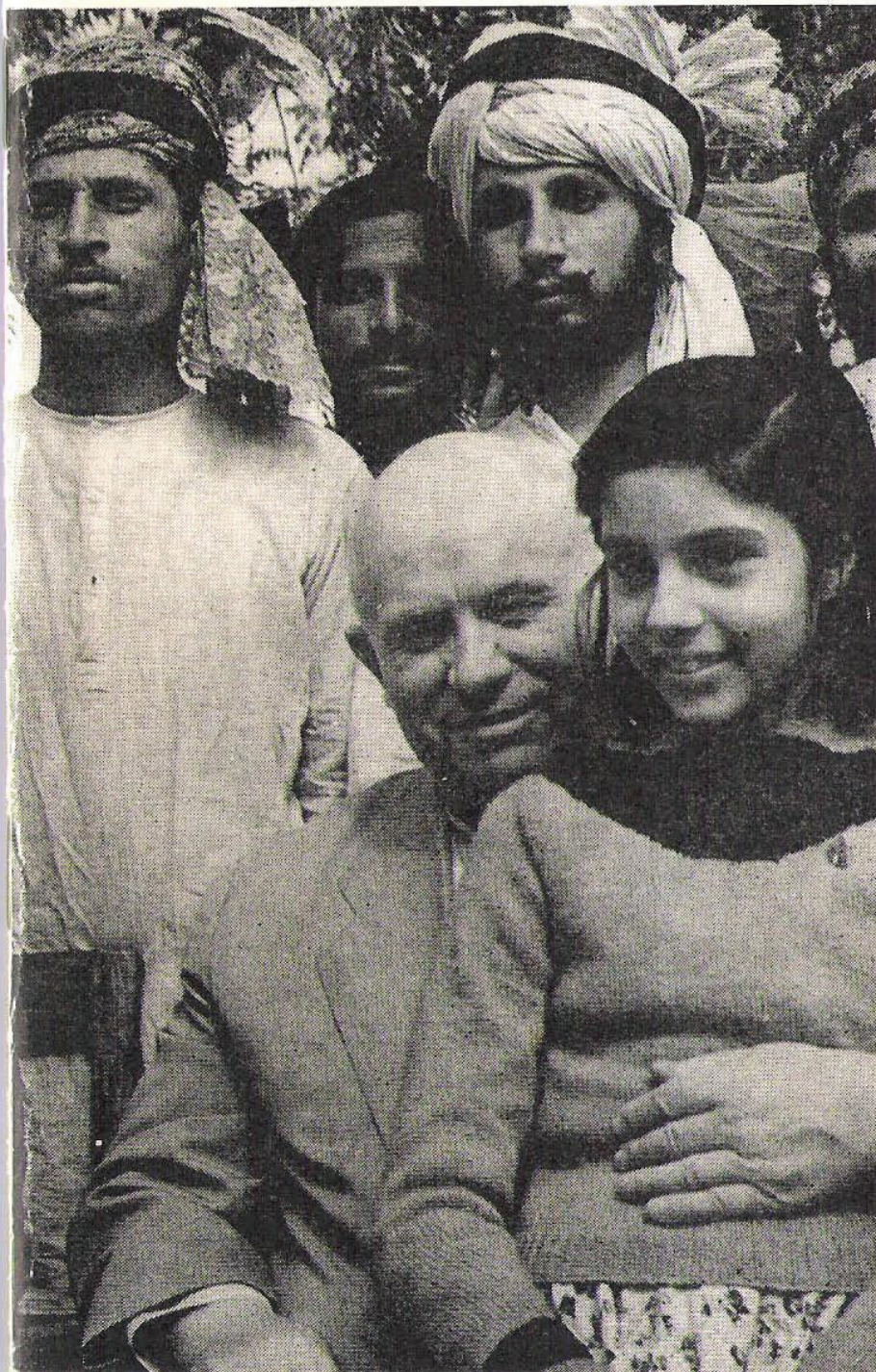


The Soviet Union

—Standard Bearer of Peace and Friendship Between Nations



**N. S.
Khrushchov**

on his visit to

INDIA

INDONESIA

BURMA

and

AFGHANISTAN

March, 1960

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The Soviet Union—
Standard-bearer of Peace and
Friendship between Nations .



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Speech of
N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
at the meeting of Moscow citizens
on return from his tour of
South-East Asian countries
March 5, 1960

Speech by N. S. Khrushchov
on return from India, Indonesia,
Burma and Afghanistan

March 5, 1960

DEAR Comrades, Dear Friends, Muscovites: After a long visit of friendship to the countries of South-East Asia we have returned home today, to our dear Moscow, and we are happy to report to you that the mission of the party and the government has been fulfilled.

During our stay in India, Burma, Indonesia and Afghanistan we conveyed fraternal and cordial greetings to the people of those countries from the peoples and the government of the Soviet Union.

We felt with all our hearts the joy and gratitude with which the greetings and good wishes of the Soviet people were received. When meeting us, government leaders and representatives of the broad public circles of India, Burma, Indonesia and Afghanistan conveyed friendly greetings and good wishes to the Soviet people—fighters for peace.

I bring to you with great joy, dear Muscovites, to all the Soviet people, cordial greetings and best wishes from the peoples of the friendly Eastern countries.

The visit to Indonesia, where we stayed longer than anywhere else, a visit undertaken at the invitation of President Sukarno, was exceptionally beneficial and fruitful. President Sukarno's initiative met with the heartfelt support of the government of Indonesia and all the people. We, the envoys of the Soviet Union, were welcomed in Indonesia as close friends, as brothers, and I say this without any exaggeration. This warmth and cordiality emanated from everyone whom we met. And this is particularly gratifying.

From the moment we set foot on Indonesian soil and until the last day of our stay there, hundreds of thousands and even millions of people expressed their sincere feelings by greeting us, the representatives of the great Soviet people. And we felt this greatness of the Soviet people in the warm and brotherly attitude

towards us. In far-off Indonesia, as in the other Eastern countries, the great role of the Soviet Union and its heroic people in the struggle for freedom and mankind's happiness, in the struggle for peace, was stressed with immense gratitude. This recognition is a great honour for our people, who have accomplished a feat of epoch-making significance.

The people of the entire world will always be thankful to our people for having understood profoundly the correctness of the revolutionary teaching of Marxism-Leninism on social development, for having been the first, under the leadership of the great Lenin and the Communist Party, to storm the old world of exploitation, for having overthrown the power of the landlords and capitalists, for having defeated in the Civil War all the reactionary forces who wanted to keep our country in its old state, under the rule of capital. The Soviet Union was the first to blaze the trail to a new world, to indicate clearly the main direction of society's progressive development.

