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Visit to India

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Visit

to

India

SPEECHES AND INTERVIEWS

By N. A. BULGANIN and N. S. KHRUSHCHEV

TOGETHER WITH
TEXT OF JOINT SOVIET-INDIAN
STATEMENTS AND COMMUNIQVES

Visit to India

VISIT TO INDIA

BY BULGANINOV AND KRISTOV

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS, INC.

PUBLISHER'S FOREWORD

Visit to India

By

N. A. BULGANIN *and* N. S. KHRUSHCHEV

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS: *New York*

PUBLISHER'S FOREWORD

THE RECENT MONTH-LONG visit of Soviet Premier N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and N. S. Khrushchev, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, to India, Burma and Afghanistan, at the invitation of the heads of state of those three Asian governments, attracted world-wide attention and interest. The U.S. State Department regarded it as a development of special concern to American interests, and the statements and speeches of the Soviet statesmen were widely commented on in the American press.

However, while newspaper accounts reported the unprecedented enthusiasm which greeted the Soviet leaders everywhere, with as many as two million assembling to hear their words in Calcutta, and although brief quotations from some of their speeches were carried by the press and radio, not a single U.S. daily reported any of these speeches in full despite their extraordinary political significance and their import for global coexistence.

To meet the demand for complete and verified texts of their remarks, the most important speeches and interviews by Messrs. Bulganin and Khrushchev have been made available, as a public service, in two companion pamphlets entitled *Visit to India* and *Visit to Burma and Afghanistan*, which include also joint statements, communiques and treaties of the countries concerned. In addition, New Century has published in pamphlet form the addresses made by Messrs. Bulganin and Khrushchev to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shortly after their return to the Soviet Union.

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Speech By N. A. Bulganin

New Delhi Airport, November 18, 1955

Esteemed Mr. Prime Minister, Dear Friends:

We are happy to have been able to come to the capital of the Republic of India at the kind invitation of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, and to express personally our cordial greetings and best wishes to the great Indian people.

We step on the ancient soil of India with a feeling of joy springing from the profound sentiment of respect and friendship that the Soviet people have for the talented and hard-working Indian people, the creators of a great original culture.

The heroic struggle of the freedom-loving Indian people to restore the independence of their homeland has always met with understanding and warm sympathy from the peoples of the Soviet Union. The Soviet people met the establishment of a sovereign Republic of India with a feeling of profound satisfaction and joy.

Our people have a profound belief in the creative forces of the Indian people, which are playing an ever greater role in international life, in strengthening universal security and peace. The resolute efforts of the Indian Government to ensure peace and secure an advancement of its economy are close and comprehensible to the Soviet Government.

The Soviet and Indian peoples have many common tasks. India and the Soviet Union are exerting great efforts to preserve and strengthen peace, and come out for the settling of international issues by peaceful means, through talks, a fact which has already yielded substantial positive results.

The mutual efforts of India and the U.S.S.R. to extend their friendly relations are an important contribution to the easing of international tension.

We want to profit by our stay in India by learning firsthand about the Indian people, their customs and traditions, the results of their endeavor to advance their economy and develop a national industry.

We hope that our meetings with the Indian people, the extension of contacts with Indian statesmen will yield fruitful results for the further strengthening of mutual understanding and friendship between our countries.

Allow me to express to you our sincere gratitude for a warm, cordial reception.

Long live the friendship of the peoples of India and the Soviet Union!

Speech By N. S. Khrushchev

Agra, India, November 20, 1955

Permit me on behalf of my friend Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin, on behalf of the friends who accompany us and on my own behalf to greet you and convey to you our ardent feelings and good wishes.

There are no words which could express the sentiments we are feeling now. We very highly appreciate the manifestation of the Indian people's friendship which is being displayed everywhere during our so far brief stay here.

I can assure you that our people in turn entertain the most sincere friendly feelings for the people of India.

You are living through a wonderful spring of national liberation and independent administering of your country. But I should like to warn you that freedom and independence can be consolidated only if you are able to build up your industry, machine-building in particular.

I do not want to give you advice. I believe that you understand everything very well yourselves.

We have just viewed a wonderful creation of men's labor, the magnificent tomb. When I viewed this structure I had two feelings: the first was admiration of the grandeur of the people, their art, their culture, their skill which flourished already many centuries ago. This monument is the pride of your people.

But I had another feeling too. I spontaneously thought how kings and emperors had not spared man's labor, how wastefully had they expended it. Erecting such monuments by the slave labor, they exhausted the strength and means of the people for the only purpose of self-glorification. And at that time millions of people evidently died of hunger. Here you are—wealth on one side and poverty on the other.

Forgive me if I got carried away but I wanted to express the feelings I had by viewing this monument.

Once again thank you for the hospitality, for the wonderful gifts you presented us. I express gratitude to the Governor personally and his wife who accompanied us and the representatives of the town authorities. I also thank the members of the welcoming committee.

We wish you all happiness and success!

Speech By N. A. Bulganin

Address to Indian Parliament, November 21, 1955

Esteemed Mr. Chairman:

Esteemed Members of Parliament:

Allow me first of all to express my profound gratitude for the opportunity to speak from this lofty rostrum, which I consider a great honor to myself.

At the meeting with citizens of your glorious capital, Delhi, I had the opportunity to express to you and to your government our feelings of gratitude for the warm and hearty reception accorded us everywhere. On behalf of the Soviet people we conveyed friendly greetings and wishes to the great people of India. I would like to say that all of us, your guests, were deeply moved at the sight of many hundreds of thousands of friends who welcomed us in Ramlila Square. The unanimity, sincerity and power of the sentiments expressed demonstrated to us very convincingly that the Soviet people have in the people of India a true and unselfish friend. The Soviet people for their part will do everything to make this friendship grow and develop.

The friendship between our peoples has its source in the distant past. Almost five centuries ago, long before the first European vessels came to the shores of your country, a Russian traveler, Afanasy Nikitin, visited India and wrote a book, outstanding for its time, about the marvelous country in which he spent several years and which he came to love ardently. This was the first "discovery of India" by the Russians.

The relations established between our countries gradually developed and strengthened. Works on India were published in Russian. Your remarkable literature also served for the Russian

people as a source of information and gave them an idea about your country. The first translations of the works of Indian authors, including the writings of the great Indian poet and playwright Kalidasa, appeared in Russia as early as in the eighteenth century. Subsequently translations of Indian epic poems became widespread.

The relations and understanding between the peoples of our countries were strengthened still more after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. The principles of equality and self-determination of the peoples proclaimed by our revolution found a wide response in other countries, including India, which at that time was in a state of colonial dependence.

Soviet men and women on their part wholeheartedly sympathize with the selfless and courageous struggle waged by your people against colonial oppression, for the re-establishment of the independence of their country. Of great significance in this struggle, as is known, were the ideas and the guidance of the outstanding leader of the Indian national movement, Mahatma Gandhi.

In the Soviet Union a tremendous interest in India is observed, in its history, culture, the life of the people and the changes which are being effected in your country. This is reflected in the steadily growing ties between the U.S.S.R. and India in the fields of culture, the arts, science and sports. Great success was scored by the Indian films shown in our country and the Indian exhibitions arranged in Soviet cities.

The Soviet people also show a great interest in Indian literature. The talented works of Rabindranath Tagore, repeatedly issued in our country, are now being put out in a separate edition. The U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences has issued the works of the great Indian poet Tulsi Das. The works of such an outstanding writer as Prem Chand and a number of others have been translated and published. The book by Mr. Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, has been issued in Russian, and Soviet readers learn from it much that is new and interesting about your country.

