel the Soviet Union

likewise to increase arms appropriations and strengthen and improve our defences, and, if need be, to increase the numerical strength of our Armed Forces, so as to ensure peace and peaceful coexistence through our might. (*Stormy applause.*)

Dear comrades, allow me on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party and the Soviet Government to hail our valorous Armed Forces, which stand guard over the constructive labour of Soviet people. (*Prolonged applause.*) We warmly greet the soldiers and seamen, sergeants and petty officers, officers, generals and admirals, and wish them great success in their high-minded military pursuits. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Stronger Soviet defences depend on the improvement of all the arms—infantry, artillery, engineering, communications, armoured units, the navy, the air force and the rocket troops.

An exceptionally great responsibility lies upon the rocket forces, especially the units which service ballistic rockets of different ranges, from tactical to intercontinental. Their combat readiness and training must be up to the mark, because very much depends on the rocket forces. Their devastating power acts as the prime deterrent to any potential aggressor wishing to attack us and our allies. Their capability of retaliation is the force that will inexorably punish the aggressor if, in spite of everything, he dares to commit the madness of starting a new war. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Today, on the twentieth anniversary of Hitler Germany's treacherous attack on the Soviet Union, our thoughts turn to the men and women who gave their lives for the freedom and independence of the great Soviet land. The memory will never fade of the great exploit of the glorious men of the Soviet Army and Navy, and the valorous partisans, men and women, who died the death of the brave in battle against the fascist invaders. We shall always remember the millions of peaceful Soviet people

who perished in this terrible war. There is no family in our country that has not lost husband or son, brother or father, daughter or sister.

Comrades, I ask you to rise in tribute to the memory of those who fell in battle against the fascist invaders, for the freedom and independence of our country. (*All rise.*)

Tremendous were the sacrifices made by our people in defending the freedom and independence of our country. These were sacrifices for a great and noble cause. Today, twenty years after the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War and sixteen years after it ended, our country has scaled unparalleled heights in the development of its economy, culture, science and technology, and is advancing firmly to new victories.

We are proud that the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, was the first to accomplish a socialist revolution and usher in a new era in the history of humanity. The great founders of scientific communism pioneered the paths to a better life. Now these paths have grown into the high road for all humanity, along which the peoples of many countries are advancing victoriously. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet people, having built socialism, are now perseveringly building communism. The draft Programme of our Party, approved a few days ago by the Plenary Meeting of the Party's Central Committee, and to be published for general discussion, envisages a broad front of full-scale struggle for the building of communism, for the realisation of the age-old dream of all mankind. It is our good fortune to be participating in this great undertaking. (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the Soviet people, the victor people! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the valorous Armed Forces of the Soviet Union! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the organiser and inspirer of all our victories! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live world peace! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise. Cheers for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government. Cries of "Hurrah".*)

**SPEECH
AT MEETING IN ALMA-ATA
ON THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE KAZAKH SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC
AND OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KAZAKHSTAN**

June 24, 1961

Dear Comrades, dear Friends,

Allow me, on behalf and on the instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, heartily to congratulate you and all the working people of the Republic on this auspicious occasion, the fortieth anniversary of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. (*Stormy applause.*)

This glorious anniversary is a big event in the life of our great multinational land. All the peoples of our country, united by bonds of fraternal friendship and co-operation and by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, heartily wish the people of Kazakhstan new, still more substantial successes in the development of their Republic and in our great common cause, the building of communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Kazakh Republic amidst great political and labour enthusiasm.

An emulation movement is spreading throughout the country in anticipation of the coming Twenty-Second Party Congress. The working people of Kazakhstan, too, are making a big contribution to the common cause of communist construction.

Soviet Kazakhstan is one of the biggest of our equal socialist republics. It has a vast economic potential, and is rightly described as a storehouse of natural resources. Under the tsarist regime these resources lay dormant. Soviet power has made them serve the working people. Only a nation free from exploitation and oppression could put them to use in so short a time and make them work efficiently.

Take the immense tracts of fertile virgin land which lay fast asleep for centuries. Today, through the common efforts of the entire Soviet people, tens of millions of hectares of virgin soil have been roused to life and give the country much grain. How many heroic deeds were performed in the execution of this gigantic task!

Yes, the working people of Soviet Kazakhstan have much to be proud of, much to rejoice over, as they celebrate the fortieth anniversary of their Republic. Pre-revolutionary Kazakhstan was one of the most backward outskirts of Russia. The bais and feudal lords, who wielded unrestricted power over the lives and property of the nomad stock-breeders, kept the Kazakh people economically and culturally backward. Nomadic stock-breeding, which was the main occupation here, was primitive in method and entirely dependent on the whims of nature. But the Kazakh people did not resign themselves to the grievous lot imposed on them by their oppressors. They dreamt of a new and happy life, and fought for it.

Kazakhstan's annexation by Russia had a big progressive impact on that country's development and the historical destiny of the Kazakh people. Such outstanding Kazakh democrats and educators as Chokan Valikhanov, Ibrai Altynsarin and Abai Kunanbayev heartily welcomed

the contacts and friendship of the Kazakh people with the Russian and the other peoples of our country. "Learn the language and culture of the Russians. They are the key to life," said Abai, the founder of Kazakh literature, to his countrymen.

The revolutionary movement of liberation spread and developed in Kazakhstan in intimate association with the struggle of the working class and peasantry in the rest of the country against the tsarist autocracy, the rule of the capitalists and landlords, and the inhuman oppression by the local bais and khans. It was in this joint struggle that the fraternal and militant alliance of Kazakhs, Russians, and workers of all nationalities took shape and developed.

The great ideas propounded by Lenin fell on fertile soil in Kazakhstan. They reached the masses through Marxist circles, Social-Democratic groups and organisations, headed in many places by Russian Bolsheviks deported to this land by the tsarist rulers.

The First Russian Revolution of 1905-1907 was a big and serious school of political struggle for the working people of Kazakhstan. It gave a powerful impetus to the development of the national-liberation movement. The Bolsheviks of Petropavlovsk, Semipalatinsk, Uralsk and other towns braved great hardships to disseminate Lenin's works and the Bolshevik press, and to organise joint action by Kazakh and Russian working people.

In 1916 there was a mass revolutionary uprising of the working people of Kazakhstan against the tsarist government and the local Kazakh bais. It was led by Amangeldy Imanov, the hero of the Kazakh people. The uprising failed, but has gone down as one of the finest chapters in the history of the liberation struggle of the peoples of Kazakhstan.

The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic is an offspring of the Great October Revolution, which liberated the peoples of our country, including the Kazakh people, from

centuries of oppression and exploitation. The October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new era in the history of mankind, the era of the great transition from capitalism to socialism.

In the heroic struggle of Kazakhstan's working people for Soviet power there came into prominence such tried and true leaders of the masses as A. Jangildin, I. Dubynin, T. Bokin, P. Vinogradov, A. Imanov, A. Maikutov, Y. Ushanov, A. Aitiyev, S. Seifullin, I. Shugayev, T. Uteпов, N. Monin, and others.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, helped by the Russian workers and peasants and units of the Red Army, the working people of Kazakhstan smashed the combined forces of the counter-revolution, drove them out of their land and paved the way for the consolidation of Soviet power in the Republic. Such eminent military and political leaders as M. V. Frunze, V. V. Kuibyshev, V. I. Chapayev and D. A. Furmanov played a prominent part in the defeat of the enemies of Soviet power in Kazakhstan.

Immense assistance to the working people of Kazakhstan in establishing and strengthening Soviet power and crushing the foreign interventionists and domestic counter-revolutionaries was rendered by the Central Committee of the Party and personally by V. I. Lenin, to whom every success of the peoples who embarked on socialist development gave great joy.

On August 26, 1920, the Autonomous Kirghiz (Kazakh) Soviet Socialist Republic was founded by decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R., and the First Inaugural Congress of Soviets of Kazakhstan opened in October 1920.

The working people of Soviet Kazakhstan made outstanding economic and cultural progress in a short historical term. Kazakhstan has left behind many countries

that were previously hundreds of years ahead of it in economic and cultural development.

In accordance with the Leninist national policy, the Communist Party and the Soviet Government laid emphasis on extensive industrial construction in Kazakhstan. Thanks to the support of the economically more developed regions of the Soviet Union and the selfless assistance of the Russian working class, Kazakhstan's industry made rapid advances. Large industrial centres sprang up in previously deserted areas.

As industry developed in the Republic, Kazakh national personnel grew rapidly, and the Kazakh working class came of age—the workers learned to operate modern machinery and to perform complicated technological operations. This gave the lie to the inventions of bourgeois economists, who claimed that backward nomadic peoples were unable to bear the rhythm of industrial production and to operate highly-developed industrial machinery.

Valuable fraternal aid was given to Kazakhstan by all the Soviet peoples in the training of national Kazakh cadres. Skilled workers, experienced engineers and researchers were sent to Kazakhstan from the biggest industrial centres of the Soviet Union. The industry of Moscow Region, for example, took the industry of the Kazakh Republic under its wing in 1930, and sent you specialists and the necessary equipment. Hundreds of skilled miners, engineers and technicians came to Karaganda from the Donets Basin. Thousands of workers, technicians and engineers came to Kazakhstan from Leningrad and various cities in the Urals. The industry of your Republic grew rapidly. In 1929 there were no more than 30,000 factory and office workers employed in the industries of the Republic. In 1940 their number had increased to 158,000, and in 1960 it was 563,000, or 19 times as great as in 1929.

The Great Patriotic War put the viability of our socialist system to a stiff test. Like all the peoples of our land,

the working people of Kazakhstan rose as one man to defend their freedom and happiness. They proved to be tenacious fighters in battle and persevering and firm in their selfless labour.

There were hundreds of thousands of men and women from Soviet Kazakhstan in the Soviet Army. Three hundred and sixty-nine of them, including 101 Kazakhs, were awarded the high title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

The whole country knows the immortal names of your countrymen—the heroes Ivan Panfilov, Vasily Klochkov, Tulegen Tokhtarov, Ivan Pavlov, Manshuk Mametova, Alia Moldagulova, and many others.

Comrades, back in the early years of Soviet power Lenin gazed in his mind's eye into the future of your land and its inexhaustible potentialities. In a conversation with Kazakhstan delegates to the Seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets, he said:

“Yes, you have a rich land and big opportunities. Your land must be developed. We shall develop it, no question about that. Immense powers lie dormant in the people.”

The great Lenin's prophetic words have come true. The Kazakh Republic has left such capitalist countries as Turkey and Pakistan far behind in industrial development. In 1960, its population about one-third of Turkey's and only one-ninth of Pakistan's, Kazakhstan produced nearly four times as much electric power as the former and eight times as much as the latter. Today, the Republic produces more than five times as much power as all tsarist Russia produced in 1913.

The Republic's coal output rose from 90,000 tons in 1913 to 32,000,000 tons in 1960. In other words, Kazakhstan today yields more coal than all Russia did in pre-revolutionary 1913. The Republic's non-ferrous metals industry produces a large quantity of lead, zinc, copper and other non-ferrous and rare metals. Real giants of the non-ferrous metals industry have gone up in Balkhash, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Jezkazgan, Chimkent and Leninogorsk.

Kazakhstan's chemical industry, of which the Aktyubinsk Chemical Factory, built at the time of the Second Five-Year Plan, was the first to go into operation, is growing rapidly. The big Jambul Superphosphate Plant was built to process the rich phosphate deposits of Kara-Tau. The country's biggest carbide plant was put into operation in the Karaganda Economic Administration Area a few years ago.

The Republic's aggregate 1960 industrial output was 57 times greater than in 1913. Some 2,000 big industrial plants were built in the intervening years, including dozens of big mines in Karaganda, open coal-pits in Ekibastuz, non-ferrous metals plants, the ore-dressing plant of Sokolovskoye-Sarbai, and the first section of the Karaganda Iron and Steel Works. Incidentally, by the end of the Seven-Year Plan period this works will be one of the country's biggest iron and steel enterprises, and the iron it produces will be among the cheapest in the Soviet Union.

Kazakhstan is rightly described as a vast building site. All your Republic is clad in scaffolding. The rates of capital construction are rising from year to year. In pre-war 1940, capital investments under the state plan amounted to 168,400,000 new rubles, while in 1960 they climbed to 1,874.3 million rubles, or 1,010 per cent, and more than 2,000 million rubles have been appropriated for economic development this year. Kazakhstan ranks third in the country for its volume of capital construction.

The Seven-Year Plan is an important stage in our country's development. The peoples of the Soviet Union have already achieved magnificent successes in fulfilling it.

Suffice it to say that according to the Central Statistical Board the country's industrial output in the first two and a half years of the Seven-Year Plan was 15,000 million new rubles greater than planned. It should be noted that the industrial output in those two and a half years equalled the total output under the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1951-1955).

The people of the Kazakh Republic have put their backs into fulfilling the assignments of the Seven-Year Plan. The Republic's many-sided economy is developing rapidly, and the production of means of production is rising at a high rate.

In two years of the Seven-Year Plan period the aggregate industrial output increased by 28 per cent instead of the 22 per cent stipulated in the plan. It is good to learn that the personnel of many Kazakh industrial enterprises started a socialist emulation movement in celebration of the Twenty-Second Party Congress and have successfully fulfilled the plan for the first five months of the third plan year.

Thousands of Kazakhstan's workers, technicians and engineers are in the van of the struggle for the Seven-Year Plan. Country-wide respect is enjoyed by such Heroes of Socialist Labour as Comrades Bashir Nurmagambetov, leader of a communist work team operating a combine at Karagandaugol's 31B Mine; Yeleman Baigazyev, open-hearth smelter at the Kazakh Iron and Steel Works; Nikolai Akhmejanov, senior charger of a shaft furnace at the Lenin Lead and Zinc Works in Ust-Kamenogorsk; Nadira Shagirova, operator at the Baichunas oil-fields; and Leonid Petrov, operator of an excavator at the Sokolovskoye-Sarbai Ore-Dressing Plant. Working well in communist work teams are Aglulla Sufiyarov, leader of a team of miners at the Maslyansk Mine of the Zyrianovsk Lead Plant; Mikhail Bondaletov, leader of a team of combine operators at Karagandaugol's No. 1-Vertical Mine, and many, many others.

The glorious feats of labour performed by the working class of Kazakhstan leave no doubt in our minds that the Seven-Year Plan targets will not only be fulfilled, but also considerably overfulfilled.

But a lot of strenuous work has still to be done to achieve this. Under the Seven-Year Plan the Republic's aggregate industrial output is to rise about 170 per cent

and the output of iron ore 520 per cent. The steel output is to exceed the 1958 level something like 17 times over. The non-ferrous metals industry is to make a big advance. The crude copper output is to double, and the output of refined copper is to treble.

New coal-mines and open pits yielding more than 32,000,000 tons of coal a year are to be put into operation. The electric power output in 1965 should be 26,000 million kwh, that is, 200 per cent higher than in 1958.

Comrades, while speaking of Kazakhstan's achievements, it would not be right to shut one's eyes to existing shortcomings. To begin with, one should say that quite a few factories are not coping with their assignments. One hundred and eighty-seven industrial plants have not fulfilled their aggregate output plans for the first five months of 1961. The factories of reinforced concrete building parts and elements have not fulfilled their production plans for the first five months. Plan fulfilment falls very much short of the target in output of forge presses, agricultural machines and tractor spares. The heads of the Economic Councils and some industrial enterprises do not show due concern for the quality of production.

A large number of enterprises have not fulfilled the labour productivity plan. Production has therefore fallen more than 21,000,000 rubles short of the target in just the first three months of the year. Neither are some enterprises meeting the targets for the reduction of production costs.

Big shortcomings obtain too in the organisation of building. In the last two years building enterprises of the Republic's Council of Ministers have not used up some 200 million rubles of their allocations.

The plan for the starting up of production capacities is not being met at all satisfactorily. How can we suffer it, for example, that of the key objects to have been started up in 1960, capacities for the extraction of 1,000,000 tons of iron ore and 1,650,000 tons of coal have not been

put into operation to this day? The ore is impatiently expected at the plants, which have to produce iron and steel for the national economy.

Much damage is being done by the scattering of resources and funds over numerous objects, as a result of which building drags out over many years. The effect is that many valuable materials and large resources lie dead for many years, and yield no returns. It is high time to put things in order and to establish strict control over the progress of building, and over its quality. We must add to the responsibility of all the executives to whom this important sector has been entrusted.

Comrades, I ask the leaders of the Republic, the personnel of the Economic Councils, the workers, engineers and technicians, the Communists, the Komsomols, and all people who have anything to do with it, to pay special attention to the proper employment of the resources allocated for capital construction. That is a very serious matter. In the near future, the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers will probably send a letter to the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics, the Economic Councils, the industrial executives and the Party organisations, in which they will bluntly raise the question of the proper employment of capital investments. It is our duty to approach the matter in all earnest.

The proper employment of funds and materials must, as it were, be the criterion of the political maturity and communist awareness of all industrial and building executives. It is time everybody realised that the better and the more effectively the resources earmarked for capital construction are employed, the quicker these resources make their cycle, the more rapidly will output increase, the speedier will accumulations pile up in the national economy, and the higher will be the standard of living.

Our task is to improve the efficiency factors of all our work, to increase output and to improve its quality. This is why I call on you, dear comrades, to eliminate the flaws

in the organisation of building, to use funds and materials better, and not to wait before you do so for the letter of the Central Committee of the Party and the Government or for any special instructions. You will win time, and that will be commendable. If you do not do so, the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union will have to take appropriate measures. Do you agree with me or not? (*Shouts: "We agree!" Applause.*)

A big housing development programme is under way in your Republic. In just the last two years dwellings with 8,000,000 sq.m. of living space have been built on state funds in your Republic. This is much more than was built in the Fifth Five-Year Plan period.

But the state house-building plans for the Republic are not being fulfilled. In 1959 the plan of occupancy was fulfilled 87 per cent, and 95 per cent in 1960. House-building was more than 450,000 sq.m. of living space short of the plan in these two years. The 1961 house-building programme is also proceeding quite unsatisfactorily.

While here in Alma-Ata, I am receiving many letters in which people ask me to help them get flats. I realise that Alma-Ata is located in a wonderful, one might say heavenly, spot. Many people, therefore, are eager to settle in your city, which, as it were, attracts many citizens of the Soviet Union. Your housing needs are naturally great. This obliges you to use up sensibly and expeditiously all the resources which the state allots for building. If you use them properly you can provide many more homes to people who need them. I think that if you use your allocations well, the Union Government will be in a position to consider allocating greater sums to you for house-building. (*Prolonged applause.*)

All these are unpleasant facts, and I would have preferred not to mention them at this festive function.

Some of you may say: Why couldn't Khrushchov spare us on a holiday, and why did he have to add this pinch

of pepper? (*Animation.*) But it's all for the general good, comrades. (*Applause.*) It is a tradition with us Soviet people that we see and note on ordinary and red-letter days not only the good facts, not only what we have done well, but also the things in which we lag behind and have been remiss. By noting these shortcomings we draw everybody's attention to them in order that they be eliminated as quickly as possible.

We hope that you will draw the proper conclusions and take all the necessary measures to eliminate the existing shortcomings more quickly. (*Applause.*)

Allow me to express the hope that the working people of the Kazakh Republic will apply all their strength to surmount these shortcomings and to achieve new successes in the development of all the branches of the national economy. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, in March at the conferences of Tselinny Territory agriculturalists in Tselinograd and Kazakhstan front-rankers in Alma-Ata the successes of agricultural development in the Republic were dealt with in detail, and much was said about the immense effort that went into the development of Kazakhstan's virgin lands.

Our people will always take pride in, will always admire the great feat of the Soviet people in developing the new lands. The virgin-land development is an event of great revolutionary impact.

I cannot resist speaking once more about the excellent fruits which the virgin lands bore for our people. In just a few years 41 million hectares of virgin land have been developed in the country. More than 25 million hectares were put under the plough in Kazakhstan alone. Virgin-land development played an extremely important part in advancing the country's economy and improving the well-being of people.

Hundreds of thousands of fine patriots in the various republics of our great land responded to the Party call and went out to break the virgin soil and waste land. This

conquest of the virgin land has again shown the world what immense constructive powers lie in the socialist system and in the unbreakable friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The virgin-land development was a splendid school of labour prowess and of political and cultural advancement for millions of Soviet people, for our youth.

True to the behests of the great Lenin, the Komsomol, the youth of our land have written exciting and inspiring chapters of courage, fervid Soviet patriotism and revolutionary romance into the history of the virgin-land development. Many fine words have been said about them by now, but, surely, much still remains to be said, for this glorious feat is so full of meaning and so very great.

The development of virgin land has given us a new large source of marketable grain. Since the development began the country has received additional grain over and above what these areas yielded in 1949-1953 to the tune of more than 6,300 million poods, of which the Kazakh Republic contributed 3,100 million poods. The average annual grain output of Kazakhstan is nearly five times as big as in the period preceding the virgin-land development.

Big state farms have been founded in your Republic. Today, Kazakhstan has more than 1,100 state farms and 780 collective farms. They have been equipped with many tractors, automobiles, combines, and other agricultural machinery.

The virgin-land development created favourable conditions for rapid advancement of livestock-breeding on collective and state farms. In 1960 the meat output in Kazakhstan increased 70 per cent over 1953, the milk output 60 per cent and the wool output 70 per cent.

The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in January drew up a new sweeping programme

for the further development of farming. The Kazakh Republic is to contribute very greatly to increasing the output of farm products.

Kazakhstan farmers have accepted high undertakings to increase the output of wheat, industrial crops, meat, milk, wool and other products. The aggregate grain harvest in the Republic is to be raised to 1,600 million poods within the next few years, with the annual sale of grain to the state rising to not less than a thousand million poods.

Nor will anybody blame you if you increase your grain output and sell the state more than a thousand million poods a year. On the contrary, everybody will praise you for it. (*Applause.*) The area under maize, sugar beet, cotton, rice and leguminous crops is to be increased.

Our further progress and improvement of the nation's material well-being call for higher rates of agricultural development, especially the development of animal husbandry. Your Republic has undertaken to produce 1,155,000 tons of meat (slaughter weight) and 4,648,000 tons of milk a year in the near future. Many state farms are working hard to produce 75 centners of meat per 100 hectares of arable and 16 centners per 100 hectares of other farmland.

That is fine. But an intensive effort will have to be made if the undertaking is to be fulfilled. Things must not be allowed to drift. There must be constant organisational work at the collective and state farms. All farmers have to be rallied to the fulfilment of your pledges.

Comrades, in spite of the successes achieved in extending the crop areas and increasing aggregate grain harvests through the development of virgin lands in Kazakhstan, Siberia and other regions, much still remains to be done to increase the output of grain and fodder.

It is a most important task to raise steeply the yielding capacity of all our farm crops. To begin with, we must improve the crop structure. There should be a staple crop

of its own in every zone. But there must be no stereotype in the matter. The highest yielding crops should be picked, and should, if I may say so, be given priority over other crops.

It is to be noted, however, that such crops as peas and other leguminous crops, especially fodder beans combined with maize, should, apparently, be cultivated throughout the Soviet Union. I am sure that given skilful cultivation, these crops will win the same popularity at collective and state farms as lupine won on sandy soil.

The main thing in the development of agriculture today is to solve the livestock problem, to increase the output of animal products, and especially meat. It is essential that the heads of Party, Soviet and agricultural organisations, the collective farmers and the state-farm employees realise that it will be very hard for us to advance our animal husbandry if we do not have maize. I should therefore like to emphasise once again the importance of maize cultivation. The tasks we have set ourselves in animal husbandry will not be solved successfully, unless maize is cultivated everywhere and its special features are properly studied.

The question of where this crop may be sown and where it yields good harvests no longer arises. We have passed that stage. Maize can yield good harvests nearly everywhere in the Soviet Union, as progressive farmers at our collective and state farms have proved. Maize excels other fodder crops considerably for its yield and for the feed units it gives per hectare.

Experience shows that wherever maize is cultivated by people who know their job, its big advantages over other crops are obvious. I have said many times that the main thing now is to select the people and to teach them how to cultivate maize. This does not apply only to state-farm workers, collective farmers and farm specialists, but also to the heads of collective and state farms, the executives of districts, regions and republics.

Wherever the harvests of maize are poor and its potentialities are not used to the full, the blame lies not with the maize, but again with the people. It is a certainty that the collective and state farms that get poor maize harvests do not show due concern for the crop. Their personnel don't know anything about maize, they have no liking for it, do not appreciate its importance for the farm, and do not want to cultivate it.

Capable people, for whom it is a labour of love, who would learn the crop thoroughly and work hard for good yields, should be selected and encouraged not only at the collective and state farms. The same yardstick must be applied also to the executives of the district Party committees and Soviet bodies. It is not maize, therefore, that should be replaced by other crops in the various districts, but evidently the executives who do not appreciate the importance of maize and cling stubbornly to old and backward ideas. Maize has stood the test in competition with other crops, yet they do not study it, do not cultivate it at collective and state farms, and are unable, or unwilling, to organise the people for cultivating it.

It is maize that will help us work up a good pace in the development of animal husbandry and produce as much of the animal products as we need. The production of animal products depends directly on the production of fodder and of maize most of all. Maize combined with leguminous crops, especially fodder beans, will enable us to produce as much fodder as we need to meet the demand in full. If we manage to get good maize harvests at every collective farm and every state farm, the task of steeply raising the output of meat, milk and other animal products can be solved.

To be sure, agriculture must get the necessary machinery to mechanise all jobs completely—from sowing to harvesting maize.

Plant-breeders face a very responsible challenge. It is their duty to do their utmost and develop new hybrids

and strains of maize with a short vegetative period, so that grain could be grown in the more northerly areas, if not to complete ripeness, then at least to the milk-wax stage.

I would like to tell you in this connection about a talk I had in Vienna with Mr. Rusk, State Secretary of the United States. He told me that American breeders have developed a strain of maize that ripens fully in 60 days. If they really have, congratulations are due on this success.

Our plant-breeders must also work hard to obtain that sort of strain. If it is desirable to have quickly ripening strains of maize in the United States, it is double so in our country. After all, in the Soviet Union temperatures change so sharply from north to south and from east to west. It may be recalled that vast maize fields are now located in a zone but recently considered unsuitable, one might say "banned", to maize. Yet experience has shown that we can sow maize and grow maize for silage in absolutely most of the districts in the country, and harvest not only green stalks for silo, but also cobs of milk-wax ripeness. Once we have strains of maize with as short a vegetative period as 60 or even 80 to 90 days, we shall have still greater opportunities for increasing the production of grain. And the problem of developing animal husbandry cannot be solved unless we have grain.

I should also like to ask our breeders the following question. I have spoken more than once about fodder beans. They are a valuable crop and merit great attention. Fodder beans have excellent properties. They do not lodge. No storm will destroy them. Their stalks carry many large beans. It would be a good thing for our breeders to graft kidney beans on fodder beans. The crop would then be a food and a fodder crop, that is, we would get one strain of edible beans and another of fodder beans.

Some agriculturalists may say that we have kidney beans. But the beans we have are runners and do not grow tall enough. They are a garden crop, and one that

calls for much manual labour. Its yield is about 6 centners per hectare. This is why beans are not widespread.

Fodder beans are a high-yielding and, I might say, a powerful crop. Bean-stalks grow a metre or a metre and a half high and yield 300 and more centners per hectare of green mass, and up to 30 centners per hectare of beans. If kidney beans are grafted to fodder beans, there is reason to hope that the plant will have the properties of beans, and will be an entirely new, very valuable plant. A crop so obtained would be a field crop, and its cultivation could be totally mechanised. It is up to the breeders to say whether this is possible.

I speak of this at length here, in Kazakhstan, but it applies just as much to all the republics of the Soviet Union.

I think back with great pleasure to the agricultural conferences in Tselinograd and Alma-Ata. Fine people from the state and collective farms of your Republic spoke at these conferences. They spoke of the great opportunities there are steeply to increase the output of grain, meat and other products. It is essential that the experience of the front-rank farmers, that their accomplishments should be applied on all the state and collective farms.

The officials of your Republic told me that the spring sowing in Kazakhstan came off as scheduled, that everything was done to schedule and well, that the crops were developing normally, and that, as the saying goes, the sprouting wheat and other spring crops gladdened the eye. But, comrades, I would like to call on you to start preparations for the harvesting, and not put them off for a single day. You know better than I that in the conditions you have you may grow a harvest and then lose it due to badly organised harvesting. Everything must be done to bring the harvest home in time on every collective and every state farm. Hard work must be put in to supply ample fodder for the livestock.

The cotton-breeders may ask: Why does he say so little about cotton? But there are many crops I do not even

mention, for it is impossible to speak at length about everything. Speaking of cotton, not only cotton-growers but all people know that if there is no cotton, then, to use a figure of speech, we'll have to run around in trunks. (*Animation.*) Hence, more cotton should be grown to clothe our people well, so that the quality and design of the clothing worn by the Soviet people should always improve. (*Applause.*)

Just so the horse-breeders do not rebuke me, I want to repeat what was said at the conference in Tselinny Territory in March. What we need, comrades, is to develop breeding for horseflesh. I believe there is no need to stress that horseflesh is tasty and nutritive. As you see, I am becoming a Kazakh, as it were. (*Prolonged applause.*) Yesterday I was treated to horseflesh here. I liked it—it was tasty meat, but very fat. To be sure, it may have seemed fat to me, because I judge of fatness with an eye to my own constitution. (*Animation.*)

But I want to say in all earnest that horseflesh is a nutritive, highly-caloried product, and a cheap one. There are many people in your Republic, and not only here, but in our other republics as well, who are accustomed to eating horseflesh, and like it. Let them eat it to their heart's content! (*Applause.*) All the more so since it is entirely up to them—they don't have to eat it if they don't like it. There are very many people in our country who like horseflesh and eat it with relish. That is why I call on you to show more concern for the development of horse-breeding. For, as I can see, there are herdsmen in the hall, and they, like the people listening over the radio, may say or think: Khrushchov has probably changed his mind about horseflesh, for he said nothing about it here. (*Applause.*)

As in past years, many specialists have come to Kazakhstan this spring and summer from other republics of the Soviet Union. We all know how important it is, for keeping them here and improving all the work at the

state farms, to provide them with good cultural and living conditions. Unflagging attention should be devoted to these matters. The Soviet Government has allocated immense sums for building in the virgin-land development areas. The facts show, however, that there are still many serious shortcomings in the organisation of building. The attention of all Party, Soviet and agricultural bodies should be focussed on building in these areas, so as to ensure unconditional fulfilment of the building programme at the state farms.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet Government are confident that the working people of your Republic, the Communists and Komsomols, the state-farm workers, the collective farmers and the farm specialists will do their utmost to increase greatly the production of grain, meat and other agricultural products. By their selfless labour the working people of Kazakhstan will make a new big contribution to the great job of communist construction. (*Applause.*)

Dear comrades, Soviet people view our country's international position and its domestic situation with a big sense of satisfaction. We have reason to rejoice. Just see how the great community of Soviet Socialist Republics is going from strength to strength. A large number of European and Asian countries have embarked firmly on socialist construction. Their peoples won freedom and rallied to the banner of Marxism-Leninism, and are achieving many new victories.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have won the trust, sympathy and support of millions upon millions of people in all countries by persistent struggle for world peace. And we shall do our utmost to fortify this trust and support.

Peaceful coexistence, the establishment of friendly relations among all nations, is the general line of our foreign policy. This is what we worked for and what we shall continue to work for. And most of all we shall work

for a solution of the most important problem of our time—the problem of disarmament, for the earliest conclusion of a German peace treaty that will wind up the Second World War, and for settling the West Berlin issue on that basis.

The standpoint of the Soviet Government in all these matters has been set out by me in detail in my radio and television speech, and also in my Kremlin speech at the public function marking the 20th anniversary of the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War. I do not think it is necessary for me to repeat it here, at this festive gathering. All I will say is that we deeply believe it to be a dependable and properly substantiated standpoint, which we are firmly determined to follow. We shall go ahead with the measures planned by us in the field of foreign policy, knowing that they are in the best interests of the Soviet people and of durable world peace. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, Kazakhstan is a multinational Soviet republic in which Kazakhs, Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Uzbeks, Uigurs, and people of many other nationalities of our great land work shoulder to shoulder. They are all united by fraternal friendship and the desire to fulfil the tasks of communist construction as best they can.

The tasks we confront are truly stupendous. As you know, the Plenary Meeting of the C.C. C.P.S.U. completed its work a few days ago in Moscow. It discussed the draft of a new Party Programme and the draft of new Party Rules. These drafts will be published in the press and are to be broadly discussed.

When the draft of the new Programme is published, the figures relating to the Soviet Union's economic development will delight and inspire all our friends.

The whole world will see once again that we do not threaten the opponents of communism with arms. What do we threaten them with? We "threaten" them with our desire to surpass the most developed capitalist country,

the United States of America, in production per head of population. We want to ensure the well-being of our people, to provide them with the highest possible living standard. Is that a threat to the working people of the capitalist countries? On the contrary, it is joy and happiness for them. True, it is indeed a threat to the reactionary monopoly groups, and we do not intend to deny that. They would like to hold the peoples for ever in the vice of capitalist exploitation. They would like the peoples to know nothing of the gigantic possibilities of the socialist system created by the peoples who have made revolutions and delivered themselves from the exploitation of man by man for all time. But it is something that cannot be concealed from the peoples.

Our rapid economic development is the strongest weapon we have in our hands for winning over new millions of people in the capitalist countries to communist ideas. This is why the draft Programme devotes so much attention to the country's economic development and to the attainment of its unconditional superiority over all the principal capitalist powers. Rapid growth is planned for all branches of the national economy. Along with heavy industry, the light and food industries are to be greatly advanced, and those are branches which meet the popular demand directly. That is only natural. After all, what is the most important in communist society? It is man. For this reason, our physical and mental efforts and our material resources should be concentrated on the best possible satisfaction of the requirements of man and of communist society as a whole. This main goal of our Party has been further elaborated strikingly in the draft Programme.

We live at a wonderful time, comrades! Having built socialism, we scaled such heights that the whole world admires the accomplishments of our great people, the indefatigable builders of communism.

Old Russia was among the economically backward countries where foreign oppressors held sway. Today, having outstripped all the developed capitalist countries, the Soviet Union is closely approaching and stepping on the heels of the United States, the leader of the capitalist world. Very soon we shall be able to tell them: Step aside, gentlemen, we are passing you, and never again will you overtake us. (*Prolonged applause.*)

It seems just yesterday that the peoples of our country started in on their mass campaign for science and technology. Now we are storming the sky. Our sputniks and spaceships are discovering the innermost secrets of the Universe for mankind. A Soviet citizen, the Communist Yuri Gagarin, was the first human to perform the unprecedented flight round the Earth in the spaceship *Vostok*, ushering in a new era in the exploration of outer space. (*Stormy applause.*)

How many more deeds and accomplishments no less heroic still lie ahead of us! The very life of our country, its precipitous ascent to the peaks of communism, is a deathless exploit of the people. It is a feat that will live down the ages. (*Applause.*)

Allow me, dear comrades, to congratulate you once again on the glorious fortieth anniversary of your Republic, the fortieth anniversary of the glorious Communist Party of Kazakhstan, and to wish all of you new, still more striking successes in your selfless labour. (*Stormy applause.*)

In conclusion, allow me to read a message of greeting to the working people of Kazakhstan from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. (*Applause.*)

(*N. S. Khrushchov reads the message of greeting, which is repeatedly interrupted by stormy applause.*)

**TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KAZAKHSTAN,
THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET
OF THE KAZAKH SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC,
AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
OF THE KAZAKH S.S.R.**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. heartily greet and congratulate the workers, collective farmers, intelligentsia and all working people of the Republic on the glorious fortieth anniversary of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and the Communist Party of Kazakhstan.

The triumph of Soviet power and the founding of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan was a turning point in the destiny of the Kazakh people and the working people of all nationalities in the Republic. The Great October Socialist Revolution brought them genuine freedom and independence, and delivered them for ever from their age-old oppressors—tsarism, the khans and bais, and the predatory foreign exploiters. It paved the way to direct transition to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development.

The Communist Party of Kazakhstan is a militant and steeled detachment of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Rallied closely round the Leninist Central Committee, wholly devoted to the communist cause, the Communist Party of Kazakhstan has led the Kazakh people and all working people in the battle for the socialist transformation of their land and for economic and cultural advancement. In the grim years of the Civil War, in the fight against the counter-revolutionary nationalist *alash-orda*, and especially in the period of the Great Patriotic War, the sons and daughters of Kazakhstan fought heroically together with all Soviet people in the front lines and

laboured selflessly in the rear, contributing greatly to the historic victory over the enemies of the Soviet land.

In forty years Kazakhstan has grown from a backward and remote area of tsarist Russia into a republic with a highly-developed industry, large-scale mechanised socialist agriculture, modern science and advanced culture.

The aggregate industrial output exceeds the 1913 output 57-fold. Large coal basins in Karaganda and Ekibastuz and giant non-ferrous metals plants in Balkhash, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Jezkazgan, Chimkent and Leninogorsk have been built in these years. The Republic is rapidly developing an iron and steel industry, machine-building, the chemical, food, and light industries, power engineering, and the building materials industry. In the last two years there have been put into operation the first section of the Sokolovskoye-Sarbai Ore-Dressing Plant, the Karaganda Iron and Steel Works, and the first units of the Bukhtarma Hydropower Station.

Unparalleled changes have occurred in agriculture. From primitive, nomadic farming, Kazakhstan has advanced to socialist agriculture, to developed crop farming and animal husbandry. In a short time, under the leadership of the Communist Party, Kazakhstan has developed more than 25,000,000 hectares of virgin and disused land, and founded 780 new big state farms, which puts Kazakhstan among the biggest grain-growing areas of the country. The successful development of virgin land is a major triumph for the Party's Leninist policy and a history-making feat of the whole Soviet people. Inspired by the decisions of the January Plenary Meeting of the C.C. C.P.S.U., the farm workers of the Republic are working with redoubled perseverance for greater efficiency in crop farming, for higher yields and a steep rise in the output of animal products. Tselinny Territory, formed in the Republic, is to play a big part in the further development of Kazakhstan's agriculture, and its productive forces as a whole.

The achievements in advancing the material well-being of the working people, in the development of the culture and science of the Kazakh people are indisputable. Kazakhstan has overcome its cultural backwardness and has become a republic of total literacy. A big network of schools, higher educational establishments, clubs, libraries, cinemas, and public health institutions has been organised. An Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan has been founded, and there is an extensive network of research institutions. Soviet literature and art have developed extensively in Kazakhstan. Outstanding national poets and prose writers, actors, composers and artists have appeared. More than 460 newspapers and magazines in several languages are being published in the Republic. Radio and television have come into the lives of the people.

In Kazakhstan, as elsewhere in the Soviet Union, the new man, the active builder of communism, has been moulded in the years of Soviet power. A militant multinational working class, a fine collective-farm peasantry, and its own, Kazakh, Soviet, highly-qualified intelligentsia have grown up in the Republic. Kazakh women have changed beyond recognition. Downtrodden and rightless in the past, women have become equal members and devoted builders of the new society.

The working people of the Republic can be proud of the outstanding successes achieved by Kazakhstan in economic and cultural development and the building of the new life.

Kazakhstan's splendid successes in economic and cultural development are a graphic illustration of the victory of the Communist Party's Leninist national policy, the great strength of the friendship of the peoples united in the mighty Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and of the triumph of the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Today, in the united fraternal family of Soviet peoples, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the working people of Kazakhstan are working with dedication for the

fulfilment of the historic decisions of the Twenty-First Party Congress and for new achievements in the building of communist society. The socialist emulation movement to mark the coming Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U. is spreading far and wide.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. are firmly convinced that the working people of Kazakhstan, which has been awarded an Order by the government, will continue to struggle actively for economic and cultural advancement, that they will fulfil the Seven-Year Plan and the socialist pledges they have undertaken ahead of schedule, and that together with all the peoples of our great multinational land they will make their worthy contribution to the building of communist society.

Long live the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and its hard-working and gifted people!