We have achieved victory. Everyone knows that this victory was not an easy one. From the old, decayed landlord-capitalist system Soviet power received a miserable legacy—a weak and devastated industry, largely depending on foreign capital, a backward agriculture, low living standards of the population, illiteracy, patriarchal and feudal hangovers.

In these tremendously difficult conditions our people began building a new life. The enemies prophesied thousands of calamities and mishaps to us. They argued that the workers and peasants, the working people, would never be able to govern a country without landlords and capitalists, that they would never be able to raise backward Russia to the level of the industrially developed countries. But our people courageously took the untrodden road, followed Lenin and the communists and achieved heights of which no one could have even dreamt before. Now, not only the workers, the peasants, the progressive intellectuals, the working people, but even the enemies of socialism see that advancing along the road of building communism, the Soviet Union has become a great world power, whose successes astound all mankind.

In our days, even the most thick-skulled champions of capitalism admit that the Soviet Union is advancing by leaps and bounds, catching up with—and in a number of spheres already outstripping—the most developed country of the capitalist world, the United States of America.

Is it not noteworthy that the recently published report of a Senate committee—"The Foreign Policy of the United States towards the

Soviet Union and East Europe"—contains frank admissions of the Soviet Union's successes? Here is what this document says:*

"A little more than two years ago, the orbiting of the first sputnik made the United States engage in self-analysis. Most of the Americans were caught unawares by the discovery that the Soviet Union, which they continued to picture as a non-mechanical peasant country, had actually managed to accomplish an astonishing scientific and technical feat, one which the United States itself was unable to achieve."

The authors of the report go on to analyse in detail the economic successes of the Soviet Union and their possible influence on international relations. Comparison of industrial production in the United States and in the Soviet Union, the report says, is very significant and alarming. Using even the lowest American figures for the Soviet Union's annual output and the highest figures for the United States, the authors of the report draw the conclusion that the Soviet Union will outstrip the United States in industrial production within 15 to 20 years. The report stresses that perhaps this will happen even earlier if the growth of Soviet industrial production continues to exceed the planned rates and if America's output falls as a result of a recession or strikes. Not badly put! I agree with the Americans on this score.

The American Senators say with alarm that the strengthening of the Soviet Union's economic might will permit it to expand its aid to underdeveloped countries on easy terms. Noting that the Soviet Union is an "example of rapid industrialisation" for the underdeveloped countries, the Senators write:

"The exchange of technical specialists, economic aid, trade opportunities, the growing prestige and strength of the Soviet Union, the sputnik and lunik—all these factors strengthen the impression that the Soviet Union is the wave of the future."

Also not badly put!

They stress that the possible influence on the world of this example set by the Soviet Union is the main political consequence of the Soviet Union's economic growth.

Describing the internal situation in the Soviet Union, the authors of the report declare that the devotion of the population to their Soviet socialist system can be taken for granted. Let the United States Ambassador testify to the fact that we are not always critical of American pronouncements, in this case we welcome them!

* This and subsequent quotations have been re-translated from the Russian.

"In the future," they write, "we should proceed from the assumption that the changes taking place in the Soviet Union will enhance the loyalty of the population, strengthen the leading positions of the party and still further increase the military and economic potentialities of the state and will not affect the devotion of the Soviet leadership to the objective of the world communist system."

Your applause shows that you also agree with the conclusions of the American Senators.

It was not easy for the American Senators to make these admissions. The successes of the Soviet Union throw the ideologists and policy-makers of the capitalist world into confusion. They are fearful, firstly, because in the future the Soviet Union will undoubtedly catch up with and surpass the United States of America as regards the level of economic development; secondly, because with the growth of the economic might of the Soviet Union its aid to the formerly colonial and dependent countries will grow immeasurably; thirdly, because the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting for the independence of their countries see in the Soviet Union an example of how transition from backwardness to progress can be effected within a brief space of time.

The imperialists, who are not at all pleased by the liberation of Eastern countries from colonial oppression, have been and are trying in every way to scare the peoples with a "communist menace." They are doing everything in their power to prevent the development of friendship and co-operation between young independent Eastern states and the socialist countries. But their efforts are futile. The peoples of the East see from their own experience that the socialist countries have no selfish aims in view and that they are helping all countries which have embarked on the road of independent development in consolidating their national statehood, in advancing their economy and culture.

Now that the crux of the Eastern people's struggle for the consolidation of their independence is to develop their national economy and, in the first place, to create their own industry, the further expansion of mutually advantageous economic co-operation on an equal footing between the socialist countries and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is a decisive condition for turning the formerly backward colonial countries into advanced, industrially developed powers. And no matter how hard the colonialists and the capitalist monopolies may try to obstruct this progressive process, they will not succeed in turning back the tide of history and restoring the rotten colonial system.

Having taken the first steps along the path of their independent development and having tasted the first fruits of life without foreign oppressors, the peoples of the East will never permit the yoke of colonialism to be thrust on them again. They are not alone in their struggle against imperialist colonialists, for they know that they have loyal and powerful friends—the peoples of the socialist countries and the progressive forces the world over.

For ages people dreamt of a better, a just life, creating tales and legends about a time when there would be no rich and no poor, when all people would be happy. But those were mere legends and tales. Now people feel and understand that their happiness is in their own hands. It is being forged in the struggle and labour for creating a new world, free of the evils and calamities of the old world. An increasing number of people see that the way to this new world, the way to a new life has been correctly indicated by Marxism-Leninism.

Marxist-Leninist teaching is not an abstract theory. Nor is it a fantastic Biblical tale about life in paradise in the other world. This is a profoundly vital and correct teaching whose truthfulness is daily proved by the practice of our communist construction, by the experience of hundreds of millions of people in the socialist countries, where everything is placed at the service of the people, where free people are building their happiness by their own efforts. And this example and experience is highly appreciated by the peoples fighting for their independence, for peace, for a better life on earth.

Dear Friends, all these thoughts come into one's head when one sees with one's own eyes the life of the peoples who have gained independence and are persistently searching for a way to a better life, when one listens to statesmen, workers, peasants and intellectuals who speak about their successes and the difficulties they have overcome.

We spent 12 days in Indonesia. And we shall cherish for ever the recollections of the cordial and friendly meetings in Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, in Bandung, in Jogjakarta, in Surabaya, on the island of Bali, in Bogor. These meetings resolved into a stirring manifestation of the inviolable friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Indonesia.