The cultural exchange that is developing between our countries opens up to the Soviet people all the diversity of your ancient culture and gives them an idea of India's contribution to world civilization, acquaints us with the contemporary cultural and scientific treasures of the Indian people. There is no need to speak of the significance of this and how it facilitates spiritual enrichment.

The development and consolidation of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India was greatly promoted by the visit paid to our country by the Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, whom the Soviet people warmly welcomed. Mr. Nehru's visit to the U.S.S.R. was a great and memorable event for our people. His visit made it much clearer that our countries can learn much from each other and derive no little benefit from their co-operation.

The co-operation between India and the Soviet Union at present is of a diversified nature and, besides cultural relations, covers the economic sphere and also the struggle for strengthening peace and easing international tension. I would like to dwell on the latter in greater detail.

The era we live in is, as is known, an era of great changes and scientific discoveries which are blazing the path to the unparalleled advance of man's cultural and material potentialities. All of us must reckon with this. At the same time we cannot fail to take into account the attempts of the reactionary forces to reverse the course of history, to employ the discoveries of man's genius to the detriment of the peoples, to utilize the achievements of science and engineering to destroy cultural and material values, to kill millions of people. This circumstance places upon the peoples, parliaments and governments special responsibility for the destiny of peace. The Soviet people and the Soviet Government fully realize this responsibility and are doing everything in their power to defend peace and progress. It is a matter of profound satisfaction to us that in this the ways of our peoples and our governments do not differ.

The Soviet people highly appreciate India's contribution to the consolidation of peace. As a result of the joint efforts made by India, the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union an armistice was secured in Korea and the conflagration of war was put out in Indo-China. India is working actively to secure to the People's Republic of China its legitimate place in the United Nations. The Indian Government stands for a peaceful solution of the question of Taiwan, a solution that would take into consideration the national interests and legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China.

India was one of the sponsors of the first Asian-African Conference and played a prominent part in it. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of that conference for the consolidation

of universal peace, for ensuring the rights and national interests of the peace-loving peoples of the two continents.

The Soviet people are aware of and warmly approve the Indian Government's stand on the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, on the reduction of armaments, with a view to releasing for peaceful construction the huge resources that are now swallowed up by the arms race.

The peoples of the Soviet Union have a profound respect for the Indian Government's efforts directed against the policy of setting up aggressive military blocs, for the defense of collective peace and the method of negotiation as a means for settling international problems.

Soviet-Indian relations, based on the famous five principles, cogently prove the correctness of the thesis of the possibility of peaceful co-existence and friendly co-operation between countries with different social and political systems. This important thesis now has an ever-increasing number of supporters, and I should like to express the hope that it will also be accepted by the majority of those who are now against the peaceful solution of international problems by means of negotiation, who still persist in conducting their foreign policy from "positions of strength."

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is a policy of peace and friendship between peoples, a policy of active and consistent struggle for peace, against war and against any foreign interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. Following the behests of our great teacher Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, we build our policy on principles of respect for all nations, on the basis that all peoples have the right to independent national development in conformity with their own desires and interests.

The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that any aggression is contrary to the conscience and honor of the peoples and leads to the destruction of great material values and the most precious thing in the world—human lives. Therefore we resolutely reject war as a means for settling disputed international problems and stand for a peaceful solution of outstanding issues by means of negotiation.

The joint efforts to this end of the peaceful forces, including India and the Soviet Union, have already yielded positive results and told specifically on the results of the Four-Power heads of government conference in Geneva. This conference was held in a spirit of co-operation and played an important part in easing

international tension and re-establishing confidence among the Four Powers. It opened up the way for a concrete discussion by the four Foreign Ministers of such issues as disarmament, European security and Germany, and development of East-West contacts.

At the recent Four-Power Foreign Ministers Conference the Soviet Union tried, in keeping with the "spirit of Geneva," to find agreed decisions on all these issues.

It is known that the question of disarmament has now acquired particular importance in the eyes of entire mankind, since the stockpiling of both conventional armaments and weapons of mass destruction causes serious alarm among the peoples for their future.

The Soviet Union has always been in favor of disarmament and complete prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. The Soviet Government has been working for this for a number of years, regarding the disarmament problem the major task of its foreign policy. The main thing in disarmament, to our mind, is the banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the ending of the arms race.

Displaying good will and striving for real disarmament and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the Soviet Union agreed to the Western Powers' proposals made earlier, at the beginning of this year, concerning the level of armed forces of the United States, the U.S.S.R., the People's Republic of China, Great Britain and France, and the dates when complete prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons should come into force. The Western Powers declared that they could not agree to the banning of nuclear weapons before conventional armaments had been reduced by 75 per cent of the agreed reductions. We accepted this proposal as well.

Furthermore, following the rule that deeds speak better than words, the Soviet Government decided to reduce its armed forces by 640,000 men and has, in the main, carried out this decision, which constitutes a very appreciable contribution to the establishment of confidence among nations.

Our proposals provide for the establishment of an effective system of control over the reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, including the setting up of control posts on the territories of the states concerned with a view to preventing a surprise attack by one state against the other. It is perfectly clear to us that the question of control should be resolved in connection with the main question of disarmament.

The attempts to settle the question of control over disarmament without disarmament itself are contrary to common sense and the wishes of the peoples.

To our profound regret, our efforts to shift the question of disarmament and the banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons out of the deadlock have not yet led to positive results. The United States, Britain and France have, in effect, rejected what they themselves proposed at the beginning of the year. We have to note that in the question of disarmament the Western Powers are regressing, retreating from their former positions, with their new proposals throwing the problem of disarmament a good ten years back.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the Soviet Government will continue to work for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and for the solution of the disarmament problem.

Esteemed Members of Parliament, I should also like to make a few observations on the question of security in Europe. Europe is far away from India, but it is a part of the world whose developments have for a number of centuries been influencing the whole world. Suffice it to recall that both the First and Second World Wars started in Europe.

All the peoples of the world are now legitimately concerned over the fact of the existence of military alignments in Europe and the fact that there are foreign troops and military bases on the territories of a number of European states. The policy of creating military blocs, as repeatedly emphasized also by Mr. Nehru, leads not to peace and the easing of international tension but to an aggravation of relations between states and, ultimately, to war. It is known that we are of the same opinion.

The Soviet Government is against the policy of building up military blocs and stands for the liquidation of the blocs already in existence. We proposed the establishment of a collective security system in Europe, with the participation of all European countries, as well as the United States of America. This proposal, which we already made last year, met with objections from the Western Powers as destroying the North Atlantic bloc allegedly built up for purely defensive purposes. When we also expressed the desire to join NATO, the Western Powers refused to admit us, thus confirming the falsehood of their allegations about the defensive nature of NATO and revealing the exclusive, aggressive nature of that alignment.

Taking into account these circumstances, as well as the conclusion of the Paris agreements drawing the German Federal Republic into the North Atlantic bloc, the Soviet Government and the governments of the other East European countries were compelled to take additional measures to safeguard their security and last spring signed the Warsaw Treaty.

The Warsaw Treaty had to be concluded; it was called forth by the stand of the Western Powers, and we are ready to repudiate it as soon as a European security system is established and the Western Powers abandon the North Atlantic Treaty and the Paris agreements.

The policy of building up and extending military groupings, the building up and retaining of military bases on the territory of other countries do not promote the establishment of international confidence and are an obstacle to the peaceful development of the peoples. Bearing this in mind, the Soviet Union renounced its rights to the bases in Port Arthur on Chinese territory and in Porkkala-Udd on Finnish territory and now has no military bases whatever on the territory of other countries. If some other powers having military bases in foreign countries followed the example set by the Soviet Union, they would make an important contribution to the further relaxation of tension in relations among nations and would confirm the "Geneva spirit" by concrete deeds.