Long live the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, that militant detachment of the C.P.S.U.!

May the fraternal friendship and unity of the peoples of the Soviet Union grow stronger and flourish!

Hail to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is confidently leading the Soviet people to the victory of communism!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE	PRESIDIUM	COUNCIL
OF THE C.P.S.U.	OF THE	OF MINISTERS
	SUPREME SOVIET	OF THE U.S.S.R.
	OF THE U.S.S.R.	

(Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.)

SPEECHES
MADE DURING THE VISIT TO THE U.S.S.R.
OF A GOVERNMENT DELEGATION
FROM THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
OF VIET NAM

SPEECH
ON THE ARRIVAL OF THE GOVERNMENT DELEGATION
OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
OF VIET NAM

June 26, 1961

Dear Comrade Pham Van Dong,
Our dear Vietnamese Comrades, Friends!

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government, and on my own behalf, I welcome you cordially on Moscow soil, Comrade Pham Van Dong and the members of the government delegation of the fraternal Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

It is a pleasure to meet friends, Communists of the great family of peoples of the socialist camp, who are fighting shoulder to shoulder to build the new society.

Your arrival in our country, dear Comrade Pham Van Dong, at the head of a government delegation of Viet Nam is an important step in the further development of fraternal friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The friendship and co-operation of our peoples are founded on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, on the principles of proletarian internationalism. They serve the

cause of socialist and communist construction in our countries, the interests of the consolidation of the socialist camp as a whole, and the cause of world peace.

Soviet people are following closely and with deep sympathy the constructive efforts of the heroic and industrious Vietnamese people. The working people of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, inspired by the decisions of the Third Congress of the Working People's Party of Viet Nam, have started in on their First Five-Year Economic Development Plan. We are highly pleased that the Vietnamese people, led by the Working People's Party of Viet Nam, which is headed by Comrade Ho Chi Minh, outstanding revolutionary and our great friend, have made impressive achievements in the socialist transformation of their country, the building of the foundations of socialism.

Dear Comrade Pham Van Dong, we are very glad you have again come to our country. We shall do our utmost to make the stay in the Soviet Union of the government delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam fruitful and pleasant.

Long live the inviolable fraternal friendship between the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples!

Long live the unity and solidarity of all the countries of the socialist community!

Welcome, dear guests!

**SPEECH
AT A LUNCHEON
FOR THE PRIME MINISTER
OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
OF VIET NAM**

June 27, 1961

Dear Comrade Pham Van Dong,

Dear Comrades,

Allow me once again cordially to welcome you, our

dear friends, the envoys of the heroic and industrious Vietnamese people.

It gives us great pleasure to receive the government delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam headed by Comrade Pham Van Dong, a fine Communist, a loyal son of the Vietnamese people and a tested fighter for peace and socialism.

Fraternal friendship and unbreakable unity are the salient characteristics of the relations between the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and between all the socialist countries. This solidarity and unity are a decisive factor in the struggle against the intrigues of the imperialists and their hirelings, for stronger world peace.

Under the leadership of the Working People's Party of Viet Nam headed by that steeled revolutionary Comrade Ho Chi Minh, our Vietnamese friends have covered a thorny but glorious path. We sincerely rejoice at the successes of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, which has in a historically short space of time made a big stride forward in its development. With the brotherly support of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp, the people of your Republic are confidently advancing along the road of socialist construction.

The successes which the working folk of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have made in laying the foundations of socialism and in advancing the economy and culture of the formerly backward North of the country are highly important for the struggle to achieve a peaceful reunification of Viet Nam.

Word of these achievements is reaching the South, which is under the heel of the reactionaries and imperialist puppets, who seek to hide from the population of South Viet Nam the successes of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. However, despite their terrorism and reprisals the truth is reaching the people. The popular movement against the Ngo Dinh Diem dictatorship, against

foreign intervention, for the country's reunification along democratic lines is surging higher and higher in South Viet Nam, whose people appreciate and sympathise with the sensible proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam for peaceful national reunification.

The Soviet Union is a staunch and trustworthy friend of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in its struggle to build socialism and achieve peaceful national reunification. We share your belief that the Vietnamese people's noble struggle is sure, in spite of all difficulties and obstacles, to culminate in the establishment of a united, peaceful, democratic Viet Nam.

The international prestige of the D.R.V. is growing continuously. The Vietnamese people's contribution to a stronger peace in South-East Asia is widely appreciated internationally. Together with the other peace-loving countries, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has demonstrated at the Geneva Conference on Laos its steadfast desire for a speedy peaceful Laotian settlement. The views of our governments coincide fully on this and other problems. We have always consistently advocated an independent, neutral and united Laos based on the legitimate rights of the Laotian people and excluding all foreign interference in their domestic affairs.

Soviet people whole-heartedly rejoice at the victories won by the working folk of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam both in socialist construction and in the fight for peace. We are really happy to see the constantly growing and strengthening fraternal friendship and comradeship co-operation between the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples. The visit to our country of the D.R.V. government delegation is a new token of the indestructible Soviet-Vietnamese friendship.

Let me propose a toast to the Vietnamese people's further successes in socialist construction and national reunification!

To the heroic Working People's Party of Viet Nam and its Central Committee headed by our good friend, Comrade Ho Chi Minh!

To the health of Comrade Pham Van Dong and all the members of the government delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam!

To fraternal Soviet-Vietnamese friendship!

To world peace!

SPEECH

AT A SOVIET-VIETNAMESE FRIENDSHIP MEETING

June 28, 1961

Dear Comrade Pham Van Dong,

Dear Comrades, Friends,

Today representatives of the people of Moscow are meeting the government delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, which has come to our country on a friendly visit.

Permit me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government, on behalf of all our people, to welcome you cordially, and through you the fraternal people of Viet Nam! (*Prolonged applause.*)

Soviet people have the friendliest and warmest of feelings for the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and its heroic and industrious people. They have always sympathised with the long, selfless struggle of the Vietnamese people against colonial oppression, for their freedom and independence.

Viet Nam is an ancient country. It has a history of over three thousand years. The Vietnamese land is rich. However, its wealth was not used for the benefit of the people, but served as a source of enrichment for colonialists. Due to the imperialists, Viet Nam has fallen far behind in its

economic development. For nearly a hundred years colonialists plundered your country and mercilessly exploited its people. Poverty and starvation were the lot of the Vietnamese working people.

The freedom-loving people of Viet Nam never reconciled themselves to their fate. They fought against imperialist and feudal rule. But the struggle was not successful until the Communist Party of Indo-China assumed leadership of the revolutionary masses.

The glorious pages of your heroic struggle will never fade in the annals of the people's struggle for national liberation. This applies to the battles of 1930 for people's power in Nge-An and Ha-Tin, to the August Uprising of 1945, and then the grim years of the Resistance Movement against colonial rule and imperialist aggression.

The Soviet people, who know well what a war for independence is, greatly admire the exploit of the heroes of Dien Bien Phu. In this battle brave sons of the Vietnamese people broke the enemy's resistance, routed the colonialist troops and ended imperialist domination in North Viet Nam.

After the victory of the revolution, the Vietnamese people, despite grave difficulties, quickly healed the wounds of war and laid a solid foundation for the new, socialist economy.

Under the leadership of the glorious Working People's Party of Viet Nam and its Central Committee, headed by that loyal son of the Vietnamese people, that prominent leader of the international communist movement and our good friend, Ho Chi Minh (*prolonged applause*), the working people of North Viet Nam have successfully fulfilled the three-year plan of building the foundations of socialism.

Now the Vietnamese people are selflessly working to fulfil their First Five-Year Economic Development Plan. Realisation of this plan will be an important step towards

creating the material and technical basis of socialism, and improving the welfare of the people.

We whole-heartedly welcome your magnificent achievements, which show graphically to the whole world what the people are able to do once they have cast off the chains of colonial slavery and risen to full stature, once they have carried the national democratic revolution to its victorious end.

The building of a new life in a formerly backward, war-ravaged colonial country is not a simple task. We know that you are having big difficulties. But they are temporary. They are the difficulties of growth, and can surely be overcome.

We are firmly confident that the industrious and gifted Vietnamese people will achieve new splendid successes in the further advancement and consolidation of their economy and culture. This is guaranteed by the socialist economic system, the unity and enthusiasm of the people, and the correct leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Working People's Party of Viet Nam.

In building socialism the Vietnamese people are getting all-round disinterested assistance from the fraternal countries of the socialist camp, which have been and are helping the Vietnamese people build a new life in their land.

The fine successes of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the People's Republic of China, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, and the Mongolian People's Republic confirm that Lenin's ideas are correct and show that it is the socialist system which offers boundless opportunities to peoples who have rid themselves of colonial and imperialist oppression. The experience of the Vietnamese people and the peoples of the other socialist states is of enormous importance for the oppressed peoples fighting for the realisation of their most cherished aspirations and hopes.

What the apologists of colonialism say about the ideas of Marx and Lenin being unable to solve the social problems of the colonial countries and to win the minds of the peoples of the East is all wretched and ludicrous nonsense.

Today only the politically blind fail to see the historical processes conspiring in the world—processes of the revival of previously oppressed peoples, for whom Marxism-Leninism lights the way of development like a searchlight.

Comrades, we note with satisfaction that the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, an equal in the fraternal family of the socialist nations, stands in the van of the fighters for lasting international peace.

We are happy that our Vietnamese friends share and support the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist camp, in all the basic questions of international policy. For its part, the Soviet Government fully supports the policy of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, which is aimed at consolidating peace in South-East Asia and throughout the world. We stand firmly with the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam for the speediest solution of the question of Viet Nam's peaceful reunification. (*Prolonged applause.*) The imperialists want to keep alight in South-East Asia the sparks that may flare up into a conflagration.

The 1954 Geneva agreements on Indo-China provided for the peaceful unification of Viet Nam and the holding for this purpose of free general elections both in the North and in the South. But this did not suit certain imperialist quarters and they, having installed in South Viet Nam their lackey Ngo Dinh Diem, have done all they could to perpetuate the country's division and prevent the unification of the brothers of the South and North into one family.

In violation of the Geneva agreements, the United

States is delivering to South Viet Nam thousands of tons of military supplies and materials. It continues equipping and training the South Viet Nam army, and sends there numerous military advisers. It has, in effect, drawn the South Viet Nam authorities into SEATO's armed ventures. Does this create conditions for the peaceful unification of Viet Nam? Of course not. It is all directed against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, against the People's Republic of China, and against the other peace-loving states of South-East Asia.

American officers are training South Vietnamese soldiers and preparing them for a war against their brothers in the North. The imperialists do not like People's Democracy. They would like to restore the old colonial regime in the North of the country. But, as we say, their arms are too short. The Vietnamese people stand vigilant guard over their gains, and will never relinquish them to anybody. (*Applause.*)

The policy of the puppet authorities, inimical to the people, arouses legitimate indignation among the Vietnamese people. The people in South Viet Nam are fighting for their freedom and independence, against betrayal of their national interests.

Even Western officials recognise that South Viet Nam is not really controlled by the puppet government, and that its capital, Saigon, is, in fact, engulfed in seething popular wrath. There are people, however, who say that the struggle of the Vietnamese against puppet Ngo Dinh Diem is "Moscow's handiwork" and the result of communist intrigues. Either these people really do not understand the events, or distort them with deliberate malice.

The struggle of the South Vietnamese is not the doing of Moscow, not a communist intrigue. It is an outburst of popular wrath and the fervid resolve of the people to end poverty and inequality, to combat the colonialist plunderers and their henchmen, who pursue a policy that

is even more ruthless than that of the colonialists themselves. A lackey who panders to his master is, indeed, always more cruel than his lord. But the people's movement is not to be suppressed by a reign of terror and by persecutions.

The Soviet Government fully supports the Vietnamese people's legitimate demand that the imperialists stop interfering in the affairs of South Viet Nam. Soviet people are deeply convinced that the just struggle of the Vietnamese people for their country's unification will culminate in complete victory. (*Applause.*) All the attempts the imperialists may make to prevent the realisation of the Vietnamese people's legitimate aspirations will inevitably founder.

The imperialists are trying hard to expand their influence and domination in South-East Asia. But their aggressive intentions are running into opposition of the people. The policy of the imperialists has been demonstrated most graphically in the case of Laos.

The developments in Laos have amply confirmed the viewpoint of the governments of our countries that any deepening of the Laotian crisis is fraught with dangerous consequences to peace. There would have been no Laotian problem if the United States and its SEATO allies had not meddled in the internal affairs of that country and tried to turn Laos into a base for their aggressive policy in South-East Asia.

For this purpose the imperialists have organised an uprising against the lawful government of Souvanna Phouma. However, neither direct military aid to the rebels, nor the dispatch of military advisers have broken the fighting spirit of the Laotian people or extinguished their determination to see their country independent and neutral.

The firm unity and determination of the national patriotic forces of Laos in the struggle for their country's freedom, the support this just struggle has from the peace-

loving peoples of Europe and Asia have compelled the imperialists to agree that it is necessary to settle the Laotian question. Today, efforts are being made to solve the Laotian problem by peaceful means. It must be said that good opportunities exist for this after the cease-fire in Laos has been agreed.

A fourteen-nation conference on Laos is now meeting in Geneva. The Soviet delegation has proposed that the conference issue a declaration on Laos's neutrality, sign an agreement on the withdrawal of foreign troops and military personnel from Laotian territory, and work out the powers of the International Commission.

These proposals have the whole-hearted support of the lawful Government and the national-democratic forces of Laos, the governments of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Chinese People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic and other peace-loving countries.

The Geneva conference opened as much as a month and a half ago. But the proceedings show that the delegates of the United States and its allies are putting a brake on its work, evading discussion of the Soviet proposals and using dilatory tactics.

The Soviet Government has already declared and now reiterates its resolve to do its utmost in concert with other countries interested in a peaceful solution of the Laotian problem for a peaceful settlement in Laos based on the recognition of the Laotian people's legitimate rights. We hope that the Geneva conference will eventually arrive at a reasonable solution acceptable to the Laotian people.

We believe that the Laotians will settle their internal affairs by themselves without any outside interference. They will themselves choose the form of political organization and chart the ways of their social, economic and cultural development, and so on. Laotian leaders are now negotiating in Laos and in Switzerland with the object of settling these internal matters.

The three basic political groups in Laos have agreed on a cease-fire and are now discussing the concrete questions stemming from the cessation of hostilities.

The meeting of the top-level representatives of these three groups, the Princes Souvanna Phouma, Souphanouvong and Boun Oum, ended recently in Zurich. An agreement was reached at this conference on realising national concord. The political programme of a government of national unity was adopted by them, and its immediate tasks were defined.

The three political groups agreed that Laos should follow a policy of peace and neutrality conforming with the interests and aspirations of the Laotian people and the 1954 Geneva agreements with a view to establishing a peaceful, neutral, independent, democratic, united and prosperous Laos.

We regard this as a good basis for the country's further development and for the establishment of good relations with Laos by all states which sincerely favour this policy. The policy mapped out by the three groups, as set forth in a joint declaration, is, in our opinion, a correct one. It is a good beginning, and we may hope that soon the Laotians will themselves settle the other internal problems, and that, in particular, a government will be formed which will follow this line firmly.

The talks between the Laotians prove that, given the will, it is possible to agree, and not only to agree, but also to start on the practical steps leading to the restoration of peace in Laos. The Laotian people need this most of all, and it is also necessary for world peace.

Comrades, all the peoples want a durable peace. They do not want a cold war, and still less a hot one. The Soviet Government is doing its utmost to make peace on earth secure. We have submitted a cardinal solution of the disarmament problem—to disband all national armies, to destroy all existing stockpiles of armaments, and to discontinue the production of armaments everywhere, that

is, to carry out general and complete disarmament under international control.

Discontinuation of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests, on which the Western countries now centre attention, does not in itself solve the problem. The Soviet Union is against any and all nuclear explosions. Our government has always been, and remains, in favour of an international agreement banning nuclear tests under strict and equal international control. The conclusion of such an agreement is obstructed by the refusal of the American and British negotiators to consider Soviet interests.

I would like to repeat that the discontinuation of nuclear weapons tests will not by itself deliver the peoples from the threat of a devastating war. The cardinal solution lies in general and complete disarmament.

The Soviet Union is prepared to start the practical realisation of complete disarmament at any time. We suggest that disarmament proceed under the strictest international control, ensuring the exact fulfilment of the disarmament programme by all states. We do not want control over armaments without disarmament. The Soviet Government will not accept such control. We stand for general and complete disarmament under all-embracing and complete control. The Soviet Government is prepared to accept any system of control over disarmament which the Western Powers may suggest, provided they agree to genuine disarmament.

The Western contention that we oppose control is, therefore, unsound. Our partners in the negotiations are well aware that we want control. What is more, the Soviet Government will not agree to disarmament without control. They know it, but pervert our position, because they have not invented any other arguments so far. In fact, matters are running up against the unwillingness of certain Western quarters to abandon the arms race and preparations for new military ventures. That is also the only possible explanation for the unwillingness of the Western

Powers to work for a peaceful settlement with Germany, which would reliably ensure stability and security in Europe.

The Soviet Union suggests that all the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition, on the one hand, and the two German states, on the other, sign a peace treaty and thereby write finis to the Second World War. We must not let the past interfere with the present life of the peoples. We must not let it hang like a dead weight on the peoples who wish to go forward. We must not let the militarist revenge-seeking elements stir the embers of the Second World War and expose Europe and the world to the danger of a new, still more devastating war.

The Soviet Government suggests that the post-war boundaries in Europe be safeguarded from any attacks by the revanchists and that the situation in West Berlin be improved. We suggest that an international document spell out the commitment of the Germans never to encroach upon the independence, freedom and sovereignty of other nations and to live with them in peace and friendship without resorting to force or threat of force. (*Applause.*) A peace treaty will not give any country an advantage over any other country. It will conform in equal measure to the interests of all states.

Some rash people in the West are obviously disconcerted by the prospect of a firmly established peace in Europe. The Western press is shouting its head off about the proposal to conclude a peace treaty and to solve the West Berlin problem on this basis. Some suggest applying economic sanctions if a peace treaty is concluded, that is, stopping to trade with us. Trading is an absolutely voluntary affair. Everyone trades when it suits him. If it does not suit the West, it is free to choose. Threats of not trading with us will not, of course, prevent us from signing a German peace treaty. (*Applause.*)

Others go so far as to suggest breaking off diplomatic relations with us. That is no novelty either. The West has

already tried living without diplomatic relations with us, and, more, not recognising the Soviet state. The venture fell through. It is easily seen that a still more resounding failure lies in store for the authors of such a venture in our time. (*Applause.*)

The biggest hotheads urge a mobilisation and other measures of a military nature. Gentlemen, such measures have also been used against us. Not only were we threatened. Attempts were made to humble us by force. Our Red Army was steeled in battles against the imperialist states. We did not flinch in the face of threats and armed intervention over forty years ago, and crushed the armed campaigns of the imperialists. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Union defeated Hitler Germany, which was the mailed fist of world reaction. We have upheld our freedom and independence in struggles against numerous enemies. It would be absolutely ill-advised to expect that today a policy of intimidation and force against the Soviet Union will yield fruit to the imperialists.

Sabre-rattling is not a novel thing, of course, and does not call for much brain. It will not frighten the Soviet people and will not stop them in their desire to end the survivals of the past war and conclude a German peace treaty. (*Applause.*) The Soviet Union speaks a language of reason and friendship with all nations. The argument of threats has long outlived its time and must be abandoned. It is high time people knew it. But if a conversation "from positions of strength" is forced upon us, we have the wherewithal to make a reply. If the enemies of peace and peaceful coexistence go to the length of a mobilisation, we will not let them catch us unawares. We are taking the necessary measures and, if need be, will take additional steps to strengthen our security. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We declare to the lovers of armed ventures: You are lifting your arm against the peoples' right to live in peace which they won at the price of many millions of lives in

the struggle against fascism and which they wish to endorse in a German peace treaty. But, gentlemen, you will not intimidate us—the peace treaty will be signed! (*Stormy applause.*)

On the road to the easing of tension we shall apparently have to pass a stage of “cold” climate in Europe. It will be an artificial cold, because there are no valid reasons for it. Yet the international reactionaries and the revenge-seeking forces in West Germany seem to want it. The Western Powers are not able to extricate themselves from the quicksands of brinkmanship, into which Dulles and Eisenhower have led them. They strive doggedly to pursue this barren policy today contrary to logic and common sense, and contrary to their own interests.

The Western statesmen declare that the military strength of the capitalist and socialist camps has now struck a balance. But that calls for a balanced international policy, that is, relations should not be aggravated and threats should not be made. Unfortunately, the policy of the Western Powers lacks the common sense that should have stemmed from this recognition of the obtaining balance of strength in the world.

What is more, the forces are not equal: we believe that the forces of socialism and peace are much stronger than the forces of imperialism and war. (*Prolonged applause.*) We have not only our economic and military might; we derive strength from the righteous cause of our people, the true cause of all the peoples and all the countries that uphold peaceful coexistence and advocate the solution of all the controversial questions in international relations by peaceful means. And the conclusion of a German peace treaty is the most peaceful of all peaceful solutions.

It would seem that the Foreign Minister of West Germany, von Brentano, should also know that it is 1961 now, and not 1941. Yet he appeals to force; he lives by and takes guidance in the warlike ideas of his predecessor, von Ribbentrop, who was Hitler’s “von”. I shall not

recall the sad end of that "von", but is it not too early for Adenauer's "von" to forget how his predecessor, von Ribbentrop, ended up? (*Animation in the hall. Applause.*)

Herr von Brentano is making unwise, incendiary speeches. He is courting disaster for the German people, the other peoples of Europe and Asia, who are fed up to the gills with war. Brentano wants to intimidate us, but the result is quite the opposite. The calls to arms made by the Bonn revenge-seekers strengthen our resolve to uphold the just cause of peace. The ruling quarters of the Federal Republic of Germany would like to perpetuate the post-war disaccommodation, and not for the benefit of peace, of course, but for building up strength and picking a suitable moment to start a new military adventure. It is to remove a dangerous seat of war that the peace-loving nations are working steadfastly for a German peace treaty.

The Western Powers are exerting considerable propaganda efforts to distort the essence of the Soviet proposals for a peace settlement in Germany. They fall back mostly on the so-called question of the right of the Germans to self-determination. They oppose the peace treaty with the right to self-determination, and parade as champions of the national rights of the Germans.

We need not show how unconvincing such words sound, coming from people who did all they possibly could to undermine German unity and then deepen the country's split.

It is well known that the imperialist powers suit themselves in interpreting the peoples' right to self-determination and the question of reunifying the divided nations. With reference to Germany they invoke the right of the peoples to self-determination and demand the country's reunification, although two states exist there with different socio-economic systems. Yet they raise the question of reunification just the same, because they hope that their ideas will prevail in a reunified Germany, since

the population of West Germany is much bigger than that of the German Democratic Republic.

But what happens to their "abidance by principle" in respect of the right of the peoples to self-determination and reunification when it concerns other countries? Take the question of Viet Nam's reunification. I have already said that under the 1954 International Agreement general elections were to be held in Viet Nam after a two-year term to determine the further course of that country's development. But the Western Powers, especially the United States, have done everything to scuttle these elections. They succeeded, and Viet Nam is divided in two to this day. Why did the imperialists do it? Because they know that the people of South Viet Nam have remained loyal to democratic principles and, if given the right to express their will, they would doubtlessly declare for reunification with their brothers in North Viet Nam on the socio-political basis existing in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. (*Applause.*) Once this is considered, what is the worth of the Western approach to the question of national unification?

The right of nations to self-determination is a national question. As for Germany's unification, in the present conditions it is primarily a social class problem. The Germans were divided through the divergent development of separate parts of the former German empire and the establishment of two states with different socio-economic systems. The system is capitalist in one state, the Federal Republic of Germany, and socialist in the German Democratic Republic.

Unification of two states, even when they have the same system, is by no means an easy task. In any case, it cannot be solved from without. It calls for the desire of the population to live in one state, for a definite identity of views and interests on basic internal and external problems.

What is there to say about the unification of states

with different social systems? Is it not clear that their unification is a much more difficult matter, in which *diktat* and attempts at the subjugation of one state by another are especially intolerable?

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

The Government of the German Democratic Republic has proposed more than once to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany to meet and negotiate the ways and means of eliminating the division of Germany. The German Democratic Republic has made the proposal to set up a German confederation, which would enable the two German states to pool efforts on cardinal questions common for all Germans.

But West Germany has refused through Chancellor Adenauer to conduct talks with the East Germans. It demands that the Great Powers reunify Germany, that they deroute the German Democratic Republic from the path of socialist construction. That is absorption, and not reunification. Do the militarist and revanchist forces of West Germany really think this can be achieved with our co-operation, that is, with the co-operation of the socialist states? It is not likely that they believe such calculations are realistic.

Socialist Germany exists. It is developing well. It is our ally and can always rely on our aid and support. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We threaten nobody when we propose that a German peace treaty be concluded and the question of West Berlin be solved on this basis. I wish to say once again that the socio-economic order in West Berlin will be such as its population wishes. We suggest establishing reliable international guarantees of non-interference in the affairs of West Berlin: let the four Great Powers be the guaran-

tors. They could keep a contingent of their armed forces in the free city. As an alternative, such guarantees could be provided by the armed forces of neutral countries, or by the United Nations.

There will be no blockade of West Berlin and no obstacles will be put up on the routes of access to the city. West Berlin will be able to maintain free contacts with all states at its own discretion. However, since the communication lanes to West Berlin cross the territory of the German Democratic Republic, an understanding with the Government of that state will be required concerning their use in accordance with established international traditions and laws. No one is entitled to violate the ground, air or water frontiers of a sovereign state. All attempts to disregard the generally accepted norms of international intercourse have always met, and will meet, the due rebuff.

We are therefore entitled to ask what encroachments on freedom and what defence of freedom are some people talking about? Nobody wants to encroach on the city's freedom. The only reason we are being threatened is because a peace treaty will be signed and the German Democratic Republic will exercise its sovereign rights in the same manner as every other state. If certain Western Powers do not wish to respect the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic and if, for this reason, they believe they have the right to resort to force, this is nothing but the right of a highwayman, and prayers will not save you from a highwayman. The only way to drive off a highwayman is with a stick. (*Applause.*)

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

I have already had occasion to say that the United States set an example when it concluded a peace treaty

with Japan in disregard of the Soviet position. I will not say that it was a good example to give, but it is a historical one. If the United States believed it had the right to sign a peace treaty with Japan without the Soviet Union, it should realise that the Soviet Union and other peace-loving states have the right to conclude a peace treaty with Germany.

We are not guided by the motives that guided the United States when it signed the separate peace treaty with Japan. It is not from rancour that we speak about the possibility of concluding a German peace treaty without the Western Powers, and not because we want to injure our former allies in the war against Hitler Germany. We would be far more pleased by the prospect of concluding a peace treaty with both German states jointly with all the participants of the anti-Hitler coalition.

Today, as before, we say that we are ready for talks. The memorandum handed to President Kennedy in Vienna also says that we want an agreed solution of the German question with the Western Powers. The best thing we could do is consolidate peace in Europe not through straining our relations, but through the joint conclusion of a peace treaty.

I repeat: we are for talks with the Western Powers on the question of a peaceful settlement with Germany. We are ready to start talks and make an honest and sincere effort to reach agreement for the conclusion of a peace treaty. But if anyone reckons to involve us in endless talks with a view to freezing the question of the German peace treaty, the gentlemen in question are mistaken. We shall not fall for it. (*Applause.*)

Quite a few sober voices resound in the West in favour of a peaceful solution of the German problem with due regard for the situation obtaining in Europe.

I have read with great attention an article by British Field Marshal Montgomery. None, I think, will suspect the Field Marshal of being a communist mouthpiece. His re-

putation of anti-communist is solid and recognised by everybody. But much of what Lord Montgomery says does not conflict with our arguments.

We, of course, cannot agree with certain points in his article, but what he writes is essentially sensible. He suggests withdrawing all foreign troops from Europe to within their national boundaries, dismantling foreign war bases, evacuating foreign troops from Berlin, and so on. This coincides with our proposals.

Neither does he go against our position in his statement that the Federal Republic of Germany must have access to West Berlin. We believe that the Federal Republic of Germany, like all other countries, can have diplomatic, economic and other relations with West Berlin. But we have never recognised and shall not recognise Bonn's groundless claims that West Berlin is part of the Federal Republic.

Field Marshal Montgomery has been Deputy Supreme Commander of NATO Armed Forces in Europe. Therefore, he has been one of the champions and vehicles of the "positions of strength" policy. Today, like many other people who are able to reason and think soberly, he realises whither the "positions of strength" policy leads.

It would be a good thing if this were also realised by those who now shape Western policy. This would be a big step forward and would facilitate agreement among all the interested nations on a just and equitable basis.

Some Western organs of the press claim that the Soviet proposals on the German question are intended to upset the existing equilibrium in Europe. Even a cursory glance at the Soviet proposals will show that these assertions are at variance with the facts. All we propose is to endorse what emerged as a result of the war, to recognise the actual state of affairs in Europe and to conclude a peace treaty with the two German states.

Let West Germany, which is now a member of the NATO military bloc, stay in this bloc. Let the German

Democratic Republic stay a member of the Warsaw Treaty, which the socialist states were compelled to conclude as a counterbalance to the North Atlantic bloc. Let the situation remain as it is until the sides reach agreement on the abolition of military blocs.

The Soviet Union and its friends want one thing only—to consolidate peace and to improve the atmosphere in Europe. We want nothing else, no acquisitions, no conquests. But no threats will divert us from our peace efforts. It is best that the Western gentlemen grasp this once and for all. (*Applause.*)

We want peace and friendship with all countries, regardless of their social systems. We want peace and friendship with the United States as well, though our two countries have different conceptions of many questions.

I have already said that my meeting and talks with United States President Mr. Kennedy in Vienna were useful, inasmuch as they helped to produce a better understanding of several important international questions. Such meetings will also be useful in the future, because the problems arising in international relations cannot be solved without meetings of statesmen. To be sure, this will not be possible unless the statesmen endeavour to find mutually acceptable solutions of disputed questions by negotiation, and not through the policy “from positions of strength”, a policy of war threats.

We have always stood for the expansion of contacts in different spheres between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers. We believe that mutual visits of scientists, businessmen, workers in culture and art are useful. We are ready to expand such contacts because they help people of different countries to know each other better. For example, a useful discussion between Soviet and American pressmen took place over U.S. television a few days ago. Later, our pressmen were received by President Kennedy. We highly appreciate the fact that President Kennedy received our journalists and talked with them, just

as somewhat earlier he conversed with a big group of other Soviet journalists.

All these contacts contribute to a better understanding and an improvement of relations between our two countries, and we want this line to continue in the future.

Comrades, the visit to the Soviet Union of the government delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, led by Comrade Pham Van Dong, and the exchange of views we had on basic international matters are an important contribution to the strengthening of fraternal friendship and co-operation between our two countries, to the further consolidation of the entire socialist camp, and to the consolidation of world peace.

Soviet people highly appreciate the fraternal relations between our two peoples, and we are sure that these relations will develop and grow stronger every day to the good of the peoples of our two countries. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Moscow and Hanoi lie a huge distance apart. Yet, in spite of this, we are near to each other. The interests of the Vietnamese people are close and dear to the Soviet people, because they are the interests of comrades and brothers in a common struggle. (*Applause.*) This is why the Soviet people give such a cordial and warm reception to your delegation of representatives of the Vietnamese people, who are close to us because we have common goals in the struggle for socialism, for communism, for a peaceful life on earth. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The identity of views and goals, the identity of our interests, is an inexhaustible source for the consolidation and development of our friendship.

We whole-heartedly wish the fraternal Vietnamese people further success on the road of socialist construction and the peaceful unification of their homeland. (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the indestructible and eternal friendship of the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples! (*Stormy applause.*)

May the powerful community of socialist countries grow stronger and flourish! (*Stormy applause.*)
Long live world peace! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*
All rise.)

SPEECH
AT A RECEPTION GIVEN BY THE PRIME MINISTER
OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
OF VIET NAM

July 3, 1961

Dear Comrade Pham Van Dong,
Dear Comrade Ambassador,
Dear Comrades and Friends,

To begin with, I would like to state my sincere gratitude for the kind words which you, Comrade Prime Minister, have spoken of the Soviet people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government.

It is pleasing to note that the relations obtaining and developing between our countries and between our Parties are just what relations should be between socialist countries. These fraternal relations are based on the principles of proletarian internationalism. Our Parties are always bent on strengthening the unity of the socialist countries in the spirit of the Statement of last year's Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

It is in the solidarity and unity of the socialist countries, in their devotion to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, that lies the source of strength and invincibility of each country and of the socialist camp as a whole. That is the earnest of victory in our common struggle for peace and socialism.

It is not so long ago since the people of Viet Nam expelled the foreign oppressors and founded the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. In these years the people of Viet Nam have made great economic and cultural progress

under the leadership of the Viet Nam Working People's Party and its Central Committee headed by the outstanding revolutionary, Comrade Ho Chi Minh. These successes gladden all Soviet people, who are loyal friends of the people of Viet Nam.

The achievements of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam show graphically to the world the advantages of the socialist way of development followed confidently by the Vietnamese. The victories of socialism exercise, and will increasingly exercise, a beneficial influence on the growth of the international working-class movement and the national-liberation struggle in the colonies.

The peoples in the colonial countries have risen with determination against their oppressors, against the colonialists. We revolutionaries, loyal to the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin, welcome this struggle and side with it. Our Parties and governments consider it their duty to further the rapid and final abolition of colonialism in all shapes and forms. This is a lofty goal, and its accomplishment is a matter of the near future.

Dear comrades, allow me, from the bottom of my heart, to wish the people of Viet Nam new big successes in socialist construction and the improvement of the well-being of the Vietnamese people.

I propose a toast to the health of our dear friend, Comrade Pham Van Dong, to the health of all the members of the government delegation, and to the health of Comrade Nguen Van Kinh, the esteemed Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam!

To the unbreakable friendship of the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples!

To the unity and solidarity of the whole mighty community of socialist countries!

To enduring world peace!

(N. S. Khrushchov's speech was repeatedly interrupted by applause.)

SPEECH
AT A RECEPTION FOR THE PRIME MINISTER
OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
OF VIET NAM

July 4, 1961

Dear Comrade Pham Van Dong,

Dear Members of the government delegation, Comrades
Le Thanh Nghi, Le Van Hien and Nguen Van Kinh,
Comrades, Friends,

During the stay of your delegation in Moscow we have had several talks with Comrade Pham Van Dong and the other comrades, and have exchanged opinions on important international matters and the further development of fraternal co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. We believe, and I feel Comrade Pham Van Dong will agree, that it has been a useful exchange of opinions. Our talks have once more revealed the complete identity of our views on all the questions we have discussed.

A joint Soviet-Vietnamese communique has been signed today, and will be published. Both governments note with satisfaction that the present international situation is developing favourably for the strengthening of the forces of socialism, peace, national independence and democracy, who have an edge over the forces of imperialism, reaction and aggression.

The governments of the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, like the governments of the other socialist countries, invariably follow a policy aimed at ensuring peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and developing close co-operation among all nations.

In our negotiations we reaffirmed our strong resolve to continue developing our fraternal relations and close co-operation, and to promote in every way the further consolidation of the world socialist system.

The Soviet Union renders the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam all-round assistance. We were glad to hear from Comrade Pham Van Dong that our help is playing an important part in the building of a new life in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. We consider it our internationalist duty to help the fraternal Vietnamese people in socialist construction, further economic and cultural development and the improvement of the living standard.

People's Democracy has enabled the Vietnamese working people to achieve big successes in the development of their country. It opened vistas to them that their land never knew before. Very soon the devoted labour of the Vietnamese will yield such prodigious fruit as the toilers of Viet Nam could no more than dream of in the past. The guarantee for it lies in the unity of the whole Vietnamese people and the Vietnamese Working People's Party, which adheres firmly to Marxism-Leninism and leads the people confidently along the right path.

The Soviet Union whole-heartedly supports the noble endeavours of the Vietnamese to reunify their country. We firmly oppose the policy of the imperialists, who prevented the implementation of the Geneva agreements. The imperialists and their henchmen are alone to blame that Viet Nam is divided for so many years and that South Viet Nam is being turned into a war base and a staging area for new adventures.

The Soviet people are convinced that the determined and steadfast struggle of the people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam for the country's unification on a peaceful and democratic basis will triumph. This struggle accords with the cherished wishes of the 30-million population of Viet Nam and with the interests of peace in South-East Asia and the rest of the world.

Dear Comrade Pham Van Dong, lasting fraternal friendship obtains between our peoples and our Parties. This friendship is based on our unity of purpose, our

common world outlook, and on proletarian internationalism. We are sure that the friendly relations and fruitful co-operation between our countries will grow stronger and develop continuously. Your visit to the Soviet Union is a substantial contribution to this big cause.

I propose a toast to the people of Viet Nam, who are building socialism and working perseveringly for the peaceful unification of their country, a toast to the militant vanguard of the Vietnamese people, the Vietnamese Working People's Party and its Central Committee headed by the outstanding figure of the international communist movement, Comrade Ho Chi Minh, to the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and to our good friend, Prime Minister Pham Van Dong.

May the unbreakable friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam grow stronger and develop!

**SPEECH
ON THE DEPARTURE
OF THE GOVERNMENT DELEGATION
OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
OF VIET NAM**

July 5, 1961

Dear Comrade Pham Van Dong,

Dear Vietnamese Friends,

Today you are leaving the Soviet Union to continue your friendship tour of the fraternal socialist countries. Your stay in the Soviet Union has once again demonstrated the indestructible friendship of the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples. This visit has again shown how solid is the unity of the countries of the world socialist system.

We are very pleased with the results of the talks with our Vietnamese friends. The Joint Soviet-Vietnamese Com-

unique again confirms the complete identity of our views on all the questions we discussed. This applies equally to questions of Soviet-Vietnamese relations and to international problems.

Both governments are unanimous in their desire to continue to develop in every way the political, economic and cultural co-operation between our countries for the benefit of the Soviet and the Vietnamese peoples, for the strengthening of the socialist camp, for a stable and lasting world peace.

Allow me on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, on behalf of the Soviet people to thank heartily Comrade Pham Van Dong and all the members of the government delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam for the warm and sincere words, which express their feelings for the peoples of the Soviet Union and our Party.

We ask you, dear comrades, to convey our cordial greetings to the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Viet Nam, heartfelt greetings to our good friend, Comrade Ho Chi Minh, to the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and to all the Vietnamese people. We wish them from the bottom of our hearts fresh successes in the building of socialism, in the struggle for the peaceful unification of their country.

May Soviet-Vietnamese friendship strengthen and develop!

Happy journey!

Until we meet again, dear Vietnamese friends!

SPEECHES
MADE DURING THE VISIT TO THE U.S.S.R.
OF A PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION
OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SPEECH
ON THE ARRIVAL
OF THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION
OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

June 29, 1961

Our dear friend, Comrade Kim Il Sung,

Dear comrades, members of the Party and government delegation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic,

We heartily greet you, our dear friends, the emissaries of the fraternal Korean people, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government, and on behalf of the Soviet people as a whole. We are glad to receive you once more in Moscow, on our Soviet soil, as the most welcome of visitors.

Only recently the Korean working people welcomed a Soviet government delegation in Pyongyang. The fond reception given to our delegation in your country showed once more how deep the sentiments of friendship and sympathy are which the Korean people have for the Soviet Union and the Soviet people. Today, Moscow is welcoming you warmly and cordially. You will see again how highly the Soviet people prize the friendship of our

peoples, how they cherish this friendship, which is sealed by our common struggle for the great ideals of communism and world peace. We shall be happy to acquaint you with the life of the Soviet land and the constructive labour of the Soviet people, who are building the magnificent edifice of communism.

The visit to the Soviet Union of the Party and government delegation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic headed by that fine son of the Korean people, our good friend, Comrade Kim Il Sung, will serve to strengthen and develop further the all-round relations and fraternal co-operation between the U.S.S.R. and the K.P.D.R. in the interests of the peoples of the two countries, and the interests of lasting peace and security in the Far East and the rest of the world.