Our stay there has enriched our ideas of that wonderful country, of its industrious and talented people. One may read much and even study through different sources various areas of the globe. But nothing enriches our knowledge so much as direct contact with people, first-hand acquaintance with their way of life, with the natural and social conditions in this or that country.

Indonesia's natural wealth is indeed fabulous. The people there have very favourable conditions for the development and flourishing of the economy. When people created the tales of paradise in the Bible, they evidently had in mind the fertile valley between the Tigris and the Euphrates, but the authors of the Biblical legend certainly did not know Indonesia, otherwise they would have shifted their "Garden of Eden" to the Indonesian islands, whose beauty and wealth stun the imagination.

It might be said that it is hot and humid in Indonesia, that the climatic conditions there are trying. But climatic conditions are in many ways a matter of what one is used to. If we took our southerners—Uzbeks, Tajiks or Turkmens—and resettled them in the extreme north, they would feel out of place. The same would happen if we took the inhabitants of northern regions and settled them in those southern republics, they also would experience many difficulties, especially at first.

Upon our arrival in Indonesia we felt the intensely hot atmosphere. But we were warmed not only by the burning rays of the sun, we were also warmed by the ardour of the hearts of the lively people of Indonesia. The people of Indonesia, the leaders of the government, and President Sukarno surrounded us with care and attention.

In our country tourists come from distant parts to the Caucasus and Georgia in order to view evergreen vegetation. I don't want to hurt the feelings of our Georgian brothers and of the other Caucasian and Transcaucasian peoples, but one must acknowledge the superior beauty of Indonesia's landscape, one must take off one's hat and bow to it.

In Indonesia we saw vast tracts of palm plantations. Motoring with Dr. Sukarno in Bali, I remarked: "How great your forests are!" Our road lay through dense vegetation. Dr. Sukarno replied: "On this island there are no forests, all these are fruit trees and plantations."

What we at first took to be a forest turned out to be a large orchard cultivated by many generations of the island's inhabitants. All these trees produce fruit, provide food and drink for man.

Or take the ricefields in Indonesia. We are used to a change of seasons. In our country winter, spring, summer and autumn are very distinct seasons. All work in agriculture depends on the season. Indonesia knows no such changes from winter to spring or from summer to autumn. At one and the same time you can see on her fields people ploughing, planting rice, and collecting the harvest. Travelling through Indonesia one can see how on one field rice is being harvested while on another field the soil has not

yet been ploughed, and on a third they have just begun ploughing while on a fourth rice is being planted, and so on. And all this takes place simultaneously under one and the same burning sun. The fertility of the soil, the abundance of the warmth and moisture create conditions in which everything grows there like mushrooms.

I shall not vie with writers in describing the beauty of Indonesia. Even less do I intend to compete with poets who have the wonderful gift of vividly conveying what their eyes see.

I want to share with you the impressions which moved us to the very depths of our hearts. And what moved us most was the people of Indonesia. For a long time the colonialists and their lackeys spread vile fabrications about the people of Indonesia and the peoples of other colonial countries being backward peoples—something in between primitive man and highly-developed cultured man. The colonialists maintained that these people could not live by themselves, that they required tutelage. They tried in their way to justify their "civilising mission."

They said that they were bringing Western culture to the peoples of the East, that they were teaching them habits of work, the use of modern instruments of production, etc. But these colonialist fables have nothing in common with reality.

We have seen that Indonesia is a country with a great and ancient culture. We have seen ancient monuments created by the ancestors of the Indonesian people. We have seen a Buddhist temple in Borodubra built as early as the 8th century. Already at that distant time the Indonesian people were highly skilled in architecture. Their builders were masters of the chisel, creating magnificent works, erecting wonderful buildings. In the museums we saw works of art—paintings, sculpture, carvings in stone, wood and ivory. And all this was done at a high level and is worthy of the best exhibition halls. If works of art of the Indonesian people were exhibited alongside the best creations of Europe, the Indonesians would not have to blush for their art.

Nature and the climate in Indonesia are extremely favourable. But they cannot feed people by themselves. The Indonesian people will still have to do a great deal to overcome the backwardness of their country—that grievous consequence of colonialism.

For 350 years the colonialists oppressed Indonesia and exploited her people. The oppressors regarded them as unskilled labour and used them in order to syphon out Indonesia's wealth and wax rich at the expense of the Indonesians. As a result, the country does not have a developed industry, its agriculture is without mechanisation and the population is short of many vitally important products

and commodities. Much will have to be done in order to wipe out the illiteracy of a considerable part of the population.

Indonesia is now an independent country. Her people are gathering strength and her economy and culture are developing. It was a pleasure for us to see all this, and we rejoiced at the successes of the Indonesians.

The Soviet Union has already helped Indonesia. During our visit a new agreement was signed on economic and technical co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Indonesia. As you already know, the government of the Soviet Union has agreed to co-operate with the government of Indonesia in the building of industrial and other projects, including enterprises of the iron and steel and non-ferrous metals industries, chemical works and textile mills, in the construction of irrigation projects, in the development of cotton growing and other branches of the economy, and in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. All this will help in bringing about the advance of the economy, the culture and the wellbeing of the Indonesian people.

The Soviet Union's assistance has been greatly appreciated by the Indonesian people and their government. The head of state, President Sukarno, drew attention to this fact both in private conversations and in his official statements.

The Soviet people can take a legitimate pride in helping the friendly people of Indonesia. This is a striking manifestation of the Marxist-Leninist principle of internationalism which our people are implementing in practice. Figuratively speaking it is from this source that peoples freeing themselves from colonial slavery are drawing fresh spring water. Receiving unselfish assistance, these people will never forget it, just as a traveller never forgets the clear spring from which he quenched his thirst. And this spring is inexhaustible, as is the will, the energy and the intellect of mankind striving for a better future.

The peoples of the East are now firmly telling the colonialist gentlemen:

"The period of shameful colonialism is ending. The days when the colonialists could impose their will on the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and receive tremendous profits in return for a mere pittance is receding into the past. The new is emerging and is advancing boldly."

The day is not far off when representatives of the capitalist world will be even more staggered and amazed. They are at last coming to realise the majestic scale of the new developments initiated by the October Revolution under Lenin's leadership.

Over a thousand million people in the countries of socialism are now building a new life. The masses of the people in the East have risen, have begun to move and are now claiming their rights. Casting off the chains of colonialism, they are straightening their strong backs and developing the abilities and potentialities of their countries, and the colonialist gentlemen will apparently still have to gasp in amazement and say "Oh" and "Ah!" many times at what the peoples are capable of when they free themselves from foreign oppression and acquire political independence, when they create their own statehood and develop their economy and culture.