Unfortunately, here, too, one has to point to the unwillingness of certain circles to be governed by the "Geneva spirit" in their practical activities. This, for instance, is revealed by the attempts to extend and strengthen the notorious treaty organization "for the defense" of Southeast Asia, the parties to which are mainly non-Asian countries, and to build up a military bloc in the Near and Middle East, near the frontiers of India and the Soviet Union. In this situation the Soviet Government regards it as its duty to be especially vigilant with regard to the maneuvers of the enemies of peace and international co-operation.

There is no doubt that the German problem is one of the most important questions: Will Germany develop along the road of establishing a peace-loving and democratic state taking no part in military blocs, or will it take the road of reviving militarism and integration into the military groupings of the Western Powers? The interests of peace in Europe and throughout the world demand that a united Germany take the first road—the road of peaceful and democratic development. Proceeding from

these interests, the Soviet Union defines its position on the German question.

We proceed also from the fact of the existence of two German states which have emerged in the past ten years—the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic—which have different social systems. In our opinion the solution of the German problem is, above all, the concern of the German people themselves, and it is the task of the Great Powers to help them effect the unification of Germany along the road of peaceful and democratic development.

The Soviet Union has submitted a proposal for the establishment of an All-German Council, a body to coordinate the efforts of the two German states now existing in the political, economic and cultural life of the German people and in regard to cooperation with other states in the consolidation of peace. All this would help create the conditions for a solution of the German problem and the reunification of Germany through free elections in conformity with the national interests of the German people and the interests of European security.

In the past six months the Soviet Government has taken a number of new important steps promoting the creation of a climate of confidence and consolidation of peace in Europe. The Soviet Union has resumed and is successfully developing friendly relations with Yugoslavia. A state treaty has been concluded with Austria, which has taken the road of permanent neutrality. Agreement has been reached on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and the German Federal Republic. A treaty has been signed on relations between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic strengthening the sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic. These measures taken by the Soviet Government speak volumes and any comments would be superfluous.

A characteristic feature of our time is the profound change in the political situation in the countries of Asia and the entire East. The great historic process of the awakening of the peoples of the East and their active participation in political life is now taking place. This process is being effected at full blast, and there is no force capable of checking it. True, there are some people who seek to disregard or ignore the great historic changes now occurring in the East, but they exist and, what is more, they exert and are

bound to exert a tremendous influence on international affairs.

The present-day international situation in Asia is characterized by the existence of a number of such problems whose solution requires strong efforts. Anxiety is caused, for instance, by the problem of the political settlement in Indo-China in conformity with the decisions of the 1954 Geneva Conference. The Soviet Union will tirelessly work for the fulfillment of these decisions.

Thus, gentlemen, there is much in common in the foreign policy of our countries. In the final analysis we have one aim: to ease international tension, to maintain and strengthen peace, to prevent war and to spare mankind its horrors, to secure tranquil labor and the joy of peaceful life to the peoples. Is there a more worthy aim? I think you all agree that it is worthwhile to work for this lofty purpose, it is worthwhile, as we say, to work with might and main.

We also have much in common in accomplishing the tasks set by the internal affairs of our countries.

When our people made the October Revolution they set themselves the task of achieving the economic and cultural remaking of their country, to convert it into an industrial socialist country. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the Soviet people have successfully accomplished this historic task.

You are following along your road. You are confronted with the tasks of converting your homeland, which has thrown off the fetters of colonial domination for good, into a foremost state with a developed national economy and a high enough living standard. The Soviet people fully understand and sincerely sympathize with your efforts aimed at implementing these tasks.

In our opinion there are now all possibilities for the further extension of Soviet-Indian co-operation in economy and culture, in scientific and technical research. We are ready to share with you our economic, scientific and technical experience. This is in keeping with the desires and aspirations of our people. All necessary prerequisites have also been created for the further development of trade between our countries on the basis of equality and mutual advantage.

Everything we have been able to see here during the first days of our stay in India reaffirms our deep conviction that the further development of relations between our countries rests on the firm foundation of common and many-sided interests.

May the friendship and co-operation between our peace-loving countries grow and gain in strength in the interests of the peoples of India and the Soviet Union, in the interests of the maintenance and strengthening of world peace!

Speech By N. S. Khrushchev

Address to Indian Parliament, November 21, 1955

Mr. Chairman:

Gentlemen:

Allow me to thank you from the bottom of my heart for the honor of addressing the Parliament of the Republic of India.

We have come to your country on a return friendly visit, at the kind invitation of the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, to express personally the profound respect and the sincere sympathy of the Soviet people for the friendly people of India, to get to know their life and work.

We are happy to greet you and to convey the ardent greetings of the Soviet people to the great freedom-loving and talented people of India.

The warm and cordial reception accorded us by the Indian people has exceeded all expectations. We regard the sincere enthusiasm, the feeling of friendship expressed by your people in welcoming our delegation as a reward to the peoples of the Soviet Union for their disinterested and honest attitude to all people, big and small. We also ascribe these sentiments of love, so strikingly expressed by the Indian people, to the active support that the Soviet Union renders to the peoples fighting against colonial bondage, to our struggle for lasting, durable world peace.

In visiting various historical sights and meeting with the hospitable citizens of India, we often see and hear the wonderful words: "The Indian and the Soviet peoples are brothers."

These words correspond to our strivings and to all our activities. So it is today, and so, dear friends, it will be forever. Our peoples are brothers in spirit and in all their aspirations.

I cannot fail to mention here, in your Parliament, that the friendship between our peoples has developed for many centuries and has never been darkened by conflicts or disputes.

And now that India has acquired its sovereignty and national independence, the friendly ties between our countries are growing day by day, which meets the vital interests of our peoples and corresponds to the five principles of peaceful co-existence proclaimed by India and China. These principles have now been accepted by countries comprising the larger part of mankind, including the great Indian, Chinese and Soviet peoples.

For many centuries India was a colony. Your remarkable country, which has made a great contribution to the history of world culture, was doomed by the colonialists to an existence without rights. The Soviet peoples always had great sympathy for the Indian people's struggle for the national independence of their homeland since they themselves, in the past, suffered severely from foreign enslavers.

Our wise teacher V. I. Lenin wrote as far back as in 1923 that Russia, India, China and other countries, accounting for an overwhelming majority of the world's population, were being drawn with striking rapidity into a struggle for their liberation and foretold a victorious outcome of this struggle. Life has fully confirmed these prophetic words.

We live at a time when there has been a historic turn in the lives of many peoples, when the colonial system is crumbling under the mighty blows of the movement of national liberation.

Great, historic victories have been scored by the great Chinese people, who are successfully building a new, free life. The whole of progressive mankind welcomed the great Indian people when they secured their national independence. The yoke of foreign rule has been cast off by the peoples of Indonesia, Burma and other countries. Their population accounts for more than half of mankind. All the efforts of the colonialists to divert these people from their newly chosen path are doomed to failure.

The fact that India has become an independent state and has secured its national independence is a matter of great historic importance. The Soviet people note with profound satisfaction and joy that a path of free independent development is opening up to the peoples of India. In developing their independent state they can secure an advancement in the material well-being and

the cultural level of the people, can secure the economic progress of the country. It is up to the Indian people themselves to implement these great tasks.

The Soviet people understand full well the Indian people's striving for a lasting, stable peace, for only in conditions of peace can these aims be attained.

The course of social development shows that to become truly independent and to ensure the well-being of its people, a country must have its own developed economy, independent of foreign capital. History teaches that the efforts of the colonialists to enslave an economically weaker country can manifest themselves in most diverse forms. They are doing their utmost to hamper the development of national industry in these countries, fearing lest the creation of a national industry, of national intellectuals, a rise in the living standards of the people should strengthen the formerly dependent country and help it along the path of independent development.