We wish our Korean friends from the bottom of our hearts a pleasant and fruitful stay in the Soviet Union, and say to them, "*Dobro pozhalovat*, welcome!"

Long live the glorious Workers' Party of Korea and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung!

Long live the unbreakable friendship of our peoples!

Long live the heroic and hard-working people of Korea!

Long live the mighty socialist camp!

SPEECH
AT A LUNCHEON
FOR THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION
OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

June 30, 1961

Dear Comrade Kim Il Sung,

Dear Korean Friends,

We are very glad to see you in Moscow again. We welcome you most heartily. The peoples of our countries are linked by close bonds of proletarian solidarity, by the

great ideas of Marxism-Leninism. We have common interests and aims in the struggle for peace, for the triumph of communism. The Soviet and Korean peoples are confidently advancing in the single family of socialist countries.

We sincerely welcome the splendid successes achieved by the Korean People's Democratic Republic in socialist construction under the leadership of the tried and true leader of the Korean people, the Workers' Party of Korea, and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung.

The Korean people have every reason to be proud. Having become the masters of their destiny, they are performing wonderful feats of labour. Eight years ago Korea lay in ruins, scorched by the flames of war. Today, thanks to the selfless efforts of the Korean people, cities and villages have risen from the ashes and up-to-date enterprises have been built in the northern part of the Korean Peninsula. The Korean countryside is developing successfully along a new path. The living standard of the working people is steadily improving.

Unfortunately, the people of Korea are today prevented from living in a single state. The American imperialists, jointly with the South Korean reactionary clique, have split the country and raised a barrier between North and South. There, on the other side of the barrier, they are trying to maintain their rule with the help of terror and violence. But the successes of the Korean People's Democratic Republic are a beacon for the people of South Korea, who are waging a struggle for the peaceful unification of their country.

We are sure that the just struggle of the Korean people for the restoration of national unity by peaceful means on a democratic basis will be crowned with success. We are always with you in this struggle. The cause of the Korean people is a just cause. The Soviet Government has rendered, and will continue to render, all-round support to the peaceful strivings and just aspirations of the Korean people.

Dear comrades, your presence here is yet another vivid manifestation of the fraternal friendship and solidarity of the Korean and Soviet peoples. We are always very happy to see you. There are things we want to tell about and to show to our close friends. We are sure that the great fraternal bonds between our countries, the friendship of our peoples and the close ties between the C.P.S.U. and the Workers' Party of Korea will develop and grow stronger.

Allow me to offer a toast to the heroic Korean people, and to the glorious Workers' Party of Korea, the organiser of their victories!

To the health of our dear friend, Comrade Kim Il Sung!

To the health of all our dear guests!

Long live the friendship between the Soviet and the Korean peoples!

Long live our mighty socialist camp, the bulwark of world peace!

SPEECH
AT A RECEPTION AT THE EMBASSY
OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

July 5, 1961

Dear Comrade Kim Il Sung!

Dear Comrades Kim Chang Man, Kim Kwang Hyup, Li Jong Ok and Pak Sung Chul!

Dear Comrade Ambassador Li Song Woon!

To begin with, I would like to thank Comrade Kim Il Sung heartily for the kind words he spoke about our Party, the Soviet Government, and our people.

We are highly pleased to be present among friends at such a wonderful reception. It is particularly pleasant to be here with Comrade Kim Il Sung, the "culprit" of today's festivities, and with the members of the Party and government delegation of the fraternal Korean People's

Democratic Republic, which he heads. A fine son of the heroic Korean people, Kim Il Sung is well known in our country as a fighter devoted to the cause of socialism and as a good friend of the Soviet Union. Allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government, and all the Soviet people, once again to extend warm and heartfelt greetings to the distinguished envoys of fraternal Korea!

The Soviet people rejoice sincerely at the remarkable achievements and successes of their Korean brothers. The working folk of People's Korea have restored towns and villages from ruins and ashes. They have built up a modern industry, increased agricultural production, and considerably improved the life of the people. The outstanding successes of our Korean friends in all fields of socialist construction have been scored thanks to the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the Workers' Party of Korea and the heroic labour of the entire Korean people.

The peaceful development of our countries is inseparably linked with the struggle for world peace, for the prevention of war. The general line in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and all the countries of the socialist camp is the Leninist policy of the peaceful coexistence of states with different systems. The Communists are the most fervent champions of peace and elimination of the cold war. We always have favoured and will firmly favour general and complete disarmament, the disbandment of military blocs and the closure of foreign military bases.

In common with our Korean friends, we believe that an end must be put to the abnormal situation resulting from the artificial division of Korea's territory. It is necessary to withdraw all foreign troops from South Korea in order to let the Korean people shape their own destiny. The Soviet Government fully supports the position of the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic on the peaceful unification of Korea on a democratic basis.

Dear comrades and friends! The visit of the Party and

government delegation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic to the Soviet Union will undoubtedly go down as an outstanding event in the history of Soviet-Korean friendship, as an important contribution to greater unity of the socialist countries, to world peace.

Allow me to offer a toast to the health of our dear friend, the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the K.P.D.R., Comrade Kim Il Sung!

To the health of all the members of the Party and government delegation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic!

To the health of our host, Ambassador Comrade Li Song Woon!

To the further advancement of the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Korea!

To the unbreakable unity of the socialist countries!

To world peace!

(N. S. Khrushchov's speech was heard with great attention and was frequently interrupted by applause.)

SPEECH AT A SOVIET-KOREAN FRIENDSHIP MEETING

July 6, 1961

Dear Comrade Kim Il Sung,
Dear Comrades and Friends,

It has become a good tradition with us to hold meetings of working people to express our respect and kind feelings for friends who come to our country. The Soviet people invariably give a very warm reception to good guests, but it is with special joy that they meet their brothers in the struggle for the triumph of socialism and communism. This is why it gives us great pleasure to welcome the envoys of the Korean people. *(Prolonged applause.)*

Allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Soviet Government and the entire Soviet people, to bid a hearty welcome to our dear guests—the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, head of the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the good friend of our country, Comrade Kim Il Sung, and the other distinguished members of the Party and government delegation of Korea. (*Stormy applause.*)

I think that our Korean friends have seen again during their tour of the Soviet Union that the Soviet people harbour great fraternal friendship for the heroic Korean people. Today, we want to express our deep gratitude to the fraternal Korean people for the cordial welcome given to the Soviet government delegation which recently visited the Korean People's Democratic Republic. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, the Soviet people know well what a difficult road the working people of Korea have travelled in the struggle for their freedom and the strengthening of their independence. They were burdened with the difficult heritage of long years of rule by Japanese imperialists, who, as Lenin said, plundered Korea "with unheard-of brutality, combining all the latest refinements of technology and torture..."*

Sixteen years have passed since people's power was established in North Korea. For more than half of this time the people of the Korean People's Democratic Republic have had to defend their country against imperialist aggression, and to rehabilitate their national economy, ravaged first by the Japanese colonialists and then by the American interventionists and their South Korean puppets.

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 31, p. 415.

In spite of these difficulties, great successes have been achieved by People's Korea in economic and cultural development and in the improvement of the people's living standard. Only recently Korea was regarded as a backward semi-feudal country. Now the Korean People's Democratic Republic is an industrial and agrarian socialist state. The Republic produces almost eight times as much manufactured goods as before liberation. Now the enterprises of People's Korea turn out as much in 45 days as the entire country produced in a year under Japanese rule.

The working class has grown substantially and its cultural and technical standards have risen. Displaying excellent organisation and labour heroism, the working class, led by the Workers' Party of Korea, is the leading force in the building of socialism.

The Korean People's Democratic Republic has completed the socialist transformation of the countryside and is successfully raising the level of agricultural production. The life of the working peasantry has changed. By uniting in agricultural co-operatives, the peasants won the opportunity of broadly using modern machinery and scientific achievements, of developing through collective labour their commonly-owned farms. The peasantry is leading a more prosperous and cultured life and is contributing to the improvement of the life of the whole people, and the advancement of the country's economy and culture.

The living standard of the Korean people has risen considerably in these years, and its national culture has developed. North Korea has become a country of one hundred per cent literacy with a large number of educational and cultural institutions. A fourth of the population studies in the Republic today. The Korean People's Democratic Republic is the only Asian country to have introduced universal compulsory seven-year schooling. In the past, there was not a single higher educational establishment

in North Korea. Now it has 76 universities and university-level establishments.

Since liberation the country has trained over 100,000 engineers, technicians and other specialists for the national economy. In the years of free development along the socialist road, the country has produced a big detachment of intellectuals from among the people, and these are serving their country loyally. All this enables the Korean people to advance even more rapidly towards their great goal—the completion of socialist construction. (*Applause.*)

The working people of Korea have made these striking achievements in socialist construction thanks to the correct leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea and its Central Committee headed by the loyal son of the Korean people, Comrade Kim Il Sung. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The working people of the capitalist world and the countries fighting for their independence are closely following the progress of the socialist countries. They compare their life with the life of the socialist nations. We do not fear this comparison. In this sense the experience of socialist construction in the Korean People's Democratic Republic attracts considerable attention among many of the peoples who have won national independence and wish to consolidate it, so as not to become dependent again on foreign oppressors.

The peoples see how speedily a formerly dependent country has done away with its backwardness and embarked upon the road of political, economic and cultural advancement. This adds to the confidence of the former colonial and dependent peoples that it is perfectly possible for them to achieve national revival and genuine independence in the lifetime of one generation.

The peoples of these countries ask the legitimate question: If the socialist nations, which shared our lot in the past, could do away with their backwardness in a matter of 10-15 years and achieve such tremendous successes,

why should not we also think of following this road to a free life, happiness and prosperity?

This is why the successes of the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the other socialist countries have such tremendous international impact. We are deeply convinced that they promote the strengthening of peace, the national independence of countries, and the progress of all mankind. (*Applause.*)

Dear comrades, this visit of the Party and government delegation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung will occupy an important place in the history of the friendship of the Soviet and Korean peoples. It will be recalled that fraternal friendship and close co-operation have long existed between our countries. The Soviet people have rendered, and will continue to render, material and moral support to the Korean people, and will help them in building socialism. (*Applause.*)

A Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance has been signed today between the Soviet Union and the Korean People's Democratic Republic, crowning talks held in an atmosphere of cordiality. (*Prolonged applause.*) This is an important and significant event in the life of the peoples of our countries. (*Applause.*)

The signing of the Treaty shows how highly the Soviet and Korean peoples value their socialist friendship, how they cherish this friendship. By this historic Treaty we have documentally recorded and sealed the truly fraternal relations which have long been established and are developing successfully between the peoples of our two countries. (*Applause.*)

The Treaty provides for reciprocal military assistance and support in the event of an armed attack on either of the contracting parties. (*Applause.*) Everybody knows that we are not in favour of military agreements, but we had to sign this Treaty, of a defensive nature, because the governments of the United States, Japan and other

powers have turned down all our proposals designed to ease tension and ensure security in the Far East. They turned a deaf ear to our calls to abolish war bases and aggressive blocs and not to conclude the American-Japanese aggressive military alliance. The imperialist powers ignored the proposals for setting up in the Far East and throughout the Pacific area a zone of peace and, above all, a zone free of nuclear weapons.

The governments of the Western Powers also ignored the repeated calls of the socialist countries for the reunification of the two parts of Korea in conformance with the national aspirations of the Korean people. Being fully dependent on the Pentagon and the State Department, the reactionary rulers of South Korea rejected all the proposals advanced by the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic for closer relations between the two states existing on the Korean Peninsula and for unifying the country on a peaceful and democratic basis. The South Korean authorities oppose the country's peaceful unification and do not disguise their hatred of the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

But the rulers of South Korea are one thing, and the people are quite another. Popular wrath against the foreign oppressors and their henchmen is mounting in South Korea. For years the United States has not been able to achieve "stability" in that country; it cannot establish there a regime that would be accepted by the South Korean people. It is a foregone conclusion that all the attempts of the imperialists to impose their order on the population of South Korea are doomed to failure. (*Applause.*) Their reactionary policy, designed to use the decayed regime in order to enslave South Korea, will never win support among the Korean people. This colonialist policy has evoked and will continue to evoke vigorous popular protests.

Some people reckoned that there would be peace and order in South Korea because the reactionary system there

was guarded by American armed forces. But the people threw out Syngman Rhee, that lackey of the American imperialists, who fled in disgrace to the land of his masters. Then there was the government of John Chang Myun. But this puppet government, too, was soon overthrown by the military clique of Chang Do Young. The United States was in a predicament. It could not very well admit complicity in the coup, because the American imperialists had themselves publicised John Chang's regime as an example of democracy and declared their support for it. To admit that they knew nothing of the plot was equally awkward for them, because this would discredit their intelligence service, which had no inkling of the plot hatched under its very nose.

But Chang Do Young's rule was also short-lived. He did not even have time enough to make his kowtowing voyage to Washington before he was thrown overboard.

The squabbles within the South Korean ruling clique are reminiscent of dogs fighting over a bone. The rapid leapfrogging of the corrupt Seoul puppets is an indication that the imperialists have failed in their designs. The population of South Korea refuses to tolerate the order cultivated there for sixteen years by the American imperialists. Popular wrath is seething and growing. History shows that it is the people who always have the final say. And one need not doubt that the Korean people will still have theirs. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The events in South Korea, occupied by foreign troops, show that the establishment there of an undisguised fascist military dictatorship is likely to bring about a further deterioration of the situation in the Korean Peninsula. The threats of the fascist military clique are getting louder, and it is common knowledge that it commands an army of 600,000 equipped with American arms.

It is our duty, we feel, to warn the aggressive forces that if the Korean People's Democratic Republic is attacked, the Soviet Union will regard this attack as an attack

on itself and will support the Korean People's Democratic Republic with all the strength and means at our disposal. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We sincerely wish that the military clauses of this Treaty will never have to be applied in practice. (*Applause.*) However, this will depend on how our allies—the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of China—are treated by the forces in the Far East, especially in South Korea and Japan, still hatching plans for armed aggressive ventures.

The Soviet people deeply appreciate and share the desire of the Korean people to end the artificial division of their country. The Korean people rightly demand the withdrawal from South Korea of American and other foreign troops, whose presence prevents the Koreans from settling their affairs themselves, without foreign interference.

The Soviet Union enthusiastically supports the proposals of the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic to establish a confederation of the South and North, and to promote economic and cultural exchanges between South and North Korea. This could be a good beginning for national unification, which must proceed along peaceful and democratic lines. Such unification conforms to the most cherished aspirations and national demands of all the Korean people, and promotes peace in the Far East and the rest of the world. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet-Korean Treaty will in no way interfere with the peaceful reunification of Korea. We fully agree with the statement of the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic made during the signing of the Treaty that once Korea is reunified along peaceful, democratic lines, the united Korean state will be free of the commitments undertaken by either part of Korea under the respective politico-military treaties and agreements concluded before reunification.

Comrades, the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance signed by us has no aggressive aims.

We have always held, and hold now, that disputes between states should not be settled by force of arms. The Soviet Union, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, and all the other socialist countries have always favoured good-neighbour relations with all states, regardless of their social system. The peoples of all countries want an enduring peace.

But it must always be borne in mind that the ruling quarters of the Western Powers do not want a relaxation of international tension, and strive to delay the solution of pressing international problems. This applies above all to the problems left unsettled from the last war. Especially alarming is the fact that there is still no German peace treaty.

I have more than once stated the Soviet Government's position on the German issue, and this position has not changed. The Soviet Government is deeply convinced that a peace treaty and a normalisation of the situation in West Berlin on its basis will radically improve the climate in Europe and contribute to the strengthening of world peace.

The legacy of the past war also embraces many problems concerning the Far East and Asia. Asia, in our time, is a highly important part of the world. The sharpest battles of the peoples against imperialism have taken place there after the Second World War. The national-liberation movement there has developed with unparalleled force and has dealt powerful blows to the imperialist system.

The victory of the people's revolution in China, the establishment of People's Democracies in North Korea and North Viet Nam, and the increased might of the entire socialist community have radically changed the balance of forces in the Far East and created a favourable situation for the conversion of Asia into a zone of peace.

Speaking of the situation in the Far East, one cannot

help mentioning Japan, a close neighbour of the Soviet Union and the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

In the past Korea suffered grievously from the aggressive Japanese militarists. Japan has also warred three times against us. The Japanese people must have had their fill of wars, which, in the final analysis, have brought them nothing but hardships. They want to build their life in a new way, to enjoy the benefits of peaceful labour and co-operation with all neighbours. We respect the people of Japan, who are battling courageously against a resurgence of militarism, against the menace of atomic death.

The present Japanese Government, however, disregards the will of its people. It kowtows to the U.S. imperialists, who have honeycombed Japan with military bases and do not want to let it escape from under their control. For example, what does Japanese Premier Ikeda's recent visit to Washington indicate? The Japanese people resolutely demand the closure of American bases and the return to Japan of the Island of Okinawa, captured by the Americans. But Mr. Ikeda, knowing the manners and customs of the American occupationists, did not dare so much as to open his mouth in support of his country's demands. He meekly signed all that was dictated to him in Washington. The Japanese people declare with mounting resolve their disagreement with the policy of Japan's subordination to U.S. military plans.

Comrades, in recent years we have witnessed a tumultuous development of the liberation movement of the peoples still languishing under the colonial yoke. The last strongholds of the colonial system are crumbling. The struggle for freedom has spread to even the most sinister dungeons of colonialism, such as the Portuguese colonies in Africa.

The very ground is scorching the feet of the imperialists also in countries that have received formal independence, but whose peoples really still suffer colonial oppres-

sion. People throughout the world are coming to realise more clearly what real freedom is. They want to be masters of their country, and to benefit by their own labour. They refuse to put up any longer with foreign monopolies plundering their national wealth and foreign hirelings and corrupt imperialist henchmen running their countries.

The peoples of the countries dependent on the imperialists are eager to free themselves from the "benefits" which the imperialists have imposed on them in the form of "patronage" and various "guarantees". The peoples realise increasingly that the "patronage" and "guarantees" of the imperialists are not intended to promote their national interests, but to buttress the decayed regimes against popular wrath.

The rulers of Iran, for instance, were tantalised by United States patronage. They wanted guarantees from the American imperialists that the latter would help them in the struggle against the Iranian people. But these guarantees are of little help to the rulers of Iran. Iran is seething today, and the reactionary regime is running into increasing difficulties.

Popular discontent is growing in South Viet Nam, whose population is fighting for freedom, for the expulsion of the placemen of American capital, for unification with their brothers in the North. The American imperialists have spent huge sums to support Ngo Dinh Diem. Now they are alarmed, lest these funds are lost just as the thousands of millions of dollars they scattered to the winds in their attempts to save the anti-popular Chiang Kai-shek regime. The great Chinese people have won freedom and independence and are advancing successfully along the road of socialist construction. (*Stormy applause.*)

Or take Latin America, where the positions of American capital are still strong. The United States has to deal there ever more often with growing popular protest against the domination of the American monopolies. It is

not long ago since former U.S. Vice-President Richard Nixon came home from Latin America with bumps and bruises.

Recently, a representative of the new U.S. Administration also ran into trouble in these countries. Mr. Adlai Stevenson, as the U.S. press reported, went to Latin America on behalf of the President to rally the reactionary forces there against Cuba. But he was met with angry popular demonstrations.

Stevenson's trip did not yield the results expected by Washington. He went there to agitate against Cuba, but the masses of Latin America showed that they supported the righteous struggle of the Cuban people for freedom and independence, and not the colonialist encroachments of the United States monopolies. (*Stormy applause.*)

Nothing can be done about it. The time is gone when rulers could defy the will of the peoples. Now it is the peoples who have the final say. The peoples cannot be vanquished. It is impossible to restrain their steadily mounting anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle.

Comrades, in building a new life the peoples of the socialist countries are scoring victory after victory. The great advantages of socialism are becoming ever more obvious.

Some bourgeois economists, all sorts of "experts" on socialism, are trying to convince the peoples of their countries that the socialist camp cannot outstrip the capitalist West. "No matter how fast you run," they say, "you will never overtake our capitalist system."

But the facts show conclusively that the reverse is true. The rates of economic development in the socialist countries are much higher than those in the capitalist countries. The time is not far distant when we shall not only reach the highest level to which capitalism was able to rise, but shall also exceed it substantially.

The growing successes of socialism exert an immense influence on the masses in the capitalist countries. New

millions of people are siding with the communist teaching. Its force of attraction is growing irresistibly.

Sensing their impotence, the ideologists of capitalism are trying to combat the mighty ideas of communism with lies and slander. V. I. Lenin pointed out rightly that "when the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie on the workers declines, is undermined or wanes, the bourgeoisie has *everywhere and always* resorted, and will resort, to the most unmitigated lies and slander".*

But no amount of lies is able to hide from the peoples the great truth of socialism, communism—the best and fairest system on earth.

The struggle between the new and the old world, which has assumed gigantic proportions, obliges the peoples of the socialist states to show the utmost vigilance and to guard alertly the unity and cohesion of their ranks. In unity lies the main source of the strength and invincibility of every socialist country and of the socialist community as a whole.

The cohesion of the socialist camp is ensured above all by the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties on the basis of the great principles of Marxism-Leninism. We can say confidently that there never have been parties in the history of human society which could achieve the unity obtaining today among the Communist and Workers' Parties. (*Applause.*)

The Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, held in November 1960, ushered in a new stage in the development of the international communist and working-class movement, of fraternal solidarity and all-round contacts among the parties. It demonstrated once more the unity of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries and the further development and consolidation of internationalist relations based

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 20, p. 453.

on the complete equality and independence of all the Communist and Workers' Parties.

The added unity and co-operation of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties will doubtlessly bring us new, even more imposing successes in the struggle for the great goals of communist construction, for the consolidation of world peace. (*Prolonged applause.*)

It is good to know, dear friends, that friendly, fraternal relations are growing stronger and successfully developing between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Workers' Party of Korea, and between the Soviet and Korean peoples.

During the stay of the Korean Party and government delegation in our country, we had frank talks with Comrade Kim Il Sung and other leaders of the Workers' Party and the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic. I think I shall be expressing our common view if I say that these talks evidenced complete mutual understanding and an identity of views between us and the Korean comrades on all questions. (*Applause.*)

Permit me, comrades, to wish the Korean people wholeheartedly fresh accomplishments in the building of socialism, in the struggle for the peaceful unification of their homeland. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Long live the Korean People's Democratic Republic! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the Workers' Party of Korea and its Central Committee led by the staunch revolutionary and loyal son of the Korean people, Comrade Kim Il Sung! (*Stormy applause.*)

May the fraternal friendship of the Soviet and Korean peoples live for ever and go from strength to strength! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the inviolable unity of the mighty socialist camp! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live world peace! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.*)

SPEECH
ON THE DEPARTURE
OF THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION
OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

July 7, 1961

Dear Comrade Kim Il Sung,
Dear Korean Friends,
Comrades,

The stay in our country of the Party and government delegation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic is coming to an end.

The Soviet people received their dear guests from Korea with the best of sentiments and the greatest of cordiality. The meetings which the delegation had with Soviet people turned everywhere into demonstrations of Soviet-Korean friendship.

Our talks with the leaders of the Workers' Party and the Government of People's Korea were cordial and fruitful. We discussed in full concord and an atmosphere of fraternal friendship a number of highly important problems of interest to both countries. We signed a Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance, which conforms with the vital interests of the peoples of both countries and of the great socialist camp as a whole, and with the interests of world peace. The Treaty is a striking manifestation and natural result of the indestructible friendship of the Soviet and Korean peoples, which has been gaining strength and scope year after year.

We wish the fraternal Korean people from the bottom of our hearts that their achievements multiply and that the Korean land flourish. We, too, want to see Korea united, free and prosperous. We believe, as you do, that the time for it is not far away.

May our friendship live and gain strength down the ages!

Long live the heroic Korean people!

Long live the glorious Workers' Party and the Government of People's Korea headed by our good friend, Comrade Kim Il Sung!

Long live the great community of socialist countries!

A happy journey to you, dear friends! Till we meet again!

**SPEECH
AT A RECEPTION
GIVEN BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE C.P.S.U.
AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE U.S.S.R.
FOR GRADUATES OF MILITARY ACADEMIES**

July 8, 1961

Dear Comrades,

Today we celebrate the graduation by our military academies of a new detachment of highly competent officers.

May I on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government heartily congratulate the graduates of the academies and wish you big successes in the important work you are to conduct in the Armed Forces. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Soviet people love their Army, they are proud of the men who have dedicated their lives to building up the Armed Forces and strengthening the defensive potential of our great country! (*Prolonged applause.*)

I congratulate the professors, instructors, and the entire staffs of the academies, who have worked hard to give the students the necessary knowledge, to help them master the latest achievements of contemporary military science. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We hail the officers from the socialist countries who were graduated from military academies this year. We heartily wish you good results in the strengthening of the fraternal armies for the good of your peoples and the interests of the entire socialist camp. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, you have completed your studies and will soon leave for your military units. Each of you can and must make his worthy contribution to the important and honourable task of strengthening the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union. You must always bear in mind that the Soviet people, the Communist Party and the Government have entrusted the Soviet soldiers with the defence of the gains of the October Revolution, the gains of socialism, won under the leadership of the Party of the great Lenin. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Armed Forces of the Soviet Union and of the fraternal socialist countries stand guard over our splendid present and our still brighter future, to which our peoples are advancing under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Our entire country is preparing for the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The special importance of the Twenty-Second Congress lies in the fact that it will adopt a new Party Programme, which will formulate the principal tasks in economic and cultural development, foreign policy and the communist education of the people. The Programme will chart the concrete paths along which the Soviet people shall advance to communism.

Before long all Soviet citizens will be able to read this highly important document and rejoice over the future of their country, which in the next two decades will achieve magnificent successes in economic and cultural development, and the improvement of the living standard of the Soviet people. The Soviet Union will outstrip the major capitalist countries in economic development. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, the Soviet Union is manifestly a peace-loving state. No other country in the world has done so much

to promote lasting peace and international co-operation.

The Soviet Union has exerted, and continues to exert, tremendous efforts in order to secure agreement on disarmament with strict international control. The idea of general and complete disarmament advanced by the Soviet Government has been unanimously approved by the United Nations General Assembly and won broad support in all countries of the world.

However, as the talks have shown, the ruling quarters of the Western Powers only say they support the idea of disarmament, and do not really want it. Of late they have even been afraid of mentioning general and complete disarmament. All they want is to reduce the matter to control over armaments and, in so doing, to place under their control primarily the latest types of Soviet arms and military equipment.

The Western Powers frustrate agreement even on the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests by refusing us equal status in the control agency. What they want is a system of verification of the discontinuance of nuclear tests in our country, while we would, in effect, be kept from participating in the work of the control agencies. We would merely have to submit to the decisions of an international administrator, of some new Hammarskjöld.

Today it is admitted in the West that the strength of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is not inferior to that of the Western Powers. However, the due conclusions are not drawn from this fact. Given equal strength, there should also be equal rights and equal opportunities. Yet, though they acknowledge that the balance of strength has tilted against them, our partners want to dominate the international agencies and do their will in them.

In the solution of the disarmament problem and other international issues, the Soviet Government does not seek to place the Western Powers in an unequal position. But neither shall we ever forego our own interests.

The Soviet Union has always been ready to examine in earnest all proposals made by the governments and statesmen of various countries.

We believe it would be a good thing to revert to some proposals made by various countries in recent years. Many of these proposals were highly realistic and their implementation would benefit the peace. Take the Polish proposals for a nuclear-free zone in the centre of Europe, the proposals for the withdrawal of troops from foreign territories to within their national boundaries, the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries, an agreement on the prevention of surprise attacks and the establishment in Europe of a zone of reciprocal inspection and aerial survey on both sides of the line separating the armed forces of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, etc.

Would the acceptance of these proposals hurt anyone? No, it would ease international tension, speed the termination of the cold war and promote better mutual understanding. However, even if these measures are implemented, general and complete disarmament will still be the most cardinal problem, whose solution would radically improve the entire international climate and impart confidence that no third world war would break out. The Soviet Union will do its utmost to have this problem solved for the good of mankind.

Our country wants good relations with all states. The solution of international disputes must be approached soberly. We want to end the survivals of the Second World War, to end the cold war, and thus facilitate a disarmament agreement. It is high time to draw a line through the past, which must not obscure the future.

Permit me, comrades, to dwell in somewhat greater detail on so important a question as the conclusion of the German peace treaty, so that you may know what our policy is and what the situation is like at present.

The Soviet Government and the governments of the other socialist countries have proposed to our allies of the war against fascist Germany to conclude a German peace treaty and to normalise the situation in West Berlin on this basis. We have also urged the head of the West German Government, Chancellor Adenauer, to show understanding and goodwill in the solution of this vital task of our time. The socialist countries have said openly that they want to conclude a peace treaty this year, because over 16 years have elapsed since the end of the war—a more than adequate period in which to prepare oneself for solving this problem.

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

Of late menacing inflections have also appeared in the statements of Western government leaders. General de Gaulle, President of France, recently declared that a French division would be shipped from Algeria to Europe in autumn to reinforce NATO. Mr. Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, has also found nothing better and more constructive to do than talk about “firmness” for the sake of preserving the survivals of war and occupation in Germany.

The Soviet Government stands for peace and peaceful coexistence, for respect for the sovereignty of other states and non-interference in their domestic affairs. We have stood and shall stand firm on this. Our firmness, therefore, has a clearly-defined peaceful trend.

However, when others mention firmness and the necessity of mobilisation, the shipment of more troops to Eu-

rope and the like, all in one breath—that is quite a different line. It is an obstinate refusal to heed the demands of the time and the voice of reason, an attempt, in the old way, to rattle one's arms in the belief that this is the weightiest of arguments in settling pressing international issues.

In response to our, it would seem most natural, proposals for the conclusion of a peace treaty, the West has begun to count its divisions. As for Chancellor Adenauer, he is shouting himself hoarse and asking for nuclear weapons. Why does Adenauer want nuclear weapons? Twice, German militarism has engineered world wars. Now, when the wounds of the Second World War are still felt, it demands nuclear weapons. The Bundeswehr needs them not for peace, but for starting a third world war.

Many of you, comrades, fought in the Second World War and have seen for yourselves how much suffering it brought, and experienced what war is like. All of you understand what a war would mean today, if, God forbid, it broke out. It is not numbers of divisions that will count. In a nuclear war it is rockets and atom and hydrogen bombs that will be decisive. And it will not matter too much how many divisions are shipped from Algeria—one or ten, for that will alter nothing.

Herr Adenauer did not fight in the war and evidently wants to make up for lost time in his old age. Furthermore, he has indicated whom he wants to fight. As recently as last Sunday the Bonn Chancellor again named the Soviet Union a "potential enemy" and demanded that the Bundeswehr have the same armaments as this adversary. At the same time, he fulminated against the West Germans who are advocating neutrality.

Did the Chancellor realise what he was saying? He loves to parade as Hitler's victim, yet follows in Hitler's footsteps. Adenauer does not seem to know what a modern war is like, for if he did he would not play so recklessly with the destiny of people.

The call should not be for war, but for peace. One should not add tension to the situation and carry matters to a conflict. Let us sit round a table and calmly discuss all questions without resorting to threats. We propose that a peace conference be convened, and shall come there with our draft treaty. Let the Western Powers submit their proposals, their draft for a peace settlement. We shall discuss all the proposals and accept those that best promote the consolidation of peace and pay due regard for the interests and sovereignty of all states.

West Berlin is an island within the German Democratic Republic, an island where the capitalist system has been preserved. We do not want to interfere in the domestic affairs of the city's population or to jeopardise the prestige of the United States, Britain and France. Is it possible to find a solution as will satisfy all countries that fought against Germany and will not interfere with the established way of life in West Berlin? Yes, it is possible, and we suggest such a solution—to grant West Berlin the status of a free city, to give it guarantees either by the four Great Powers, the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union, or by the neutral countries, or the United Nations Organisation. If the Western Powers have some better idea for guarantees, let them submit it.

It is only natural, however, that whatever the West Berlin solution will be, it must take into consideration that the city lies in the centre of a sovereign state and that all West Berlin communications with the outside world cross its territory. It is accepted in international relations that access to a country across the territory of another state requires an appropriate understanding with its authorities.

The Soviet and British governments, for example, operate an air service between Moscow and London. The route touches at Copenhagen. But no one would have permitted us to fly via Copenhagen if we had not reached an understanding with the Danish Government. This is so usual

and legitimate that it perturbs no one. Why should there be any other procedure for flights over the German Democratic Republic or for using its roads and railways?

By proposing that a German peace treaty be concluded and that the problem of West Berlin be solved on this basis, we do not threaten anyone. We do not demand that the post-war socio-political conditions be changed in any state, or that new frontiers be established. The Soviet Union does not seek any acquisitions through the peace settlement, and does not want to humiliate anybody or to injure anybody's interests.

The socialist countries are not assailing the right of the West Berliners freely to choose the socio-economic order they want to have. Nobody is going to create difficulties for access to West Berlin. The city will be able to establish and maintain relations with any country and to the extent it deems desirable.

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

The Soviet Government is ready to undertake the most far-reaching guarantees as regards West Berlin. I have named various forms of guarantees time and again, but the NATO countries, which are fanning a war fever over West Berlin, go out of their way to hush up this part of our proposals. The "free" capitalist press, conscious of the weakness of the Western stand, is raising a howl that the Soviet Union wants to seize West Berlin and make acquisitions at the expense of others. By such fabrications it is trying to conceal from the public the true nature of the Soviet proposals.

We are not intending to attack West Berlin or to prejudice the freedom of its population. We are for the freedom of West Berlin on the basis of freedom, and not on the basis of occupation. We want nothing but elimina-

tion of the survivals of the Second World War in order to improve the climate in Europe as a whole. This is why the Soviet Union insists on the conclusion of a German peace treaty.

The Soviet Union regrets that the Western leaders show no desire to co-operate with us in the matter of a German peace treaty. They either do not appreciate the importance of a German peace settlement for the future of peace, or, which is more likely, are unable to rise above the narrow interests of their military blocs.

This is clear and understandable to all who are looking for reasonable solutions. But there are people who depict our proposals as a "menace" and then say that they will answer it with force. Is this sober policy? Little wonder it is being rightly criticised in the Western countries themselves. Many people there assess the situation correctly, and are urging the leaders of the United States, Britain and France to abandon prejudices and to see how remote Western policy is from the real conditions in which the countries live.

One might refer to such prominent authorities of the Western world as U.S. General Douglas MacArthur, who in a recent speech at Manila suggested outlawing world war, or British Field Marshall Montgomery, who suggested withdrawal of all foreign troops from Europe, closure of foreign military bases, withdrawal of foreign troops from Berlin, etc. This is what the men say who fought a war; they know what war is like and have a good idea of the hardships a new world war would bring down on mankind should it break out.

We advocate discarding the method of intimidation. War must not be allowed to start—it will consume far too many human lives. The first shots may be fired on the frontier where the troops stand face to face. But who can guarantee that these shots will not be echoed by nuclear explosions all over the globe, that a war will not begin in which front and rear will be mixed? This should be borne in mind

by everybody. Those who threaten us ought to know that we are able to repel aggressors. We have means for this. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet Union made tremendous progress in economic, cultural and technological development. Our people created and built up their Armed Forces that bore the brunt of the struggle against fascism and crushed German militarism. This gives us the right—I believe I shall not be misunderstood—to appeal to the leaders of the countries that were our allies in the past war, the President of the United States, Mr. Kennedy, the President of the French Republic, General de Gaulle, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Macmillan, to display wisdom in settling the German problem, to go to the conference together with other peace-loving countries and to conclude a peace treaty. (*Applause.*)

Common sense and more common sense is needed today most of all. And it must be expressed in deeds of peace, in a desire to root out tension. No other step in our time can be more peaceable than the conclusion of a peace treaty and the elimination of the survivals of the past war.

We offer peace, we want common sense to prevail in relations between states; we want peaceful coexistence and competition to show what system provides greater material and spiritual blessings for the peoples. The peoples must see for themselves which system accords with their vital interests: the communist system or the capitalist.

By proposing the conclusion of a peace treaty, the Soviet Government does not want anyone to gain, while others lose. Let us put the seal to what already exists. No one's sovereignty will be affected by the conclusion of a German peace treaty. True, the peace treaty will not be to the liking of the militaristic revenge-seeking quarters in West Germany. It will handcuff them and make it more difficult for them to collect strength for fresh gambles. But, to be sure, it is the idea of the peace treaty to stop the dangerous game of the West German revanchists, who are try-

ing to take advantage of the instability in Europe and set the Great Powers against each other.

I repeat, there are no serious and valid reasons preventing a peace settlement with Germany. Yet the opponents of an international détente and of a peace treaty seek to justify their attitude by all kinds of groundless arguments.

They say, for example, that the division of Germany prevents a peace settlement. If the Western Powers really wanted to help the Germans to unite, they would not obstruct but rather advise the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany to embark on negotiations with the Government of the German Democratic Republic. They would support the German Democratic Republic's proposal for a confederation of the two German states.

If the absence of an all-German government really prevented the conclusion of a peace treaty, the Western Powers and the Federal Republic of Germany would accept the proposal the Soviet Union is now making, namely, that the Germans meet before the signing of the German peace treaty to work out a common standpoint on the peace settlement and on the country's reunification.

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

But anyone who expects to abolish the socialist system in the German Democratic Republic with our assistance is living in a world of illusions. The German Democratic Republic has a loyal and dependable friend in the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*)

There are many unsettled matters in Germany. This seems to be now acknowledged by everyone, and hence the logical conclusion that these matters must be resolved and

not allowed to hang fire until they cause a conflict. Questions of an international nature must be resolved at an appropriate forum. German internal problems can be settled by nobody other than the Germans themselves.

The Soviet Government will regret it very much if any of our former allies do not sign the German peace treaty together with us and if West Germany refuses to accept the hand of reconciliation proffered by the socialist states. But we cannot let the solution of this question, vitally important for so many states and peoples, hang fire for years to come only because certain quarters wish to retain opportunities for revenge and to perpetuate the occupation regime in a part of German territory. The Soviet Union will then have to reach agreement with the German Democratic Republic and the countries that wish to conclude a peace treaty with that peace-loving German state.

The procedure of the conclusion of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic will conform strictly to existing international practice and custom. After the treaty is signed, the Soviet Union will lay down all the obligations it hitherto discharged on the communication lanes with West Berlin. In short, the Government of the German Democratic Republic will enjoy full sovereignty over all its territory, just as any other independent state. (*Applause.*)

You are military men, comrades, and you will understand perfectly well what it is to disregard the provisions of a peace treaty and to try to violate the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic. Many of you will serve in the forces stationed under the Warsaw Treaty in the territory of the German Democratic Republic, and this means that you will have to repel the aggressive forces that may decide to wreck the peace settlement by force of arms. I call your attention to the fact that it is a *peace treaty*, to which certain people threaten to respond with force and cause a dangerous international crisis.

The Soviet Government is being insistent about concluding a German peace treaty, because it is convinced that if measures are not taken now to normalise the situation in Germany and West Berlin, the peoples may be faced with the fact of aggression by the West German militarists. There is nothing to guarantee that some venture of Hitler's West German successors will not spark off a big war. It will be too late then to investigate what prevented the timely conclusion of a peace treaty and why, despite all the warnings made by the peace-loving forces, militarism in West Germany was allowed to rise to its feet and again take to arms.

Remember how Hitler led the world to the brink of war, and then unleashed it. He advanced step by step, gradually and methodically, to this goal, and extorted concessions from the Western Powers. He was encouraged by the ruling quarters of Britain, France and the United States. They believed that with fascist help they would succeed in defeating the Soviet Union and destroying communism.

Numerous documents and books describe how Hitler Germany prepared the Second World War. Recently I read *Twenty Years of Diplomatic Struggle*, a book by the French newspaperwoman, Genevieve Tabouis. It gives a good description of the backstage aspect of the collusion between the German militarists and reactionary forces in the other countries of monopoly capital.