The peoples of our country experienced oppression by foreign capitalists. Before the Revolution the industry of our country was largely dependent on foreign capital. We understand and cherish the interests and aspirations of the peoples who are fighting against colonial oppression, for independence, for the development of their national economy and for the advance of their living standards. And the more peoples take to that road, the higher will be the level to which they will develop their economy, the stronger will be the forces which stand on positions of struggle against the colonialists, against the imperialists, for relations between the peoples on an equal footing, for mutual assistance in the advance of the economy and culture, for peace throughout the world.

Of course, Comrades, one must also see the difficulties confronting the peoples who are strengthening the independence of their countries. For we, too, did not advance all the time to the beat of drums and along an even path. We, too, had our ups and downs; we, too, faced difficulties. The Indonesian people have to overcome serious difficulties, and great efforts are evidently needed to overcome those difficulties.

It must not be forgotten that the colonialists do not ignore Indonesia. They are doing their utmost to regain the lost colonies. In each country they have their own men, brought up in the spirit of colonialism, who are linked with the imperialist circles.

History has declared its verdict on colonialism. Its day, cursed by mankind, is receding into the past. But colonialism, like everything that is cold, decrepit and loathsome, does not surrender without cunning attacks, without vile actions.

Colonialism has been uprooted, but the rootlets of colonialism have still remained somewhere. The colonialists are trying hard to prolong their domination. That is why the peoples liberated from colonialist oppression must be vigilant. A guarantee of their victories lies in economic independence in our country, which in turn further strengthens political independence.

We note with great satisfaction that the discussions with President Sukarno, and also with First Minister Djuanda, Foreign Minister Subandrio and other Indonesian leaders reaffirmed the policy which the Indonesian state has already been carrying through for many years—a policy of non-participation in military blocs and condemnation of colonialism. We are very pleased to note—and we hope that this will continue to be the case—that our positions coincide on all the main international questions in the struggle for peace, in the struggle against colonialism.

We are very gratified by the declaration by President Sukarno and the government of Indonesia, as stated in the Soviet-Indonesian joint communiqué, about Indonesia's support for the Soviet government's proposals for general and complete disarmament.

Dear Comrades, the documents that have been published show that a new chapter in Soviet-Indonesian relations is now being opened. These friendly relations and the co-operation between our countries are benefiting not only the peoples of the two countries, they are also making an important contribution to the strengthening of peace and to the practical application of the principles of peaceful co-existence.

I believe that all Soviet people have been pleased at the news that our friend Sukarno, a national hero of Indonesia and an outstanding statesman of the East, will again be visiting the Soviet Union. Dr. Djuanda, the First Minister of the Indonesian government, has also accepted the invitation to come to the Soviet Union. These visits will promote a further strengthening of the friendly relations between our countries.

Dear Comrades, you know of course, that we were invited to visit friendly India on our way to Indonesia. This invitation came from Mr. Nehru, the esteemed Prime Minister of India. Important and interesting meetings and conversations were held during our visit to India.

I was visiting India for the second time and I knew that the great Indian people are hospitable and cordial. Our new meeting can be called a meeting of old friends.

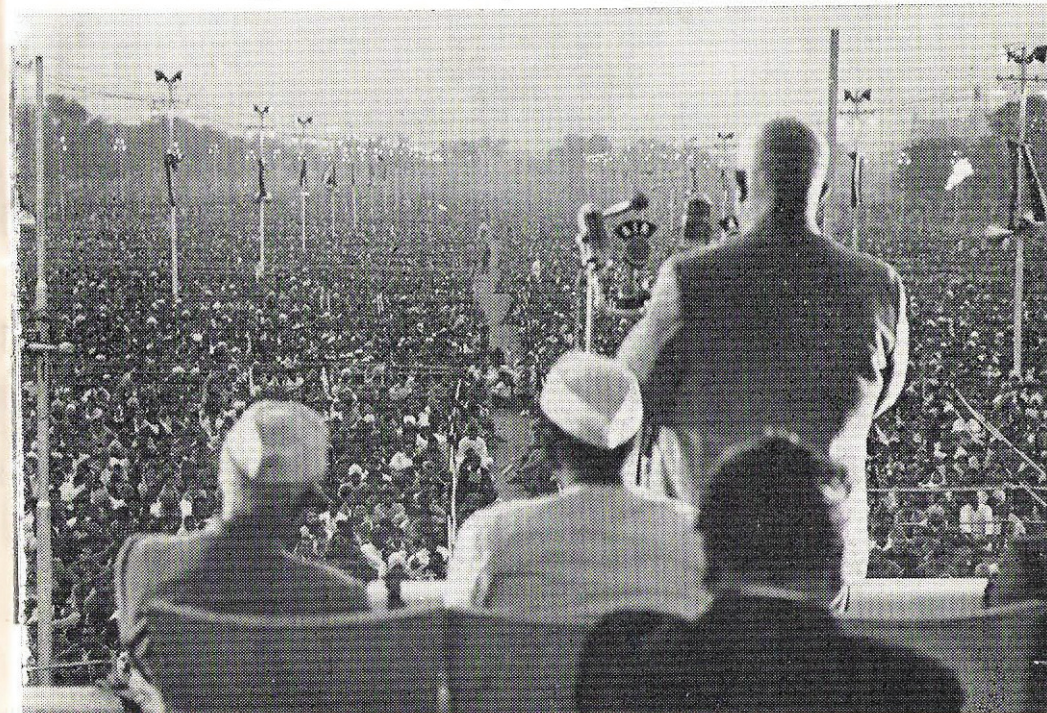
Allow me to express sincere gratitude to Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, for the warm welcome. We had long conversations with him and I became convinced that they promoted better mutual understanding and still further strengthened the friendly relations between our countries.

We also had discussions with Dr. Prasad, the President of India, Dr. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President, and other prominent statesmen of the Republic of India.



Above: A meeting between Mr. Khrushchov and the Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, on February 11th, 1960.

N. S. Khrushchov speaking at a civic reception in his honour in Delhi. Seated behind him are Mr. Nehru (left) and Mayor Sharma of Delhi.





Above: Indian steelworkers at the Bhilai plant asked Mr. Khrushchov to autograph his portrait.