We hail the sagacity of the Indian statesmen who realize this, who see where the danger to India's independence can come from, and fight against this danger.

We sincerely want you to have your own powerful national industry so that science, culture and education are developed in your country, so that success and happiness always attend the work of the Indian people. In saying this we are guided by the immortal teaching of the great Lenin, who considered that the peoples of all countries should live as they want, without other countries interfering in their affairs.

We are often accused of trying to export communist ideas to other countries; many other stupid things are said about us. Any efforts by the oppressed peoples to cast off the yoke of foreign enslavers are depicted as instigated by Moscow.

The Soviet people have made great progress along the path of socialism that they have chosen. But we have never forced on anyone, nor do we now force our views on reforming society.

The question arises of who launches these fabrications about the Soviet Union and why. They are launched by the reactionary circles so as to browbeat people by false rumors of the communist menace to whip up war hysteria. They want people to know less about our country, for the truth about the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics means death for the forces of reaction, for the colonialists, for all those who would perpetuate the enslave-

ment of some people by others, the exploitation of the labor of others.

And this truth is, that only with the advent of Soviet power, the power of workers and peasants, have the peoples of our country—the Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Azerbaijanians and other nations and peoples—become fully free in the development of their economy, their national culture, only then could they deploy to the full their creative forces.

The Soviet Union is a closely-knit multinational state comprising 16 equal Union Republics, each of which has its own developed national economy, its own national culture. In our country there is complete equality of all U.S.S.R. citizens, irrespective of nationality or race. Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or, conversely, the establishment of any direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality, is punishable by law. All the peoples of our country are one big family. The friendship of the peoples is one of the powerful sources of the strength of our Soviet state.

A fuller idea of what the Soviet people have accomplished after overthrowing tsarism is afforded by the following figures: in 1955 the total output of all Soviet industry was 27 times greater than in 1913, the output of the means of production has increased 60 times, the output of consumer goods 11 times, the production of electric power 86 times, and the output of the engineering industry more than 160 times.

Parallel with developing industry the Soviet Government is devoting much attention to the advance of agriculture. The peasants, having united in collective farms, have attained with the help of mechanization considerable achievements in increasing agricultural output.

The Soviet Union is now a highly developed industrial power and stands on the same level of economic development as the technically most advanced capitalist countries.

The whole world admits that our country has made a tremendous leap forward in the development of culture. While prior to the October Revolution 76 per cent of the population in tsarist Russia was illiterate, illiteracy in our country was already eradicated in the main before the Second World War. This year almost 35,000,000 persons are studying in Soviet elementary, seven-year and secondary schools, in schools for adults, in vocational establishments of the labor reserves system, and in technical schools.

More than 1,700,000 people are studying in higher educational establishments.

In the very first Soviet years schools for the masses were organized in our country, and workers' faculties (workers' preparatory schools) were set up which at times were joined even by semi-literate workers and peasants, who studied perseveringly and obtained a secondary and then a higher education. Today remarkable cadres of truly a people's intelligentsia have been developed in our country. More than 5,500,000 specialists with a higher or special secondary education are employed in the national economy of the Soviet Union at present. Functioning in the country are close to 217,000 general education schools, 3,796 technical schools and other special secondary educational establishments, and 798 institutions of higher learning. The conditions have been created in the U.S.S.R. for the introduction in the next several years of universal secondary, ten-year education.

Our country, of course, is not a paradise as yet; there are still many shortcomings; but we are aware of them and are doing everything for their speediest elimination.

Talking with leaders of different countries and reading the foreign press, one often encounters wrong conceptions about the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. As First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. I want to dwell a bit on this question.

Indeed, many different legends are being spread about the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. And this is not surprising, because our party organizes and unites the masses of the people to build an entirely new society, a communist society, which is the direct opposite of the old, capitalist society.

I think you will not suspect me of engaging in propaganda. We hold that the question of ideas is a question of conscience, of the world outlook not only of each people, but also of each man and woman. Why, in our country too there are people who do not belong to the Communist Party. The Communist Party has 8,000,000 members, the Young Communist League close to 18,500,000 members out of a population of 200,000,000 in the Soviet Union. Consequently, in our country far from all the people are members of the Party or the Komsomol, and we do not strive for this. But the entire population of our country has united around the Communist Party, rightly regarding it as their

organizer and leader. The people and the party are inseparable in our country.

The question of ideas, of convictions, is a personal question for each man and woman. In the U.S.S.R., Communists and non-Party people, atheists and believers work jointly and harmoniously for the good of the people. Freedom of religious worship is recognized for all citizens. Freedom of conscience and religious worship is not only proclaimed but also strictly ensured by the state as a constitutional right of U.S.S.R. citizens. Among Soviet citizens there are Christians, Moslems, Buddhists, Baptists and believers of other denominations.

Our great teacher Lenin, who more profoundly and better than all divined the laws governing the development of modern society, built up the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class, as the most advanced section of the peoples of Russia. Assessing the gigantic forces of the working class, of the working masses, he roused them to storm decisively the enslaving feudal and capitalist system which fettered the peoples of Russia. Lenin did this not only for the sake of the freedom and happiness of our country's peoples. He knew that this would also be to the benefit of the peoples of other countries.

The Great October Revolution signified the beginning of a new era in the life of all mankind. As Jawaharlal Nehru writes in his book *The Discovery of India*, "the Soviet revolution has advanced human society by a great leap and lighted a bright flame which could not be smothered. It laid the foundations for that new civilization toward which the world would advance." We fully agree with these words.

It is said that in the course of this revolution there were many unnecessary sacrifices. But this is not exactly so. The October Socialist Revolution was the most bloodless of great revolutions. Having taken power into its own hands, the working class did not proceed to punish blindly its age-old tormentors and oppressors. Moreover, in the first months after the October Revolution many reactionary tsarist generals were released on their word of honor, and they then treacherously violated the pledges they gave and with arms in hand attacked their people. The Soviet Republic needed peace, and Lenin, the workers' and peasants' government, proclaimed peace.

But a sanguinary path of struggle was imposed upon us. It is not we who chose it. Why, it is not propaganda but a historical

fact that armies of French, British, American, Japanese and other interventionists, armed to the teeth, were hurled against Soviet Russia.

Our people paid a high price for that war imposed upon them. But, I repeat, it is not we who chose this path. We were attacked, they wanted to strangle the Soviet state, to tear our country asunder.

Is it not to the credit of Lenin, to the credit of the Communist Party, to the credit of our whole people, that we did not bow our heads and did not surrender in face of the superior forces of the enemy who was armed to the teeth! The working class, all the peoples of our multinational country rallied around their collective leader, the Communist Party, rose to wage a sacred patriotic war. The enemies were defeated, and the Soviet state struck solid root as a mighty force of the liberated peoples.

Having won the long awaited peace, the Soviet people undertook with inexhaustible energy the peaceful remaking of their country and attained outstanding successes. Engaged in peaceful labor, we knew that the forces of reaction had not given up their schemes. Fearing the very existence of the Soviet land, where the people enjoy the fruits of their labor, the enemies let loose the mad dog, Hitler fascism, on our country. How the fascist incursion ended is well known to all. Nazism, that terrible threat to free mankind, was smashed, and Hitler has rotted long ago.

The Second World War caused immense destruction to our country. The Soviet people, inspired by their Communist Party, this time too did not shrink back in face of difficulties. They have fully effaced the great aftermath of the war. With unparalleled energy the Soviet people are building new factories and mills, the world's biggest hydroelectric stations.