It seems, the monopoly die-hards and West German revenge-seekers would not mind embarking on this road again with a view to settling outstanding issues by war. And it is the question of communism, of its development, that the monopolists regard as the most outstanding issue. Their minds are befogged by hatred for communism and the socialist countries. Their sense of restraint may fail them, and they may start a new war. Adenauer is repeating what Hitler did in his time when preparing for war. And it is essentially the same countries that encouraged Hitler which are now encouraging Adenauer.

But they forget that the situation has changed radically since then. In those days the Soviet Union and People's Mongolia were encircled by capitalist states. Today, there is a mighty socialist camp, which is growing and gaining strength, a camp of over one thousand million people. The colonial system is falling to pieces and new independent states are emerging, which embark on a policy of peace. It is no longer the imperialist forces, but those of peace and socialism, that determine the main regularities, the main trend of international and social development. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet Union is showing the maximum of goodwill to achieve mutual understanding with our former allies and the Federal Republic of Germany. But the language of threats and intimidation, to which the West often resorts, is not conducive to a business-like atmosphere for negotiations. Moreover, under these circumstances the conclusion of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, with all the consequences entailed, may prove to be the only way out of the existing situation.

We shall sign the peace treaty and shall order our Armed Forces to administer a fitting rebuff to any aggressor that dares lift his arm against the Soviet Union or our friends. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Soviet Government is quite sincere in its efforts to achieve lasting peace. But we must not forget that peace does not depend on our wishes alone, and not only on our efforts. Lasting peace will not be secured unless the efforts to achieve it are exerted also by the governments of other countries, and unless the peoples of all the world fight for it.

We say that a new world war is not inevitable. However, since imperialist powers still exist, it must not be thought that the possibility of war is already totally ruled out. We must therefore be prepared, and well prepared, for any contingency. Soviet people, and our youth above all, must be vigilant and ready to defend the country, to

repel any aggressor who dares attack our land. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We must perfect our weapons, improve our skill in handling arms, so that they function without fail and with precision. This must be remembered primarily by you, the commanders and leaders of our troops. The Soviet Army must be ready at any moment to defend reliably the peaceful building of communism in the Soviet Union, and to fulfil its internationalist duty of assisting the other socialist countries. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Armed Forces now have everything they need to perform successfully their responsible tasks. They have the necessary number of thermo-nuclear weapons, and the most efficient means of delivering them—short, medium-range and intercontinental rockets.

Those who are thinking of war had better not fancy that distance will save them. No, if the imperialists start a war, it will end in imperialism's complete defeat and destruction. Mankind will put an end once and for all to the system that gives rise to aggressive wars. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, the Government of the Soviet Union is keeping a watchful eye on the military measures taken of late by the United States and its NATO allies. We cannot disregard such facts as the building up of the numerical strength of the Western armed forces, and the steps to increase considerably the number of strategic A-bombers kept constantly in the air. The West German troops are being equipped with the latest weapons, and increased numerically.

The U.S. President, Mr. Kennedy, proclaimed "new frontiers" in his recent messages to Congress. These provide for an accelerated programme of strategic nuclear-rocket development and for the greater combat readiness of all the services. For this purpose, President Kennedy asked for military allocations over \$3,500 million in excess of the budget estimates submitted by the previous President. This means that military spending in the 1961/1962 fiscal year

will exceed \$53,000 million. Military spending in the Federal Republic of Germany has increased 18 per cent this year. A considerable increase in military expenditures is also witnessed in Britain, France and other NATO countries.

This is how the Western Powers are responding to the unilateral reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces and Soviet military spending over the past few years.

Would it be right for us in these circumstances to continue reducing our Armed Forces unilaterally?

In view of the existing situation, the Soviet Government has been compelled to instruct the Defence Ministry to suspend temporarily, pending special orders, the reduction of the Armed Forces planned for 1961. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Due to the growing military budgets in the NATO countries, the Soviet Government has passed a decision to increase defence spending in the current year by 3,144 million rubles, thus allocating a total of 12,399 million rubles in 1961. (*Prolonged applause.*)

These are forced measures, comrades. We are taking them due to the existing circumstances, because we cannot neglect the Soviet people's security.

Comrades, we are firmly convinced that the solution of many pressing problems pertaining to the improvement of the international situation depends greatly on an improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. We realise, of course, that Soviet-American relations are not easy to improve. It cannot be done without the desire of and practical steps by the two sides.

In this connection it is interesting to note the statement made by U.S. President Mr. Kennedy at the June 28 press conference, when he dwelt on the peaceful economic competition between our two countries. We like this approach. It is, naturally, much better than competing in the development of increasingly destructive types of weapons. We have always said so, and say it now.

The Soviet Union is as yet behind the United States in

economic development, and we frankly admit it. But our country has inexhaustible potentialities to overcome this lag quickly and to become richer than the United States.

Soviet people are convinced that the time is not far off when the Soviet Union will overtake and outstrip the United States in all the key economic fields. This is not wishful thinking, but realistic plans based on concrete estimates.

Our desire to be richer than the United States, to overtake it in economic development, is, of course, no threat to the United States. Some people call it our challenge to the United States. But it is a challenge to peaceful competition. What is wrong with that? Irrespective of who wins the competition, the peoples of both countries will be the ones to gain, because they will enjoy the boons of peaceful labour.

President Kennedy acknowledged in his statement at the press conference that the socialist system is enabling the Soviet Union to overtake the United States. True, he believes this will occur on a more distant date than the one we name. He questions the feasibility of our plans, but the facts, life itself, show conclusively that he is mistaken.

I shall not argue with Mr. Kennedy, and will confine myself to a simple computation. The Soviet Union's industrial production in 1960 amounted to 60 per cent of America's. The average annual growth rate of industrial production in our country in the past 16 years has been 10.6 per cent. If Soviet industrial output grows annually by 10 per cent, the Soviet Union will in 1966 exceed the present American output by 6 per cent, and by 56 per cent in 1970. (*Applause.*)

To increase 56 per cent in 10 years, United States industrial output must grow 4.5 per cent annually. But even if the Americans succeed in producing an annual increment of 4.5 per cent, as Mr. Kennedy would like, we shall overtake them in 1970 just the same. (*Applause.*)

If the Americans keep increasing industrial output at the rate of two per cent, which they averaged in the post-war

years, the Soviet Union will outstrip America as early as 1967. If American industrial output increases by three per cent annually, we shall leave the U.S. behind in 1968.

Approximately the same figures could be quoted with regard to the outlook for agricultural development in our two countries.

Economic forecasts naturally give rise to much argument. I, for one, am sceptical about Mr. Kennedy's statements during the election campaign, in which he criticised Eisenhower for the low rates of American economic development. He promised an economic upswing and a drop in unemployment once the new Administration assumed control in the United States.

In one of my talks with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, I said at the time that if the Democratic Party came to power and Mr. Kennedy became President, he would scarcely succeed, I thought, in achieving more in the economic field than Eisenhower's Government. And, to be sure, this is exactly what we see. Take unemployment. Last October the United States had three and a half million jobless. This June, eight months later, the number of unemployed has not declined. On the contrary, it has increased to five and a half million.

Under the capitalist system economic development depends very little on the President. Each capitalist does what he pleases with his capital, and flings the workers into the street if this is profitable to him.

Those are the laws of capitalism. They are draconian laws, but they operate. The socialist system, of course, does not and cannot have that sort of thing.

We may argue about the economic outlook in a country, and voice diverse assumptions, but controversies of that kind are no reason for war among states.

So, Mr. Kennedy, let history decide who makes the correct forecasts, and who is mistaken. (*Applause.*)

Economic, cultural and other contacts play an important role in the development of good relations among countries. The Soviet Union is striving to develop them. We have fair-

ly good trade relations with Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and West Germany. They benefit both sides.

Our trade relations with other countries are also developing. But this cannot be said about trade with the United States. In effect, we have no trade at all with the United States, and this is no advantage to either country. I do not want to be misunderstood. We advocate trade with the United States not because we cannot do without it. The Soviet Union will not only survive, but will continue its rapid advance, fulfilling and overfulfilling the set economic plans.

But is it possible to speak seriously about any improvement of relations and the creation of an atmosphere of confidence between the two strongest powers in the world if one of them pursues a policy of economic discrimination with regard to the other? Of course, not. If the United States were sensible and discarded the policy of artificially restricting trade relations with the Soviet Union, this would promote the establishment of friendly relations and an improvement of the international climate.

Soviet policy is a policy of peaceful coexistence, a policy of economic competition. We therefore say to President Kennedy, General de Gaulle and Mr. Macmillan: Let us compete in this sphere. This would be sensible. If we were to conclude a peace treaty with Germany, shake hands, and declare that we shall devote our efforts to economic competition, all the people of the earth would heave a sigh of relief. It would be a splendid prologue for further talks and the realisation of mankind's age-old dream about lasting peace on earth. We are ready for it and proffer our hand to the Western governments. (*Stormy applause.*)

* * *

Comrades, the Soviet Army has won many glorious victories over the enemies of our country. Today it is the most up-to-date and the mightiest army of the world. The

technical make-up of our Soviet Army, Navy and Air Force has been radically altered in the last few years thanks to the concern shown by the Party and the people. Our Armed Forces will be developed and improved continuously. They will keep on getting the most powerful of weapons, until a general disarmament plan is adopted.

However, no matter how up-to-date and powerful the machines of war may be, they will not discharge their purpose unless placed in the dependable and skilful hands of servicemen who are ideologically steeled, courageous and infinitely loyal to their country. (*Applause.*)

Responsibility for the fulfilment of the tasks confronting the Soviet Armed Forces rests, above all, with the officers. To be up to the mark, the officers must persistently master Marxist-Leninist theory.

A Soviet officer must always and everywhere be a model of political awareness and high morals, and must discharge his military duty impeccably. At the same time, military service more than anything else requires of a commander that he be supremely and unyieldingly exacting, that he possess an unbending will and undeviatingly observe the principle of single command. To lead means to be an organiser of the masses, to guide people skilfully towards the set goals.

Officers must use their extensive rights sensibly to improve battle preparedness, to strengthen discipline and order in the units and on the warships.

Military discipline is described as the mother of victory. And it must be said that the experience of war fully confirms this. New equipment and new types of weapons, far from reducing, add immeasurably to the importance of military discipline.

In our time an officer must have good military technical training. He must have a broad theoretical outlook. He will not discharge his duty successfully, unless he keeps abreast of developments in military theory and practice. Even a short indulgence in self-confident conceit may cast

one among the laggards. A critical attitude to one's work, intolerance of shortcomings, honesty and truthfulness to the Party and the people must be qualities inherent in all our officers. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Army has always been strong through the political consciousness of its personnel and its allegiance to the sacred ideals of our Party. The soldiers' strong ideological convictions, their readiness to fight honourably for the Soviet land, for our people, for the lofty ideals of socialism constitute a very great advantage our Army has over the armies of the capitalist states.

It is essential that we continue persistently to educate servicemen in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, the spirit of Soviet patriotism, friendship among peoples, and proletarian internationalism.

The strength of our Army, created under the guidance of the great Lenin, lies in its unbreakable bonds with the people. It owes all its successes and victories to the Communist Party. Guidance by the Party and its constant concern for the reinforcement of the Armed Forces are the cornerstone of military development and the strengthening of the Soviet Union's defence potential.

The enhancement of the role and influence of the Party organisations in the Army and the Navy must continue to be the foundation of all our military policy. It is the task of commanders, political officers and all military chiefs to draw skilfully on the Party organisations, and steadily to channel the creative energy and activity of Communists and Young Communist League members into raising the battle preparedness of the Soviet Armed Forces.

The work of our officers is difficult and honourable. They bear full responsibility for their subordinates, and for their education and training. The need for constant battle preparedness requires continuous and intensive efforts of the commanders and political officers, and of the entire personnel of our Armed Forces.

The people have entrusted their Armed Forces with the

task of vigilantly guarding our great Soviet land, which is confidently advancing towards communism. So be worthy of this great trust. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Dear comrades, may I once again heartily congratulate you on being graduated from the military academies, and may I wish you big success in your high-minded work in behalf of peace and the security of our socialist land. (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the powerful and prosperous Soviet homeland! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the valorous Soviet Armed Forces and their officers! (*Stormy applause.*)

Glory to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the organiser and inspirer of all our victories! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise. Cheers for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government.*)

**SPEECH
AT A LUNCHEON
FOR THE PRESIDENT AND HEAD OF GOVERNMENT
OF THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA**

July 11, 1961

Dear Comrade President,
Dear Ghanaian Guests,
Comrades,

We are very pleased that our friends from freedom-loving Ghana have arrived. I am especially pleased to meet you again, Comrade President. I recall with pleasure our meetings and conversations of last year. That was our first acquaintance, but even then we understood each other well, because the Soviet Union and Ghana are working actively to consolidate peace and are irreconcilable opponents of colonialism in all its forms.

Our first meeting was in far-away New York, and today I bid you welcome from the bottom of my heart in the Kremlin, on Soviet soil.

I want to thank you heartily for the kind things you said yesterday at the airport about our country and the Soviet people. You mentioned the communist revolution in Russia and said you wanted to see the achievements it has yielded the peoples of the Soviet Union. We shall gladly give you every opportunity, so that your acquaintance is complete and thorough.

You will see that Soviet people are people of peace and labour. Acting upon the behests of the great Lenin, they are working to build communist society. We have already done a lot since the establishment of the Soviet state, but our plans for the future are still more imposing.

The Soviet people have deep sympathy and respect for the people of Ghana and the other young independent African states. These sentiments spring from the education of Soviet people in the spirit of internationalism and friendship with all peoples. Exploitation of man by man, national oppression and racial discrimination are entirely alien to us. We want sincere co-operation based on the principles of peaceful coexistence with the newly-independent and all other countries.

Not all countries have flung off the chains of colonialism. Unfortunately, many peoples are still languishing under the colonial yoke. But they are fighting stubbornly against the foreign oppressors. The peoples of Algeria, Angola and South-West Africa are shedding their blood in the fight for national liberation. The peoples and governments of the countries that have won national independence still face a hard struggle for complete liberation from the domination of the colonialists.

Colonialism cannot be destroyed by appeals and well-meaning wishes alone.

The decision to grant independence to all colonial countries and to abolish completely the disgraceful system of colonialism, adopted at the 15th U.N. General Assembly, has yet to be put into practice. The countries of monopoly capital, the imperialists and colonialists, have gone to great pains to prevent its realisation. The representatives of Britain, France, the United States and other countries, who are either colonialists themselves or allies of colonialists, abstained during the voting on these proposals in the United Nations. They could not vote against the proposals to abolish colonialism and grant complete independence to the peoples of the enslaved colonial countries, because the

peoples would never forgive them for it. But they have always done their utmost to prevent the final collapse of the disgraceful colonial system.

However, the struggle of the peoples against the colonialists in the enslaved and dependent countries goes on. A man's longing for freedom and independence, and especially a nation's longing, cannot be killed. This is why the peoples' struggle against colonial oppression, far from abating, is gaining continuously in intensity. It is not only in words, but in deeds as well, that we side with those who fight for their independence. We have always helped and shall continue to help them in every possible way to win their freedom and national independence.

We were able to see, you and I, at the 15th U.N. General Assembly, how the colonialists did their utmost to use the United Nations Organisation for their selfish ends. This was especially evident with relation to the Congo.

The tragedy in the Congo passes a severe judgement on the United Nations, which has played a shameful role in the fate of the Congolese people. All progressives in the world are shocked by the arbitrary actions of the U.N. executive bodies in the Congo. To be sure, how can anyone ever resign oneself to what happened in the Congo? Patrice Lumumba, the Prime Minister of its lawful Government, was arrested and savagely assassinated by a gang of bandits at the very time when U.N. troops were stationed in the Congo on his invitation. What is more, U.N. Secretary-General Hammarskjöld gave every encouragement to the reactionary forces who opposed the lawful Government and Parliament of the Congo that represent the will of the Congolese people.

When a rough-and-tumble ensued among the chiefs of the reactionary forces in the Congo, and Tshombe, the puppet of the colonialists who was the immediate culprit in Prime Minister Lumumba's assassination, was arrested,

the colonialists and their agents again condoned in every way the effort to let the killer escape just retribution. Tshombe was allowed to go free.

Why is all this being done? Because such a policy accords with the interests of the colonial powers, the interests of the monopoly capital that today dominates the executive bodies of the United Nations.

The imperialist powers want to retain their grip on the United Nations. But it is all too obvious that the domination of any one group of states in an international organisation robs it of the faculty to discharge its functions. Even if, say, all the countries of the world were to adopt a decision that went against the interests of the Soviet Union and prejudiced its security, the Soviet Union would not recognise such a decision, and would protect its rights by strength. We do have what it takes to protect them. Any other country would do the same if it cherished freedom, respected its independence and had the resources to safeguard them.

Ever since the United Nations was founded, the governments of the imperialist powers have never suffered the thought of allowing a Communist, a representative of the socialist countries, to assume the office of Secretary-General. To them that is a fantastic and heretical idea. Yet how can it be expected that the socialist countries, whose population today is more than 1,000 million, or one-third of mankind, which have truth and strength on their side, will obediently submit to the will of the imperialist powers and give their votes to the nominees of the imperialist powers in the United Nations? For, after all, their nominees follow a policy of discrimination not only against the socialist countries, but also against other, non-socialist, peace-loving countries.

To keep things in the United Nations as they are at present means laying the road to the break-up and collapse of that international organisation. If the United Nations is no more than a screen for the piratic policy of the colo-

nialist imperialist states, there will surely be few people who will mourn its demise.

If the peoples want the United Nations to be an effective and useful organisation, and that is what we want, they must demand that all countries in the U.N. have equal rights, enjoy equal opportunities, and that there should be no dominance of the colonialist and imperialist powers in that international organisation. We do not ask for any advantages for ourselves, for the socialist countries, in the United Nations. But we do not want others to have such advantages. This is why equality is the most sensible thing.

By what means can this state of affairs be achieved? We believe that it is necessary first of all to create an executive body of the U.N. consisting of three persons representing the three main groups of states existing in the contemporary world.

We have said so repeatedly and shall keep on saying it until it is understood by the men on whom the proper solution of these questions depends. The United Nations must be an organisation that really unites the nations, rather than disunites them. When matters are settled with due regard for the interests of all the three groups of states, there will be real unity within the framework of a united organisation of countries, irrespective of their socio-political systems. That is just what we are working for.

Ghana was one of the first countries in Africa to win independence. It shoulders considerable responsibility to those peoples of the African continent that are still languishing under the colonial yoke. The experience gained by Ghana, Guinea, Mali and the other independent African states in building a new life is of great practical significance for these peoples, and for the other peoples that have but recently won independence.

Your country has won respect on the African continent and outside it for its resolute stand in the struggle against colonialism and its consistent stand in the struggle for a stronger peace. You, as the head of the Republic of Ghana,

enjoy the well-deserved prestige of an uncompromising fighter for the liberation of the peoples from colonial oppression.

We wish you further successes in that noble struggle. We are sure that the role of Ghana and the other African countries in the solution of major international problems will grow.

May the friendship of our two countries develop in the common struggle for world peace and the destruction of colonialism!

To your health, dear Comrade President, and to your health, dear guests!

(N. S. Khrushchov's speech was heard with great attention and repeatedly interrupted by applause.)

SPEECH
AT A DINNER FOR THE CHAIRMAN
OF THE SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL
AND PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC
OF THE SUDAN

July 22, 1961

Dear Mr. Chairman,
Dear Sudanese Guests,
Dear Friends,

Regrettably, I was unable to be in Moscow to meet our distinguished guest from the Sudan, but I know that the citizens of Moscow gave you a warm and hospitable reception. You have probably already seen what sincere sympathy Soviet people show to their guests.

I want to use this opportunity to thank you, Mr. Abboud, for the kind words of greeting to the Soviet people you have spoken in Moscow, and for your high opinion of the Soviet Union's efforts in the struggle against colonialism and of the assistance our country renders the peoples who have embarked on independent development.

Ever since our state was founded, Soviet people have been educated in the spirit of the great Leninist principles of internationalism and friendship of the peoples. Racial discrimination, national oppression and exploitation of one nation by another are alien to Soviet society.

In your speech at the Moscow airport you said, Mr. Abboud, that economic and social progress could be achieved solely through industrialisation directed against the intrigues of the monopolies which want to retain Africa as their source of raw materials. I fully agree with you.

The Soviet Union has always considered it a duty to help young states in their struggle against imperialist and colonialist domination, in the effort of the peoples of all countries to develop their national economy and create their own industry. Yet, in so doing, the Soviet Union has always resolutely denounced all interference in the domestic affairs of these states and has always respected the national traditions and features of the peoples.

We have rendered and shall continue to render assistance to the young independent states, for we are aware of the difficulties they have to face in the struggle to eliminate the economic and other consequences of colonialism.

We are pleased with the friendly relations developing between the Soviet Union and many Asian and African countries. It is our sincere desire that the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of the Sudan develop and grow stronger. In the Soviet Government's opinion there is every possibility for this. It is the first time that the Soviet Union is receiving the head of the Sudanese state, and we hope that your visit, Mr. Chairman, and the talks now going on between the statesmen of our two countries will lay a firm foundation for broader Soviet-Sudanese co-operation.

We can engage in still broader trade with each other on the basis of mutual advantage, and can expand technical and economic co-operation. Great possibilities are also on hand for exchanges in the fields of culture, art, science and education.

The policy of neutrality pursued by the Sudan, the proximity of our positions on many questions of the struggle against colonialism, for general and complete disarmament, for a stronger peace and the abolition of the cold war,

offer broad possibilities for our co-operation on the international scene. We welcome what you said about the Sudan never agreeing to join any military blocs, and not allowing any military bases on its territory.

We want Soviet-Sudanese relations to become yet another model for the practical application of the great principles of peaceful coexistence.

Dear Guests,

The struggle of the Sudanese people for the consolidation of their independence merges with the common stream of the liberation movement of the African peoples. It gives us great pleasure to note that the Sudanese people are fighting perseveringly to eliminate the remnants of colonialism in Africa.

The imperialists are doing their utmost to hamper the movement towards freedom of the colonial and dependent countries. But the lessons of the Congo, Algeria and Angola have not been lost on the peoples of the African continent. They are realising more and more that the downfall of the colonial system will not come of itself and that only actions and greater solidarity of all the countries fighting against colonialism will make possible the full and final victory of the great liberation movement in Africa.

Allow me to propose a toast to the all-round development and consolidation of Soviet-Sudanese friendship!

To the full and final downfall of colonialism!

To your health, Mr. Chairman!

To the health of our esteemed Sudanese guests!

To the friendly Sudanese people!

(N. S. Khrushchov's speech was repeatedly interrupted by applause.)

SPEECHES
MADE DURING THE VISIT TO THE U.S.S.R.
OF A PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION
OF THE RUMANIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

SPEECH
ON THE ARRIVAL
OF THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION
OF THE RUMANIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

July 31, 1961

Dear Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej,
Dear Comrade Maurer,
Dear Comrades and Friends,

Allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, and the entire Soviet people, to welcome cordially on Soviet soil Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party and Chairman of the State Council of the Rumanian People's Republic, Comrade Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Rumanian People's Republic, and all the esteemed members of the Party and government delegation of the Rumanian People's Republic.

Soviet people are welcoming with affection the envoys of the fraternal Rumanian people, who under the leadership of the Rumanian Workers' Party are advancing confidently along the socialist road. The working people of socialist Rumania have a reliable friend and brother in the

people of the Soviet Union. This has more than once been proved in deeds and confirmed by life, by the entire history of the fraternal relations between the Soviet Union and the Rumanian People's Republic. You will see this is so once more during your tour of the Soviet Union.

Dear friends, we attach great importance to your arrival in the Soviet Union. We regard this visit as a new token of the mutual striving of our peoples and Parties to develop and strengthen further the unity and co-operation of the Soviet Union, the Rumanian People's Republic, and all the countries of the socialist camp. The friendship of the peoples of the socialist countries is an invincible force, a treasure, which nobody has ever possessed before. We Communists take pride in the fact that we have the good fortune to create and consolidate this alliance of the free peoples in the name of a better life for the working people, and for the benefit of world peace. The Rumanian People's Republic, together with the other socialist countries, is making a big contribution to the common cause of consolidating the unity and solidarity of the mighty socialist camp and is vigorously defending world peace.

Allow me to express my confidence that the friendly visit of the Rumanian Party and government delegation to our country will facilitate the further strengthening of friendship and fraternal co-operation between the Soviet and Rumanian peoples, and serve the interests of peace and socialism.

We shall do our utmost to make you feel at home during your stay in our country.

Together with all Soviet people we say: Welcome, dear friends.

(N. S. Khrushchov's speech was heard with close attention and was repeatedly interrupted by applause.)

**SPEECH
AT A LUNCHEON
FOR THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION
OF THE RUMANIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC**

August 1, 1961

Dear Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej,
Dear Comrade Maurer,
Dear Comrades and Friends,

We have great pleasure in receiving you on Soviet soil. It is always pleasant to meet close friends and to feel again and again the warmth and cordiality of our fraternal friendship. Such meetings are good and useful. They strengthen the friendship and co-operation between our Parties and peoples and help us to learn from one another.

The interests of the peoples who have taken power into their own hands are inseparable. They have a common cause, the same aspirations and aims. To use Marx's expression, our countries have one and the same master—labour for a peaceful and happy life. And working people always help one another. A wonderful community of socialist nations has been established in our day, in which the law of mutual assistance and support reigns supreme.

It is pleasant to note that mutual trust, respect and readiness to help one another have been established and are successfully growing in the relations between the Soviet and the Rumanian peoples. Our friendship is cemented by the identity of the views of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Rumanian Workers' Party, which are guided in all their activities by the interests of the people and the great Marxist-Leninist teaching.

The imperialists do not like our indestructible unity. It stands as an insurmountable barrier to the realisation of their aggressive plans. That is why the ruling circles of the Western Powers would very much like to see the peoples of the socialist countries divided, in order to try to reimpose on them the yoke of capitalist slavery.

To this day some individuals in the West cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that more than a thousand million people have already won genuine freedom. Ruling circles in the United States have recently again busied themselves with their unwise contrivance, the so-called captive nations week. Those are vain efforts, Messrs. imperialists! We have said earlier and again declare that neither "weeks" nor any other provocations can alter the course of history and divert the free peoples of the socialist countries from the path they have chosen.

The peoples of the socialist countries are living in one home, as it were. Each nation has settled in it for good, as a permanent resident. We guard our socialist home vigilantly against the encroachments of the enemies of socialism. The Communists are the most vigorous and consistent defenders of peace on earth. The peoples of the whole world have had ample opportunities to see that we love peace. But we firmly warn all lovers of military gambles: Be reasonable and remember that we have enough means to cool your hot heads.

Dear friends, our meeting is taking place on the eve of the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which will be a new historic landmark in the annals of our Party, the Soviet people and of communist construction. We are glad that you will be able to see for yourselves the enthusiasm with which the Soviet people are preparing to meet the Congress of their Party. We shall be pleased to share with you the experience of building a new society in all fields of economy and culture that are of interest to you.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government, allow me, dear friends, to warmly greet you once again and to wish the entire Rumanian people further big successes in socialist construction.

Allow me to raise a toast to the Rumanian Workers' Party and its Central Committee, headed by our friend,

Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej, to the Government of the Rumanian People's Republic and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Maurer. To the health of all our dear guests, the members of the Rumanian Party and government delegation!

To the indestructible fraternal friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Rumanian People's Republic!

To world peace!

(N. S. Khrushchov's speech was heard with close attention and was repeatedly interrupted by applause.)

**SPEECH AT A RECEPTION
FOR THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION
OF THE RUMANIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC**

August 10, 1961

Dear Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej,

Dear Comrade Maurer,

Dear Comrade Guina,

You have spoken many kind and friendly words here about the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the successes of the Soviet people in the building of communism. We are grateful to you for your high evaluation of the work done by our Party and Government, and of the creative efforts of Soviet people.

The fruitful co-operation of the Soviet and Rumanian peoples in building a new society is a source of deep satisfaction. The successes of socialist construction in the Rumanian People's Republic show clearly that thanks to the existence of the powerful socialist camp the peoples of our countries have the road to victory open before them in the peaceful economic competition with capitalism.

Meetings with the Rumanian Party and government delegation remind me vividly of the days we spent in the Rumanian People's Republic a year ago, when the C.P.S.U.

delegation attended the Third Congress of the glorious Rumanian Workers' Party. We saw how inspired the Rumanian people are in their work, and how their creative initiative burgeons far and wide. None but free working people, masters of their own fate, can set themselves and fulfil the imposing tasks which the gifted people of Rumania are fulfilling with honour.

The splendid successes of our Rumanian brothers are bound up undetachably with the activities of the Rumanian Workers' Party and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej. Recently, the Rumanian working people and the Communists of all countries celebrated the glorious fortieth anniversary of the Rumanian Workers' Party, that militant detachment of the world communist and working-class movement. Your Marxist-Leninist party is leading its people successfully to socialism. Throughout its forty years, the Rumanian Workers' Party has firmly upheld the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory and fought persistently for the further strengthening of the socialist camp, for still closer unity and solidarity in the international communist and working-class movement. It adheres firmly to the evaluations and conclusions arrived at by the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in November last year.

Let me assure you, dear comrades and friends, that in the Soviet people the Rumanian people have a true and dependable friend, on whom they can always rely. So let us multiply our efforts in the struggle for fresh successes in socialist and communist construction!

May the friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Rumanian People's Republic, and between the peoples of all countries of the socialist camp, go from strength to strength and flourish!

Allow me to raise a toast to the Rumanian people, to its further successes in socialist construction!

To the glorious Rumanian Workers' Party, to its Central Committee, to Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej!

To the Government of the Rumanian People's Republic,
to Comrade Maurer!

To all the members of the Party and government delegation,
and to the Ambassador of the Rumanian People's Republic
in the Soviet Union!

To peace and friendship among the peoples!

SPEECH
AT A SOVIET-RUMANIAN FRIENDSHIP MEETING

August 11, 1961

Dear Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej,

Dear Comrade Maurer,

Dear Comrades, Friends,

It is with great joy that the people of Moscow are meeting today with our dear guests—the envoys of the fraternal Rumanian people.

The visit to the Soviet Union of the Rumanian Party and government delegation, our talks, the delegation's meetings with working people of the U.S.S.R. are a convincing token of the sincere respect and cordial feelings of friendship entertained by the Soviet people for the people of Rumania.

Permit me on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Soviet Government and the Soviet people as a whole to greet heartily that outstanding leader of the international communist and working-class movement, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, Chairman of the State Council of the Republic, Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (*stormy, prolonged applause*), the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Rumanian People's Republic, Comrade Ion Gheorghe Maurer (*stormy applause*), and all the members of the Rumanian Party and government delegation. (*Stormy applause.*)

The meetings of statesmen, workers and peasants, and

the scientific and cultural workers of our two countries show what extraordinary force there is in socialism, how it brings peoples together and unites them. Since time immemorial peoples wanted to know more about each other, and to understand each other better, in order to live in peace and concord. Working people knew well the sense of comradeship, the strength of fellowship and mutual support. It is in man's nature to aspire to joy, to a happy life, but the grim facts have convinced people that happiness cannot be won single-handed.

For ages capitalism had been stifling the striving of the peoples for unity and friendship and sowing discord among them. This is quite understandable. Capitalism is a system based on the exploitation of man by man and the oppression of one nation by another. The landlords and capitalists always tried to fence the peoples off from one another with a solid wall of mutual mistrust and estrangement.

The past history of the relations between the peoples of our countries is an illustration of this policy of the exploiting classes. The ruling quarters of tsarist Russia and bourgeois and landlord Rumania obstructed the development and consolidation of friendship between our peoples for years. They wanted the trails of friendship blazed by the progressives of our countries to become impassable, and to disappear altogether. Blinded by class hatred for the Land of Soviets, the first country of victorious socialism, the reactionary forces of Rumania, in concert with the forces of international imperialism, tried to obstruct socialist construction in our country. Contrary to the will of the Rumanian people, the reactionary forces managed to drag Rumania into Hitler Germany's war against the Soviet Union.

But in the course of historical development, progressive revolutionary forces swept the obstacles out of their way, joined efforts in the struggle for freedom, and consolidated the international contacts of the peoples of our countries. In the past our peoples fought shoulder to shoulder many

times against foreign enslavers. The peoples of Russia helped the Rumanians in their fight against foreign oppression, for their country's political independence. The stirring revolutionary events of 1905 have gone down for ever in the annals of the proletarian struggle in our countries. Soviet people gratefully recall the warm, fraternal reception accorded by the working people of Rumania to the Russian sailors from the insurgent battleship *Potyomkin*, which, as aptly described by V. I. Lenin, remained an unvanquished domain of the revolution.

Proletarian solidarity was shown by the Rumanian working class when it demanded that the intervention of the imperialists against the young Soviet Republic be stopped. At the front Rumanian soldiers fraternised with Red Army men, and their revolutionary battalions took part in routing the whiteguards and interventionists.

In the grim years of underground work and the stern years of the Second World War, the Rumanian Communists—the finest sons of the Rumanian people—came out courageously for stronger friendship between the peoples of our countries, and held aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism. In an environment of brutal terror and persecution the Communists rallied all the patriotic forces of the nation to the struggle against fascist slavery.

The Communist Party of Rumania organised and gave leadership to the armed uprising of August 23, 1944, whose victory marked the beginning of the people's revolution in Rumania. The Rumanian people overthrew the kings, the exploiters, the entire aristocratic stratum which had lost contact with Rumanian soil and based its well-being on the blood of the people, on their suffering and tears. Under the leadership of the Communists the people smashed the forces of reaction, took power into their own hands and founded the Rumanian People's Republic. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The system established by the working people of the Rumanian People's Republic under the leadership of their

Workers' Party is a truly popular system, representative of the vital interests of the workingman.

The victory of the people's revolution in Rumania has turned a new page in the history of the relations between the peoples of our two countries. Now the Soviet and Rumanian peoples are marching in unity along the broad road of friendship, which no one is able to block. Soviet-Rumanian friendship, based as it is on the principles of proletarian internationalism, is strong and indestructible. (*Prolonged applause.*) We have common interests and a common goal—the building of socialism and communism. We are brought together by the great Marxist-Leninist teaching. Like the closest of brothers and comrades in a common cause, we share our joys and griefs, and are always ready to help each other. (*Applause.*)

Soviet people know how much the working masses of the Rumanian People's Republic have done in a short period for the advancement of their country. A year ago, during the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party, we saw the striking achievements of the Rumanian people in all spheres of socialist construction. We rejoice heartily at these achievements.

Gone are the years when Rumania was referred to as a backward agrarian country. In the past the imperialists regarded Rumania as an appendage, a source of farm products and raw materials, and wanted to perpetuate that state of affairs. Rumania produced no metal, no machines, and no machine tools. All this was imported from abroad.

Socialism has transformed Rumania. In the past ten years the Rumanian working people have built 250 new factories and factory shops. The annual accretion of industrial output in these years has been 13 per cent, which is over three times that of the last pre-war decade. Many enterprises have been modernised. The engineering and chemical industries—new branches of the developing national economy—are progressing well. In 1960 Rumania's

industrial output exceeded the pre-war level five times over.

Once backward Rumania is now an advanced country with a rapidly developing industry and co-operative agriculture. Rumania's national economy is developing in the best interests of the Rumanian people, the best interests of the whole socialist camp. (*Applause.*) It is only by hearsay that the young people of new Rumania know of the times when goods labelled "Packed in Rumania" were sold in the country. Now industrial equipment and first-class consumer goods bear a new inscription, "Made in Rumania". (*Applause.*)

I have been told that in 1945 an American industrialist visited Rumania. It was the time of big change in Rumania. The American businessman had no faith in the strength and talent of the Rumanian people. He said: "If the Rumanians ever make a tractor, I'll be the first to throw myself under its wheels." (*Animation.*) History has had a good laugh on this arrogant representative of the American monopolies. The Rumanians have for years been producing tractors, drilling machines and much other equipment. Had the "prophet" kept his word, his wife would now be a widow and his children orphans. (*Animation. Applause.*) Not one, but thousands of tractors made in Rumania are working the country's fields.

By their labour the Rumanian people have laid a solid economic foundation for socialism. Outstanding success has been achieved in the cultural revolution and the improvement of the people's standard of living. The country has risen to a height from which the outlines of the majestic edifice of socialism are clearly visible.

The striking achievements of the Rumanian people are inseparably linked with the labour efforts of the glorious Rumanian working class. Rumania's workers are the leading force of new society, the enduring mainstay of the Party and People's Democracy.

Marx called the proletariat the grave-digger of capitalism. Under socialism the working class is the main creative and life-asserting force of society, bringing happiness to the people. Under socialism, for the first time, the working class wins the opportunity for entirely free creative labour. It becomes the heart and soul of the building of new society. In Rumania, as in all the other socialist countries, the working class is making a worthy contribution to the creation of true happiness for all people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The working people of Rumania are marching confidently along the socialist path. They are led by the glorious Marxist-Leninist Workers' Party, steeled in revolutionary battles. During my stay in Rumania I was shown the prison in which Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej and other Rumanian Communists were kept for many years. Thick are its walls, and strong are the bars of its windows. Those who robbed Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej and his friends of freedom wanted to decapitate the Rumanian working people. They hoped that by imprisoning the leaders of the Rumanian Communist Party they would deprive the toilers of able leadership and weaken their militant actions. But imprisonment did not break Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej and his revolutionary friends. It only taught them to hate the exploiters more. The walls of the Rumanian prisons in which the reactionaries kept the fine representatives of the working people have fallen. As I looked at the sombre semi-dark cells with their thick damp walls and their cement floors, I thought how truly unbending the iron will must be of the people who withstood the ordeal in those torture-chambers for the triumph of our great cause. They withstood the test and were steeled in the revolutionary struggle for the freedom of their people, for the victory of socialism. (*Applause.*)

The socialist system has opened up boundless vistas for the development of the country's productive forces. The free people of Rumania enjoy the fruits of their labour.

That is a powerful source of the labour enthusiasm shown by the Rumanian people in building a new life.

But there is still another important reason for the outstanding successes of the Rumanian people—the correct scientific approach of its Party to the management of socialist economy.

In the very first years of Soviet power Vladimir Lenin set the task of learning how to run socialist economy. He used to say that in economic matters it is impermissible to act impetuously, “in the fashion of Red Army attacks”, that a prudent and thoughtful approach is required, without undue haste and hurry. At one time, the bourgeois specialists who did not want to help Soviet power laughed at the Communists, saying that they would never succeed in mastering the complicated science of economic management, a matter “much too delicate” for the Communists. But the Communists did learn how to handle delicate things as well.

This is illustrated convincingly by all the activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and of the other fraternal parties of the socialist countries, including the Rumanian Workers' Party. This Party knows full well that the national economy cannot be run with success, unless one learns well the economic laws of socialism. Economic leadership must be based on the tested principles of socialist management.

The peoples of our countries have seen for themselves that the Communists attentively study and thoroughly analyse the experience of the past in order to manage the economy to the best advantage.

Dear friends, the rapid advancement of your country along the socialist road is made easier by the fact that Rumania is a member of the powerful community of socialist states, which support one another from day to day. The socialist community is a united and fraternal family of peoples.

It is a joy to realise that there has always been complete

identity of opinion between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Rumanian Workers' Party on questions of socialist and communist construction, on questions of foreign policy and of the international communist and working-class movement. The unity of our Parties is based on loyalty to the revolutionary teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, on the principles of proletarian internationalism. (*Stormy applause.*)

Comrades, our Rumanian friends are visiting our country at a time when the Soviet people are preparing for the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party, which will be a great event in the life of our country. The Congress will adopt a new Party Programme, the programme of communist construction. Our Party and all Soviet people are at present enthusiastically discussing this historic document. As always, when important issues are at stake the Party is consulting the working people, and relies on the collective wisdom of the people.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee, the Soviet Government, the peoples of our country, and the peoples of all socialist countries devote their efforts to further advance economy and culture and improve and brighten the life of the people. Not only do we want to live happily ourselves, but are paving the way to happiness by our labour for the generations to come. Our goals are peaceful and imposing. This is why we oppose war. War means death and destruction. Modern war would throw humanity back many, many years from its achievements in economic and cultural development.