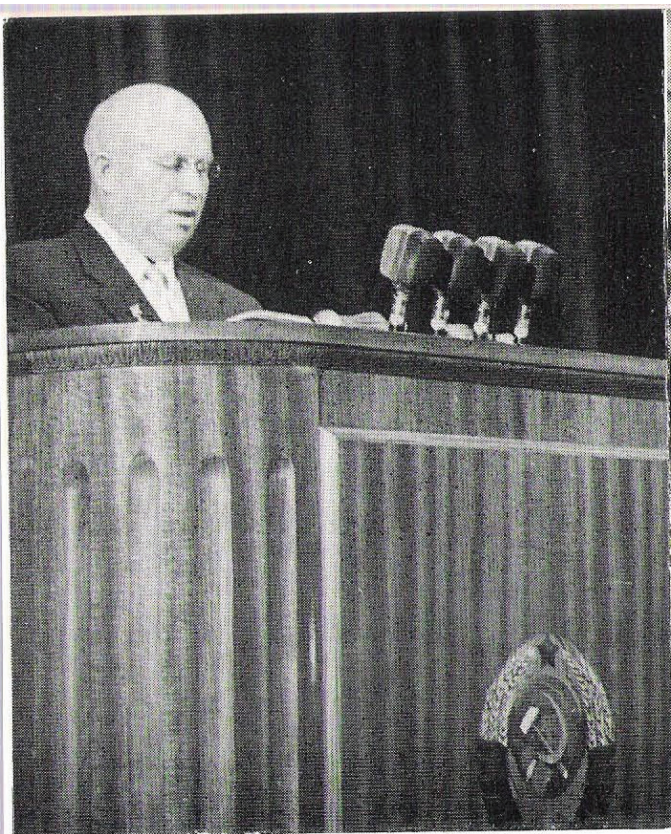
Nikita Khrushchov was welcomed enthusiastically wherever he went in Indonesia.



Left: A warm greeting from Indian citizens in West Bengal.



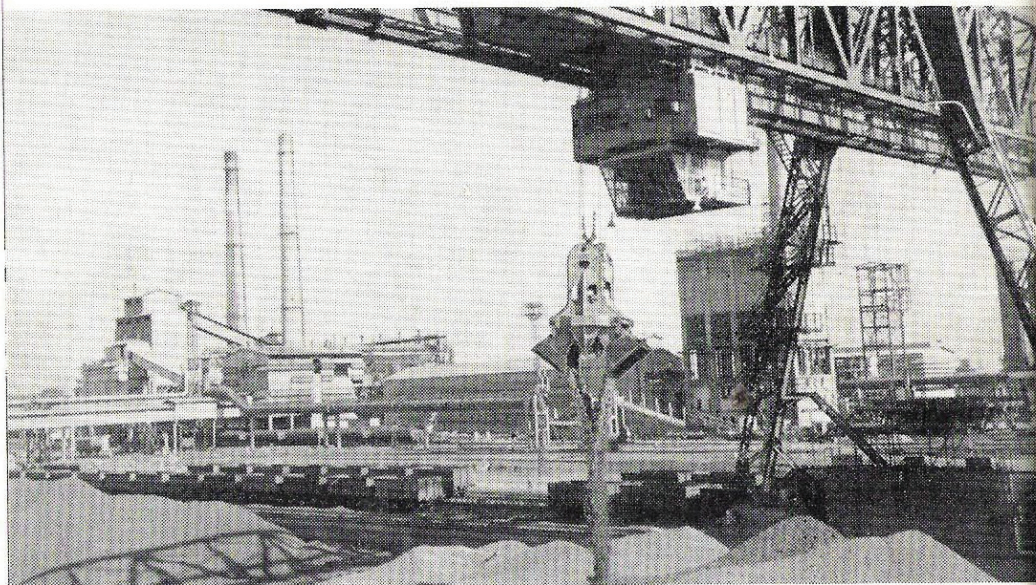
Right: Touring a handicrafts exhibition in Indonesia, Khrushchov and Sukarno try on elaborately designed batik costumes.



N. S. Khrushchov addressing the meeting in the Moscow Sports Palace on his return.



Prime Minister Khrushchov and President Sukarno of Indonesia inspect a model of the huge Jakarta stadium seating 100,000 to be built with Soviet assistance, in time for the Asian Olympics to be held there in 1962.



The coke-chemical shop of the Bhilai works, huge Indian iron and steel mill built with Soviet help.

Although we spent less time in India than in Indonesia, every day of our stay in that wonderful country was fruitful and will long remain in our memories.

I should like to give a brief account of an interesting trip to Suratgarh, where we inspected a state farm. It made an exceptionally good impression on us. During the visit to this farm I felt at home, as if I were visiting our own large agricultural undertakings.

There, at Suratgarh, under the hot rays of the Indian sun and on fertile soil, one was indeed aware of the power of up-to-date machinery which is skilfully operated by those who cultivate the land. Maybe this is astonishing and sticks in one's memory in India because as yet such enterprises there are few, and all the land, as was the case in our country at one time, resembles a multi-coloured rug made up of different pieces.

This farm is directed by a former general, Mahadeo Singh, whom it is very fine to see on the land, engaged in peaceful labour. Let that be a hint to our own generals and officers in connection with the reduction of the armed forces. It is pleasing to see how a high-ranking military man has retired from military service and gone to manage this farm. He manages it now with enthusiasm and skill, greatly promoting the development of agricultural production in India. When he showed us his farm and machinery in action, he made a number of comments on Soviet agricultural machinery. I will not conceal the fact that it was pleasant to hear that our Soviet machines function faultlessly in India's hot climate, too.

We wished the manager of the farm, the agronomists and all the workers and employees success in their noble undertaking for the good of their country, for the good of their people. Mr. Nehru paid a visit to Suratgarh somewhat later and made a thorough examination of the state of affairs.

As has been pointed out in the Indian press, the example of Suratgarh gives grounds for the Indian government setting up similar big new farms in various Indian states. Later, during our second visit to Calcutta, Mr. Nehru, in a conversation with us, commented most favourably on the work of the farm and told us that the Indian government intends to set up several more farms of this type.

Another day of meetings in India is particularly memorable. I have already spoken of the tremendous impression made on us by the metallurgical works in Bhilai. As we were told, Bhilai was formerly a small village with a few score of dilapidated huts. Now a new town has sprung up nearby in which the mighty spirit of the new India in construction is felt with particular force. The lights

that burn there will soon spread far and wide throughout the land of India; it is precisely in Bhilai that a big industrial centre of India is being created. It is there that ore is smelted, metal is produced and new people grow and are steeled.