I am speaking of this not because I want to impose upon you the Soviet path of development, but to give you a fuller idea of the difficult path traversed by our people. But this is a lofty path, as a result of which our people have immense achievements and gains to their credit. We have accumulated great experience during these years, and should you want to use to some extent our experience gained in different spheres of the economy and culture, we will readily, in a friendly way, unselfishly share it with you and render all help within our power.

Our people are engrossed in titanic constructive work. The Soviet Union is carrying out a program of sharply advancing all

branches of the national economy, to achieve the progress of the economy and culture and a further rise in the material well-being of the people.

Only peaceful deeds are a source of joy and inspiration to us. We work unflinchingly for peace and peaceful development of relations between countries. It must be said, however, that we do not always encounter due response and support on the part of a number of countries in consolidating peace.

We stand for developing trade relations and cultural ties between peoples in every possible way. The whole world knows of the efforts made by the Soviet Government to ease tension in international relations. We stand for peace, for peaceful coexistence between states, irrespective of their internal social system. This is convincingly proved by all the foreign political measures of our states.

The conference of the heads of government of the Four Powers in Geneva was an important international event, for it brought about a certain relaxation of international tension. In pursuance of the directives of the heads of government of the Four Powers a conference of the Foreign Ministers of these states was recently held in Geneva. That conference did not produce substantial results since the Ministers were confronted with very complicated tasks, difficult to settle all at once. But we are confident that by going along the road outlined at the Geneva Conference of the heads of government we shall achieve a further easing of international tension, gradually making progress in solving all intricate international problems.

We cannot close our eyes to the fact that some people dislike the spirit of Geneva. Certain circles in some countries still try to carry out the notorious "positions of strength" policy, a policy of threats by atomic weapons, which is a disgrace to modern civilization.

After the Second World War reactionary circles wanted to intimidate us with the atomic bomb, to keep us down. But it is common knowledge that nothing came of this. Soviet scientists discovered the secret of producing atomic energy. To paralyze the aggressive intentions of some bellicose foreign leaders we were impelled to produce atomic and hydrogen bombs. But, having produced these weapons, we immediately expressed our desire that they should never be used. The Soviet Union was the first country in the world to make atomic energy serve peaceful pur-

poses. We submitted proposals for the prohibition of the use and manufacture of atomic and hydrogen weapons and for the governments giving a solemn pledge not to use these weapons. But the Western Powers have so far not yet agreed to these proposals.

The forces of reaction do everything to undermine the cause of peace. But we are convinced that victory will be gained by the peoples and the men and women who are striving for peace, because peace among the nations is the dream of all progressive mankind. We rejoice at having in this cause such a good ally as India.

The Soviet people and the peoples of other countries highly appreciate the great contribution made by the Indian people and their government to the struggle for peace, against the threat of another war. India actively came out for the termination of the wars in Korea and Indo-China. Despite all obstacles created, India continues to discharge the difficult but honorable international obligation on control over the observance of the armistice terms in Korea and Viet Nam.

There are still many intricate and unsettled problems in the world today. Many efforts, persistence and patience are needed to maintain and strengthen peace, but we firmly believe in the triumph of this lofty cause.

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen,

We can note with satisfaction that the economic and cultural ties between our countries have lately been substantially strengthened. The extension of mutually advantageous economic ties between the USSR and India has great prospects and undoubtedly will be conducive to a further rapprochement between our peoples. Trade is successfully developing on the basis of the Soviet-Indian commercial agreement signed in 1953. We believe that an important contribution to the consolidation of our economic ties has been made by the agreement concluded this year on the construction in India with the Soviet Union's assistance of an iron and steel works with an annual capacity of one million tons of steel. Soviet workers and engineers have enthusiastically set about fulfilling the orders for this development project. We attach great importance to the personal contact which has been established between leaders of the Republic of India and the Soviet Union. The visit to the Soviet Union by Mr. Nehru, Prime Minister of India, has made a deep impression upon the Soviet people.

Soviet men and women evince a tremendous interest in the rich

centuries-old culture of India. Many works by Indian authors have been translated into Russian. The splendid works of the great Indian writer and public figure Rabindranath Tagore are very popular in our country. Books by contemporary Indian authors are read by our people with unabated interest. In Soviet times more than two million copies of Indian fiction and poetry have been printed in the Soviet Union. There are Russian translations of Mahatma Gandhi, who knew so well his country and the great people of India and played a big role in your history. *The Discovery of India* by the outstanding statesman and political leader, the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, has been published for mass circulation.

We stand for all-round wide exchange in culture and the arts, for exchange of technical and scientific achievements. The Soviet people are always glad to welcome our Indian friends in our country. The better we know each other and help each other, the firmer will be our friendship, the stronger will be the forces of peace throughout the world.

Allow me to thank you for the hearty, friendly welcome given our delegation by you and your hospitable people. We wholeheartedly wish happiness and prosperity to the friendly people of India.

Long live the great Indian people!

Long live the friendship between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union!

Long live world peace!

JOINT STATEMENT

**By N. A. Bulganin, N. S. Khrushchev
and Jawaharlal Nehru**

At the invitation of the Government of the Soviet Union, the Prime Minister of India visited the Soviet Union in June 1955. He was accorded a warm welcome there, and his visit strengthened the friendship and mutual understanding between the peoples of both countries. At the end of this visit a joint statement was issued on June 22, 1955, by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and the Prime Minister of India.

At the invitation of the Indian Government N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, N. S. Khrushchev, member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and other official representatives of the Soviet Union accompanying them visited India in November-December, 1955. The population of this country enthusiastically welcomed them wherever they went. Their visit strengthened the ties of friendship binding the two countries and their peoples. N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchev visited different agricultural, industrial and hydrotechnical developments, as well as regions undergoing agricultural reconstruction, state-owned enterprises and other centers of Indian economic development.

The visit to India of N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and N. S. Khrushchev, member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the visit to the Soviet Union of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India furnished them with the opportunity of personally acquainting themselves with the peoples of these countries and their way of life, with the problems, achievements and aspirations of each country, and led

to mutual understanding between them and the peoples of their respective states, based as it is on mutual respect, good will and tolerance.

The above-mentioned joint statement published on June 22, 1955, expressed their firm adherence to the Five Principles, also known as *pancha sheela*.

These principles proclaim that countries different from one another politically, socially and economically can and must cooperate on the basis of mutual respect, and non-interference in each other's home affairs, and must abide by the policy of active and peaceful coexistence in the common desire to attain the ideals of peace and the improvement of man's living conditions.

Since these Five Principles were proclaimed, several countries have adhered to them or supported them. The countries represented at the Bandung Conference unanimously adopted a declaration which confirmed these principles, which have now won general recognition as a solid basis for cooperation between countries.

During the present visit of N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchev to India a free and frank exchange of opinions on questions of the international situation took place between them and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India. This exchange of opinions confirmed their firm conviction that international relations must be based on the Five Principles and that everything must be done to ease international tension and promote the cause of consolidating peace and international cooperation.

The Geneva Conference of the heads of government, held last July, resulted in the recognition by the Great Powers represented there of the futility of war, which owing to the development of atomic and hydrogen weapons can bring only calamities to mankind. This major recognition—excluding war as a method of settling international disputes—was received with deep satisfaction by the peoples of the world and led to a substantial relaxation of international tension. Although the main problems of Europe and Asia still await their solution, the natural consequence of excluding war as a method of settling outstanding questions was a change in the approach to them and the striving to settle them through negotiations. Diplomatic relations were established between the Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic. Negotiations were started and are still continuing on an ambassadorial level between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China. The conference on the use of atomic energy for peace-

ful purposes successfully concluded its work this August, and the General Assembly passed a resolution on the setting up of an international atomic energy agency.