What is meant by paving the way to a bright future? It means fighting for social progress, for all-round economic and cultural development, and storming ever new heights in science and technology. We describe mankind's progress, its advance towards the future, as communist development. Every country has its own idea of the future. People may call it differently and go to it by different roads. But we, the Communists, are sure that all mankind will

come to the most just society—to communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The controversy in the world hinges on the question of which social system secures a fair distribution of all the benefits created by labour, so that there are neither poor nor rich, no trace of envy, and still less of animosity. We Communists believe that such a society will be a communist society, in which man will be friend and brother to man, and not wolf, as he is in the capitalist world, where everyone tries to seize upon and snatch whatever he can from his neighbour. This controversy over which system will give more material and spiritual benefits to the people must not be settled in the battle-field, but in peaceful competition. The peoples will themselves choose the social system that achieves better results in this competition.

This is precisely what the draft Programme of our Communist Party says. The provisions of the Programme apply primarily to our Party, and our people. They represent our conscience, our aspirations and our world outlook. The Party Programme is a result of deep thought by all Soviet Communists. Every Communist, after, so to say, consulting himself, said: This is the way we shall follow and fight for the goal set by Marx, Engels and Lenin, this is the way we shall build communist society. (*Prolonged applause.*)

I repeat, the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a programme of action for our Party and our people, but all honest men and women who want to understand us correctly will see in it many lofty principles applicable to all humanity. There are, of course, people who do not agree with our philosophical views, but if they are honest people, they cannot deny that our Party Programme is imbued with humaneness, that it speaks of social development not through war, but through peaceful competition, through the mobilisation of human energy and the intellect for developing material production, science, engineering and culture. (*Applause.*)

The draft of the new Programme is clear evidence of the tremendous possibilities of the socialist system. It shows the long, glorious and arduous path traversed by the Soviet people in the struggle for a new life.

Remember 1919. Russia lay in ruins then, and its people went hungry and barefooted. The flaming ring of the counter-revolution and intervention threatened to strangle the young Soviet Republic, the land of the Great October Revolution. People were glad in those days if they could get two ounces of black bread and a pinch of salt.

It was at that great and difficult time that the Eighth Congress of our Party assembled in Moscow. From its rostrum, Lenin unfolded to the delegates and the entire Soviet people a magnificent, exciting picture of Russia's transformation along socialist lines. There were many people then, especially abroad, who doubted the feasibility of the programme put forward by the Bolsheviks. Even Herbert Wells, so bold in his fantastic romances, would not believe that the plans of the "dreamer in the Kremlin" were feasible. To think that a man who in his visions penetrated into outer space and into the depth of time could not make himself believe in the creative force of socialism! He thought our plans incredibly bold and daring!

But the years rolled by and the amazed world saw great changes rung in throughout the vast territory of the former Russian empire. By their persevering work, the Soviet people have transformed their land into a mighty industrial socialist power. We are now equal to any task. (*Applause.*)

It is no accident that Soviet people have been the first to soar into outer space. Only a few days ago the capital of our land, our entire country gave a hero's welcome to its glorious son Herman Stepanovich Titov, who made an unprecedented voyage into space in Yuri Gagarin's wake. (*Stormy applause.*)

The exploits of our cosmonauts reflect the great achievements of Soviet economy, science and technology. They

demonstrate the great advantages of the socialist system. The genius and labour of Soviet scientists, engineers, workers and collective farmers are making reality of what were no more than dreams.

Yes, the Communists are, indeed, bold dreamers! But in their dreams they are sober realists, practical men closely connected with the people, with life. Our Programme is based on the solid foundation of what has already been achieved, a solid scientific and technical foundation. Its realisation depends not on God's grace, as people used to say, but on the will, energy and labour of workers, peasants and intellectuals. (*Applause.*)

The building of communism in the Soviet Union is the living creative job of millions of men and women. It is one of the most deep-rooted and mighty movements of the people in the entire history of mankind. The labour enthusiasm of the Soviet people, their firm determination to give of all their strength to the building of communism, is a sure guarantee that the plans set by the Party will be realised. (*Applause.*)

Faith in the justice of our cause enables the Soviet people to tell the capitalist world without hesitation: Let us compete in conditions of peace, without threats of war, without the tools of war!

Our Party Programme strikes a crushing blow at all the people who are trying to sow mistrust of the Soviet Union and its policy of peace. It is now clear even to the uninitiated that stable peace is essential for the realisation of the majestic programme of building communism put forward by the Party.

The Soviet Government offers the governments of the Western Powers to settle jointly all questions on which we differ but which cannot be left unsettled because they cause friction between states and breed tension in the world.

In this connection I would like to say a few words about the talks I have had with the Prime Minister of Italy, Sig-

nor Fanfani, and the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Signor Segni. The talks have been useful. We were not conscious of any of the frictions that are likely to arise between spokesmen of states with different social systems. We all know that friction causes the heating of bodies, and fire may break out. Even the ancients knew this rule and obtained fire in that way. But friction between states may result in a war conflagration.

Speaking of our two countries—Italy, a capitalist state, and the Soviet Union, a socialist state—they are, so to speak, heterogeneous bodies. But in our talks we agreed that people needed peace and that it should be consolidated along the principles of peaceful coexistence. I got the impression that Signor Fanfani favours a peaceful settlement of questions in dispute.

But statesmen must also take a realistic view of the difficulties; especially now, because we are approaching the day when it will be necessary to conclude a peace treaty with Germany.

It would seem that everybody ought to be glad that a peace treaty will be concluded with Germany and that the remnants of the Second World War will thus be removed. But here certain difficulties arise. Italy is a member of NATO, an aggressive bloc dominated by the German revenge-seekers, the whipped but still living warriors of Hitler Germany. The United States encourages them, and this is fraught with great danger.

When we discussed trade with Signor Fanfani, both of us stressed that trade was developing well and that there were good prospects for improving it. We said that the Soviet people appreciate and understand the natural surroundings, culture and art of Italy. I also remarked that people here liked Italian oranges, which are, indeed, delicious. (*Animation.*) I asked Signor Fanfani where the American rockets were located in Italy. Signor Fanfani replied that they were stationed right amidst the orange groves. (*Animation.*)

Soviet people have no ill feelings for the Italian people. On the contrary, we would like to live in peace and friendship with the people of Italy. But the country has been drawn into the aggressive Atlantic bloc, which threatens us with war if a peace treaty is concluded with Germany.

The laws of war are cruel. I repeat, we have nothing against the Italian people and we sincerely wish them well. But if the aggressive groups in the United States and Aedean engineer a clash between our peoples, then, in defence of our security, we shall have to strike at the NATO military bases, wherever they may be situated, even if in orange groves. (*Applause.*) Not only the orange groves of Italy may perish then, but also the people who cultivated them and who have made great the culture and arts of Italy, people in whose kind feelings we trust.

On two occasions, at receptions, I had a chance to speak to the Greek Ambassador. The Slav peoples of our country—the Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians—have brotherly feelings for the Greek people. In ancient times, Prince Vladimir of Kiev sent envoys to choose a religion. On returning home they said the Greek religion was the best. It is not our purpose to pass judgement on the conclusions of the envoys who reported to Prince Vladimir. We have our own views on religion, but there is no need to dwell on them at this point. You will remember from history that the “christening of Russia” took place. That is why one of the streets in Kiev is called Kreshchatik.* They say it was along that road that Vladimir drove people to the Dnieper to be christened. And they were christened not only with crosses, but with sticks as well, because many people refused at the time to accept the new religion. That was how we became christened. (*Animation.*)

Together with the religion, much of the culture and many of the customs of Greece came to our country. We have

* A derivative of the word “kreshcheniye”, meaning christening.—Tr.

never had any conflicts with the Greek people. More than that, when the Greeks were fighting for their independence we were solidly on their side. Russian people shed their blood in the struggle for the liberation of the Greek people from foreign enslavers.

During the Second World War, when Hitler attacked Greece, the peoples of the Soviet Union admired the heroism of the Greek people, who would not bow to the fascist barbarians. We know that when the Soviet Union was attacked by the nazis, the Greek people sympathised with our struggle and made their contribution to the common struggle of the peoples against fascism.

Then the Second World War ended. Fascism was crushed. One would have thought that people who had gallantly fought against Hitler Germany merited deep respect and honour. But, unfortunately, many of them, as, for instance, the hero of the Acropolis, Manolis Glezos, were flung into prison. We do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of Greece. That is not our custom. But like the peoples of other countries who have shed much blood in the struggle against fascism, we Soviet people cannot be indifferent onlookers while a man whose heroic exploit added a golden page to the history of the struggle for independence is languishing now in a dungeon.

In a conversation with the Ambassador, I said that our peoples had always been brothers and that we always wished the Greeks the same happiness that we wished ourselves. Yet now the Government of Greece has involved itself with NATO, the aggressive North Atlantic bloc.

We know that on the territory of Greece there are military bases trained against the Soviet Union. And now that U.S. ruling quarters and Adenauer are whipping up tension and threatening to start a war if a peace treaty is signed with Germany, we are being threatened on behalf of the entire bloc, on behalf of all the NATO countries. Consequently, we are being threatened with war even by such countries as Greece, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Belgium and

the Netherlands, not to speak of such European countries as France, Britain and West Germany.

We shall, of course, sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic. If the imperialist states start a war, they will force us to strike devastating blows in self-defence not only at the territories of the principal countries, but also at the military bases located in the other countries of the North Atlantic Alliance. (*Applause.*) Everybody knows that military bases are not located in deserts. In Italy, we are told, they are situated in orange groves, and in Greece in olive groves.

Perhaps some people expect certain cities to be declared open cities, as was the case in the last world war. But let them not indulge in illusions. In a future thermo-nuclear war, if one is touched off, there will be no distinction between front and rear.

I told the Greek Ambassador: The sanest policy for Greece would be to withdraw from NATO. Then Greece would not suffer if war does break out. The Ambassador said to me: I trust the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union; he would never give the order to drop atomic bombs on the Acropolis and other historic Greek monuments. I should not like to disappoint you, Mr. Ambassador, but you are deeply mistaken.

Of course, as Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union I shall not issue orders that bombs be dropped specifically on the Acropolis. But our hand will not falter in striking at the NATO bases, of which some are also located in Greece. In that case the responsibility will rest with those who exposed cities, peoples and historical monuments to this danger. (*Applause.*)

Our country, our people, the countries of the socialist camp are being threatened only because we are going to sign a peace treaty. They declare that they will fight for the freedom of the Germans in West Berlin. But that is a fairy-tale. West Berlin has 2,200,000 inhabitants. And if war is unleashed hundreds of millions might die. What per-

son in his right senses will find such arguments of the imperialists convincing? Under the pretext of defending a freedom that nobody intends to violate, the imperialists want to test our determination and do away with our socialist gains. Your arms are too short for that, Messrs. imperialists! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The imperialists, the colonialists are accustomed to bossing peoples around. They think the roar of the lion makes the Asian and African peoples tremble. But the times have changed. The roar of the British lion no longer frightens the peoples. The British colonialists, in concert with the French, attacked Egypt and, figuratively speaking, got a good drubbing. The Egyptians pulled the lion's tail quite thoroughly and threw him out. (*Animation. Stormy applause.*)

Yes, the times have changed, but the imperialists' approach is the same as of old, and so is their wolfish appetite. It is with this wolfish appetite and the old yardstick that the colonialists are trying to treat the Soviet Union. But, gentlemen, the times when you attacked the Crimea are gone. More than a hundred years have passed since then. Even in those conditions the Russian people showed supreme courage in fighting the foreign invaders. That was a hundred years ago. You were dealing with tsarist Russia at that time. But tsarist Russia is no more. It is a kingdom of the working people that we now have in our country! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The imperialists approach us as they did when Russia was called a land of bast shoes. We have put the bast shoes in the museum, and quite a long time ago, too. (*Applause.*) The wooden plough is also to be seen in museums only, and hundreds of thousands of tractors rumble in the fields of the Soviet Union. Not only do we fly in jet planes, but have orbited the globe seventeen times in a spaceship in twenty-four hours. (*Stormy applause.*)

Yet the imperialists want to intimidate the Soviet people! They are probably trying to frighten us because they

themselves are afraid of the new socialist path we are following irresistibly towards the victory of communism, the path charted by Marx, Engels, Lenin. It is this that you are afraid of, Messrs. imperialists! (*Stormy applause.*)

In advancing towards communism, we are championing the idea of peaceful competition between countries with different social systems. We do not threaten anyone. Nobody will die, no matter which side wins this peaceful competition. The people themselves will pick the better system. As for those who lag behind, who do not yet understand the historical development of human society, they will come round, see the light, catch up and embark on our road. And we shall welcome them! (*Stormy applause.*)

The United States is indeed in a painful period of its development, and an agonising reappraisal is under way. Put yourself in its place, though it may be hard for you, as it is for me. Actors are good and quick at impersonating now kings, now proletarians. (*Animation. Applause.*) So put yourself in the position of a king, or some prince: he is accustomed to wealth, to everybody coming cap in hand. Nobody must look him in the eyes. All must bend their heads and look no higher than his trousers or shoes.

American imperialism, grown fat and strong, was accustomed, like such a king or prince, to everybody bowing to it and fearing it. Then appeared the Soviet Union. Our ruble was rather weak at first, but then it got stronger, found its feet, and is now worth more than the dollar.

Our country has developed into a great and mighty power. We have built up a powerful industry, an advanced agriculture, and have elevated our science and culture. Yet the imperialists look at us as they did at Russia a hundred or fifty years ago.

What are we expected to do? Are we expected to come running and say, "What can we do for you?" We do not want that sort of thing. We say to the imperialists: Gentlemen, you have overlooked us, or, to use the Ukrainian

phrase: "Have you lost your eyes?!" (*Animation. Stormy applause.*)

The imperialists have lost their sense of reality and a painful reappraisal of many things is going on at present. When President Kennedy talked with me in Vienna, he stressed: "But we are a great nation." To which I replied: "Quite true, Mr. President, but the Soviet Union is a great nation too." (*Animation. Stormy applause.*)

By the way, in 1960 in Paris, Mr. Macmillan tried to persuade me to sit down at a table with Eisenhower after the latter had committed an unworthy act against our country. He said: "Do understand, Mr. Khrushchov, that it is a great country and cannot apologise." I replied: "You seem to forget that ours is a great country too. We demand an apology, and cannot sit at one table with someone who has insulted our country, unless an apology is forthcoming." (*Stormy applause.*)

For this reason we say to the imperialists: Try to understand that your present attitude is that of a grandfather, father or mother. Their son has changed his shorts for long trousers, and their daughter curls her hair, they want to be treated as adults, but the parents still want to pull the girl's pigtails or box the boy's ears. (*Animation.*)

And in a way, they approach us with the same yardstick. They are always lecturing us: You cannot do this, and you must not do that, and if you do, we'll box your ears. These threats may be countered with, "We won't box your ears, we'll hit you elsewhere." (*Animation. Applause.*)

The struggle for a peace treaty with Germany is a struggle for eliminating the remnants of the Second World War, for consolidating the peace and security of the peoples. Those who threaten us should know that His Majesty the working class of the Soviet Union, of all the socialist countries has assumed power and has created states which the imperialists, the colonialists have to reckon with. They must respect the peoples of the socialist countries, and their interests! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

I have departed from the written text, and have made my speech longer, yet we are still to hear Comrade Dej. (*Animation.*)

Let us go back to the question of military bases and the responsibility shouldered by those who make the territory of their countries available for these bases.

In case of war, the Soviet Union, acting in self-defence, will be compelled to protect itself by striking at all the territories of the NATO war bloc countries that have military bases.

The Russians have a proverb: "When the head lies dead one mourns not for the hair." What is the use of the monuments of antiquity once the people are dead? Here in the Soviet Union, and in the other socialist countries, we also have historical monuments cherished by our peoples. Therefore, to protect human lives, to protect the monuments of culture, we shall have to strike a devastating blow at the aggressors. And nothing will deter us in the struggle against the aggressor, in our striving to safeguard the gains of socialism and communism, to safeguard world peace. (*Applause.*)

Now, more and more frequently, we hear statesmen and military leaders, especially in the United States, say that they are developing a neutron bomb. As conceived by its creators, the neutron bomb is to kill everything living, but leave the material values intact.

Yes, comrades, that is the way these people think. They follow the rule of the robber, who wants to commit murder without bloodstaining his victim's suit, so as to make use of it. That, in substance, is what the neutron bomb means. They talk about it in the United States Congress and in the press. Even at a press conference the President was asked bluntly what he thought about the development of such a bomb. But the President side-stepped the question, and gave no answer.

To develop a bomb that will kill people while all the riches remain intact—there you have the bestial ethics of

the most aggressive exponents of imperialism. Is that a human law? Man is nothing to them. The main thing for them is plunder, thirst for profit, which prompts the imperialists to commit the most dastardly of crimes.

The Communists prize the material and spiritual riches created by man's labour and genius. But above all else we prize man himself, by whose work all the wealth on earth has been created. Therefore, we want to defend not only the fruits of man's labour, but above all man himself, to defend the peoples. That is our philosophy, our ethics. That is genuine communist humanism. (*Stormy applause.*)

We appeal to the Greek people, the peoples of other NATO countries: Please realise what a dangerous path you are being led along by Chancellor Adenauer, the revenge-seekers, and all who follow his policy. If the imperialists start a war, the logic and the rules of war will compel the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, even against their wish, to deal devastating blows at the aggressors wherever their military bases may be.

What is needed is common sense. Everything must be done to avert a possible disaster.

We consider it necessary, first of all, to remove the survivals of the Second World War from international relations and to pave the way for friendship and co-operation among all states.

Conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany would benefit all its signatories, all who really strive for peace and shape their policy to promote it. The Soviet Union has submitted exhaustive proposals on this question. But we are ready to hear and consider any constructive proposals of the Western Powers. We say to the Western Powers: Do not in our attitude look for what is not there. The Soviet Government does not want to prejudice anybody's interests. It does not menace anyone. We proceed from the existing facts, and want to bring the relations among all the countries in line with what actually exists.

There exist two German states at present, and any at-

tempt to make one Germany out of the two by means of war is doomed to failure. If such a war starts, nothing and nobody will possibly be left in Germany to unify. People should realise that. But Chancellor Adenauer is doggedly dragging his allies into making threats and intensifying the war danger. How can he call for war, this man who has lived so long, who is proud that he has never been a soldier, that his sons are not officers, a man who calls himself a Christian and belongs to a party that is called Christian? It cannot be God that prompts these evil thoughts, thoughts so dangerous to the German people, to all people. Adenauer says he wants to serve his people. But if he starts a war, the very existence of the population of West Germany will become doubtful, and, moreover, that of many other countries as well, because it is hard to keep thermo-nuclear war within the frontiers of one country.

Come to your senses, gentlemen! I appeal to those who have not lost the faculty of thinking calmly and soberly, and on whom the development of the international situation depends. There was a time when U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles brandished thermo-nuclear bombs and followed a policy "from positions of strength" vis-à-vis the socialist countries. He followed this policy with regard to all the countries that objected to the imperialist ambitions of the United States. It was undisguised atomic blackmail, and we had to take notice of it at the time, because we did not possess adequate means of retaliation, and if we did, they were not as numerous and not of the same power as those of our opponents.

But today the situation has changed radically. And specific conclusions should be drawn from the recognition of the fact that the capitalist countries are unable to force their outlook, their way of life, on us, and cannot compel the socialist countries to turn back. It is necessary to follow a sensible policy on our essentially small planet which man can now circle 17 times in 24 hours.

The Soviet Union does not threaten anyone. In our atomic age it is madness to threaten war. We say: Let us remove the remnants of the last war, let us, for the sake of peace, conclude a peace treaty with Germany. The Soviet Government does not claim possession of anybody's land. We suggest juridical registration of the frontiers that have been fixed and have existed for many years. We want to deprive the revenge-seekers of the chance and temptation to start war again with the aim, so to speak, of revising the results of the Second World War. The Soviet Government is working for a stable and lasting peace in Europe and the rest of the world.

To be sure, West Berlin is no easy legacy of the last war. But I would not say that the question of West Berlin is, in itself, difficult to solve. If the other side wished to co-operate, if it did not turn the question of West Berlin into a trial of strength, agreement would certainly be possible. And it would unquestionably benefit the peace. For the Soviet Union has no ill intentions as regards West Berlin, or the way of life of its population. We offer bringing the status of West Berlin in line with peacetime conditions and with the situation that actually exists in Germany and Europe.

The Soviet proposals submitted by us to the Western Powers offer a reasonable way out for both sides. No harm will be done to anybody's prestige, neither side will grow stronger at the expense of the other. It is essential to extract the decayed tooth and enable mankind to live without pain and really sleep calmly. The President of the United States, however, painted a sombre picture, and ended up by wishing his listeners good night. But who can sleep well when he is being threatened and his sleep may be interrupted by atomic bomb explosions?

War hysteria will lead to no good. There must be a sense of proportion, and military sentiments should not be fanned. If sentiments are allowed to dominate reason, the fly-wheel of war preparations may spin at a high speed.

Even when good sense suggests that it is best to slow up, the fly-wheel of war preparations will have developed so much speed and momentum that even those who made it spin will be unable to stop it. The people who sent the fly-wheel spinning may become its victims, and, what is much worse, not only they may become its victims. They may lead their peoples to the abyss of a thermo-nuclear war.

All this—the laws of physics, and the laws of politics as well—should be taken into consideration.

West Berlin is in the territory of the German Democratic Republic. The Government of that state has shown a deep understanding of the interests of world peace. To help relax the tensions and establish normal relations in post-war Europe, it has agreed when signing the peace treaty to recognise West Berlin as a free city, to respect its sovereignty and to ensure the free city freedom of communications with the outside world on the basis of an agreement with the Government of the German Democratic Republic.

The Soviet Union proposes that the free city status of West Berlin be safeguarded by reliable international guarantees. We have mentioned various possible versions of such guarantees. It may be the four powers—Britain, France, the U.S. and the Soviet Union—who will act as guarantors. There may also be other versions. It is possible to produce such conditions and guarantees as would fully ensure non-interference in the affairs of West Berlin, and free access to West Berlin for all states on the strength of the existing international practices and international law. In short, we are prepared to furnish firm guarantees not only to the population of West Berlin, but also to those Western Powers which profess the greatest concern for these guarantees, although they know well that we do not intend to alter the social system in West Berlin.

Those are our clear and well-defined proposals. We want the German peace treaty to be concluded at last, and

we shall secure a peace settlement together with the countries that are willing to strengthen peace and friendship among nations. If the Western Powers are unwilling to cooperate in this important undertaking, the Soviet Union and other peace-loving states will be obliged to sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic only.

I again say before the entire world: Let us not try to intimidate each other, let us not emphasise what divides us, let us not deepen the differences which are deep enough. After all, we do have common requirements and interests since we have to live on the same planet! These interests must help the peoples emerge from the present tense situation by the road of peace. We offer sitting down at the conference table and discussing calmly, in a business-like way, without inflaming the emotions, what should be done to keep the seeds of new conflicts from germinating in the soil left over from the last war.

Today I have read a report about President Kennedy's press conference. Replying to a question about the threat of a military conflict over the conclusion of a German peace treaty, the President declared: "We're hopeful that we'll be able to reach peaceful solutions to these problems."

That sort of statement is only to be welcomed. Peaceful solutions are what the Soviet Government is working for. But to ensure a peaceful settlement it is necessary to conclude a peace treaty with Germany. That is the only way to remove the remnants of the Second World War.

We should like to believe that reason will prevail in responsible Western circles, especially those in the United States, and that sabre-rattling will give way to a sober and unprejudiced view of things. We hope that the Western governments will at last reach the conclusion that an agreement consistent with the existing situation in Germany and Europe, and throughout the world, will produce better results for all the peoples of the globe than this dangerous playing with fire.

Such is the peace-loving programme we offer to our people, to the Communists and Komsomols, and all who by their labour are strengthening and glorifying the Soviet socialist land.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government I should like to say once more that everything will be done to prevent a war. But we shall not flinch in face of threats. The history of our country confirms conclusively enough that we are quite able to stand up for our just cause. When fourteen imperialist powers attacked us right after the Great October Socialist Revolution, we defended our revolutionary gains quite effectively. We faced up to the challenge of the old world, and won under V. I. Lenin's leadership. (*Stormy applause.*) We did not flinch when perfidiously attacked by fascist Germany. The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people ended in our historic victory. The Soviet people are not afraid of threats. (*Prolonged applause.*) We shall not be the first to press the buttons on our rocket-launching installations, we shall not start a war, but if the imperialists impose a war on us, we shall meet it manfully and deal the aggressor a devastating blow. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The standpoint of the Soviet Government in the current questions of home and foreign policy was set forth in detail in my recent radio and television speech.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government were sure that the Soviet people would correctly understand the tasks life sets before us, and would work with still greater dedication. The Central Committee and the Soviet Government appreciate the proposals of the working people that they are prepared to go back to the eight-hour working day, especially in the defence industry.

Permit me to express the gratitude of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of Ministers to all workers, technicians, engineers, scientists, and

office employees for their understanding and for their support of the government. As regards the working people's proposal to put some of the defence enterprises on an eight-hour working day, permit us to take advantage of it depending on the circumstances. Leave it to your Government and the Central Committee of the Party. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The persevering and inspired labour of the Soviet people is yielding excellent fruit, and bringing glory to our homeland. The better we work, the higher shall we raise the productivity of labour. The better use we make of technology and science, the richer our life will be, the stronger our defence, and the more unassailable will be the sacred borders of the Soviet Union. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We are strong now, and stronger than ever is our desire to secure a durable peace, to achieve general and complete disarmament. We are prepared immediately to sign a treaty on disarmament and the destruction of all types of weapons under the fullest and strictest international control. It is to peace and friendship between all nations, to fraternal friendship between the peoples of the socialist countries, that all the thoughts and all the efforts of the Soviet people are directed. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, we are not alone in building communism. We are building it in the fraternal family of the socialist countries. The countries of the world socialist system, united by their common aims and interests, have formed a powerful union of fighters who are courageously transforming the world and realising mankind's brightest dreams. Nobody imposed this union upon us. We have formed it ourselves, guided by the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism, mutual assistance and support. Our community represents the historical forces that command the future! (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Joint Soviet-Rumanian Communiqué signed today expresses the common viewpoint of the peoples of our

countries on all the most important questions of current world development.

We note with satisfaction that the Government of the Rumanian People's Republic supports our fair proposals on the German question, and, together with all the socialist countries, is tirelessly working for peace. This unity of the socialist countries was again convincingly confirmed at the Conference held in Moscow early in August of the First Secretaries of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries—parties to the Warsaw Treaty.

We whole-heartedly thank the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party and the Government of the Rumanian People's Republic for inviting a Soviet Party and government delegation to visit friendly Rumania. We accept it with deep satisfaction. (*Applause.*)

Dear comrades, permit me heartily to wish the Rumanian people further, even more outstanding achievements in building socialism. (*Stormy applause.*)

"A fine day is known by the morning," says a Rumanian proverb. The present is a clear socialist morning for mankind. It foretells a wonderful communist day. This day will come and bring a good and peaceful life to all the peoples of the earth. (*Stormy applause.*) This is what the Communists of the entire socialist camp, of all the countries in the world are fighting for. On this wonderful road the sun of Lenin's wisdom, the sun of communism is shining brightly! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the fraternal Rumanian people! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the Rumanian Workers' Party! (*Stormy applause.*)

May the unbreakable Soviet-Rumanian friendship gain in strength and flourish! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the unity of the whole socialist community! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live world peace! (*Stormy, prolonged applause, passing into an ovation. All rise. Cheers for the Communist Party, its Central Committee and the Soviet Government.*)

SPEECH
ON THE DEPARTURE FROM MOSCOW
OF THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION
OF THE RUMANIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

August 12, 1961

Dear Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej,
Dear Comrade Maurer,
Dear Rumanian Friends,
Comrades,

The stay of the Party and government delegation of the Rumanian People's Republic in our country ends today. It is always sad to part with close friends, even if you know that they live nearby and will always be with us heart and soul.

Dear friends, your coming to the Soviet Union has been a happy event for Soviet people. The working people of our country received you everywhere as the dearest of guests, and expressed their warm sentiments to the fraternal Rumanian people from the bottom of their hearts. The tour of the Soviet Union made by the Party and government delegation was a striking demonstration of the friendship and proletarian solidarity of our peoples.

The cordial relations obtaining between our countries were also reflected in the joint communique we drew up following friendly negotiations which proceeded in an environment of complete unanimity on all matters of interest to our countries. The communique accords with the interests of the indestructible Soviet-Rumanian friendship. It will promote the further strengthening of the unity of the entire socialist camp and the preservation of peace on earth.

We are certain that your visit to the Soviet Union will promote still deeper and closer friendly ties and co-operation between the Soviet and Rumanian peoples, between our countries and Parties.

Dear comrades, we ask you to convey hearty greetings to the fraternal Rumanian people from the working people of our land. With all their hearts Soviet people wish the fraternal Rumanian people great victories in the lofty cause of socialist construction, and the strengthening of the might of the Rumanian People's Republic for the good of peace and communism.

May the indestructible Soviet-Rumanian friendship go from strength to strength for the good of our peoples!

Long live the glorious Rumanian Workers' Party and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej!

Long live the solid unity of the great community of socialist countries!

Until we meet again, dear friends, and happy voyage!

(N. S. Khrushchov's speech was heard with close attention and was repeatedly interrupted by applause.)

**SPEECHES
MADE DURING THE VISIT TO THE U.S.S.R.
OF THE CHAIRMAN
OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
OF THE REPUBLIC OF ITALY**

**SPEECH
ON THE ARRIVAL
OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
OF THE REPUBLIC OF ITALY**

August 2, 1961

Dear Mr. Chairman of the Council of Ministers,
Gentlemen,
Comrades,

Mr. Chairman, I am happy to welcome you and your party on Soviet soil, and to wish you a pleasant and useful stay in the Soviet Union.

We recall with pleasure the visit to the Soviet Union of Mr. Giovanni Gronchi, President of the Italian Republic, who described his visit as the beginning of more fruitful relations between Italy and the Soviet Union. We agree with him. We proceed from the fact that at present there are no such disputed questions between our countries as could obstruct the development of good Soviet-Italian relations and peaceful, fruitful co-operation.

We are happy to make your acquaintance. We would like to express the hope that the forthcoming talks with

you will help to achieve a better understanding of the standpoints of the governments of our two countries, and will promote peace. We also hope that these conversations will open up fresh opportunities for the further development of good relations between the Soviet Union and Italy.

May I, Mr. Chairman, bid you and your companions welcome once again on your safe arrival in Moscow.

Welcome, dear sirs!

SPEECH
AT A DINNER FOR THE CHAIRMAN
OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
OF THE REPUBLIC OF ITALY

August 2, 1961

Dear Mr. Chairman of the Council of Ministers,
Gentlemen,
Comrades,

We welcome your visit to the Soviet Union, Mr. Chairman, because we consider that meetings between leading statesmen and a frank exchange of opinions may to the best advantage promote understanding between governments. Such meetings may be very useful for the cause of peace, to which we Soviet people are devoting all our efforts.

Your visit to the Soviet Union will last only a few days, but we hope that during these few days you will feel the atmosphere of peaceful creative work reigning in our country, the sincere affection which the Soviet people has for the Italian people, and the steadfast desire to live in peace and friendship with all nations. Soviet people have feelings of respect and friendship for the Italian people. These sentiments are rooted in the distant past.

This year the Italian people are celebrating a glorious historic anniversary, the centenary of the reunification of their country. The Soviet public has also marked this anniversary. The progressive cause for which the Italian people of that age fought with so much courage is much appreciated and understood by us Soviet people. Russian progressives, the Russian democratic movement of the past century sympathised warmly with the Italian people and, what is more, actively helped them in their patriotic struggle for Italy's liberation from foreign oppression and for the establishment of a united national state. We in the Soviet Union revere deeply the memory of Giuseppe Garibaldi, the great son of the Italian people, the patriot and democrat whose name is associated with a glorious chapter in Italy's history.

There have never been any reasons for us to quarrel in the past, and the ordinary people of Italy are not to blame that the Mussolini regime involved Italy in the war on the side of Hitler Germany. But let us not rake up the past. We believe there is no cause at present for animosity between our two countries, although we are mindful of the fact that the social systems in our countries are different.

We believe that differences in social systems should not obstruct peaceful and mutually advantageous co-operation between states. There are no questions over which the interests of the Soviet Union and Italy conflict. As the saying goes, we have no cause to quarrel. On the contrary, our interests coincide in many respects.

Soviet-Italian trade relations, for instance, are developing rather well. At any rate, we are satisfied with the state of affairs in this sphere. I dare say, you too have cause to be satisfied.

The successful development of economic co-operation between our countries is not to everybody's liking. There are people in the West who say that by expanding its trade with Italy the Soviet Union is, as it were, threatening to conquer the Italian Peninsula. The Russians have

the apt saying that fear has dilated eyes. It seems, however, that it is not only a matter of fear, but also of the desire in certain quarters to frustrate broad and mutually advantageous economic co-operation between our countries.

It is pleasing to note that the Government and the businessmen of Italy have a sober and realistic approach to trade with the Soviet Union. A four-year Soviet-Italian trade agreement has been concluded recently. The Soviet Government feels that in the future the development of our economic relations could be planned in advance not only for four years, as at present, but for a longer period. We believe that this would be equally advantageous to the Soviet Union and Italy.

I would like to express the hope, Mr. Chairman, that in due course our relations in other spheres, too, will develop with equal success. For our part, we shall strive for relations of friendship and fruitful co-operation between the Soviet Union and Italy. It is obvious, however, that this does not depend on us alone, but on the efforts of both sides.

The Soviet Government believes attempts could be made to achieve mutual understanding in the approach to so urgent a contemporary problem as general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The Soviet Union is doing and will continue to do its utmost to secure a solution of this major problem as soon as possible. It would be a good thing if Italy, too, contributed to this commendable effort.

Let me propose a toast to the people of Italy and President Gronchi, to the health of Signor Fanfani, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Italy!

To the health of Signor Segni, the Foreign Minister, and the other Italian guests!

To the further development of Soviet-Italian relations!

To world peace!

SPEECH
AT A LUNCHEON AT THE EMBASSY
OF THE REPUBLIC OF ITALY

August 3, 1961

Dear Mr. Chairman of the Council of Ministers,
Gentlemen,
Comrades,

To begin with, I would like to thank Signor Fanfani for his courtesy and good wishes.

In the relations between Italy and the Soviet Union there are no major controversial issues that would obstruct the development of fruitful and mutually advantageous co-operation between our countries. But we live in a world in which a considerable quantity of combustibles has accumulated, and there are seats of international tension and even of the danger of war. This makes people uneasy and prevents them from living in tranquillity. Much work still lies ahead before these seats are eliminated and the questions that cause alarm for the future of mankind are settled.

Like the Soviet Union, Italy should be most of all concerned for enduring peace in Europe, for creating there an atmosphere of tranquillity and security. It should be clear to everybody that this will not be achieved until the past war is wound up, until there is a German peace treaty.

The Soviet Union is convinced that the present situation, if allowed to prevail, is fraught with the gravest of consequences for peace in Europe and the rest of the world. The absence of a peace treaty serves as a breeding ground for all sorts of revenge-seekers and militarists, who are rearing their heads in West Germany and demanding ever louder a revision of Germany's post-war frontiers and the restoration of what they call "lost land". The peoples of Europe cannot look on indifferently while

the forces that want to change the post-war situation are becoming more active. I believe that the Italian people, too, are following the developments in West Germany with apprehension.

Mr. Chairman, you are well acquainted with our position regarding a German peace treaty. The Soviet Government considers all further delays in settling the matter harmful and dangerous to peace. We have made and are making strenuous efforts to persuade the governments of the countries concerned to reach an agreed solution of the peace treaty question, and to do so before the end of the current year. However, if the Western governments do not agree, the Soviet Union and the other states concerned will be faced with the necessity of signing a peace treaty with just the German Democratic Republic, and of settling the situation in West Berlin on its basis.

I saw fit to dwell here on the question of a peace treaty with Germany because the issue is now the focal point of all international affairs.

We have had frank conversations with you, Mr. Chairman, on a number of important international issues. I would like to hope that your visit to the Soviet Union and the conversations we have had will facilitate an improvement and development of relations between our two countries for the good of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Italy. For my part, I can assure you that the Soviet Government will work for this goal.

At the dinner yesterday I said that the Soviet people have a deep affection for the Italian people, and want friendship with it. I would like to express the hope that on your return to Italy, Mr. Chairman, you will tell the Italian people about these sentiments of Soviet people and convey our wishes of prosperity and a life of peace and happiness.

Allow me to propose a toast to the happiness and prosperity of the Italian people!

To the health of the head of the Italian state, President Gronchi!

To the health of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Italian Republic, Signor Fanfani!

To the health of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Signor Segni!

To the health of Signor Ambassador Carlo Straneo and Signora Straneo!

To closer Soviet-Italian relations!

**SPEECH
ON THE DEPARTURE
OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
OF THE REPUBLIC OF ITALY**

August 5, 1961

Dear Mr. Chairman of the Council of Ministers,
Gentlemen,
Comrades,

Mr. Chairman, your visit to the Soviet Union is drawing to a close. Unfortunately, it has been brief. Nevertheless, we have been able to exchange opinions on important international problems, on questions concerning the relations between our two countries.

To be sure, we hold different views on many aspects of international life, and this is not surprising. But our conversations have been outspoken and proceeded in a good atmosphere. Both sides, I believe, showed a desire to understand one another better.

We may note that the Government of the Soviet Union and the Government of Italy attach prime importance to the question of an enduring peace, and the settlement of controversial international matters by peaceful means. Our talks were marked by a striving to expand further Soviet-Italian relations in the interests of the peoples of

our two countries, and for the good of peace. In our opinion this gives grounds for saying, Mr. Chairman, that your visit has been fruitful.

Now, as you leave our country, we ask you to convey from the peoples of the Soviet Union warm greetings and wishes of peace and well-being to the Italian people. Please convey our sincere greetings and best wishes to Signor Gronchi, President of the Italian Republic.

Allow me to wish you, Minister of Foreign Affairs Signor Segni, and all members of your party a happy journey and good health.

Good-bye, gentlemen!

**SPEECH
OVER THE RADIO AND TELEVISION**

August 7, 1961

Dear Comrades,

Radio and television talks by Soviet statesmen are becoming a good tradition. Today, I should like to tell you briefly about the state of affairs within the country and then to dwell on the international situation.

To begin with, let me congratulate cordially all Soviet people on a new great victory—the successful completion of its flight by spaceship *Vostok-2*.

Major Herman Stepanovich Titov on board the satellite-vehicle performed an unexampled space journey of more than 25 hours. After fulfilling the programme, he landed in a predetermined area of the Soviet Union. The flight speaks for itself. As a result of it, mankind has made another big step closer to the realisation of interplanetary travel.

All the peoples of the globe hail with admiration the outstanding victories of Soviet science and technology in the exploration of outer space.

The Central Committee of our Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet Government published an appeal today in connection with this historic victory of the Soviet people. Our country will

festively celebrate the heroic exploit of the cosmonaut on the day he returns to Moscow.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet Government, I again offer warm and cordial congratulations to the brave son of the Soviet people and the Communist Party—Herman Stepanovich Titov. I congratulate our fine scientists, designers, engineers and workers, all those who worked hard to prepare and effect this new great accomplishment glorifying our Soviet land.

Dear comrades, now I should like to tell you about the work of our industry and about the state of affairs in agriculture.