The Soviet people know full well from the experience of their own history that no state can successfully develop its economy without heavy industry, without large enterprises, factories and works. Heavy industry is the source of the strength and power of a country, the basis of its independence. In spite of difficulties and privations, the Soviet people have built heavy industry, have brought about the advance of science and engineering, and have achieved such splendid results that it has been possible to take objects made by our scientists, engineers and workers as far as the Moon. It may be that pieces of Soviet metal smelted in our furnaces will one day be found in some lunar crater.

This is not the first time I have spoken about Bhilai. But being a man whose youth was spent at big enterprises and pits, I cannot control my feelings when I am next to a blast furnace, an open-hearth furnace, or a mine shaft. A talk with workers, technicians and engineers is always a very pleasant and moving human experience. It always makes a deep impression.

My talk with the workers and other employees during my inspection of the Bhilai Works and the meeting there will remain in my memory for a long time. Wherever we went, throughout the entire area of this Indian equivalent of our Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Mills, we were pleased to see a Soviet and an Indian engineer, a Soviet and an Indian worker standing at a blast furnace.

Particularly in evidence there, at Bhilai, was the slogan with which the Indians express their sentiments towards the Soviet Union: "Hindi Russi, bhai bhai!"*

We felt this particularly during a get-together with the children, when Soviet and Indian schoolchildren performed together. We also felt it in a very definite way when inspecting the works, where Soviet people and Indians work side by side as brothers and serve a common cause.

The press has already reported that several new undertakings are to be built in India with the very active help of Soviet engineers, technicians and workers. In addition to the credits allotted earlier, the Soviet Union has recently granted India a new credit of 1,500 million roubles. It is said in the Soviet-Indian joint communiqué that "Economic and technical co-operation between India and the Soviet Union covers a considerable number of construction projects: the Bhilai Iron and Steel Works, which has already been

* "Indians and Russians are brothers!"

put into service and the original production capacity of which is now being more than doubled, an engineering plant at Ranchi, a power station in Neiweli, coal mines in Korba, an oil refinery with a capacity of two million tons in Barauni, oil prospecting, etc."

During the tour we were twice in one of the largest Indian cities, Calcutta, which is the capital of the state of West Bengal. Calcutta is a city where colonialist domination has left open wounds. I remember a moving get-together in Calcutta with representatives of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, who handed me an address highly praising our people's efforts in the struggle for peace and for easing international tension.

I should like to express gratitude to the Governor of the State of West Bengal, Mrs. Naidu, the First Minister, Mr. Roy, the Mayor, Mr. Bijoy Kumar Banerjee, and all the people of Calcutta who ardently greeted us, the representatives of the Soviet people, at a huge meeting there.

I wish to thank Mr. Nehru for finding it possible to come to Calcutta again when we arrived there on our way back from Indonesia and for seeing us off personally when we emplaned for Afghanistan. The talks which I had with Mr. Nehru in Calcutta have again confirmed that the foreign policy of the Soviet government and our struggle for peace and international friendship are meeting with due understanding in India, just as we respect the peaceloving policy of the Republic of India.

On behalf of the Soviet government I have invited the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, to visit the Soviet Union again and we are pleased that he has accepted the invitation.

After a four-day visit to India we proceeded to Burma, at the invitation of the government of the Union of Burma. The two days we spent in this ancient, inimitable and interesting country were in our opinion very useful for the further development of Soviet-Burmese relations. Both the officials and the ordinary people welcomed us in a very friendly and cordial manner. And there, too, we felt how high the prestige of our socialist homeland is, how attentively its voice is heeded even in countries situated so far from us.

I met the President of the Union of Burma, U Win Maung, during my first visit to Burma, when he held the post of Minister of Transport. We met this time as old friends and had useful talks. On behalf of the government I invited the President to visit our country and he readily accepted this invitation.

During my visit to Burma in 1955 I also met the present Prime Minister of the Union of Burma, General Ne Win, who was then Chief of the General Staff. But only on this visit did we have a

chance to converse comprehensively, to exchange views on various questions. The talks with General Ne Win produced a very good impression upon me. General Ne Win accepted with pleasure the invitation to visit our country together with his family.

It was a pleasure to resume contacts with our other Burmese acquaintances, in particular the former Prime Minister, U Nu, a champion of the policy of peace and peaceful co-existence. His party won most of the votes at the recent general election and is to form a new government in April (*applause*). It may be that certain people might interpret this applause as interference in the internal affairs of other states! (*laughter*).

We had a good talk with that distinguished statesman in Rangoon and we were happy to meet him again in Calcutta where he arrived at the same time as we did.

In Rangoon, I received visits from U Ba Swe and U Kyaw Nyain. They are leaders of the opposition which was defeated in the Parliamentary elections. Both the winners and the losers—like U Nu and U Ba Swe—were extremely kind to us when we visited Burma in 1955. Therefore, when I went to Rangoon again, immediately after the elections, the best I could do as a guest was to congratulate the winners and to sympathise with the losers. This I did. I congratulated U Nu on his victory and expressed sympathy with U Ba Swe and U Kyaw Nyain.

In Rangoon we saw the construction of buildings for a technological institute and a hotel which will be turned over to the Burmese people as a gift from the peoples of the Soviet Union. It was a great pleasure for me to see at first hand how these projects are getting on. They are part of the sizeable contribution which the Soviet Union is making to the economic and cultural development of Burma.

In both places we were warmly greeted by the workers, the Burmese and Soviet specialists and teachers of the technological institute, which is to become one of the major educational centres for the preparation of national cadres for the country's industrialisation.

We visited the Arzani Mausoleum to place a wreath on the grave of the Burmese national hero, Aung San. We were told that in the summer of 1947 Aung San and other leaders of the national liberation movement in Burma fell victim to a foul assassination plot organised from abroad. The Burmese people revere the memory of their fighters for independence. In Burma we felt that in spite of ceaseless imperialist schemings, in spite of the complexity of the political situation inside the country, the Burmese people are firmly

resolved to uphold and ensure their right to independent development.

We left Rangoon with a feeling of sincere satisfaction, as we had seen once more that the relations between the Soviet Union and Burma are on the right road. We are in agreement on all the main questions of the struggle for peace and against colonialism. Our aims coincide. This was confirmed in the Soviet-Burmese joint communiqué issued on the occasion of our visit.

Dear Muscovites, it was only an hour ago that our plane touched down at Vnukovo Airport. We are still under the spell of our stay in friendly Afghanistan, with which the Soviet Union has a common frontier of more than 2,500 kilometres.*

We were very well received in Afghanistan. Spring is just beginning there and it is still rather cool at night, but the welcome in Kabul was as warm and cordial as in the hot countries—India, Burma and Indonesia.