In order to continue the adjustment of disputed questions through negotiations, the Geneva Conference of the heads of government, held in July, pointed to the necessity of convening a Foreign Ministers' Conference. This conference was recently held in Geneva. It did not lead to an agreement on the problems under consideration, and the great hopes which had appeared as a result of the heads of government conference have therefore not materialized so far. The conference, however, contributed to a clearer understanding of the problems facing the world, and it is an indisputable fact that all these problems can be solved only by peaceful methods and through peaceful negotiations if war is to be excluded, as it should be according to the general opinion. Therefore, disappointment over the results of the Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference can be only of a temporary nature, and it is necessary to exert every effort to ease international tension, considering negotiations to be the only method of settling disputed questions. The statesmen of both countries express their hope that negotiations on an ambassadorial level between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China will lead not only to the solution of the questions under consideration, but also to greater mutual understanding through conferences at a higher level. They are convinced that stable peace in Asia is unthinkable without restoring the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations Organization. They express deep regret at the delay in the recognition of this indisputable fact. They sincerely hope that the other Far Eastern and Asian problems will be solved without delay through negotiations, namely: the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China to the offshore islands and Taiwan must be satisfied and the Korean question must be solved on the basis of recognition of the national rights of the Korean people, in conformity with interests in the Far East.

The statesmen of the USSR and the Prime Minister of India hailed the Geneva Conference on Indo-China held last year. That conference put an end to the destructive war in Indo-China and outlined the procedure for settling the problems of the Indo-China states.

They note with regret that obstacles are being raised to the

implementation of the Geneva agreements for Viet Nam and that there are also difficulties in implementing the Geneva agreements for Laos. Violation of these agreements will have exceedingly grave consequences for Indo-China and the whole world. Therefore, the statesmen of the two countries wish to appeal to all the parties to the agreements and the interested sides to eliminate the obstacles now standing in the way of a genuine implementation of the Geneva agreements and to cooperate fully in carrying out the letter and spirit of these agreements.

It is their firm conviction that the principles of universality must be applied in the question of United Nations membership. So long as this principle is not observed, the United Nations will not represent the countries of the world. Therefore, they welcome the recommendation of the United Nations General Assembly on the simultaneous admission of 18 countries to the United Nations and sincerely hope that this recommendation will soon be adopted by the Security Council and implemented.

To establish peace throughout the world and to eliminate the conditions leading to the devastating destructions of another world war, there is no other course than that of disarmament. The increase or even the maintenance of the existing level of armaments is a constant threat of war, a source of fear and the cause of the race in the production of the latest types of weapons of mass destruction. The pressing need for disarmament increases in direct proportion to the invention and stockpiling of weapons of ever growing destructive potential. The widespread desire for the total elimination of war demands that positive, constructive and swift steps be taken toward disarmament. A big area of agreement has already been achieved on this question, and obviously there are no grounds for the remaining obstacles not being overcome swiftly if the establishment of lasting peace is the set goal. The statesmen of both countries particularly desire once again to express their firm conviction that unconditional prohibition of the manufacture, use and testing of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons should be effected. Together with it there must be carried out a substantial reduction of conventional armaments and the establishment of effective international control designed to ensure the strict implementation of such prohibition and disarmament. So long as this is not achieved the whole world will be darkened and oppressed by the fear of war and the peoples will doubt the sincerity of the aspirations for peace.

The statesmen of the USSR and the Prime Minister of India have agreed that the establishment of military alliances or the establishment of regional blocs is not a means of safeguarding peace and security. Such alliances have extended the bounds of the "cold war" and have introduced the element of instability in the respective areas, have increased fear and tension and created additional obstacles in the way to the peaceful development of the respective countries. Peace and the genuine security of the peoples can be safeguarded only through the collective efforts of states.

One of the most effective means of reducing fear and international tension is to eliminate barriers to mutual cooperation and mutual understanding. To this end cultural and economic relations between countries should be encouraged. The statesmen of both countries noted with satisfaction the ever increasing possibilities for the peoples of both countries to know each other better through the regular exchange of visits by scientists, technical specialists, economists, members of parliament, writers and other cultural leaders of both countries. They hope that there will be a steady extension of such possibilities for mutual contacts on a basis facilitating understanding of and respect for the different ways of life in the two countries.

The Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, the members of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Prime Minister of India therefore acclaim the development of cooperation between the two countries in building the Bhilai steel plant in India and in carrying out other projects, on which negotiations are already being conducted. The second five-year plan of India, which devotes main attention to the development of heavy industry, can offer further possibilities for such cooperation. They consider it desirable that upon completion of the necessary preliminary work competent representatives of both countries meet to examine further mutually advantageous forms of economic and technical cooperation and to reach agreement on concrete matters when this will be regarded necessary.

The visit to India by N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchev is an exceedingly important event not only because it brought the two countries closer together, but also because it promotes the cause of general peace. The Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers N. A. Bulganin, the member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet N. S. Khrushchev, and the Indian Prime

Minister Jawaharlal Nehru again proclaimed their faith in the future and firm resolve to dedicate their efforts to the consolidation of peace, for the good of the peoples not only of their countries but also of the entire world.

N. A. BULGANIN
*Chairman of the USSR
Council of Ministers*

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
Prime Minister of India

New Delhi, December 13, 1955

JOINT SOVIET-INDIAN COMMUNIQUE On Economic Relations Between India and the USSR

The joint statement of N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, N. S. Khrushchev, member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, notes the desire of both countries to develop economic cooperation and to extend trade relations. In connection with this representatives of the Government of the USSR and the Government of India held preliminary negotiations and arrived at the understanding that it would be to the mutual advantage of both countries to increase the volume of trade to the maximum possible extent. As the first step in this direction the following understanding has also been reached:

1. a) The USSR will deliver and India will buy, within three years beginning with 1956, 1,000,000 tons of rolled ferrous metals, including 300,000 tons in the first year and 350,000 tons annually during the two subsequent years. The dates and terms of these deliveries are to be agreed upon during subsequent negotiations.

b) During three years the USSR will sell and India will buy such equipment for oil extraction, equipment for the mining industry and other plant, and also such other goods as may be agreed upon by the parties. The delivery dates and the terms of sale and purchase of these goods and equipment will be agreed upon in subsequent negotiations.

c) The USSR will considerably increase its purchases in India of both raw materials and manufactured goods on terms and at dates which will be agreed upon through negotiations between the buyers and sellers. The hope is expressed that the total value of such purchases, including the sums which may be required for the maintenance of Soviet official organizations in India, will be equal to the total value of goods purchased by India in the USSR.

d) As provided for by the Soviet-Indian trade agreement, both governments will afford maximum easement as regards the import and export of the aforesaid goods permitted by their appropriate laws, rules and regulations, and will facilitate this in every way possible.

2. Taking into account the planned increase in the volume of trade and with a view to ensuring the proper conditions for marine shipments of these goods, both governments consider it necessary to organize regular shipping lines between the ports of the USSR and India, utilizing Soviet and Indian vessels.

3. The representatives of both governments have also agreed to send within the shortest practicable time delegations from the USSR to India and from India to the USSR to discuss terms and to conclude agreements on the implementation of the aforesaid understanding.

New Delhi, December 13, 1955

Statement by N. A. Bulganin, and N. S. Khrushchev

Press Conference, New Delhi, Dec. 14, 1955

We have come to India on a visit of friendship at the invitation of the Indian Government. Our visit to India, like Mr. Nehru's friendly visit to the USSR last June, is of great importance for the further improvement of friendly relations between our countries and for the consolidation of world peace.

You are already aware of the joint Soviet-Indian statement signed yesterday and formulating the views of the Soviet and Indian statesmen on paramount questions of relations between our two countries and also on major international problems. This statement is of great importance, and not only for the further strengthening of the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India. It is also of great international significance.