You will remember that the target figures of our Seven-Year Plan amazed the entire world by their magnitude. The Soviet Seven-Year Plan filled our friends with enthusiasm and joy. It cast the enemies of socialism into despondency. There were ill-wishers abroad who hastened in the old fashion to declare the Seven-Year Plan unrealistic. Life has made a laughing-stock of these loud-mouthed imperialist soothsayers.

By their amazing deeds for the glory of the socialist land our workers, collective farmers, engineers and scientists have not only shown that the Seven-Year Plan is realistic, but have also made their amendments and increased the original targets. These amendments, to say it mildly, have put the pessimists and ill-wishers of the capitalist world in a fix.

Permit me to quote some figures about the work of industry, to name indices that show the economic potential of the state.

It is common knowledge that the programme of the first two years of the Seven-Year Plan period was substantially overfulfilled. A statement on the successful fulfilment of the plan for the first six months of 1961—the third year of the Seven-Year Plan period—was published in the press recently. During the first two and a half years of the Sev-

en-Year Plan period industrial production exceeded by 15,000 million rubles the mark set for this period by the Seven-Year Plan. Steel production exceeded the plan target by 7.6 million tons, rolled stock production by 6 million tons, oil by 8 million tons, reinforced concrete and structural concrete details and components by 12 million cubic metres, cotton textiles by 900 million metres and footwear by 53 million pairs.

It is worthy of note that industrial output in the two and a half years of the Seven-Year Plan period equalled that of the entire Fifth Five-Year Plan period (1951-1955).

Overfulfilment of plans of production and of reductions in the cost of production has added to the accumulations and enabled us to appropriate additionally some 3,000 million rubles for capital investment in the light industry. The Seven-Year Plan provides for a further rise in the living standard of the people. The tasks in that domain are being successfully accomplished. Wage and public consumption funds are increasing, and house-building is proceeding on an extensive scale.

As you see, industry is working well and is, on the whole, overfulfilling the plan targets. But we still have factories that do not fulfil their plans. This means that they do not contribute as much as they should to the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan ahead of time. They are out of step with tens of thousands of front-rank enterprises. We must see to it that each factory, mill and mine, and each collective and state farm fulfils and overfulfils the plan targets in every respect.

Now, let me tell you about the state of affairs in agriculture. In the last two years the level of output of farm produce has been below our possibilities. This has created some difficulties in supplying the towns with products such as meat, milk and fats. Many would like to know what the outlook is for this year. After all, higher living standards largely depend on progress in agriculture.

The harvest and government purchases of farm products this year will probably be bigger than at any time since the establishment of Soviet power.

The total crop area exceeds 204 million hectares. This is greater than it ever was before. Maize for grain has been sown to an area of 7.7 million hectares, or 2.6 million hectares more than last year. The area sown to peas, groat crops and fodder beans has been substantially enlarged. Harvesting is proceeding at a fast pace.

The number of cattle in the country was bigger at the beginning of the year than in any previous year and totalled 75.8 million head, including 34.8 million cows. The number of pigs was 58.7 million, and of sheep—133 million. This shows that we have a sound foundation for a further advancement of animal husbandry.

Some time ago I visited the Kuban area, Rostov Region, and the Ukraine, spoke to agriculturalists there, saw the fields and the results of labour, and talked with the men and women who have raised a rich harvest.

I must say that I was greatly heartened by what I saw, and should like to tell you about it briefly.

Take the Ukraine. You will recall that at the January Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee we did not spare the leaders of that big Republic, and criticised them sharply for serious shortcomings in their work. The leaders of the Ukraine drew the due conclusions from the criticism in the proper Party spirit, changed the methods of work and rallied the material and spiritual forces of the people. This year the Republic is making good progress in the development of agriculture. By August 5 the collective and state farms in the Ukraine had sold to the state 552 million poods of grain, mainly wheat, while for the whole of last year the Ukraine sold to the state 359 million poods of grain, including maize. Comrades Podgorny and Shcherbitsky have said the Ukraine will sell the state a few more dozen million poods of wheat, peas, millet and other cereals, legumes and groats. So there will be

white bread and, as the Ukrainians say, dumplings and gruel too.

The Ukrainians made skilful use of maize, that powerful source of added grain output. They have substantially enlarged the area under this crop. In the Ukraine maize has been sown to 7.3 million hectares this year, almost four million of which will be harvested for grain. The maize has been well tended and is in excellent shape. If the harvesting is well organised, the collective and state farms will be able to harvest more than 1,000 million poods of maize grain. The Ukrainian comrades estimate that this will enable them to sell the state 450-460 million poods of maize grain.

Proper organisation of labour and additional pay incentives have done much to expand grain production in the Ukraine.

The working people of the Ukraine, its Communists and Young Communist League members have shown genuine heroism, an ability for organisation, and a capacity for achieving big successes. Credit is also due for this to the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and the Council of Ministers of the Republic, the regional and district Party committees, and the executive committees of regional and district Soviets, the Economic Councils, the Party branches, the trade unions and the Young Communist League.

I should like to bring you some more good news. I have talked to Comrade Vorobyov, Secretary of the Krasnodar Territory Party Committee, and to Comrade Kolomiyets, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Territory Soviet. They informed me that from what the officials of district administrations and the people of the collective and state farms told them, Krasnodar Territory is likely to overfulfil the plan for grain sales to the state this year.

I have also spoken to the leaders of Stavropol Territory, and Rostov, Belgorod, Kursk, Tula and Orel regions. A good harvest is being gathered in those territories and

regions. The collective and state farms there expect to sell the state much more grain than last year.

Good tidings of a fine harvest of grain crops and maize are arriving from collective and state farms in the Stalin-grad, Saratov, Orenburg and other regions along the Volga and in the Urals.

The farmers of the Russian Federation as a whole are making a big contribution to the expansion of the output of grain and other farm products. By August 5 the collective and state farms of the Federation had sold the state 779 million poods of grain, or 122 million poods more than by the same date last year. Comrades Voronov and Polyansky have said that the Russian Federation would fulfil its commitments with regard to grain sales to the state.

A few words about the virgin-land development areas. Harvesting is only beginning there. It may be recalled that in Tselinny Territory and Siberia grain ripens much later, and it is therefore premature to name any specific figures. But the leaders of the republics, territories and regions of the virgin-land development area also say that the plans will be fulfilled, and perhaps overfulfilled.

Thus, if the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan fulfil the commitments they assumed after the condition of the crops had been studied, the state will be able to purchase about 1,000 million poods of grain more than last year. You realise, of course, that this will be a big victory for our people.

Local officials estimate that after laying in a stock of seed and selling this amount of grain to the state, the collective farms will have the necessary amount of grain to distribute among the collective farmers in payment for their workday units and as additional emoluments, and also for livestock fodder.

The main task in agriculture today is to harvest the entire crop in good time, efficiently, without losses, and to store it properly.

All the peoples of the Soviet Union are working hard to ensure steady agricultural progress. As you see, this year we are able to increase considerably the output of farm products. And if there is grain, there will be fodder, and that means livestock-breeding will also expand and there will be more meat, milk and butter, and the population will be better supplied.

Yet the shortcomings and difficulties that we now see more clearly should also be borne in mind. We must make better use of our great possibilities. Now we can solve even more successfully the task of the further rapid advance of agriculture.

The outlook for our entire national economy is magnificent. It is set forth in the draft of the new Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Relatively little time has elapsed since the document was published, and we shall not therefore anticipate events by making generalisations at this hour about the reception of the draft Programme within the country and abroad. Attentively and eagerly, millions of people are studying the draft Programme, which has stirred the whole world. Our Party is setting the task, for the first time in history, of building communist society as a direct practical undertaking of the immediate future. The conclusion drawn by the Programme that the present generation of Soviet people will live in communism rouses a sense of joy and infuses fresh strength.

It is safe to say even now, with complete confidence, that the entire Soviet people unanimously approve the draft Programme of our Party. At meetings, in the press, over the radio and television, Soviet people are expressing pride and admiration for their Leninist Party and their great socialist land.

Studying the draft Programme, every Soviet citizen, especially of the older generation, casts a retrospective glance at the road the people have traversed in recent decades. By the will and effort of the people our land has

grown from an economically and culturally backward country into a mighty socialist power that is the first to be blazing the trail to communism, that great and cherished goal.

Our successes in economy, science and culture, our steadfast policy of peace have raised the international prestige of the Soviet land and its influence on world affairs beyond all measure.

The peoples of the Soviet Union owe all their successes and victories to the realisation by the Party of Lenin's wise plans.

The draft of the new Programme is imbued with the spirit of creative communist endeavour, love of peace and internationalism. Our friends in all countries, and the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist and capitalist countries approve of the draft Programme and emphasise its historic significance for the international communist and working-class movement. They regard the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as an outstanding document of our era, a major contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Not only our friends, but also the enemies of communism, are studying and appraising our draft new Party Programme. They are powerless to hush it up and cannot conceal the tremendous impression it has made throughout the world.

Is it not indicative that some United States Senators regard the draft Programme as "a serious challenge to the United States" and feel no doubt that the Soviet Union is able to reach the aims set in the draft Programme? They warn: "The power of attraction of the draft Programme is not to be underrated." This is what the Messrs. imperialists fear most.

We are confident that the ideas of the new Programme will reach the minds and hearts of all people on earth. There has been a most lively response to the inspiring words of the Programme that communism is performing the historic mission of delivering all men from social ine-

quality, from all forms of oppression and exploitation, and from the horrors of war, and that it is asserting Peace, Labour, Freedom, Equality and Happiness for the peoples.

The main conclusion drawn by the Soviet people as they study the draft Programme is that it is essential to work, and again to work in order to accelerate communist construction and to strengthen the might and prosperity of our Soviet land.

The advantages of the socialist economy over the capitalist are now not only being proved by theoretical arguments. The material evidence of this is already distinctly visible. The countries of the socialist community are from year to year demonstrating their superiority in rates of economic growth, in the development of scientific and technical thought, the improvement of the living standard, and many other fields.

Even at the time when the capitalist countries were economically far ahead of the Soviet Union, we Marxists-Leninists were firmly convinced of the boundless potentialities of the socialist mode of production. Even at the time of the Civil War, when the country was combating economic chaos, and starvation held our people in a cruel grip, Vladimir Lenin's deep and unshakable faith in the superiority of the socialist system enabled him to challenge capitalism to economic competition and to advance the idea of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Those who are confident in the economic victory of their social system have no need to impose this system upon other peoples by force of arms. This is why we tell the leaders of the capitalist countries: Let the peoples, let history settle the debate as to which system, the socialist or the capitalist, is more viable and progressive. The peoples will make their free choice, and the system will prevail which satisfies human material and spiritual requirements better.

Far from being interested in war, the Soviet Union, like the other socialist countries, is doing its utmost to create insurmountable obstacles to the imperialists' unleashing war. The Communists have always regarded work for peace as their prime task. Our common convictions, demands and programme of action are set forth in the Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow last year. The ideologists of imperialism deliberately distort the purport of the Statement, slander the Communists, and attribute to them the intention of solving outstanding international disputes by means of war. But all this is a sickening lie. Anybody who takes the trouble to get to the root of the documents of the Meeting will realise that the socialist countries, all the fraternal Communist Parties are resolute and convinced opponents of wars between states. Our foreign policy is peaceful coexistence, not war.

It is the Communists who want to exclude war between states altogether from the life of human society. That is also the purport of the Soviet proposals for general and complete disarmament. If we could come to terms with the Western Powers on general and complete disarmament under strict international control, this would also solve such problems as the ban on tests and the manufacture of nuclear weapons and the complete destruction of the stockpiles of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

But year follows year. No matter how many disarmament committees and commissions have been set up, there is nothing to show for it. Disarmament experts are stuck fast in the talks, like flies in treacle. Why so? Why do all the disarmament efforts of the Soviet Union and the other peace-loving countries run into the obdurate resistance of the capitalist countries? It is because the imperialists have not abandoned the idea of armed struggle against socialism, against the peace-loving peoples.

The thirst for profit, an insatiable urge for enrichment and exploitation, gives rise to imperialist aggressive wars.

After the Second World War, the capitalist monopolies made war preparation, the armaments race, a composite element of the economic development of their countries. The successes of the socialist countries rouse increasing fear among the imperialists, and a hatred of communism. They abhor the imposing achievements of the world system of socialism, the growth of its power of attraction among the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence. The ideologists of imperialism see the conceptions by which the capitalist world has been living until now tumbling about their ears. The gap between the industrial and agricultural production of the Soviet Union and the United States is closing year after year, and the day is not far distant when we shall catch up America and start forging ahead of it.

Blinded by their class hatred of the socialist countries, some imperialist leaders make anti-communism the basis of their foreign policy. Those are old tunes, familiar words that go back to the "anti-Comintern pact" and the "Rome-Berlin" axis. But what is left of the latter? The axis has snapped and the ranting authors of the "anti-Comintern pact" have been flung on history's waste heap.

It appears that the most aggressive imperialist quarters would like nothing better than to disrupt our plans for the peaceful building of communist society. It is capitalism that fears peaceful competition between countries with different social systems.

The United States and the other Western Powers are building up strength for a war. They are putting tremendous sums into armaments. In the last twelve years direct military expenditures in the United States have more than trebled. As much as \$53,000 million are to be appropriated for military requirements this year, and recently the United States President requested an additional appropriation of \$3,500 million. According to official, obviously incomplete figures, West Germany has in the last decade spent about as much on military purposes as Hitler had

from 1933 to the outbreak of the Second World War. In 1961 the military items of the Federal German budget have increased by another 18 per cent. The other imperialist powers are also spending tremendous sums on armaments. This shows that the imperialists are again trying to nail to their mast the policy of "rolling back" the socialist countries, proclaimed by Dulles.

But the proponents of this policy should take note of the balance of forces in the world of today.

Mr. Kennedy, President of the United States, said during our conversations in Vienna that an equilibrium of strength has now been struck between the two world camps, and that a direct clash between the U.S.S.R. and the United States should be averted because it would have the most disastrous consequences. This is one time when Mr. Kennedy showed a sober approach to things, and a certain amount of realism. Credit is due to him for that. However, life demands that statesmen should not only say reasonable things, but also refrain in politics from crossing the line beyond which the voice of reason ceases to be heard and a blind and dangerous game begins with the destinies of peoples and states.

We cannot look on indifferently while the aggressive Western quarters, helped by Chancellor Adenauer, are rallying all the material and spiritual forces of West Germany for the preparation of a third world war. The Federal Republic of Germany is no longer the country that stood humbled before its victors 16 years ago and undertook to follow the road of peace and democracy. Today, the revenge-seekers of West Germany are rearing their heads. They have a mass army trained and equipped for offensive operations. The Federal Republic has become a party to the North Atlantic military bloc, spearheaded against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Militarisation, the eruption of revanchism, the cult of hate and hostility for communism and everything new and progressive, and a revival of pan-Germanic traditions and

sentiments—those are the most conspicuous features today of the West German state.

By the will of the Western Powers more inflammable material has been concentrated in the centre of Europe than in any other region of the world. It is here that the flames of a world war again threaten to break out.

After the Western Powers trampled underfoot the allied agreements on the demilitarisation and democratisation of Germany, nothing but a peace treaty can prevent the dangerous development of German militarism and revanchism. This is why we propose that the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, all countries that took part in the war against Hitler Germany, on the one hand, and the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany as the legal successors of the former German Reich, on the other, conclude a peace treaty that would meet the legitimate interests of all sides. This would enable us to end completely the state of war and clear the way for peace and peaceful coexistence in Europe, while observing all legal rules and international customs.

A peace treaty with Germany would enable us to normalise the situation in West Berlin and thus remove grounds for a sharp clash between states. We must not let West Berlin become another Sarajevo, the Serbian town where the shots rang out that triggered the First World War. The conversion of West Berlin into a free city, as the Soviet Union suggests, would not prejudice either the interests or the prestige of any country. We propose the stipulation in the peace treaty that the free city of West Berlin shall have freedom of communications with the outside world. We agree to any guarantees most effective for the independent development and the security of the free city of West Berlin.

Insisting on the conclusion of a peace treaty, the Soviet Government declares: We stand for the freedom of West Berlin, but not based on the continuance of the military

occupation regime. It is common knowledge that occupation has never meant freedom, and never will. It is said with good reason that "sitting on bayonets is uncomfortable".

All the Eastern neighbours of Germany agree on the need to conclude a German peace treaty and grant West Berlin the status of a free city. The Government of the German Democratic Republic, in whose territory West Berlin lies, has also agreed to our proposals, and has issued a statement to that effect. The Western Powers responded with a refusal, but did not advance any proposals of their own for a peace settlement with Germany. They should give thought to the dangerous development of West Germany, and look back as well. Is it not a fact that after the First World War the Western Powers also helped arm Germany in the hope that it would launch out eastward? However, this did not prevent it from directing its arms first against those who had helped the German militarists to get on their feet and to start a war for world domination.

The Yalta Declaration and the Potsdam Agreement clearly established that the occupation of Germany should help the German people eradicate militarism and nazism. The Western Powers violated all the principles of Germany's occupation agreed upon at Yalta and Potsdam. The conspiracy of the Western Powers late in 1946 on the merger of the two occupation zones gave a start to the division of Germany and the restoration of the power of the militarists and revenge-seekers in West Germany. The Western Powers finally and unilaterally tore up the Potsdam Agreement by setting up a separate West German state, concluding the Paris agreements and admitting West Germany into NATO. It is no accident therefore that a special three-power occupation status was established for West Berlin. By this tripartite occupation status the Western Powers admitted that they had destroyed the foundation of their occupation regime in West Berlin under in-

ternational law and that this regime rests solely on undisguised armed force.

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

"Self-determination" is now being advocated by the imperialist colonialists who have for several years been shedding the blood of the Vietnamese people, who have been waging a brutal predatory war in Algeria for seven years, and who shoot down unarmed people in Bizerta and Tunis just because the Tunisians demanded the closure of the imperialists' military base in their territory. It is they who organised the bloody massacre of Congolese patriots that rose to fight for independence, and it is they who killed the national hero, Patrice Lumumba. The struggle in the Congo continues to this day. The colonialists are eager to crush by fire and sword the movement of the people of Angola for its liberation. And was it not the men now parading as the champions of self-determination who organised the armed attack on Egypt?

People are raising a hue and cry about the slogan of self-determination in the United States, whose ruling quarters are following a policy of suppressing liberation movements in countries of various continents. It was by the will of the American monopolies that the tyrannical regime of Batista, detested by the Cubans, was established

in Cuba. And when the Cuban people rose and expelled the dictator, the American imperialists tried repeatedly by military intervention to crush the Cuban revolution and suppress the people's aspirations for genuine freedom, for genuine self-determination. The whole world knows how the American monopolies carried through operation "self-determination" in Guatemala. It was an operation effected by hired bandits, by armed force directed against the Guatemalan people. One could cite numerous examples of imperialist interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Take the forcible seizure of Taiwan, which is an inalienable part of the People's Republic of China. Take the interference in the domestic affairs of Laos, South Viet Nam, South Korea, and many countries in Africa and Latin America. If all that is defence of self-determination, what is colonial brigandage?

It is dyed-in-the-wool enemies of the national unity of the German people who are exploiting the slogan of self-determination. It is constantly on the lips of Chancellor Adenauer, who puts quite a definite construction upon it—absorption of the German Democratic Republic.

How is agreement to be reached on reunification if the West German Government will not hear of talks with the Government of the German Democratic Republic?

Soviet people will never forget how during the war nazi units hid behind the backs of our women and children, whom they drove before them when mounting an attack. In the same way the West German militarists now want to hide their plans for revenge behind high-minded slogans of self-determination. They veil their plans with them—just try and attack self-determination, they seem to say.

The Soviet Union understands very well how dear German national unity is to the German people. This unity can be achieved only by the Germans themselves. The Western Powers are eager to create the impression that they stand for reunification. But true protagonists of German reunification would not reserve the right to intervene

in the purely internal affairs of the German people, as the governments of the United States, Britain and France did in the Paris agreements of 1954. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany willingly waived the national interests of the Germans in exchange for NATO membership.

It is indicative that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is going out of its way to secure the revision of the articles of the Paris agreements that restrict to some extent arms production in West Germany. But it has never raised the question of rescinding the articles that give the Western Powers the final say in the matter of German reunification. Yet, after all this, the governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Western Powers pretend that they have no other concern but German unity, and, what is more, throw in the slogan of self-determination.

The West goes to all lengths to distort our attitude to the German peace treaty.

In a recent speech the U.S. President said his country was faced with a Soviet challenge and that a threat existed to the freedom of the people of West Berlin, that the Soviet Union was, of all things, intending to use force. He did not say a word about the substance of the matter—the fact that the Soviet Union is proposing that a peace treaty be signed with Germany. Nor did he say that the Soviet Union is eager to work out the terms of the treaty jointly with all the states that took part in the war against Germany. After hearing their President's speech the American people may indeed get the idea that what we are after is not to eliminate the remnants of the last war, but to start a third world war.

What provisions of the Soviet draft of a German peace treaty could give the U.S. President grounds for contending that the Soviet Union is "threatening" to breach the peace? Could it be the provisions that Germany shall renounce nuclear weapons, that the existing German bor-

ders shall be juridically reaffirmed, that full sovereignty shall be granted to both German states, and that they shall be admitted to the United Nations?

If anyone did resort to threats, it was the United States President. He did not shrink from presenting a kind of ultimatum in reply to our proposal for a peace treaty with Germany. As if to back his threats, the President announced the increase of the Armed Forces by 217,000 men, and U.S. Senators began trumpeting the need to mobilise some classes of reservists.

War hysteria is now being whipped up in the United States. At the same time, certain quarters are inuring the American people to the idea that nothing particularly terrible will happen if war breaks out. But it would be criminally reckless on the part of the American leadership to expect in earnest that, once war is unleashed against the socialist countries, it could be kept within certain bounds. If a clash does occur between the two giants—the Soviet Union and the United States, which have a powerful economic potential and big stockpiles of nuclear weapons—neither side will want to admit defeat before it uses all its weapons, including the most destructive. Do the American people really need this? Does the American Government really want it? But if the United States leaders realise what modern nuclear war is like, why do they hot up the atmosphere as President Kennedy did in his speech?

It is quite clear that a third world war, if it broke out, would not be confined to a duel between just the two Great Powers—the Soviet Union and the United States. Is it not a fact that a few dozen countries are ensnared in U.S.-sponsored military alliances, and that they would surely be drawn into the orbit of war? We are taking all this into account, and if the imperialists unleash a war, we have at our disposal the necessary weapons not only to strike a crushing blow at the territory of the United States, but also to render harmless the aggressor's allies and

to crush the American military bases scattered all over the world.

Any country that is used as a spring-board for an attack on the socialist camp will experience the full devastating impact of our powerful blow. War will also come to the homes of the Americans, who have not, for all of a century, ever since the Civil War between North and South, experienced hostilities on their own territory. We do not want to threaten anyone. We only want to prompt common sense to the policy-makers of the NATO states.

Even politicians far removed from thoughts of peace realise how terrible the consequences of a third world war would be for their countries. I should like to refer to Strauss, the Defence Minister of the Bonn Government. Speaking to newsmen one day, he admitted that "war would mean the destruction of Germany and other European countries". The Defence Minister is right. After making this statement, he should have abandoned warlike ambitions and advised the same line of conduct to Chancellor Adenauer, who is playing with fire.

Comrades, it should be said frankly that at present the Western Powers are pushing the world to a dangerous point, and we must not dismiss the possibility that a threat will appear of armed attack by the imperialists on the socialist countries.

I want to assure you that the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government are doing, and will do, everything in their power to prevent a war. But the matter does not depend entirely on us. If the moment really comes when imperialism ventures on an act of folly and starts an armed gamble, a situation highly dangerous to the whole world may develop. We must be on our guard.

We are convinced that if the question of whether or not there is to be a war depends on the reasonable people in the Western countries, they will not let war break out. But if people possessed by a mania for suicide take the upper hand, one cannot vouch for them.

In this connection I should like to recall an episode of the Great Patriotic War to illustrate what can result from a loss of self-control, a loss of one's reason.

The first days after Hitler Germany's attack on the Soviet Union, I was a member of the Military Council of the South-Western Front. You will remember that at the start of the war events did not develop in our favour. The Soviet troops were in difficulties. On the fifth or sixth day of the war the Front Commander and I sent General Vashugin, a member of the Military Council, to a tank corps to convey orders on how to use the forces of this corps to the best advantage. On returning from the corps, Vashugin came to see me. He was in a grave and confused state. "Everything is lost, things are going as they did in France. The end has come. I shall shoot myself," he said. I tried to stop him: "You are mad, come to your senses!" But before I could do anything, he drew his pistol and shot himself on the spot, before my very eyes.

This tragic episode occurred because the man was unnerved. He no longer knew what he was doing. He had lost self-control. I do not want to draw any direct parallels, but in the West there are some people who are losing their self-possession and self-control. In the story I have just related, it was one man who perished. But should some Western leader act rashly in present conditions and drive the world into a new war, this suicidal act would spell death to millions upon millions of people.

Let us see why the conclusion of a German peace treaty is so urgently needed for the consolidation of universal peace. What would happen if the conclusion of the German peace treaty were put off for a few more years? It would encourage the aggressive forces, and would mean retreat before their pressure. This situation would give added stimulus to NATO and the Bonn Government to form more and more divisions in West Germany, to equip them with atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons, and to

convert West Germany into the main force for unleashing a new world war.

It is not because the Soviet Union wants some special advantages for itself that it insists on the conclusion of a German peace treaty without delay. We do not intend to seize West Berlin. We do not want to alter Germany's present frontiers. We have no designs upon West Germany. All we want is to strengthen peace by concluding a German peace treaty.

If the Western Powers reconsider their position, if they heed the voice of reason and express readiness to conclude a German peace treaty together with us, we shall be only too glad. If they have any remarks and amendments to our draft of the peace treaty, or if they have their own proposals on this question, we are ready not only to hear them, but also to discuss thoroughly all their considerations. We are not in the least anxious to intrude upon the legitimate interests of the Western Powers. We are not seeking to change the state borders set up after the Second World War. I declare this once again today on behalf of the Soviet Government.

If the Western Powers persist in their stand and refuse to sign a German peace treaty, we shall have to settle the problem without them.

A Conference of the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Warsaw Treaty countries was held in Moscow a few days ago. There was an exchange of opinions on matters connected with the preparation for concluding a German peace treaty. The communique of the Conference said that if the Western Powers persist in their refusal to conclude a German peace treaty, the countries concerned will be compelled to conclude one with the German Democratic Republic. It goes without saying that the German Democratic Republic would thus attain full sovereignty and questions concerning the use of communications with West Berlin running across its territory would thus have

to be decided by agreement with the G.D.R. Government. As to the agreements concluded during the occupation period between the U.S.S.R. and the Western Powers on the question of access to West Berlin, they would become null and void. It would seem that all this is natural and quite fair, and should evoke no objections or discontent. After all, one cannot use the communications in the territory of a state without having to deal with the government of that state. That would be entirely improper and would contradict the elementary principles of international law.

But American statesmen allege that the Soviet Union wants to humiliate America, Britain and France by concluding a peace treaty with the G.D.R., and that U.S. representatives cannot ask Germans for permission to communicate with West Berlin, because they fought together with the peoples of the Soviet Union against Hitler Germany. They even say that the position of the U.S.S.R. on this question goes against the principles of comradeship, and that it is unethical.

But all that is absolute nonsense! Firstly, if we are to speak about ethics and legal grounds, I should like to point to a precedent set by the United States and some of our other allies in the war against Japan, who concluded a separate peace treaty with that country and deprived us of all the rights implicit in its surrender, including the right to take part in the agencies controlling Japan's fulfilment of the surrender terms. There are thus two ethics, two approaches—one for themselves and another one for us.

Secondly, what grounds do the Americans have for declaring—one U.S. statesman said it to me in just so many words—that they cannot deal with the G.D.R. Government on the subject of access to West Berlin, because that Government was elected undemocratically? That, is gross slander. But there is no sense in arguing with the ruling circles of the United States about democratic principles.

Our approaches to the matter are quite different. The United States, for instance, maintains friendly, allied relations with such "great democrats of the free world" as the fascists Franco and Salazar.

To be sure, we, too, have to deal with governments with whom we have no friendly relations. And we do deal with them. I might mention the following example. The Soviet Union had to enter into negotiations with the Federal Republic of Germany in order to ensure direct Moscow-Paris railway communications via the territory of West Germany. What did we do? We came to terms and signed a pertinent agreement with the F.R.G. Government. At present, there is a direct Moscow-Paris railway line. In this instance we acted as realists: there has been a hard war against Germany, but it is over long ago, and it is therefore necessary to normalise relations and give heed to the situation as it obtains today.

The question of the right to dispose of the territory of a state is not a question for third countries to decide, but one for the people of the state concerned, and is to be settled by the government representing that people. In the case I have just mentioned, we had to deal with Adenauer, because he represents the Federal Republic of Germany, just as Comrade Ulbricht represents the German Democratic Republic and is the man to be dealt with on the subject of access to West Berlin after a peace treaty is concluded. This is a real fact based on international law, and cannot be disregarded.

I should like to repeat once more that by concluding a peace treaty with the G.D.R. we do not intend to jeopardise any legitimate interests of the Western Powers. Barring access to West Berlin, or blockading that city, is entirely out of the question. All this is a figment of the imagination of those who want to hot up the atmosphere in preparation of a war. But the peoples will see whose efforts are aimed at consolidating peace, and whose efforts are aimed at raising tension and preparing a third world war.

But what is behind the whole thing? Why have the Western Powers raised such an uproar over our intention to let the G.D.R. have full sovereignty over communications leading to West Berlin after the peace treaty is concluded? Why do they go to the length of threatening us? Why do they talk about a trial of strength?

A closer examination of what is going on will inevitably lead to the conclusion that far more serious issues are at stake. The imperialists refuse to recognise the fact that the German Democratic Republic, as a sovereign state, is entitled to full control over its entire territory. The imperialists believe that the present situation provides them with a convenient loophole for obstructing the development of the G.D.R. as a socialist state. They are using West Berlin as a spring-board for subversion against the G.D.R. and other socialist countries. They are sending in agents all the time to create a war situation there. The imperialists are eager to widen this loophole, to undermine the German Democratic Republic, but are told: "Stop, gentlemen. We know exactly what you want. We know what you are after. We shall sign a peace treaty and close up your loophole into the G.D.R.!"

Some may say, however: Is it so very necessary to sign a peace treaty with Germany now? Why not wait another two or three years, or even more? That might lift the tension and remove the danger of war.

No, that is not the way to act. We have to face up to the truth: the Western Powers are refusing to conclude a peace treaty with Germany on an agreed basis. At the same time, they threaten war and demand that we should not conclude a peace treaty with the G.D.R. They want nothing more and nothing less than to impose their will on the countries of the socialist camp.

The question of access to West Berlin, and the whole question of the peace treaty, is no more than a pretext for them. If we abandoned the idea of concluding a peace treaty, they would regard this as a strategic breakthrough

and would at once increase the range of their demands. They would demand the abolition of the socialist system in the German Democratic Republic. And if they were to attain that as well, they would, of course, proceed to demand from Poland and Czechoslovakia the territories restored to them under the Potsdam Agreement. Yet those are Polish and Czechoslovak territories. And if the Western Powers attained all that, they would come out with their main claim—abolition of the socialist system in all the countries of the socialist camp. They would like that even now.

This is why a solution of the question of a peace treaty must not be postponed.

The conclusion of a peace treaty with the G.D.R. will have a tremendous positive impact on the development of the international situation as a whole. Like the needle of a compass, the peace treaty will indicate to the entire German people the right direction of development, ensuring peace, freedom, independence and sovereignty to them in the community of the peace-loving peoples of Europe.

We address our people and tell them frankly about the present situation. As you already know, the Soviet Government has decided to increase the country's defence expenditures and to discontinue the reduction of our Armed Forces hitherto carried out unilaterally. In brief, essential measures are being taken to make the defensive might of the Soviet Union still stronger and still more dependable. We shall follow further developments and act in accordance with the obtaining situation. In due course we shall possibly have to increase the numerical strength of the army on the Western borders by transferring divisions from other parts of the Soviet Union. This will perhaps necessitate the call-up of a part of our reservists, in order to bring our divisions to full strength and keep them ready for all exigencies.

Why does the Soviet Government consider such measures? These are retaliatory measures. The United States

is in fact carrying out measures of a mobilisational nature. It is threatening to start a war. The allies of the United States in the aggressive military blocs are supporting this dangerous course. The British Government has announced that it will transfer additional troops to West Germany. France is recalling troops from Algeria to Europe.

In face of this situation it is impermissible for us to look on idly. History shows that when an aggressor sees that he is not being repulsed, he grows more brazen, and, reversely, when he is repulsed, he calms down. We must take heed of this historical experience in our actions.

We are confident that the entire Soviet people will appreciate the measures of the Soviet Government and will take a serious view of the present situation. In fighting for the communist cause and defending the independence of their homeland in the grim years of the war, Soviet people developed the great Leninist ability to be optimistic, to have faith in the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas. We are strong and we know that although difficulties may arise, we shall surmount them and score new victories in the building of communism.

Soviet citizens may want to know whether or not still greater funds will have to be appropriated to strengthen our Armed Forces. I am in a position to reply that the Central Committee and the Government are inclined to think after a preliminary discussion that this is unnecessary. The funds already appropriated for strengthening the defences of our homeland, the armaments already produced, and those that are being produced by our industry will suffice.

As we carry out our defensive measures and strengthen the might of our socialist land, we are creating a variety of rockets: intercontinental ballistic rockets, rockets of different ranges, both strategic and tactical, with atomic and hydrogen war-heads. Rocketry in our country is going ahead, and we see no need for appropriating additional

funds. Due attention is also being paid in our country to other kinds of weapons.

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

Naturally, the Soviet Government, like the whole Soviet people, does not want war hysteria to create harrowing days of tension for the peoples of the world, including the peoples of the United States, France, Britain, and West Germany. We are doing and shall do everything in our power to settle the outstanding international issues peacefully, in a calm atmosphere.

The Soviet Union does not want to go to war with anyone. We do not need anybody's territory or wealth. How could we covet anybody's wealth if the Soviet Union has vast natural resources, a highly-developed industry, and excellent scientists, engineers, technicians, workers, and agriculturalists?

How many times, speaking both officially and unofficially, have spokesmen of the Soviet Government and of our public organisations told the United States, its Government, its people: Let us trade, let us develop economic and cultural contacts. The United States is rich and strong, and so are we. Whenever relations between us enter a calm channel, the peoples of all countries benefit from it.

This is why we say once more to the governments of the United States, Britain and France: Let us sit round a conference table in good faith, let us not create war hysteria; let us clear the atmosphere, let us rely on reason and not on the power of thermo-nuclear weapons.

We respect the American people, whose soldiers fought together with Soviet soldiers in the trying days of war against the fascist armies. We remember and know the contribution made by the British people in routing Hitlerism. We respect France and the great French people. We revere the heroic sons of France, our worthy allies in the

war who refused to bow to Hitler even when their country was occupied. And we, of course, remember how the Poles, Czechs, Yugoslavs and other peoples of Europe fought against the fascist invaders.

We should like to address the peoples and governments of the neutral countries, and to tell them now: You cannot remain aloof. It is only through the efforts of all the nations that the aggressor can be put in a strait jacket and humanity delivered from the threat of a third world war. It is only the efforts of all the peoples and governments that can assure the complete triumph of the great principles of peaceful coexistence and agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control. Neither governments nor peoples must remain neutral in the question of whether or not there is to be a war.

Such is the situation in which we are living today. Such is the world, with its troubles and anxieties, in the middle of 1961. If we look back to see whether such complicated situations arose in the past, whether we succeeded in emerging from them by sensible means without war, we shall discover from history that the same or similar situations occurred, and reason triumphed. The Central Committee of our Party and the Soviet Government have done and will do everything in their power for the Soviet people and the peoples of all countries to emerge from this tense situation without war. We do not want war, but our people will not flinch in the face of trials: they will answer force with force and will crush any aggressor.

We cannot afford to be complacent. We cannot let things take care of themselves. Only energy, persistence, firm faith in the justice of our cause, devotion to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, solid support of the Party and the Soviet Government—only these qualities will lend us more and more strength and will help us to surmount the obstacles.

We are all preoccupied with peaceful affairs. We are preparing for the Twenty-Second Congress of the Com-

munist Party of the Soviet Union, whose significance will lie in that it will approve further imposing peaceful plans for our life.

We would like everybody to know that we shall continue to work persistently for peace, that all Soviet people will raise their voice and concentrate their effort on preventing the outbreak of a new war, on safeguarding peace.

Allow me on behalf of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government to appeal to all Soviet citizens, whatever capacity they work in and wherever they are: Let us add to the might of our beloved socialist land. Let everyone's work, energy and talent flow into the common torrent of labour. As the ocean is made up of drops, so the might of the Soviet state is made up of the efforts of millions of Soviet people. This is the guarantee of our continued victories in the building of communism.

I wish you great successes in your work and life, dear comrades!

REPLY
TO A QUESTION BY DREW PEARSON,
THE AMERICAN COLUMNIST

N. S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., received the American columnist, Drew Pearson, and had a talk with him.

Drew Pearson asked about the Berlin crisis, whether negotiations of the matter with Western leaders were desirable and, if so, how soon such negotiations should begin. N. S. Khrushchov made the following statement, which was published in the American press.

I take it that by "Berlin crisis" you mean the differences between the socialist countries and the Western countries over the fate of West Berlin after the conclusion of a German peace treaty. To begin with, I should like to stress that this question is no more than part of the general problem of a peace settlement with Germany. The outcry raised over it by certain groups in the West, which adds to international tension and whips up war hysteria, is obviously intended to complicate the conclusion of a German peace treaty. We should therefore take the first things first and speak about the German peace treaty. This is all the more important because the proposal of the Soviet Union and other countries that fought against Hitler Germany to conclude a peace treaty with the two existing German states, the legal successors of the former Germany, has caused an absolutely incorrect reaction among the Western Powers.

The West German Government has taken an especially hostile attitude in the matter. Furthermore, it has the support of the governments of the United States, France and Britain. Falling in with the wishes of the Adenauer Government, they are rejecting the sensible proposals for a peace treaty with the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, although it would in no way affect the interests of the Western Powers.

Naturally, the peace treaty would be concluded with a united Germany, if one existed. But there is no united Germany today. Two German states with diametrically opposite economic and political systems have emerged and follow each its own course in what was formerly the Hitler Reich. I do not want to delve into the history of this question at this point, or to relate why this came about, although we Soviet people have a lot to say on this score: Germany was split by the United States, Britain and France back in 1947, when they carried through successively a series of economic and political measures, turning their occupation zones first into Bizonia, then into Trizonia, and, lastly, into the Federal Republic of Germany. Faced by the fact that a separate state had been founded in the West of Germany, which, by the way, at once assumed a bellicose and revenge-seeking character, the population of East Germany, in turn, founded another German state, the German Democratic Republic, which is peace-loving and democratic.

Thus, whether we like it or not, there exist in the heart of Europe two German states, and it is this fact that should serve as the point of departure.

It remains to be added that the Government of the German Democratic Republic has repeatedly tried to prevail upon the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany to sit down at the conference table and work out ways and means leading to the reunification of the German nation. But none of these attempts have been successful. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany refused

point-blank to discuss any proposals of the German Democratic Republic for the establishment of a united German state.

What prompts this attitude of the West German Government? There is only one explanation for it: the West German Government is rejecting the peaceful unification of the German nation because it has plans of forcibly seizing the German Democratic Republic. But is it not clear that any attempt to swallow that Republic will not go unpunished? The G.D.R. is not alone, after all. It has loyal allies, who will not leave it in the lurch.

It is also well known that West Germany has its allies too, with whom it is associated in the aggressive NATO pact. In these circumstances an attack by West Germany on the German Democratic Republic would not be a local conflict, but the beginning of an unprecedented thermonuclear war involving all the countries of the two opposed camps.

So what are we to do in the prevailing situation? Should we wait until Germany reunifies—and that, as you see, can occur only through a terrible war—or should we sign a treaty with the two actually existing states without further delay?