At the airport, built with our assistance, we were met by the King of Afghanistan, Mohammed Zahir Shah, members of the Royal Government with Prime Minister Mohammed Daoud at their head, Vice-Premier Mohammed Ali, Foreign Minister Mohammed Naim and other members of the government. We met as old friends. I travelled in the same car with the King, and it was touching to see how the people of the villages along our route from the airport to the Afghan capital had turned out to welcome us with Afghan and Soviet flags, how they sang and danced for the envoys of the Soviet people, how they joyfully greeted us in a most friendly way. When we passed through the streets of Kabul it seemed that the entire population had turned out to welcome us.

I was in Afghanistan four years ago and I well remember the Kabul of that time. Much has changed in the city since then. Many modern blocks of flats and public buildings have appeared and several factories have been built. The central streets have been asphalted.

But what moved me most were the people, their shining eyes and their smiles. I will not conceal from you that I was especially touched to see many unveiled and smiling women among the tens of thousands of Kabul residents lining the streets and to hear their greetings. They stood alongside the men, without the veils which used to disfigure them so and turn them into faceless shadows. I remembered that I had not seen a single unveiled woman's face in Kabul only four years ago.

Along the way to Kabul and in the city itself many Afghans

* 1 kilometre = .62 miles.

greeted us not only in their own language, but also with the Russian words: "Spasibo," "Mir," and "Druzhiba."*

But we had meetings with people not only in the streets. We visited the construction site of the Kabul airport, a mechanised bakery, and the motor repair works which King Mohammed Zahir Shah said is the nucleus of the future Afghan industry.

In talking with Afghan workers and specialists who work in close and friendly co-operation with Soviet specialists and learn from them, we heard many kind words about the Soviet Union. In Afghanistan, in all of the countries just visited, we are regarded as loyal friends.

Yes, the Soviet Union has been and always will be a loyal friend of the people of any country which is striving for freedom and independence. This is the source of our strength, the source of the tremendous international prestige of the Soviet Union.

Comrades, during our brief stay in Afghanistan we had talks, which were extremely useful for both sides, with King Mohammed Zahir Shah, Prime Minister of the Royal Government Mohammed Daoud and other statesmen of Afghanistan. These talks, which were held in a spirit of mutual understanding and cordiality, will promote the further consolidation of the friendship and co-operation between our countries and the strengthening of peace in the Middle East. The results of our meetings and talks were reflected in the Soviet-Afghan joint communiqué published in today's newspapers, and also in the agreement on cultural co-operation signed in Kabul.

It is pleasant to note that during this visit to Afghanistan, as during our previous meetings with the King and the Prime Minister of Afghanistan, no differences were recorded in our assessment of the international situation. The peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union, as we have once more become convinced, meets with understanding by the Royal Government of Afghanistan, in the same way as we, on our part, understand and respect Afghanistan's traditional policy of neutrality and non-participation in military blocs. Afghanistan can always rely on the friendly support of the Soviet Union in its struggle for strengthening and consolidating its national forces, for promoting its economy and culture.

The unsettled problem of Pushtunistan is a sore issue for Afghanistan. It is generally known that historically Pushtunistan has always been part of Afghanistan. After establishing its domination over India, Britain, expanding its colonial empire, began penetrating Afghan lands as well, imposing on Afghanistan a num-

* "Thank you," "Peace," and "Friendship."

ber of enslaving treaties and agreements in an effort to subjugate the Pushtu people and seize the whole of Afghanistan.

But the Afghan people offered stubborn resistance to the colonialists which eventually resolved into a general struggle for independence. The colonialists' army was routed and driven away and Afghanistan gained its national independence.

The Soviet Union was the first to recognise the Afghan state and to establish diplomatic relations with it.

The Pushtu people who found themselves outside the boundaries of independent Afghanistan, on the territory which fell under the control of the British authorities, have always offered staunch resistance to the colonialists.

After the collapse of the colonial system in India, the colonialists, loyal to their policy of "divide and rule," split the country into two states—India and Pakistan.

Millions of Pushtu people found themselves within the boundaries of Pakistan.

Afghanistan has never recognised nor does it recognise this situation to be just. It demands that Pushtunistan should be given the right to self-determination in conditions of freedom and non-interference. However, the national rights of the Pushtus and the lawful demands of Afghanistan have not been reckoned with.

For many years now this question has remained unsettled, which causes tension in relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

What is our position on this question? Our position stems from the Leninist national policy, which says that every nation has the right to self-determination, that national questions must be settled in conformity with the will of the peoples.

We believe that Afghanistan's demands that the Pushtu people be granted the right to express their will through a referendum, a plebiscite, in conditions of freedom, so as to decide whether they wish to remain within the boundaries of Pakistan, to establish a new independent state, or to be reunited with Afghanistan, are correct.

This demand is absolutely legitimate. It conforms to the principles of the United Nations Charter. In this question our sympathies are with the Pushtu people and with Afghanistan. We believe that sooner or later common sense will triumph and this dispute, now causing anxiety, will be settled peacefully in the interests of the Pushtu people, in the interests of peace.

Our view on this question, as on the other problems we discussed, have found reflection in the Soviet-Afghan joint communi-

qué, which says that having exchanged views on the future of the Pushtu people, the sides have expressed agreement that settling this issue by the application of the self-determination principle on the basis of the United Nations Charter is a wise way of easing tension and safeguarding peace in the Middle East.

Dear Comrades, many Soviet engineers, technicians and workers are now working everywhere in India, Burma, Indonesia, and Afghanistan—helping the peoples of these countries, passing on their experience to them and training them in new professions. Like all Soviet people, they are well aware that we extend friendly aid to the economically backward countries because the international sense of fraternal mutual assistance is highly developed in the Soviet people.

There was a time when the Soviet people started building their socialist country without material assistance from outside. Now that our country is richer, though our warehouses are not bursting with goods yet and we sometimes experience shortages of many things in our own construction, we extend aid to all the peoples who have rid themselves of colonialist slavery and who want our assistance. We help them selflessly and we sincerely want them to overcome their economic backwardness. When they grow stronger, these countries will uphold even more energetically the great cause of peace.

Please permit me, Comrades, to thank on your behalf all the Soviet specialists and workers who are now working abroad and who are upholding the high reputation of Soviet citizens far from their native land.

So our visit to the four friendly countries of Asia is over. We have covered a total of almost 24,000 kilometres by plane and car. Only recently it would have taken months for such a tour, but today we have flown 3,500 or 4,000 kilometres in one go.