During our stay in India we have visited a number of cities and areas of the country, large construction projects, industrial establishments in Bombay, Calcutta, Bangalore and Madras. We have paid visits to agricultural development centers and have acquainted ourselves with a number of Indian scientific institutions. We have examined some magnificent monuments of ancient architecture. We have learned about the life and the work of the multinational Indian people, about their achievements in the years of independence, and have also formed an impression of India's great natural resources and potentialities. A great and indelible impression has been made on us by the great Indian people, their exuberant children and young people, their talents and industry, their inflexible will for peace and friendly cooperation with all countries. Wherever we went we were met with hospitality and

cordiality on the part of the Indian people, testifying to their profound sympathies and friendship for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

We have also been greatly impressed by the efforts made by the Indian people for the development of their national economy, and particularly for the development of industry, which is the mainstay of economic progress, the main requisite for ensuring the independence of any country. The Damodar Valley and Bhakra Nangal projects, the projected iron and steel enterprises, and the drafting of a new five-year plan are unquestionably important measures of the Indian Government in the development of the country's economy.

India has everything necessary for the successful development of its national economy: huge natural resources, vast areas of fertile land, and, what is most important, the inexhaustible creative forces of the talented and hard-working Indian people who have created immortal cultural monuments in the many centuries of their history. We Soviet people, having experience in planning national economy, get the impression that with India's present striving for the development of its economy and full utilization of its material resources and manpower, it will succeed in a relatively short time in substantially increasing the output of agriculture and industry and thereby substantially improving the well-being of the people.

The friendly relations that have been established between our peoples offer favorable opportunities for close economic, scientific and cultural cooperation between our countries. The Soviet Union, as we have already mentioned, is ready to share its scientific and technological experience on mutually advantageous conditions, to share its experience in the planning of economy, construction of industrial enterprises and hydrotechnical development. It would also be happy to borrow from the experience of the Indian people amassed by them in various branches of economy, science and culture. We believe that the expansion of cultural ties between India and the Soviet Union will contribute to the further strengthening of the friendly relations between our countries. We are happy to note that as a result of our visit to India and the talks held with Mr. Nehru and other Indian leaders, agreement has been reached on a number of important questions concerning the further expansion of economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and India.

Our stay in India has convinced us that the people of India are ardently striving for peace and are ready to fight resolutely for its preservation and consolidation. India is playing an increasingly important part in the solution of international problems and the establishment of friendly relations among nations. No important problem in Asia, and not only Asia, can now be solved without the participation of India and the People's Republic of China. Among the striking examples of the active and fruitful participation of India and the People's Republic of China in the solution of international problems was the universally known part they played in the termination of the war in Indo-China and their active participation in the Bandung Conference, which played an outstanding role in easing international tension and developing cooperation between the Asian and African countries.

The relations between the Soviet Union and India are founded and will continue to be founded on the well-known five principles of peaceful coexistence, since they meet the interests of all the peace loving peoples, the interests of consolidating peace. These principles fully correspond to the Soviet Government's foreign policy which it has been pursuing throughout the years of the existence of the Soviet state. They have already been approved by a whole number of countries and served as the basis of the Bandung Conference decisions. The approval of these principles by the other countries, including the United States, Britain and France, would have been an important step toward the further easing of international tension and the establishment of trust between nations. As for the Soviet Union, it has pursued and will continue to pursue a policy of peace and respect for the sovereign rights of the peoples, a policy of non-aggression, equality and mutual advantage, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, a policy of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social and political systems. This policy flows from the very essence of the Soviet state, which has invariably and consistently pursued a policy of peace.

It is common knowledge that many pressing Far Eastern problems are still awaiting their solution. Specifically, it is only on the basis of the Geneva Conference decisions on Indo-China that a complete and final settlement of the Indo-Chinese problem can be achieved. It is impossible to put off any longer the solution of such an important question as the granting to the People's Republic of China of its legitimate place in the United Nations, as well

as the solution of the question of Taiwan and other offshore islands which are an integral part of China's territory, in conformity with the Chinese people's national rights.

The Soviet Government has always come out against the setting up of any military blocs in various parts of the world and the building of military bases on foreign territories, since the formation of such blocs and the building of such bases constitute a serious threat to peace and raise additional obstacles in the path of easing international tension and strengthening peace. We hold that genuine independence can be ensured not through the creation of military blocs but through joint collective efforts of the states aimed at consolidating peace. The Soviet Government was guided by these very considerations in introducing the well-known proposal for a collective security system in Europe.

The arms race pursued at the present time, and the continued manufacture and stockpiling of atomic and hydrogen weapons are fraught with danger to peace and impose a heavy burden on the working people, who are weighed down by military expenditures. We know that the reduction of armaments and the complete and unconditional prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons are today imperative tasks facing the nations, above all the Great Powers. Naturally, it goes without saying that as long as there is no agreement on this matter the Soviet Union will have to continue its efforts for strengthening its defensive capacity and manufacturing atomic and hydrogen weapons. There is no alternative in the present conditions.

As we leave the hospitable land of India we feel deeply grateful to the Indian people, to their government, to the administrations of the states we visited for the exceptionally warm welcome which was accorded us everywhere. This generous welcome is evidence of the sentiments of true friendship the Indian people have for the peoples of the Soviet Union. We assure our Indian friends that our Soviet people entertain just as warm sentiments for the great people of India. We avail ourselves of this occasion to extend our wholehearted fraternal greetings to the entire people of India from the people of the Soviet Union.

We hope that friendship and cooperation of our countries will continue to grow stronger and increase in scope all the time for the sake of the prosperity of our peoples, for the sake of world peace.

In summing up the results of our journey and in giving our im-

pressions of it, I want to touch upon two more questions which, for reasons obvious to us, are profoundly agitating the minds of the Indian people. We have in view the question of the Indian territory of Goa, illegally held by Portugal, and the so-called Kashmir problem.

In the statements we have made during our trip we have stated the Soviet Union's position on both of these questions. The Soviet Union takes a resolute stand for the removal of the vestiges of the rotten colonial system. The Soviet Union considers that the peoples inhabiting the territories illegally seized and ruthlessly exploited by colonizers for many decades must themselves settle their destiny.

That Goa is part of Indian territory is known to all. Everyone also knows that for the population of that territory, which is linked with its motherland by inseparable bonds of kinship, existence in isolation from India is inconceivable. We feel sure that this question will be settled in favor of the Indian people, whether the colonialists want it or not. The colonialists will have to clear out from the soil that is not theirs.

As for Kashmir, we have seen during our visit there with how much joy the Kashmir people have welcomed their national liberation, regarding their territory as an integral part of the Republic of India. And it is our profound conviction that the people of Kashmir will carry through the adjustment of their affairs without any interference from outside. This question, too, will be settled in accordance with the will of the Kashmir peoples themselves.

We believe that this statement of ours provides a reply to many of the questions we received from journalists yesterday and today. There were quite a few such questions. They all could be classed into a few groups.

First, many of you are interested in some concrete aspects of Soviet-Indian economic cooperation. We are asked what are the possibilities of such cooperation, what fields it will embrace, and so on. On this subject we can say that we are carrying on appropriate talks with the Government of India. You know of the initial results of these talks from the joint Indian-Soviet communique on economic relations between India and the USSR which was signed yesterday. It can also be said with certainty that there is a good basis for the development of our economic relations on terms of mutual respect and mutual advantage.