We believe there should be no more procrastination.

A peace treaty that writes *finis* to the Second World War and reaffirms the frontiers of the two German states will tie the hands of the revenge-seekers and dampen their appetite for adventures. Conversely, further delay would be received by the West German revenge-seekers as encouragement of aggression and war.

This is why we have decided to end the delays in the matter of a German peace treaty. And if the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany goes on refusing to sign the treaty, it will be signed with the German Democratic Republic, which has already given its consent. The treaty will reaffirm the boundaries fixed by the Potsdam Agreement, and the German Democratic Republic will

exercise full sovereignty in its territory, relieved of the burden carried over from the Second World War.

Now about the fate of West Berlin. As I have already said, the question of West Berlin is part of the general question of the German peace treaty. Once the peace treaty is signed with the German Democratic Republic, West Berlin will acquire the status of a free city and will be completely its own master. Its population will live under the social and political system of its own choosing. We propose inscribing that nobody shall have the right to interfere in the affairs of West Berlin and impose his system upon its population.

It would seem that this solution should suit the Western Powers, who have repeatedly declared that the population of West Berlin should have complete freedom and independence in choosing their way of life. Yet Western leaders bitterly oppose our proposals and, in doing so, raise a terrible hue and cry verging on war hysteria over the West Berlin question.

Why are they dissatisfied? They are dissatisfied because a German peace treaty and the establishment of West Berlin as a free city would automatically end the occupation status under which their troops are stationed there.

Western statesmen, especially Adenauer and Brandt, ignore the clear and firm assurances of the governments of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic that they are prepared to furnish every guarantee to West Berlin, and maintain that we want to "capture" that city. But there is the good saying that lies have short legs. I would like to know what the Western Powers will reply to the following concrete proposal: Let the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union make a joint solemn promise to respect and safeguard the freedom, independence and rights of the free city of West Berlin.

I believe you are agreeable. So are we. Then, where are the grounds for flaming tempers and the war hysteria over the so-called Berlin question?

There remains the question of the freedom of access to West Berlin. As you know, the opponents of a German peace treaty have been shouting their heads off over it. It is therefore all the more important to make this point entirely clear.

We have said, and we repeat, that no one wants to prejudice the freedom of access to West Berlin. On the contrary, by proposing the conclusion of a German peace treaty we emphasise that freedom of communications to and from West Berlin should be ensured. The Government of West Berlin, like any sovereign government, is to have the right to maintain diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with any country in any continent.

What are the differences then? They lie in our wanting to eliminate the remnants of the Second World War once and for all, while the Western countries—the U.S.A., Britain and France—are clinging to them in every possible way, eager to ensure access to West Berlin for their troops on the strength of the rights of occupation based on the provisions of Hitler Germany's surrender.

But one thing does not go with the other. Ask any lawyer, and he will tell you that once a peace treaty is signed the state of war is terminated, and if the state of war is terminated, how can the occupation regime in West Berlin continue? That is impossible.

All the sovereign countries of the world—and the German Democratic Republic is one of them—are guided by a generally accepted rule: if their lines of communication with other countries cross the territory of third countries, the latter's consent is naturally always required for the use of these communications, no matter where they pass—land, sea or air. This applies to any country, no matter what its social system is.

One of the Western leaders' arguments against dealing with the Government of the G.D.R. is that they cannot approach that Government because the United States and the other Western Powers fought against Germany. This

argument does not have a leg to stand on. We also fought, and, as you know, bore the brunt of the war against Germany, including that part of it which is now the Federal Republic of Germany. Yet we maintain relations with and approach the Government of the F.R.G. whenever necessary. Let me give you an example, already mentioned in one of my speeches. We now have a direct railway service between Moscow and Paris. The train crosses the territory of the Federal Republic. Before signing the agreement with France, we naturally approached the Government of the F.R.G. for permission to let the trains cross its territory, and it was only after this consent was obtained and the appropriate agreements were signed that the service was opened.

I can name thousands of similar examples. The procedure should be the same as regards access to West Berlin after the peace treaty is concluded. There should be respect for the sovereignty of all countries, the G.D.R. included.

This is the law of laws, and if we are going to violate it, there will be no stability in the world, no peaceful coexistence of states, and, in general, perhaps no peace.

Some statesmen and politicians say: Let the Soviet Union and other countries sign the peace treaty, but allow the Western Powers the right of access to West Berlin implicit in the occupation status. If that is what they want, they want the impossible. After the peace treaty is concluded the rights of the victor powers, based on the surrender of the defeated country, must naturally end.

The German states with whom the peace treaty is to be signed will, from that moment, be completely sovereign and, whether or not the other countries like the regime in either one of them, they will all have to maintain relations with them in conformance with the generally-accepted rules of international law.

It is fitting to recall in this connection how matters stood with the Japanese peace treaty. We fought against

Japan together with the United States. The Soviet Army smashed the main force of the Japanese troops, the Kwantung Army, in Manchuria. After Japan capitulated, the Soviet Union, together with the United States and the other allies, worked out measures for the control of Japan's post-war development. Soviet representatives took a most active part in the work of the Allied Council in Tokyo. However, when it came to concluding a peace, the United States disregarded the Soviet Union and signed a separate treaty. It wound up the Allied Council for Japan unilaterally and began making the life of the Soviet representatives in Tokyo intolerable. And although we had certain rights and commitments devolving upon us through Japan's surrender and pertinent agreements, our allies paid no attention to them.

Why, then, are the United States and its allies now trying to brand as unlawful our intention to conclude a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic if the Western Powers refuse to sign a peace treaty with the two German states? The United States calls things that suit it lawful, and whatever it believes unsuitable it calls unlawful. Where is the logic of this?

To sum up, it is quite obvious that the Western Powers are artificially stirring up a controversy over the Berlin question, fomenting war hysteria in order to add to the international tension and create a pretext for war against the Soviet Union and the socialist camp as a whole. Their talk about fighting for the freedom and independence of the West Berliners is false throughout, because nobody is threatening that freedom and independence.

We say as before: Let us sign a peace treaty. Let us make West Berlin a free city, and let us give it all the necessary guarantees. What is more, we are ourselves prepared to participate in the enforcement of these guarantees. We are also prepared to let token troops of the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union stay in West Berlin to back these guarantees. These should be

small, really token contingents, because no large armed force will be required there to guarantee the status of free city. It would be possible in that case to reach an understanding with the G.D.R. Government concerning freedom of communications for these military units.

That, in effect, is the substance of our standpoint in the German question. That is what we are working for. I want to stress again and again that we are striving to eliminate the survivals of the Second World War. We want the atmosphere in Europe and, consequently, in the rest of the world to be cleared. We want all the peoples of the world to breathe lightly, all countries to live as good neighbours and to maintain peaceful relations with each other, and people to live without the fear of war.

This is why the Soviet Government and the governments of the other socialist countries who fought against Hitler Germany have firmly decided not to postpone the signing of the German peace treaty any longer. We shall regret it if the Western Powers refuse to sign the peace treaty. In that case we shall be compelled to sign the peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic.

You ask when it would be desirable to negotiate. What can I say to that? You will realise that the solution of the question of the German peace treaty does not brook delay. We are therefore ready at any moment to make contact on this issue with the Western leaders if they are sincerely willing to achieve a realistic settlement of the German problem on a mutually acceptable basis.

I want to add to this that they should be no less, perhaps even more, interested than ourselves in a peaceful solution of this problem. If the Western leaders, and President Kennedy in particular, want such a settlement, we have long declared ourselves ready at any time to sit down at a round table for peaceful negotiations.

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**SPEECHES
MADE DURING THE VISIT TO THE U.S.S.R.
OF THE PRIME MINISTER
OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA**

**SPEECH
ON THE ARRIVAL OF THE PRIME MINISTER
OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA**

September 6, 1961

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,
Dear Indian Guests,
Comrades,

It gives me great pleasure to welcome our distinguished guest, the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Mr. Nehru, on Soviet soil.

Mr. Nehru, you and I are old acquaintances. We have met in Moscow, and we have met in your country, which has left an indelible impression on me. I remember very well the many friendly meetings I had with your people and with the political and public leaders of India.

Last year we met also at the U.N. General Assembly, where you made a fervent appeal for peace and friendship between nations. I remember very well our conversations in New York on vitally important international topics.

Your present visit to our country continues the good tradition of personal contact between the political and public leaders of the Soviet Union and India.

Six years have passed since your last visit to the Soviet Union in June 1955. That is ample to test the endur-

ance of the good relations obtaining between our countries and our peoples. It is with a sense of deep satisfaction that we say: Yes, our friendship has stood the test of time, it has stood the test and has grown still stronger. Mutually advantageous co-operation has developed further between the Soviet Union and India, and our varied friendly contacts have become stronger.

I believe that your present visit to the Soviet Union and an exchange of opinions between us on the key problems of the contemporary international situation will promote the further development and strengthening of good relations and co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of India with a view to bettering the international situation and reinforcing international peace.

We bid you welcome, Mr. Prime Minister!

(N. S. Khrushchov's speech was heard with close attention and was repeatedly interrupted by applause.)

SPEECH
AT A DINNER FOR THE PRIME MINISTER
OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA

September 6, 1961

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Dear Comrades,

It gives me great pleasure once more to welcome today our distinguished guest, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of the friendly Republic of India, and his companions.

We hope, Mr. Prime Minister, that your visit to the Soviet Union will be a new step forward in the further strengthening of friendly Soviet-Indian relations, which are based on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

We think highly of your country's policy of peace, of the efforts made by your government for the improvement of the international situation, a solution of the problem of

general and complete disarmament, and the abolition of the disgraceful colonial system.

The Soviet people are preoccupied with their peaceful creative labour. They are concentrating all their efforts on fulfilling the grand plans of building communism in our country. If the situation in the world depended on us alone, and on the other peace-abiding countries, there would be no threat of war.

But there are still groups that cannot, or will not, understand that in our nuclear age force has to be abandoned in international relations. Today, life has pushed the question of a German peace treaty into the foreground. It is time, high time to do away with the remnants of the Second World War. We appeal to the governments of all the countries that fought the war against Hitler Germany to assemble at an international conference and conclude a German peace treaty. The question of normalising the situation in West Berlin would also be solved on this basis. Our proposals on these problems in no way prejudice the interests of the Western Powers.

The peoples need peace. But peace will not come of itself. The only way to get it is through joint and active efforts by all the nations and governments, including the governments of the neutral countries. In the question of war and peace the peoples must not be indifferent and hope that the mere desire of peace will banish the threat of war.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister, we wish sincerely that the relations between our countries will continue to be a model of friendly co-operation between states.

Allow me to propose a toast to the health of our esteemed guest, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, and to wish him many years of good health. To the successes of the Indian people in their further independent national development.

To friendship and the co-operation of the peoples of the Soviet Union and India!

To our joint efforts in the struggle against the forces of war, to stronger peace on earth!

SPEECH
AT A LUNCHEON AT THE EMBASSY
OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA

September 7, 1961

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Dear Friends,

Allow me to thank you, Mr. Prime Minister, and you, Mr. Ambassador, for the hospitality you have accorded us at the Indian Embassy in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Prime Minister, we know you as a statesman who contributes considerably to the strengthening of friendship and co-operation between countries.

Our meetings and conversations, Mr. Prime Minister, have always been fruitful. We trust that now, too, during your present visit to the Soviet Union, our exchange of opinions will, as before, promote stronger friendship between our countries for the good of the peoples of India and the Soviet Union and the good of enduring peace.

India, being a peace-loving state, is playing an important part in the solution of many contemporary issues. Permit me to express the hope that it will continue to contribute to the maintenance and consolidation of world peace.

The friendship between the Soviet Union and the Republic of India is a reliable and enduring friendship. It has stood the test of time and has shown that the Soviet and Indian peoples are good friends.

The Soviet people do not want war. But we cannot sit back and look on while war hysteria is being incited in the West in reply to our peaceful proposals, and war preparations proceed on an unprecedented scale, aimed against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. In the circumstances, the Soviet Government is compelled to fortify our defences in order to bridle the adventurers if they dare to start a new war.

The Soviet Union has always pursued and will always indefatigably pursue a policy of peace and friendship among the peoples, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, and will never be the first to resort to arms, will never follow the line of fomenting war.

The present international situation requires insistently that the peoples unite their efforts and work perseveringly for peace in order to make the aggressors abandon encroachments upon their independence and freedom and to achieve the triumph of the ideas of peaceful coexistence.

If all the peoples are vigilant and active, they will succeed in putting a strait jacket on anyone who tries to push mankind into the abyss of a destructive nuclear war.

Permit me to raise a toast to the health of Mr. Nehru.

Your health, Mr. Ambassador!

To the prosperity of the people of India!

To world peace!

SPEECH

AT A SOVIET-INDIAN FRIENDSHIP MEETING

September 8, 1961

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

Dear Indian Friends,

Comrades,

We have gathered here to welcome a distinguished guest, that outstanding statesman, the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, and his party. (*Prolonged applause.*)

This is the third time Mr. Nehru has come to our country. He first visited the Soviet Union in 1927, during the auspicious celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. On that occasion he came to Moscow with his father, Motilal Nehru, a veteran of the Indian national-liberation movement. India was then still a colony. The second time Mr. Nehru visited our country was in June 1955, when India was already an independ-

ent state and Mr. Nehru was its Prime Minister. (*Applause.*) That visit was an important milestone in the development of sincere friendship and fruitful co-operation between the peoples of our countries. It is safe to say that the stay in the Soviet Union of the head of the Indian Government will, this time too, play a big part in the further strengthening of Soviet-Indian friendship. (*Stormy applause.*)

Your present visit to our country, Mr. Prime Minister, takes place at a time when the international situation has grown considerably complicated and people everywhere are alarmed over the obviously increased threat of a new world war.

When the Second World War ended sixteen years ago, the peoples hoped that it would be the last war and that the governments of all countries would take effective steps to ensure lasting and durable peace on earth. The peoples want to live in peace. They have made extraordinary sacrifices for it. No nation knows this better than ours. We lost millions of lives in the last war. That is one of the reasons why the Soviet people are so keenly conscious of the need for determined steps to prevent a new war.

It would seem that the very thought of war as a means of settling disputes between states should appear savage and unnatural in our day, when extensive opportunities have appeared in the fields of material production, scientific and technical development and the creation of abundance, when man has translated the dream of space travel into reality and has conquered the secrets of the atom. But the grim truth is that now, when necessary conditions have been created for rapid progress, mankind stands on the brink of a new military disaster.

Everybody knows that the extreme aggressive imperialist forces, who are eager to plunge the world into the abyss of a thermo-nuclear war, have chosen the issue of the German peace treaty as a pretext for aggravating the situation. We have had to set forth the Soviet standpoint

on this issue many times, and there is scarcely any need to dwell on all the details once more.

What is the aim of our proposals? It is simple and clear: by concluding a German peace treaty we want to extinguish the smouldering embers that have survived after the Second World War in the centre of Europe, to reaffirm juridically the existing German boundaries, and to bar the road to the dangerous adventures contemplated by the militarists and revenge-seekers who have again reared their heads in West Germany. Only those can refuse to conclude a peace treaty who are intending aggression, who want to fan the flames of a new world war.

Every sober-minded person will also realise that existing reality, that is, the objective fact that there are two German states, has to be the point of departure for the German peace treaty. It is with these states that the peace treaty must be signed. It should be noted that the establishment of diplomatic relations by all countries with both the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, which would acknowledge the existence of two German states *de facto* and *de jure*, would make the peace much more secure. (Applause.)

Admission of the two German republics to the United Nations, and hence their *de jure* recognition internationally, would greatly benefit the peace. It would act as an effective restraint upon the revenge-seeking militarist groups in West Germany and upon those of its allies in the NATO war bloc who support them.

The circles that recognise only the Federal Republic of Germany will raise the cry: How can the German Democratic Republic be admitted to the United Nations if it is not recognised and if nobody wants to recognise it?

But if we proceed from the real facts and do not let ourselves be governed in politics by our likes or dislikes of the social system of a state, but rather by the principles

of peaceful coexistence and the interests of enduring universal peace, we shall surely come to the conclusion that the two existing German states should be admitted to the United Nations, and that the time is ripe for it. (*Prolonged applause.*)

If the facts are disregarded and the principles of peaceful coexistence are rejected, what is there left to do? To build up strength and prepare to settle questions in dispute by means of war? That is the policy which, we may recall, John Foster Dulles followed in his lifetime. But before he died, even he realised its danger and absurdity, and began to depart from it. It is to be regretted that others have now taken up the cudgels that Dulles discarded. They are invoking a policy which has proved to be absurd with the new balance of forces in the world, and want to gain ground by means of this outdated policy. But Dulles cannot be resurrected, nor can his outdated policy. He who disregards this is living in a world of outworn ideas and may lead the world to a military disaster.

I should like to note that an appreciation of the need to proceed from the real facts in politics, to look the facts squarely in the face whether one likes them or not, is spreading increasingly in the world. The leaders of many countries act upon this realistic standpoint in the German question and recognise that we must accept the existence today of two Germanys, which are independent states, and that the German problem cannot be solved by threats, military measures, and war preparations.

But one cannot fail to see that there is as yet no desire among the Western leaders to approach the problem of a peace settlement with Germany from the standpoint of reason. The Western Powers are answering our proposals for a German peace treaty by stepping up war preparations and making direct threats. But what will they achieve by it? The West knows very well that our people are not afraid of threats, that we are strong enough to retaliate with devastating blows against any aggressor. (*Stormy ap-*

plause.) The West also knows that we have suggested solving the problem of a German peace treaty on an agreed basis, and that this basis cannot be worked out in an atmosphere of the mounting war hysteria that prevails in the United States, West Germany and some other countries.

True, there is much talk today in the West about negotiations being desirable, even essential. U. S. President John F. Kennedy has spoken to that effect on August 30 at his press conference. If this reflects the true intentions of the Western Powers, if they are ready to conduct business-like negotiations, the Soviet Government welcomes it. (Applause.)

We favour serious business-like negotiations that will result in the conclusion of a German peace treaty by all the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition. But it is impossible to keep on indefinitely postponing a peace settlement with Germany. And if anyone expects to gain time by talk about negotiations, and to deceive public opinion, I want to say once again most emphatically—they will not succeed. (Prolonged applause.)

We shall regret it if the Western Powers do not join us in signing a German peace treaty. In that case the treaty will be signed by the German Democratic Republic and all the countries that wish to do so. It is impossible to put off the peace settlement any longer. The peoples will never forgive us fresh delays. (Prolonged applause.)

Once the German peace treaty is concluded, the question of West Berlin will also be solved. West Berlin will acquire the status of a demilitarised free city, and its population will be afforded every opportunity of living under the economic and political order of its own choice. No one will have the right to interfere in the internal affairs of West Berlin. The Government of the German Democratic Republic, in the heart of which West Berlin is situated, has also stressed repeatedly that it has no designs upon West Berlin, and will not interfere.

It goes without saying that there is not going to be any blockade of West Berlin. It will be assured freedom of communication with all countries and peoples, but this will naturally have to conform to the requirement usual in such cases—to reach an understanding with the Government of the German Democratic Republic, through whose territory the communication lanes pass to and from West Berlin.

We regret deeply that our peaceful proposals for a German peace treaty and for normalising conditions in West Berlin, made with the best of intentions in order to eliminate the survivals of the Second World War, far from being understood by the imperialist circles, have caused such an outburst of fury. The imperialists are feverishly building up their armed forces, increasing military allocations and taking measures of a military nature, and have thereby created extreme tension throughout the world. The scale of war preparations is especially big in the United States, and then in the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain and France. Other countries involved in the aggressive NATO bloc are also being egged on to do likewise.

In view of this, we could not, naturally, disregard the security of our country, and of the socialist camp as a whole. The Soviet Government has lately been compelled to increase the defence expenditures of the Soviet Union and temporarily to retain the well-trained Soviet soldiers who have completed their term of active military service. Due to the threats flung at the Soviet Union we were confronted with the necessity of carrying out test explosions of nuclear weapons.

At the moment the governments of the United States and Britain parade as most zealous opponents of nuclear testing. They have even made the proposal to refrain from nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, because they are harmful to people's health. But their proposal was not designed for serious discussion, let alone for acceptance. It was purely a propaganda trick to mislead the public. This

is indicated by the fact that the U. S. President did not wait for the Soviet Union's reply before announcing his decision to hold U.S. nuclear weapons tests.

The purport of the Anglo-American proposal boils down to obtaining unilateral military advantages over the Soviet Union. The British and Americans suggested reaching an understanding on a test ban in the atmosphere only, while underground explosions would be allowed. Furthermore, France would not be bound by any restrictions in testing nuclear weapons, which she does in the interests of the NATO bloc as a whole, because the test ban would not apply to it at all.

The U.S. and British leaders made their proposal in order to confuse people unversed in the subterfuges of Western diplomacy. They take cover behind words of love for their fellow men and concern for the health of people. Yet, while doing so, they are feverishly accumulating means of annihilating people.

There is a good Russian saying: "When the head lies dead one mourns not for the hair." The imperialists are scheming death for people in the flames of war, while they gush words about people's health.

They are the ones who threaten us, who are bringing matters to boiling point, and yet do not want us to fortify our security and world peace. There is no other word for it but blasphemy.

It is precisely out of concern for peace on earth and for the life of entire countries and peoples that we have been compelled to take the necessary measures for bringing the aggressive forces to their senses, so that they realise they will not achieve their objectives by war. We cannot afford to stop improving the weapons we need to thwart the forces who want to rob the people not only of their health, but of life itself, and who want to rob our people, the peoples of the socialist countries and the other peace-loving countries of everything they have created by their labour. It must be brought home to the aggressors that

if they start a war, it will be suicide for them. (*Prolonged applause.*)

There is one more thing I must say. Strange as it may sound, all the talk about the health of people comes from those whose conscience is burdened by the death of thousands upon thousands of freedom fighters in Angola, Algeria, Bizerta, the Congo, Oman and Kenya—all the places where the people raise their voice in protest against colonial oppression and demand that their human dignity be respected.

It is amazing how appeals for humanity combine with colonial plunder in the politics of the Western Powers.

Wherever the oppressed peoples rise to fight for their independence, for liberation from colonial oppression, the imperialists instantly bare their swords and try to maintain colonial, slave-owning systems by force. They respond with bloodshed, terror, bombs and napalm to the righteous demand of the colonial peoples for freedom. They burn down villages and kill defenceless people—old men, women and children.

No matter what they say, they will never obscure the imperialist policy aimed against the peoples fighting for their independence and their freedom.

Whenever many countries speak out in the United Nations against colonial piracy, some spokesmen of the imperialist powers, those very powers that today dispense words of love for fellow men, offer support to the colonialists, and those who say nothing side thereby with the colonialists.

Mankind cannot reconcile itself to their bloody crimes. Colonialism cannot be destroyed by pious wishes. The fight against colonialism calls for the joint efforts of all the freedom-loving peoples. It is obvious that success in the struggle of the peoples against colonialism largely depends on how firm and united is the common front of the forces working for peace and progress, against aggression and the oppression of nations.

The main thing today is to prevent a war. To end the danger of war, to end the arms race and the tests and stockpiling of nuclear weapons, it is essential to effect general and complete disarmament. (*Applause.*) The question of nuclear weapons tests will then also resolve itself. There will be no weapons and, hence, no wars between states. If the existing weapons are destroyed, nobody will waste strength and resources on making new weapons just to destroy them afterwards.

We propose that general and complete disarmament be effected under the strictest international control. There you have a proposal based on genuine love of man and concern for people's lives and health. Why should not the Western Powers accept this proposal? The whole world would applaud such a solution! (*Stormy applause.*)

As concerns the Soviet Union, we repeat once more that we are ready at any moment to sit down at the conference table to work out and sign a treaty for general and complete disarmament. Soviet people are proud that it was our country which advanced the programme of general and complete disarmament. The Soviet Government has in many questions met the Western Powers halfway to facilitate agreement on general and complete disarmament.

When the Western Powers said that disarmament measures related to nuclear and conventional weapons should be balanced, we declared ourselves ready for large-scale reductions of armed forces and armaments in the very first stage. And in such matters as control the Soviet Government has stated clearly and unequivocally that it is prepared to accept any Western proposals on control if the West accepts the Soviet proposals on general and complete disarmament.

In spite of this, the Western Powers try every time to take cover behind questions of control as soon as disarmament negotiations get under way. They keep saying that the Soviet Union does not want control over disarmament, that it evades control, and the like.

Let the Western Powers say: We accept the Soviet proposal for general and complete disarmament if the U.S.S.R. accepts our system of all-embracing international vetoless control with free access to all nooks and corners, so that no country shall be able to produce weapons and build up strength for attack unknown to the others. Let them make this proposal. We shall accept it. The problem of general and complete disarmament will then be solved in the interests of all the peoples. If the Western Powers made this proposal, and if we did not accept it, the blame for thwarting disarmament would fall entirely upon us.

But the Western Powers have not submitted their system of control over general and complete disarmament. Why? Because they do not want disarmament, and because they know that if they suggest their system of control over general and complete disarmament, we shall accept it, and they will have no avenue of retreat.

The disarmament problem must be solved. General and complete disarmament must become a fact. But it will not come of itself. It has to be fought for. The peoples who want peace must realise this and rally against the forces resisting disarmament, extending the arms race and preparing a third world war. In every country the peoples must summon all their strength to fight for disarmament; they must find ways and means of asserting their firm will and of compelling the opponents of disarmament to retreat.

In many countries the peoples are speaking out resolutely for disarmament. The people of India are very articulate on this point, and the Government of the Indian Republic works on the world scene for an early conclusion of a general and complete disarmament treaty. We are sure that India will go on working with the other peace-loving countries for general and complete disarmament. (*Prolonged applause.*)

It should be noted, however, that in many countries party to the aggressive military blocs not all people have grasped the immensity of the peril implicit in the policy of the Western Powers, the policy of arms accumulation and aggravation of tension. To be sure, some groups there protest against this state of affairs and work for disarmament, but the bulk of the people in those countries are passive. There, too, people want peace, but show no determination in fighting for it. What is more, the bellicose groups in the Western countries continue to use the votes of hundreds of thousands and millions of electors in parliamentary elections, and establish with their assistance parliaments and governments that continue the aggressive policy, the policy of war preparation.

Today, when the question of war and peace is up for decision, there must be no onlookers in the world. As Mr. Nehru and other prominent leaders in Asia and Africa have rightly said, one cannot be neutral in the question of war and peace, because one cannot be indifferent in the choice between life and death. Every individual who cherishes peace will agree with our distinguished guest that the "issue of war and peace concerns every country, big or small, and every country must therefore bear its share of responsibility and work in that direction", and that "our task is to fight for peace in order to avert war". (*Prolonged applause.*)

The results of the Belgrade Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, which ended a few days ago, indicate that more and more people appreciate the need for active works of peace. Commendable concern for the future of mankind, a desire to win the peace and to end colonialism once and for all were shown at that Conference.

The Conference noted the need for better mutual understanding between states and for good relations between the Soviet Union and the U.S.A.

We realise very well that if the differences between the Soviet Union and the United States were put out of the

way, and if relations of peaceful co-operation were established between them, this would greatly further world peace. It is on the state of Soviet-American relations that the international situation as a whole depends in many respects.

It would unquestionably be a big achievement, a big victory for all the peace-loving countries who favour peaceful coexistence, if the two great powers—the United States and the Soviet Union—were to establish mutual understanding and live in peace, and not simply in peace but in friendship.

If peaceful, friendly relations were established between the United States and the Soviet Union, nobody would be likely to complicate international affairs, because they would have to contend with the attitude of our two countries and abandon their aggressive plans. It is essential that the road to such friendly Soviet-American relations be cleared, and for this we must remove the rocks, the driftwood that impeded Soviet-American relations after the Second World War; it is essential that genuine peaceful coexistence be achieved, and that the way be paved for the development of trade, and for cultural and other contacts. This is what we want. The Soviet Government is exerting great effort for this end. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Soviet-Indian friendship plays a big part in safeguarding world peace. The friendship and mutual understanding that obtain between the Soviet Union and India on a basis of mutual respect, trust and support are our common asset. The Soviet Government will do its utmost to fortify this friendship for the good of our peoples and in behalf of world peace. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Soviet people are pleased to know that economic and technical co-operation between the Soviet Union and India in the development of India's national economy is yielding good fruit. Our assistance to India in the Bhilai Steel project has been highly praised by Indian statesmen, public

leaders, and the common people of India. (*Prolonged applause.*) Mr. Nehru has noted that the "plant built in co-operation with the Soviet Government is a symbol of strong ties and friendship between India and the Soviet Union". (*Prolonged applause.*) We fully agree with him on this point, and your applause, comrades, confirms once more that the measures of our government and the wishes and efforts of our people operate in the same direction. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

We could cite many examples of fruitful co-operation between our countries in various economic and cultural spheres. The Soviet Government and the Soviet people will do their utmost to strengthen and develop the economic, scientific, technical, cultural and all other peaceful relations between the Soviet Union and India. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, our country is on the crest of a big creative labour effort. The Soviet people are discussing the draft of a new Programme for Lenin's great Party and preparing to give the Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U. a fitting welcome. (*Prolonged applause.*) The Party Programme, the programme of communist construction in our country, is the cause not only of Communists, but of all Soviet people, the living cause of millions. (*Prolonged applause.*) The Soviet people do not need war. The society which our people are building proclaims Peace, Labour, Freedom, Equality, and Happiness for all peoples as its goal. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Long live the indestructible friendship of the Soviet Union and the Republic of India, of the Soviet and Indian peoples! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the unity of the peace forces in all countries and continents! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live world peace! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.* All rise. Shouts of "Long live friendship between the Republic of India and the Soviet Union!", "Peace to the World!")

**SPEECH
ON THE DEPARTURE FROM MOSCOW
OF THE PRIME MINISTER
OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA**

September 9, 1961

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,
Ladies and Gentlemen, Comrades,

Your visit to the Soviet Union, Mr. Prime Minister, is drawing to a close. Unfortunately, your stay in Moscow has been very brief and we have not been able to show you everything that might have been of interest to you. But I think that even the few days you have spent in the capital of the Soviet Union have enabled you to see once again that the Soviet people entertain a most sincere friendship for the people of India.

This friendship, based on the great principles of peaceful coexistence between states, is an example of the disinterested relations which can and must prevail between all countries with different social and economic systems.

Their constant striving for peace brings the Soviet Union and India closer together. It is gratifying to note that the frank exchange of opinions that took place between us brought out the identity of views of the governments of the Soviet Union and India on many topical problems and their earnest desire to prevent the outbreak of a nuclear-missile war, which would be an irreparable calamity for mankind.

I hope that as a result of your visit to the Soviet Union the friendship between our countries will be still further advanced and will find its reflection in the further expansion of various contacts, bringing our peoples closer together.

Mr. Prime Minister, you will soon return to your wonderful country. We ask you to convey to the great Indian

people friendly greetings from the Soviet people and our sincere wishes of success in the advancement of the Republic of India.

May I from the bottom of my heart wish you good health and success in your work for the good of the Indian people and Soviet-Indian friendship, to the benefit of world peace!

May Soviet-Indian friendship live long and gain strength!

Long live world peace!

Till we meet again, Mr. Prime Minister!

Namaste!

REPLIES TO CYRUS LEE SULZBERGER

Below are some of the questions asked by Cyrus Lee Sulzberger, correspondent of the *New York Times*, in an interview with N. S. Khrushchov, and Khrushchov's replies.*

Sulzberger: Would you be willing to resume atomic test ban negotiations and renew the test moratorium on some conditions? If so, under what conditions? What is your opinion of the proposal made by President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan to ban nuclear tests in the atmosphere?

Khrushchov: I have read the proposal of President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan. We are drawing up a reply and will deliver it in a few days. But I am ready, in a preliminary way, to state my opinion.

Firstly, it strikes the eye that we are being offered a moratorium, or suspension of tests, for three countries: the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain. Nothing is said about France. Yet France is making nuclear tests, and is an ally of the United States and Britain and a member of NATO, the organisation set up to prepare aggression against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

We have already said that if France makes tests, we shall also be compelled to make tests. Now that we have

* Sulzberger's questions are retranslated from the Russian.—Tr.

started testing, the leaders of the United States and Britain want us to stop, while France is allowed complete freedom of action. But is it not clear that France will conduct nuclear tests not only for herself, but also for the benefit of the NATO countries? Suppose we were to say: Very well, we promise not to make any tests, but will arrange for Czechoslovakia to conduct tests for the benefit of the socialist camp. We shall help it just as the United States and Britain are now apparently helping France, which is conducting tests for their benefit. What would you say to that? What would be the sense of such a moratorium?

Secondly, the main goal is not achieved by discontinuing thermo-nuclear tests while the disarmament problem is not solved. What would discontinuance of tests give us if the arms race continued and the war industry worked in top gear, turning out more and more nuclear weapons? The chief danger now facing mankind, the danger of thermo-nuclear war, would not be removed by a test moratorium. Moreover, I would say, this would in a way lull public opinion, lull people's vigilance. People would think something had been done to prevent war, while, in effect, nothing would have been done, and, on the contrary, the military machine would go on working at full capacity.

Furthermore, the Kennedy-Macmillan proposal says nothing about a cessation of underground test explosions and the so-called "explosions for peaceful purposes", while these "peaceful purposes" really amount to a legalisation of tests of atomic and hydrogen bomb devices.

Lastly, if you count the number of test explosions made by the United States, Britain and France, and compare it with the number of explosions made by the Soviet Union, you will see that we are far behind those countries. Therefore, we also have the moral right to equal conditions in undertaking measures to ensure our security. In any case, we must have the same opportunities as the United States, Britain and France.

The proposals made by President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan are not aimed at guaranteeing security for the nations. They were made for propaganda purposes, in order to shift the responsibility on others, while they continue on the sly the old policy of stockpiling thermo-nuclear weapons and preparing war against the socialist countries. We cannot agree to that. We must assess the situation soberly and see to our security.

We believe that in the existing international situation the main thing is disarmament and not a test ban. If an agreement is reached on disarmament and control, no man in his right mind will manufacture any more nuclear weapons; consequently, the question of testing these weapons will die a natural death.

That is how we now regard that question and how we envisage its correct solution. We shall continue the tests we have begun, because we cannot ignore the danger now being created for our country and the countries of the socialist camp by the Western countries of the NATO war bloc. We cannot look on idly while the United States, France, Britain and West Germany are mobilising their forces, while West Germany is clamouring for atomic weapons to equip the Bundeswehr, and while Adenauer and Brandt are doing their utmost to stoke up heat, while they propound revenge-seeking aims, demanding the restoration of the borders of Hitler Germany, and hurl unveiled threats at the socialist countries. We cannot overlook that danger.

Our people and the other peace-loving peoples would never forgive us if in these circumstances we did not show vigilance and failed to strengthen our defence capacity. At present the Western leaders hypocritically complain that these tests contaminate the atmosphere. But we Russians have a proverb: "When the head lies dead one mourns not for the hair." Who will believe that these statesmen are seriously concerned over people's health when they refuse to sign a disarmament treaty, wholly preoccupied with stockpiling thermo-nuclear weapons, and are mobilising

their forces for war. Yet, as you know, war spells death to people, and not only harms their health! A doctor should always make a correct diagnosis and start treatment with cardinal proposals. And disarmament is the cardinal remedy against the militarist disease that has now gripped the Western countries.

This is why we repeat again: disarmament and nothing but disarmament! Disarmament is the way we can and should eliminate the war threat and create the conditions for the peaceful coexistence of all states.

Sulzberger: In your public statements you have said it is possible to develop a nuclear bomb equal in explosive force to 100 megatons of conventional explosives. I should like to ask what sense you see in developing such a super bomb. It seems to me that the bomb would be too big to use for military purposes. Could you comment on this?

Khrushchov: Yes, that bomb is of enormous capacity and tremendous destructive power. But when war is being imposed upon us and threats are being made to destroy our country and our people, we must take it into account in all earnest. And we shall stop at nothing if the aggressors attack us. We shall use all means to strike back at them. Several such superpowerful bombs, therefore, will considerably increase our country's defence potential. The aggressors will then think twice before attacking us. They will realise that a decision to launch aggression against us is tantamount to suicide. We, for our part, have repeatedly declared that we have no intention of attacking anyone, and will never do so. We are only creating means to defend our socialist camp and secure peace.

The peoples of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries know what war is. Hitler Germany broke faith and attacked us. Its troops approached Moscow and Stalingrad. They occupied Byelorussia, the Ukraine, and a large part of the Russian Federation. They killed millions of our people, and caused enormous damage to our economy. The Hitlerites brutally murdered Soviet men and wom-

en, threw them into coal pits, buried them alive, choked them in gas chambers, and made soap out of their corpses. They did incredible things. Our people have gone through it all, and we do not want to see it happen again. We do not want some new Hitler with a different name—the name of, say, Adenauer, Brandt, or Strauss—to unleash war again and commit even more fiendish atrocities than those committed by the fascists against our people.

I spoke about our country, but the nazis also occupied Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and other countries, not to mention the West European countries—France and the others. Everywhere they imposed their monstrous arbitrary rule and violence.

Let those who dream of new aggression know that we shall have a bomb equal in power to 100 million tons of TNT, that we already have such a bomb, and that we shall test the exploding device for it. Let them know that if they attack us it will mean certain death for themselves. We have no choice. In order to avoid war we are proposing disarmament under comprehensive controls. That is a sensible way out, with all nations getting equal rights to live and independently develop their countries on the social basis and under the political system of their own choosing.

Sulzberger: Would the Soviet Union declare that it will never be the first to employ a nuclear weapon in case of war? It seems to me that if one country were to make such a statement, the other nuclear powers might also make similar statements.

Khrushchov: We shall never be the first to start a war against any country. We want to live in peace with all nations and do not want to attack anyone. We have everything we need to develop our economy, culture and science, everything that man needs. The little that we lack due to climatic conditions, or for other reasons, we buy from other countries. We want to trade with the whole world. We are not colonialists. We condemn imperialist aims and imperialist wars. We stand for world peace.

But I must tell you, Mr. Sulzberger, it would be premature at present to say that atomic weapons will not be employed in the event of war. Anyone who makes such a statement might not be able to live up to it, even though he was sincere and meant it when making the pledge.

Let us assume both sides were to promise not to employ nuclear weapons, but would retain their stockpiles. What would happen if the imperialists unleashed war? If one of the sides felt that it was losing the war, would it not use nuclear weapons to avoid defeat? It would be sure to use its nuclear bombs!

Furthermore, let me quote the following example. At the close of the Second World War the United States was considerably stronger than Japan and was waging successful offensive actions against it. Yet to bring the victory closer the United States dropped atomic bombs on Japanese cities.

All this goes to show that if atomic weapons are preserved and war is unleashed, it will be a thermo-nuclear war. Therefore, world peace has to be safeguarded not by undertakings to refrain from the use of nuclear weapons, but by a radical solution of the cardinal issues. And the best guarantee of peace is to destroy armaments and eliminate armies, that is, to disarm. That is the most reliable guarantee!

Sulzberger: I would like to ask if you consider that your long-range plans, set forth in the draft Party Programme, might be endangered as a result of the crisis arising from the Western interpretation of your policy regarding Berlin and nuclear weapons tests.

Khrushchov: I think the present crisis, as you call it, will not hinder the fulfilment of our Programme. I trust in the common sense of Western statesmen. I trust they will arrive at the conclusion that a peace treaty has to be signed with Germany, that is, with the two actually existing German states, and that West Berlin should be given the status of a free city.

It would be unwise, even foolish, to begin a war over our signing a peace treaty. It would be criminal to begin a war over Berlin, over West Berlin becoming a free city and access to it being thereby ensured not on the basis of the present occupation regime, but on the basis of an understanding with the Government of the German Democratic Republic. The substance, after all, remains the same—access to West Berlin will be ensured for all peoples and all countries who want it, the sole difference being that it will be ensured on a peaceful, normal, more solid basis than the occupation regime, which harbours many seeds of conflict.