We made most of our journey in the remarkable Il-18 aircraft, which carried us over many countries and seas, twice over the Equator, and proudly roared over the Indian Ocean. She is a very comfortable machine, where one can rest awhile or work en route, depending on the inclinations of the passenger.

I wish to thank heartily constructor-general Comrade Ilyushin, all the engineers and technicians of the designing bureau he heads, and the factory and office workers of the plants producing these excellent machines, worthy of our pride and capable of glorifying the creative genius of the Soviet people, the inexhaustible technical potentialities of our socialist homeland.

Dear Comrades, friends, after such a long absence, after so many meetings and talks, and often heated arguments, it is very

pleasant and heart-warming to return home and meet in such a customary, matter-of-fact Soviet way our own dear people, to tell them about the results of the visit, to hear their assessment of the work we have done.

I think you understand that different things happen during such visits—good things and hellishly difficult ones. Sometimes you feel like slashing in half or knocking a day or two off the schedule, returning home to the usual, though perhaps no less difficult business. But we communists are trained to fulfil the mission of our party and the people to the end.

Comrades, our visit to India, Burma, Indonesia and Afghanistan is over. This visit was another demonstration of the growing friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the East, developing on the basis of peaceful co-existence, a demonstration of our common resolution to fight for the further relaxation of international tension, for the consolidation of peace.

Now everyone recognises that the Soviet Union is the standard-bearer of peace. The great peoples of China and the other socialist countries are marching in the same ranks with it. Together with us are the peoples of the East who have taken the road of independent and peaceful development.

Ahead of us lie serious and important talks, first with the government leaders of France, with President de Gaulle, and somewhat later with the statesmen of the United States, Britain and France.

The Soviet Union is going to these talks fully prepared to seek, together with these countries, for ways to relax international tension further and to settle the disputed questions peacefully. For our part we have done and are doing everything necessary to create a favourable atmosphere for the forthcoming talks. We are determined to make the future meetings a success. And if our western partners come to the talks with the same intention, we can expect the summit meetings to be successful. Today the point is that no country should complicate the situation by its actions. Our proposals are known to all the world. We hope and expect that the western powers, if they sincerely want success, will not create any new difficulties and will make their contribution to the achievement of positive results at the forthcoming meetings.

This is what I wanted to tell you, dear Comrades, on my return from India, Burma, Indonesia and Afghanistan.

The peoples of the Soviet Union wish the friendly countries that have embarked upon the road of a new life big successes in their noble struggle.

Long live the friendship between the people of the Soviet Union and the peoples of India, Indonesia, Burma and Afghanistan, the peoples of all the countries fighting to strengthen their independence! Long live world peace!

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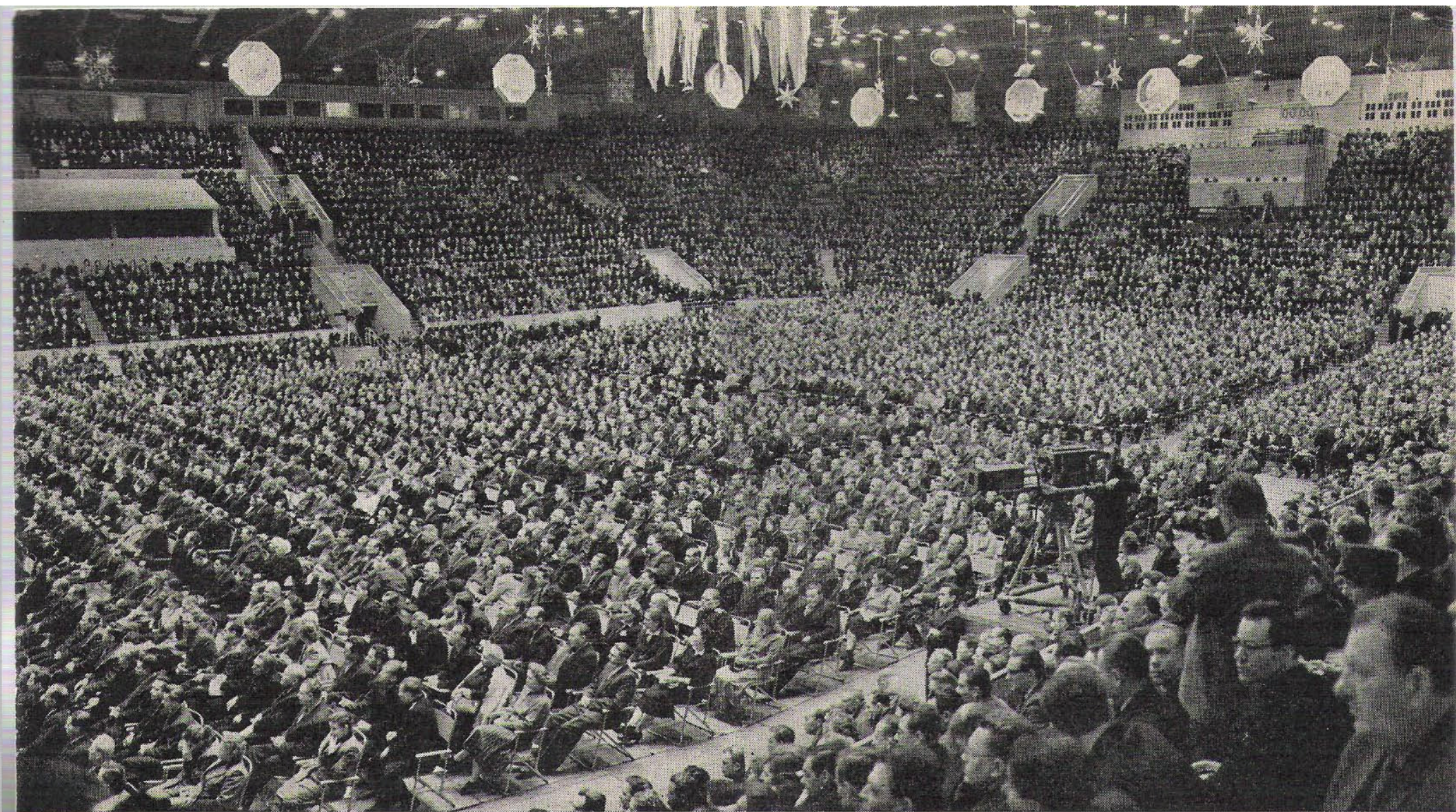
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Above: The meeting in the Moscow Sports Palace, on March 5th, 1960, on the occasion of N. S. Khrushchov's return from his visit to Asian countries.

Front cover: N. S. Khrushchov with workers at Suratgarkha state farm, India.