Secondly, many non-Indian journalists express affected appre-

hension about the possibility of the USSR making the strengthening and development of its friendship with India conditional on the demand for India's refusal of businesslike cooperation with the United States and other Western countries. It is only those who are eager to sow distrust between India and the Soviet Union who can put the question in such a way. We have said and we repeat that we stand for peaceful cooperation and friendship with all countries, including the United States, Britain and France. The obviously far-fetched fear of the possibility of Indian-Soviet friendship impairing India's or the Soviet Union's relations with other nations is not worth a farthing.

Thirdly, many correspondents asked us about the prospects for the further development of international relations. Some of them appear to be concerned over the fact that certain quarters, and you know for yourselves who those quarters are, have been asserting that the "Spirit of Geneva" is dead and that the time has come for starting a full-scale cold war again, and so on.

You see for yourselves that some people are trying to get back to the cold war in connection with our visit to India and Burma and our forthcoming trip to Afghanistan. Some of your unscrupulous colleagues have written all kinds of things about our statements, turning upside down whatever they could. But we Soviet people do not suffer from any lack of equanimity. Abuse does not stick, and we pass these scribblings unperturbed. It is rightly said: "Slander will not smear a good name."

As for the substance of the matter in question, we believe that the spirit of Geneva born of the fruitful meetings of the heads of the Four Great Powers in Geneva last summer has had a beneficial effect and cannot be buried. We are in favor of maintaining and extending international cooperation, in favor of peaceful co-existence of all nations. And if the recent Four-Power Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva failed to produce the results which the peoples of the world expected of it, this, we say, has happened only for the reason that the time for it is probably still not ripe. This is an indication that certain powers have not yet abandoned the "policy of strength," which has long since been denounced. It should be said with all firmness: No talks will yield any results as long as they will be based on this position.

In any case, the Soviet side, as you know, put forward at the Geneva Conference a whole series of urgent and practicable proposals for collective security, for the reduction of armaments and

the prohibition of atomic weapons, for the expansion of international contacts, and so on. And we are not, therefore, to blame for the failure to achieve agreement so far. We shall not spare our efforts in the future too, in working to get these most important problems solved.

In this connection many correspondents have put the question: "Is it not time for a new Geneva-type Great Power conference at the top level to discuss the most important Far Eastern problems?" We believe this is an idea worth supporting. Naturally, such a conference will be successful only if all its participants approach the problems they are to consider, brushing aside the notorious "policy of strength." It goes without saying that among those participating in this conference must be the People's Republic of China and India.

Many of the questions put to us deal with disarmament. We do not think it worthwhile reiterating in detail our position on this problem. It is well known to you. The Soviet proposals on disarmament, introduced to the United Nations this year, offer ways and means for an early and effective solution of the disarmament problem. And had it not been for the change of front by the United States, which has, all of a sudden, retracted its own earlier proposals, the settlement of these questions might well have been not far distant. Some of the correspondents put the question this way: "Would not the Soviet Union agree to reduce its armed forces unilaterally in order to set an example for these Western partners?"

We believe you will agree that putting the question in such a way is not a serious thing to do.

How can the Soviet Union agree to unilateral disarmament at a time when our partners in negotiations, far from announcing their desire to cut their armed forces are, on the contrary, advertising their intention to build up their armaments still more? For us to disarm unilaterally in such circumstances would be silly and damaging not only to the Soviet Union but to all the peace loving nations.

We stand for disarmament on the clear and indispensable condition that our partners will agree to disarm together with us. We stand for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons provided our partners agree to do so simultaneously with us. We stand for the establishment of strict international control over the

implementation of these measures provided there is a realistic approach to the solution of this problem.

The fourth group of questions deals with the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union. We welcome the interests of the Indian public in our country's life. We would welcome, consequently, permanent Indian press correspondents in Moscow, a question some of you have raised. It seems to us that it would not be difficult to settle some technical matters which are said to have been complicating the stay of permanent Indian correspondents in the USSR. Judging by the questions we have received, there is still a lack of unbiased information here, just as there is in a number of other countries, on our life, on the characteristic features of our economic, social and political system.

Some have put this question, for instance: "Why is there only one party in the USSR?" The reason this question has been put is evidently because there is insufficient understanding of the principles of our socialist society.

The existence of many parties is known to be a feature of a bourgeois state comprising many classes—the parties reflect and defend the interests of their respective classes and therefore each class, naturally, has a party of its own. What has been created in the Soviet Union as a result of the victory of socialism is an entirely new, socialist society without antagonistic classes, without such groupings whose interests might clash and contradict each other. Now we have a homogeneous society, strong by virtue of its unity and cohesion.

In pre-revolutionary tsarist Russia there were many parties.

There was the capitalists' party, the landlords' party, the kulak party which bombastically called itself the party of socialist revolutionaries (S.R.s), and a party of the working class, the Bolshevik Party, founded by the great Lenin. This party succeeded in rousing the working class to fight the capitalists and landlords, the tsarist regime. It succeeded in ensuring the alliance of the working class with the peasantry. It succeeded in winning over the progressive sections of the intelligentsia to the side of the working class; it was under its leadership that the Great October Socialist Revolution was carried out, the exploiting classes were routed and abolished, and a new socialist society was built. Today the Soviet people are successfully building a communist society. Whom could a party of capitalists and landlords represent in the USSR today? There are no capitalists and landlords in our country—which

means that the question of having such a party is groundless. Whom could a kulak party represent in our country today? Having built up the collective farm system we did away for all time with the old economic system in the countryside, which engendered capitalism every day and all the time. Today our youth knows about kulaks only from books and from stories by people of the older generation.

Soviet society is a society of the working people: workers, peasants and working intellectuals. The Communist Party, as is recorded in the Constitution of the USSR, is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle for the building of the communist society, the leading force of all organizations of the working people, both public and state organizations.

Such is our society, such is our system. We do not impose it on anyone, but we, to be frank, consider that it is the best system. Some people try to picture the situation as though the development of communist ideas throughout the world were due to intrigues of some kind by the USSR. It is generally known, however, that long before the Great October Revolution communism already had existed in Europe, and the communist teaching created by Marx and Engels had struck deep roots among the working masses.

In this connection we would also like to discuss the question put before us by certain correspondents—about the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties or “the Cominform,” as it is sometimes called. The activities of this organization, which includes the Communist Parties of a number of European countries and which has as its purpose the exchange of information and experience of the struggle of the working class for its liberation, disturb all who would like to preserve forever the old system of exploitation of man by man, which has outlived its day.

The question is sometimes put in the following way: “Is it impossible somehow to liquidate the ‘Cominform?’” But, strictly speaking, on what grounds must the Communist Parties give up the generally accepted form of international contact and cooperation? Why, for example, do those who raise the question about liquidating the “Cominform,” make no objections to the activities of the Socialist International which united social democratic parties? Why does it seem to them natural and legitimate that the capitalists unite in international monopolist associations and regularly meet to transact their business jointly, whereas they would

like to deprive the working class of the possibility of applying the great slogan of international solidarity: "Workers of all countries, unite!" which was proclaimed by Marx and Engels and meets the vital interests of all the working people?

We have always stood, and shall stand, for consolidating and developing international cooperation of the working class, aimed at defending the vital interests of all the working people, at fighting for the cause of peace.

The Communist Parties which stand guard over the interests of the working class and all the working people, follow the most advanced and the most human teaching—the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, which has splendidly justified itself in practice, having been applied in the Soviet Union, in the People's Republic of China and the people's democracies.

This teaching is spreading ever more widely throughout the world. We are against the "export of revolution," as Lenin said, because such a presentation of the question is anti-scientific. Progressive ideas inevitably break their way through and triumph over the old obsolete ideas. This has always been the case, and it will be so where the development of human society is concerned.

Such are the remarks we wanted to make in connection with your questions.

Allow us in conclusion to thank you for your attention.

Good-bye.