Freedom of access to West Berlin will be formalised through the signing of a peace treaty and the establishment of the status of a free city. It will be certified through that instrument and registered in some way with the United Nations. A more reliable guarantee will thereby be established for unhindered communications between the population of West Berlin and the outside world and between the outside world and West Berlin, than the guarantee afforded by the occupation regime. The more so since we have declared, and declare now, that the political system in West Berlin will not be prejudiced and that the socialist countries will not interfere in the affairs of West Berlin. That is the main thing!

Moreover, I do not think Western statesmen have lost their senses and are prepared to go to war over the signing of a peace treaty. They know what it means to attack us at the present time—it means to be destroyed. It is no accident that even Adenauer and Brandt, who have completely frightened their population with warlike declarations, are now shouting louder than anybody else that there will be no war over Berlin, and that there will be negotiations. That is exactly what we want—we want peace. For the sake of that we are doing our best to remove the survivals of the Second World War.

I think France, Britain and Italy will never agree either

to go to war over the signing of a peace treaty. Even if hotheads in America try to force the President into a war over the signing of a peace treaty, I think the statesmen of those countries will summon enough statesmanship and political sagacity to prevent a war. After all, they know that if war breaks out, their countries will be destroyed because they have American war bases which we shall be compelled to hit. They are bound to know, too, that if the United States pulls their countries into a war, it will be tantamount to pulling them into an abyss, to death and destruction. I think they appreciate this and will resist attempts to unleash a war in reply to the signing of a German peace treaty.

We want friendship with the United States, with Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan and the rest of the world. We believe that common sense will prevail, that there will be no war and that we shall coexist. Each nation will develop its economy and culture as it chooses. We shall build communism—and you may live as you like. Yet I think you will grow wiser and when you see how good life is under communism, you will follow us; but with some delay, for we shall be ahead.

Sulzberger: You have said a few times that you are against war, but that you consider wars of liberation are just. If you make that exception, does it not give other countries the chance of justifying wars against communist countries by calling them wars of liberation as well?

Khrushchov: You would be right if our interpretation of the question were as you have worded it. But that is not our position. It is a distortion of our concept. We think no country is entitled to go to war for the liberation of another country. It is the imperialists and colonialists who fight wars under the false signboard of liberating other peoples. It was Dulles who preached the "liberation" of Eastern Europe. Yet you impute this policy to us. You have evidently fallen prey to all the slanderous things said about us.

We recognise the peoples' right to fight for their liberation. That is something quite different. Take Algeria, for example. At present its status is that of a colony. The Algerians are demanding liberation, but France refuses to give it to them. What are the Algerians to do? Look on meekly, hands folded in their laps, and suffer their position of slaves? But that is impossible. This is why we say that we are against imperialist, colonialist and all sorts of wars in general, save wars fought by nations for their own liberation. Those are sacred people's wars against slavery, against the colonial regime. And we support such wars. Our sympathies lie with peoples fighting for their freedom and independence, and we believe that they have the right to count on the help of all freedom-loving peoples.

When Lincoln drew the sword against slavery he was applauded by the whole progressive world. When I visited Washington I went to the Lincoln Memorial, took my hat off and bowed to him as to a great American. He fought a holy war, a war against slavery. I repeat, such wars are just and necessary. Our sympathies are with peoples fighting for their freedom, and we are prepared to help them with the means at our disposal. That, in brief, is our view about wars.

Sulzberger: Some newspapers have reported that in your talk with McCloy you said you were ready to agree to a U.N. executive under the Secretary-General, provided all United Nations bodies beside the Secretariat are based on the *troika* principle. I would like to know if this is true and ask you to say a few words on this question.

Khrushchov: This is not so. In our talks with Mr. McCloy we touched indirectly on the U.N. and its organisational structure. I stated our position in detail on the question of disarmament control. In this connection, he asked me whether we insisted on the *troika* principle and on veto powers in carrying out disarmament and control over disarmament. I told him that, on the contrary, there

should be no veto and no *troika* in the matter of disarmament control. There should be the strictest of control, and no one should limit it. That was the only way to ensure that no country or group of countries shall produce arms secretly or prepare an attack on another country.

If a disarmament agreement is reached and disarmament is put into practice, there will be no need for state secrets, for secrecy is only needed to shield one's country from the war danger. Furthermore, if we reach a disarmament agreement and disarmament is effected, then, far from needing secrecy, it will be essential to know in every detail what is going on in the other country, in order to ensure that the peace is not imperilled.

It is only if international forces are set up that the *troika* principle will be necessary. The command of these forces should be based on it. This would be necessary to guarantee that no state or group of states shall use the international U. N. forces to the detriment of any other state or group of states.

I have already illustrated this point with the following example. The U.S.A., Britain, France and other countries party to the Western military blocs would probably object to so experienced a military man as Marshal Malinovsky being appointed Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations international armed forces. Although he has the necessary training and considerable military experience, we would not be surprised if his nomination were turned down. Nor would we, for our part, agree to these forces being placed under the command of Norstad or some other, say, French or British, general. Consequently, it would be necessary to ensure equal representation in the command of the United Nations international force for the three groups of nations—socialist, capitalist and neutral. This would call for three commanders, and they would have to co-ordinate their decisions. In that case all three groups of states would be guaranteed that the U.N. forces are not used to the detriment of any state or group of states.

Sulzberger: I would like you to clear up just one more point. Am I right in assuming that this system would apply to all levels, that is, the U.N. army would be headed by three generals, a regiment would have three colonels, and so on?

Khrushchov: The question of what the structure of the U.N. force should be like calls for special deliberation. Presumably, these armed forces would be so organised as to give no group of states any advantages. The main thing is, however, to organise the leadership of the U. N. force in such a way as to provide everyone with a guarantee that no group of states shall be able to misuse the international armed force against another group of states. I think this would be the most reasonable system, because there would always be one Communist, one imperialist and one neutralist among the three. Thus, the solution would not lead to the predominance of the communist countries, because one Communist would be unable to dominate the two non-Communists. That is why we consider the *troika* principle a sensible one, and think that it should also be applied as regards the U.N. bodies.

This is bound to be done sooner or later, because the situation where the U.S. dominates the U.N. is coming to an end. The most sensible course would be for the United States itself to show an understanding of the altered situation and move towards the correct solution. This would mean looking ahead and seeing the direction in which events will develop. If, however, the U.S. opposes normalisation of the situation in the U.N., it will be rectified despite the United States, and U.S. prestige will suffer.

Sulzberger: Do you not consider it desirable for the Soviet Union and the United States to agree on questions of outer space? After all, we are the only two countries whose satellites fly over each other's territories. Do you not consider it expedient to agree that outer space, say, higher than 10-15 or 20 miles, should be regarded as international space?

Khrushchov: I suppose something should be done in this respect. The United States once suggested an international agency for co-operation in space exploration. I think it is a sensible proposal, but it would be impossible to carry out without reaching agreement on disarmament. The exploration of space is bound up inseparably with the use of intercontinental ballistic rockets. If we accept real co-operation in the study of outer space, we shall have to disclose secrets about the manufacture and operation of rockets. No country will agree to that if its security is not guaranteed, and such guarantees are obtainable only through an agreement on disarmament.

I have already told you this is what we want, and we would be very happy if we could reach agreement on disarmament with the United States and other countries. Let us hope that we shall arrive at such a sensible solution.

Sulzberger: I would like to ask you to define the difference, as you see it, between the concepts of "peace" and "peaceful coexistence". I am somewhat surprised that people use the term "peaceful coexistence" when there is the concept of "peace".

Khrushchov: They are almost the same, but there is some difference between them. The word "peace" means absence of war. The concept "peaceful coexistence" has a somewhat wider meaning. It infers the existence of states with different social systems, the differences being of an antagonistic nature. These are the capitalist system, and the socialist system. For them to live in peace it is necessary that the capitalist system, from which the socialist system emerged, reckon with the existence of a new world and take no military measures to eliminate it. The socialist system, for its part, must take no military measures against the old capitalist world. Rejection of military interference in each other's affairs means recognition of the coexistence of states with different economic and social systems.

At the same time, peaceful coexistence implies normal

trade relations, the development of cultural contacts, scientific exchanges, the development of tourism and other links which exist between people, regardless of the social and political systems of their states.

As for the question of the social and political system of each state, that is the affair of the people itself. This means that export of both revolution and counter-revolution must be rejected. Non-interference in each other's domestic affairs, recognition of sovereignty, rejection of wars, and the maintenance of peace—this is what the coexistence of states with different social systems means.

Sulzberger: Last year, Marshal Malinovsky spoke of the Soviet Union's readiness to deal retaliatory blows against bases from which military aircraft might fly over the territory of the Soviet Union or other communist countries. I would like to know whether this is meant to include those countries which call themselves "socialist" though they have no treaty engagements with the Soviet Union. What would you say of Yugoslavia, for example?

Khrushchov: We would like there to be no military flights ever, so there would be no need for retaliatory blows. You have named Yugoslavia. She is not a member of the Warsaw Treaty, and when anybody's aircraft fly over Yugoslavia we do not know whether they are violating her sovereignty or not. They may be flying with the consent of the Yugoslav Government. Consequently, Marshal Malinovsky's statement does not cover Yugoslavia. But we naturally regard Yugoslavia as a socialist country, and if she were attacked by an imperialist state and appealed to us for help, I think we would not turn down her request and would come to her aid.

If a socialist state is attacked and appeals to us for aid, we shall, of course, help it.

Sulzberger: Do you regard Cuba as a socialist country? Castro calls himself a Socialist.

Khrushchov: So far we know that Castro is not a member of the Communist Party. He is a revolutionary

and a patriot of his country. If he were to join the Communist Party, I should welcome him. He would make a fine addition to the ranks of the Communists. But that is for him alone to decide.

We recognise that Cuba is an independent nation and therefore she has the right to establish whatever internal system her people choose. If she is attacked, she may count on the help of all peace-loving nations ready to fight against aggression. We have no treaties with Cuba, but if she appeals to us for help in case of an aggression against her, we shall of course not leave such an appeal unanswered.

You do not like the system in Cuba, but maybe Cuba does not like your system. What of that? To make use of the fact that you are a big and powerful country in order to interfere in the affairs of small nations is to replace law by club rule. This cannot be allowed, otherwise matters may go too far and a world war will break out.

In international affairs it is necessary to display self-control and patience. Take Iran, for example. The United States has set up its military bases in that country with the Shah's agreement. It is Americans who are actually in control of Iran's economy, and of her army. We don't like it, naturally, because American actions in Iran are directed against our security. But what can we do? To be sure, we are strong and could attack Iran; that would be a simple matter, because we are incomparably stronger. But if we were guided by the idea that the strong should strike the weak, it would be club rule in international relations, instead of peaceful coexistence.

Or take the developments in Turkey. She is our neighbour, but you have stationed your bases there too and threaten us from those bases. You have also set up bases in Greece and are threatening us and our ally Bulgaria. But we are displaying self-restraint and patience with regard to those countries. It would be a good thing if the United

States were guided by the same principles in its relations with other countries.

As for your bases in foreign territories, you have set up so many of them that by now you are yourselves somewhat confused. The most sensible thing would be to shut them down, because they have now lost their former importance. Of what use are your bases if Herman Titov was able to circle the globe seventeen odd times in twenty-five hours, if today our scientists have made it possible for us to develop 100-megaton nuclear bombs and rockets capable of delivering them to any point of the globe? If the United States starts a war against us, we can reach any base of yours at any distance with a rocket!

Universal disarmament and removal of bases from foreign territories is therefore the most sensible thing. Instead of threatening each other, we should safeguard peace and peaceful coexistence. This is what all the peoples want—the Americans, who are an industrious, gifted, peace-loving nation, and Soviet people, Englishmen, Frenchmen and Turks. All the peoples want peace.

Sulzberger: Allow me to ask you a somewhat philosophical question: Don't you think that Communists, who are atheists by dint of their convictions and do not believe in divinity and afterlife, fear war more than religious people, who by virtue of their religion believe in an afterlife following their earthly existence?

Khrushchov: A very interesting question! I shall answer it gladly. I have lived a lot and seen a lot. I have seen war and I have seen death, but I have never seen anybody, even clergymen who consider themselves closer to God and, consequently, better informed about afterlife, to be in a hurry to enter that afterworld. (*Animation.*) Neither are the imperialists, monopolists, and colonialists, who say that they believe in God, although they are sooner the devil's own allies, in a hurry to enter the afterworld, and prefer to send their soldiers to war with the promise of paradise in the event of death, while they themselves want

to live longer on earth beside their safes and strong-boxes of gold and dollars. (*Animation.*)

To sum up, I have never noticed any special desire among religious people to get to paradise in a hurry.

Soviet people, the majority of whom are not religious, although we do have religious people too, love this earthly life and have no desire either to get to paradise before their time. They want a paradise on earth. They want to live and work, and to enjoy the fruits of their labour. And we are doing it quite well. In the 44 years since the Revolution we have achieved big successes, and now our road to the real communist paradise has been paved by our Party's draft new Programme. We shall spare no efforts to have this Programme fulfilled, to see it come true. After fulfilling this Programme we shall have crossed the threshold of communist society, and shall build communism.

As to paradise in heaven, we heard about it from the priests. But we wanted to see for ourselves what it is like, and sent our scout there, Yuri Gagarin. He circled the globe and found nothing in outer space—just complete darkness, he said, and no garden at all, nothing that looked like paradise. We thought the matter over and decided to send another scout. We dispatched Herman Titov, and told him to fly a bit longer this time and to take a good look, for Gagarin was up for only an hour and a half, and may have missed paradise. (*Animation.*) He took off, came back and confirmed Gagarin's conclusion. There was nothing up there, he reported. (*Animation.*)

This does not go to say that our people will not fight because there is no afterlife. Hitler, who went to war against us, expected the Soviet people to refuse to fight for the Soviet socialist system. But what was the result? The whole world can see that we are alive, that we are prospering and are about to adopt a new Programme of communist construction. Hitler, on the other hand, is gone and decayed, and all his associates have either been hanged or have committed suicide.

An even more disgraceful end awaits those who may wish to repeat what Hitler did. Times have changed now, the Soviet Union has changed. Its economic, political and military strength has grown still greater. Besides, we are no longer alone. There is a whole socialist community with a population of more than a thousand million people. If we are attacked again, we shall not only fight, but shall deal so crushing a blow to the aggressors that nothing will be left of them.

President Kennedy noted quite appropriately during our talks in Vienna that our forces are equal and that we are capable of destroying each other. I agreed with him, although personally I think we are stronger. But do we have to go to war to verify who is right? That would be a barbarous kind of verification. We and the Americans are living people, and we want to live and let live.

So let us live sensibly and see to it that nobody starts a war. Let us employ our strength to ensure world peace. Let us compete in developing our economies and creating the good things of life for our peoples. That system will triumph which provides more material and spiritual benefits for its people. Let history pass judgement without war.

We Communists do not believe in an afterlife, as you see, and want to live and prosper in peace. But if we are attacked, we shall fight like lions against imperialism, against aggression.

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SPEECH
AT MASS MEETING IN VOLZHSKY*

September 10, 1961

Dear Comrades,

It is a special pleasure to be with you today, Stalingraders. It is a joy to be amidst the people whose hands, whose persevering and truly heroic labour, will and knowledge created the world's biggest power-generating giant.

It is with great pleasure that I discharge the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government in conveying on their behalf to all of you heartfelt greetings and congratulations on this outstanding feat of labour! (*Stormy applause.*)

All of us know well that it is not easy to erect such a gigantic works. Intense physical and mental effort was needed. It is no joking matter to harness such a river as the Volga, especially in its lower reaches. But you have surmounted the difficulties, and have coped well with your task. So today the Party and the people say to you from the bottom of their hearts, "Many thanks!" (*Prolonged applause.*)

Working people are always able to understand and ap-

* The town of the builders of the Volga Hydropower Station near Volgograd (formerly Stalingrad).—Tr.

preciate the exploit of working people. And at present all our people are working most vigorously, fruitfully and with inspiration. Joyous tidings are coming in from all parts of the country about the splendid achievements with which the people are seeing in the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party. (*Applause.*) The popular Russian proverb says: "You count your chickens in the autumn." This autumn we have a lot of counting to do. Industry is doing well. We have a bumper crop, and it is being successfully harvested. (*Applause.*)

Stalingrad grain-growers have already sold to the state over 120,000,000 poods of grain and more than half of it is golden wheat. It is enough to bake rolls and pies—enough for ourselves, and to treat guests. (*Applause.*)

We are a hospitable people. Everyone who comes to us with an open heart and honest intentions is hospitably received. But we do not impose our convictions on anyone. Let every people live as it chooses. The only thing we want and insist on is that no people give a free hand to those reckless rulers who are pushing their countries closer and closer to the brink of war.

You have read in the newspapers and heard over the radio of the pandemonium the members of the aggressive NATO bloc are raising in the West. What is it all about? They are threatening us with war if we conclude a German peace treaty.

Imperialism is showing its aggressive nature. The financial tycoons of the monopolies, the arms manufacturers, the death merchants are goading themselves on with war-like chants like savage medicine-men, seeking to infect the peoples with war hysteria. They are trying to frighten the peoples of the great community of socialist countries, all peoples of the world with their threats and intensive war preparations.

We have to take appropriate precautionary measures in answer to the demonstrative war preparations of the imperialists. The entire Soviet people are approving these

measures. The Government and the Central Committee of the Party are receiving numerous letters and resolutions, both from groups of working people and from individuals. These express complete agreement with, and support for, the recent decisions we were compelled to take to protect our people and our country from any contingency that may arise in the present tense situation.

I take this opportunity to thank all working people for this support, for their deep understanding of the responsibility each of us bears in the struggle for peace, for curbing the imperialist aggressors. (*Prolonged applause.*) It is hardly necessary to recall the outcome of all the imperialist crusades against the Soviet state. They ended in failure, disgraceful failure, even when we were much weaker than we are today. There are people of the older generation among you, who remember, and perhaps took part in, the battles of the Civil War. At that time, at the walls of your city, Tsaritsyn, starving, poorly-shod, poorly-clothed and poorly-armed Red Army men beat the mercenary hosts of whiteguards, who were supported in every way by the foreign interventionists.

Or take a more recent time, one that is still fresh in the memory of the present generation.

Look around you. Look at the splendid city that has risen on the site of the fiercest battle of the Great Patriotic War. I was then a member of the Military Council of the Stalin-grad Front, and remember clearly, like many of you, what ruin and devastation there was here after many months of battle. It was with a heavy heart that we saw how the fascist invaders tormented Soviet people, how they strained to get to our beautiful Volga. The Soviet soldiers stood their ground. They vowed: There is no land for us beyond the Volga! Our heroic Armed Forces smashed the elite troops of nazi cutthroats who threatened to conquer the entire world, to make slaves of all people. We know what became of these cutthroats: those who did not surrender are dead and buried here! (*Applause.*)

I remember the grim years of the Great Patriotic War, the Battle of Stalingrad. It was a hard time. But like the other participants in the Stalingrad Battle, I feel a glow of pleasure when I recall the victory gained here. All the more so today, when we are celebrating one of the greatest victories in labour—the construction of the new Volga Hydropower Station. (*Prolonged applause.*)

It is very good that you have invited to this celebration Marshal of the Soviet Union Andrei Ivanovich Yeremenko, who was in command of the Stalingrad Front. (*Prolonged applause.*) It is good, too, that you have also invited other heroes of Stalingrad, and among them the most distinguished hero of the Stalingrad Battle, one may say the Stalingerader of all Stalingeraders, Marshal of the Soviet Union Vasily Ivanovich Chuikov. (*Stormy applause. Khrushchov embraces and kisses A. I. Yeremenko and V. I. Chuikov. Cheers.*)

The enemies of the Soviet system, the enemies of communism were digging a grave for us beneath the walls of Stalingrad. But, to our great satisfaction, it was we who buried our enemies in this grave. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We have never threatened anyone, and threaten no one now. May both the wise and the stupid live. (*Animation.*) The wise will live and create, and, generally speaking, hopelessly stupid people do not exist. One should never lose faith in that stupid people may be put wise. (*Animation. Applause.*) In my long life I have seen all kinds of people, and among them, it would seem, very stupid ones. But life made these people realise that they were wrong, and they came to us, took off their hats, and said:

“We were wrong. We fought against you, fought against the Soviets” (some of them were even organisers of the struggle against the Soviet state), “and now we have come to pay allegiance to you!”

Yes, comrades, this has happened. Such people came to me and to other comrades when they travelled abroad. One

often meets such people there. One comrade told me that he was once approached in New York and asked:

"Are you Russian?"

"Yes," the comrade replied.

"I am also Russian," the stranger said, "but do not ask for my name. I shall not give it. Yet I will say this—I am proud of Soviet Russia, I am proud of its people, and I am sorry that I am an émigré! Don't ask me why I am one. That is a thing of the past and isn't important now."

That is what those who once emigrated from our country now say to Soviet people. They regret that they broke away from their country, from their people.

We say: Wait, Messrs. imperialists, we shall achieve still bigger successes and, figuratively speaking, shall goad you on by our labour, and shall surprise the world even more than we are surprising it by our successes and victories today.

Our successes are the result of the efforts of our Communist Party, the Soviet people. It is Lenin's genius that is elevating our country. Lenin has died, but his cause shall live for ever, his great ideas are eternal. Each day Lenin's genius, his immortal ideas are gathering fresh strength, flourishing and showing the whole world today their greatness in the magnificent feats of the Soviet people. Tomorrow the Soviet people, all the peoples marching under the banner of Leninism, translating Lenin's ideas into reality, will attain still more breath-taking summits. (*Stormy applause.*)

Surely the fathers did not shed their blood here for their children, who are creating magnificent projects like this hydropower station, to experience a still more destructive war!

No, we shall do our utmost to prevent fresh destruction in Stalingrad and other towns and villages—not only our own, but towns and villages throughout the world. People want to build and not to destroy, they want to live and not to die. Mankind needs not victories of arms but victo-

ries of reason, labour, science—such victories as the one we are celebrating today. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Volga has always been beautiful, comrades! But by your labour you have made it still more beautiful, and deeper.

A hundred years ago the great Russian poet, Nekrasov, exclaimed in sorrow:

*Come out to the Volga—whose groan rolls along
The banks of the great Russian river?
'Tis the boat-towers singing—we call it a song,
That groan that makes earth and air quiver.*

But even then, in enslaved feudal Russia oppressed by the tsar, the landlords and the capitalists, the poet, who passionately loved his people, believed in their strength, and, visionary that he was, he saw other times, other pictures when:

*Our tireless people, freed at last
Of all their age-old chains,
Will densely populate these vast
And almost barren plains.
Science will deepen the river's bed
And countless giant ships
By bold and hardy skippers led
Will sail on distant trips.
And joyful labour will for ever
Reign on the banks of the great river.*

Comrades, we live in the happy time when the most cherished dreams of the finest sons of mankind are coming true. Do not your achievements show that, as the poet said, joyful labour will for ever reign on the banks of the great river? (*Applause.*)

Dear Comrades Stalingraders, the building of this hydro-engineering project is indeed a wonderful chapter in the

heroic annals of communist construction, a fine gift from the Soviet people to the Twenty-Second Congress of the Party. It gives me pleasure to inform you that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. has decreed to name your station the Hydropower Station of the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We are sure that the personnel of your station will live up to this good name with the work they do.

You know that the coming Congress will discuss and adopt a new Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Soviet people fully appreciate the importance of this Programme. It was with profound interest and warm approval that they received this historic document. For our Programme is, figuratively speaking, the strong wings that will help us to rise rapidly to new heights in economy, science, and technology, and to an abundance of material and spiritual benefits for the entire people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The distinctive feature of the new Party Programme is that it organically combines a broad and daring look into the future with a business-like, concrete approach to the great tasks of communist construction.

Complete electrification of the country, to which our teacher, our own Lenin, looked forward so much, occupies an important place in the draft Programme. Lenin regarded electrification as the way to place gradually the entire national economy, including agriculture, on a new technical basis linked with electricity. Therein lies the essence of electrification: technical re-equipment of industry, agriculture, transport, and the introduction of electric power in all production processes and in the day-to-day life of the people. Lenin regarded the GOELRO plan as the Party's second programme. He said:

"In my opinion, this is our second Party programme. . . . Our Party Programme must not only be a programme for the Party. It must become a programme for our economic

development, otherwise it will not be a Party Programme either. It must be supplemented by a second Party programme, a plan of work for the reconstruction of the entire national economy and for its elevation to the level of up-to-date technology.”*

Electrification is the pivot in the building of the economy of communist society, the foundation of the development and technical progress of all branches of the national economy. This is why the draft Programme lays special stress on the point that the output of electric power must grow more rapidly than that of all the other industries.

The faster, the better and the cheaper we build our power stations, the more rapidly will the economy develop, and the sooner shall we attain the world's highest living standard for the Soviet people.

The builders of power stations are men and women who by their heroic labour translate into reality Lenin's behests. Glorious is your labour, dear comrades, your contribution to the building of communist society.

What thoughts come to one's mind when one surveys these marvels—the gigantic dam blocking the powerful, beautiful and industrious Volga, the majestic power station with its unique machinery, the locks and the huge reservoir?

To begin with, one is struck by the thought that man's greatness is measured by his works. Boundless are the opportunities of the free Soviet citizen. He has made seas, and is harnessing the atom, and before long he will fly to neighbouring planets. He knows no fetters, nothing checks his dreams, his endeavours, his creative pursuits.

It is socialism that has brought all this to our people. We internationalists deeply respect other peoples. What entitles us to assert in that case that we shall be first in peaceful competition? Socialism has elevated the working-man to a high level. For the first time in history it has made him complete master of his future.

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 31, p. 482.

Take yourselves. You have built a hydropower development, you have raised dams, the station building and dwelling houses. And as the people built them, they grew with them: they became more proficient in their jobs, graduated from schools, technical schools and institutes, and learned to live and work in the communist way. The features of the new man—the builder of communism—were fashioned in day-to-day work.

Many of those who built this station are now working far away from the banks of the Volga, on other projects. So let us, comrades, send them warm greetings and best wishes of success in their work and life. (*Prolonged applause.*)

On the once barren banks of the Volga the Soviet people have by their labour erected a powerful rock—the world's most powerful hydroelectric station. It will generate 11,000 million kilowatt-hours of cheap electricity a year and send it along high-tension transmission lines to Moscow, the Central Chernozem regions, the Donets Basin and the Volga area. To give you a better idea of what the gigantic figure of 11,000 million kilowatt-hours represents, let me say that it is 450 per cent greater than Russia's total power output in the pre-revolutionary year of 1913, and approximately as much as all our hydropower stations generated in 1950. Such are the strides of the Seven-Year Plan! (*Prolonged applause.*)

The importance of this hydropower development lies in the fact that it will enable us before the end of the current Seven-Year Plan period to establish a single power grid for the European part of the Soviet Union, based on the two big hydropower stations on the Volga and the existing power grids. It will cover immense economically developed areas with almost two-thirds of the country's population and accounting for three-fifths of the country's total industrial production. The reservoir you have built will enable us to irrigate 2,000,000 hectares and to water 7,000,000 hectares of arid land. The left bank of the Volga and the

Caspian areas will become the country's foremost grain-growing areas.

The Stalingrad builders have worked well, stinting no effort. But the hydropower development was not built by Stalingraders alone. Hundreds of factories, thousands of production groups in Moscow, Leningrad, the Urals and the Ukraine—engineering and building workers—have filled orders for the hydropower station. Allow me to thank them heartily on your behalf. They have every reason to rejoice with you over the fruits of their labour. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The builders of your hydropower station have heeded the just criticism levelled at the builders of hydro-engineering projects by the Central Committee of the Party for erecting far too expensive structures. Drawing on advanced experience, the designers and builders of the hydropower station showed much creative initiative, daring and resourcefulness. The estimated building costs were cut by over 20 per cent as compared with the Lenin Hydropower Station on the Volga, which was built in approximately the same natural conditions. That is a big achievement.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet has accepted the proposal of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers to award Orders and Medals of the Soviet Union to a large group of comrades who distinguished themselves in the building of your power station. (*Prolonged applause.*)

A Decree conferring decorations upon these members of the big project of communist construction has been published today. Hero of Socialist Labour Alexander Petrovich Alexandrov, chief of the Stalingradgidrostroi Administration, has been awarded a second Hammer and Sickle Gold Medal in recognition of his devoted labour and skilful management of the hydropower project. (*Prolonged applause.*)

May I from the bottom of my heart warmly congratulate all the decorated comrades and wish them, and all who

participated in the construction of this powerful hydro-electric station, fresh success in their creative labour and great happiness in life. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The fact that the hydropower station has begun to work at full capacity marks another big step in the tapping of the energy of the Volga for the good of our people. It is the sixth hydropower station on the Volga. The aggregate capacity of the hydropower stations of the Volga cascade is 5,705,000 kilowatts and the annual power output is close to 23,000 million kilowatt-hours. You know that, besides the Volga cascade, we are building cascades of power stations on the Dnieper, the Angara and other rivers of the country.

Permit me, comrades, to conclude my speech with some critical remarks.

The builders of power stations and power networks are not up to the mark in fulfilling the plan for putting new capacities into operation. The Party and the Government cannot permit any delays in capital construction, which is of the utmost importance for creating the material and technical basis of communist society. Delays in the building of power projects—the foundation for the further development of the socialist economy—are particularly intolerable.

It seems that on some power projects poor use is made of foremost experience in labour organisation, and insufficient assistance is given to the builders. Equipment is not delivered when it is due.

Much more exacting demands need to be made upon all the links of the economic administration—the Ministry for the Construction of Power Stations, its central boards, trusts and, especially, the building administrations, planning bodies, electrical-engineering plants, and also the Party organisations of republics, territories, regions and projects. The state of affairs at the lagging construction projects must be thoroughly examined and the utmost assistance given them.

Party, Soviet and executive bodies, the Economic Councils, Ministries and departments must improve the management of building, better their organising and increase control over the fulfilment of Party and Government decisions. All parochialism in the use of capital investments and material resources must be stopped, and the responsibility of all officials, from top to bottom, for the matters entrusted to them must be increased. That is the only way to secure a still faster rate of economic development. If this is done there will be no need to mention these unpleasant matters at celebrations such as this one.

"There is a rock on the Volga," sing the people. This old song has a new meaning today. We have erected the Volga Hydropower Station of the Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U. to stand for centuries. It is a power-generating rock in the lower reaches of the Volga, a symbol of socialist might and the Soviet people's peaceful aspirations. (*Stormy applause.*)

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

Comrades, like all Soviet men and women, you are troubled by the international situation, and evidently expect me to speak on this topic. (*Applause.*)

Last Friday, speaking at a Soviet-Indian friendship meeting, I described the Soviet Union's standpoint on the major international problems in fairly great detail. It would be wrong for me to repeat what you have probably heard or read.

What is there to add to what has been said at the meeting in Moscow? The situation in the world is strained. The leading imperialist countries are doing their utmost to step up the arms race. They hurl unveiled threats at us and, at the same time, defy the obvious facts and attempt to pre-

sent the Soviet Union as the main culprit of the international tension.

The President of France, General de Gaulle, asked at a press conference on September 5 why did the Soviet Union, which had for 16 years tolerated the situation in Berlin and "which it had organised and established itself, jointly with the United States and Great Britain at the Potsdam Conference", why did it suddenly want this situation changed. In saying this, the President evidently kept to the rule—all the worse for the facts if they do not suit his conceptions. But that is not a very dependable dodge.

Was an understanding ever reached at Potsdam to convert West Berlin into a base of subversion and espionage? Or did the negotiators agree to revive German militarism, and to give it arms? The current situation in the German Federal Republic and West Berlin has nothing in common with what is inscribed in the Potsdam Agreement. And we have never reconciled ourselves to the forces of militarism again rearing their heads in West Germany.

The Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, and many other countries have for many years persistently combated revanchism and militarism in West Germany. They have worked doggedly for a normalisation of the situation in West Berlin and the conclusion of a German peace treaty, which must dependably protect the life and security of the peoples of Europe, and strengthen world peace.

We insisted on an early peace settlement with Germany in the very first years after the war. The Soviet Government made proposals on this score in 1952, 1954, 1958 and 1959, when we suggested that a peace treaty be concluded with the two existing German states and that the question of West Berlin be settled on this basis by converting it into a demilitarised free city. As you see, the question of a German peace treaty did not arise today, or yesterday for that matter.

But what do we hear in reply from the Western Powers? Our peaceful proposals and our position are being distorted. When we insist on a solution of the German problem and say that we shall conclude, unfailingly conclude, a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic if the Western Powers and the Federal Republic of Germany refuse to sign a peace treaty—we are accused of being aggressive. It turns out that conclusion of a peace treaty is a threat, while maintenance of survivals of the last war is, of all things, a contribution to peace.

Statesmen are now urging a “firm stand” against the Soviet peace proposals. This applies especially to Chancellor Adenauer, President de Gaulle and Britain’s Prime Minister Macmillan. They keep repeating this expression they have chosen about the firmness of their position almost every day. Yet firmness in international relations should always combine with good sense and flexibility. Even in materials firmness is not always a virtue. Take glass, which is quite firm, but also very brittle. The least blow smashes glass into smithereens. The same is true of a “firm” policy. If firmness is not combined with flexibility and good sense, if it goes against common sense, it will lead to no good.

At his press conference de Gaulle predicted “a complete breakdown in Russia” in case of war, and no more, no less than “collapse of Soviet power”. What can be said on this score?

We have this popular proverb: “The hungry fox dreams of fowl.” The opponents of communism, the reactionaries who reject the new and progressive, are always dreaming that Soviet power has collapsed, and with it the bastion of communism—both in theory and practice. When they wake up they see that this was no more than a dream, a mirage, that, far from collapsing, the Soviet state is adding to its strength each day, like a giant, and communism, the most progressive doctrine, the living endeavour of millions of men and women, is achieving ever new successes. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We have followed and shall undeviatingly follow a policy of peace, and work persistently against all aggressive forces that seek to start a war. Our peaceful policy derives from the very nature of our state, our social order. It accords with the vital interests of our people and all the peoples of the world. But if the forces that continue forging weapons of war start an armed conflict—for the only people who can start a war are the imperialists, anti-Communists and colonialists, which is all one and the same—they will perish in that war. To be sure, we shall also suffer heavy losses. We do not deny that for we are realists. But the President of France should be asked, too, what he avoided saying: What will remain of his country if the imperialists plunge the world into a war? President de Gaulle is a soldier, and he knows perfectly well that a vast country like the Soviet Union cannot be destroyed, while France, like West Germany, Britain and other densely populated countries with big cities and industrial centres concentrated in a small area, will not survive a thermo-nuclear war.

It is therefore better to refrain from forecasts as to who will perish, and who will remain. Damage will be suffered by everybody, and some are not likely to survive at all. It is better to stop guessing as to what will happen in case of war, and make the most of all the opportunities of settling disputes between states through negotiation and adopting such sensible solutions as will promote peace and preclude the unleashing of war by aggressors not only now, but also in the future. We fully subscribe to what President de Gaulle said at the same press conference: that there must be negotiations, and that these negotiations are sure to take place. This correct statement and proposal for peaceful negotiations coincides with what we say and what we are striving for.

It should be noted that Chancellor Adenauer, who stubbornly opposed peace talks, has also lately changed his attitude. Speaking over the radio a few days ago, he

said he was sure "matters simply cannot go as far as war".

He also made the sensible statement that it was essential to negotiate "a solution of the German, and thus the Berlin, problem, acceptable to both sides—the East and the West, and also the German people". Let us hope it was not mere time-serving on his part, prompted by election-time considerations. If it springs from an appreciation of the necessity of promoting a better climate, we welcome his statement.

Thus, judging by the statements of leading Western statesmen, encouraging signs have now appeared. It may be recalled that U.S. President Kennedy and British Prime Minister Macmillan favour negotiations. General de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer, whom the press has often described as opponents of negotiation, have also gone on record in favour of peaceful negotiations.

We have always offered peaceful negotiations. Had the Western statesmen heeded the voice of reason, there would have been none of the present very acute international tension, and none of the war hysteria that now prevails in the West. The most pressing questions causing this tension would have been resolved long ago and the way open for international co-operation.

However, it is never too late to do good. We therefore welcome those who favour peaceful coexistence and want to resolve disputes by peaceful means, by negotiation, and not by force of arms. We hail the people who advocate disarmament in order to rule out war in international relations for all time, and who understand the need for a peace settlement with both German states.

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

In spite of the bloody wars we have had to wage against Germany because of the unreasonable and adventurous

policy of its rulers, and in spite of the especially bloody war against Hitler Germany, we want to live in friendship with the entire German people as we already live in friendship with the people of the German Democratic Republic. Our people are quick to forget the evil done to them. They always know well that you have to live in the present and future, and not in the past.

That is what I wanted to tell you on the most pressing question of the present international situation—the German peace treaty and the winding up of the Second World War.

The Soviet people look confidently to the future. The new lights of your power station are a living symbol of the indestructible might of the socialist state, of the victorious march of the people along the road to communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

(Khrushchov then reads the text of a message of greeting from the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union to the workers, engineers, technicians and employees—to all who participated in the construction of the Volga Hydropower Station of the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.)

Glory to the builders of the new hydro-development on the Volga! (*Prolonged applause.*)

Glory to the Soviet people, that staunch fighter for the triumph of Lenin's ideas, the gallant builder of communism! (*Prolonged applause.*)

Glory to the Communist Party, the inspirer and organiser of all our victories! (*Prolonged applause.*)

Long live world peace! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

**REPLY
TO A QUESTION BY CORRESPONDENTS
OF PRAVDA AND IZVESTIA**

The public in the world showed an interest in the radio speech made by Pope John XXIII. In his speech the head of the Roman Catholic Church expressed alarm and concern over the current international situation, fraught with the danger of thermo-nuclear war, and appealed to the leading statesmen of the world to awaken to the "immense responsibility" they shoulder, and called for "free and sincere negotiations".

Correspondents of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* submitted the following question to N.S. Khrushchov.

Question: What do you think of the appeal made by Pope John XXIII for negotiations to prevent an armed catastrophe?

Khrushchov: I have to read the speeches of foreign leaders—politicians, military men, and public and religious figures. I have also read the Pope's speech and, I must say, I read it with interest.

In our time we must heed what every leader has to say, who protests against the dangerous playing with fire of the aggressive Western forces. The concern voiced by the Pope over the fate of world peace shows that abroad people are coming to realise ever more distinctly that unreasoning and reckless conduct in world politics is bound to end in grief. The head of the Catholic Church evidently heeds the sentiments of the many millions of Catholics all over the world who are troubled by the war preparations of the imperialists. John XXIII shows good sense when he warns the

governments against universal disaster and calls on them to awaken to the immense responsibility they bear to mankind. His appeal is a good sign.

In our age, when the most destructive weapons of annihilation have been developed, it is absolutely intolerable that anyone should toy with the destiny of nations. It is not, of course, a matter of fearing "divine judgement", which the Pope mentions. As a Communist and atheist I do not believe in "divine providence", but I can say one thing emphatically: the great responsibility that governments bear to their peoples and all mankind requires that they make every effort and start looking jointly for ways and means of eliminating the survivals of the Second World War, removing the seats of tension, and bridling the torch-bearers of a new world-wide conflagration.

As for the Soviet Government, it has always worked perseveringly to avert a new world war, to conclude a German peace treaty and to normalise the situation in West Berlin on its basis, to effect general and complete disarmament under strict control and to establish lasting peace on earth. We have always stressed that we stand for a peaceful solution of all the controversial international problems by means of negotiation, and we can only welcome every appeal for negotiations in the interests of peace, no matter where it is made. Will such exponents of the Catholic faith as John Kennedy, Konrad Adenauer and others heed the Pope's "holy warning"?

In conclusion I should like to stress that all people—religious and atheist, and representing all political schools and religious creeds—have a vested interest in durable peace on earth. The co-operation of all the peace-loving forces for the maintenance and fortification of peace on earth is a reliable guarantee that the threat of war will be eliminated.

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Н. С. ХРУЩЕВ
КОММУНИЗМ — МИР
И СЧАСТЬЕ НАРОДОВ

ТОМ I

