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N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

**FOR VICTORY
IN THE PEACEFUL
COMPETITION
WITH CAPITALISM**

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Н. С. ХРУЩЕВ
К ПОБЕДЕ
В МИРНОМ СОРЕВНОВАНИИ
С КАПИТАЛИЗМОМ

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This collection of speeches and articles of, and interviews with, N. S. Khrushchov, First Secretary of the C.C. C.P.S.U. and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., deals with problems of Soviet foreign policy and international relations. It contains materials that appeared in the Soviet press in 1958, and is published in compliance with readers' requests.

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EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN C. RAJAGOPALACHARI AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

In November and December 1957 C. Rajagopalachari, Indian public leader, and N. S. Khrushchov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., exchanged letters, the texts of which we publish below.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI'S LETTER TO N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

Your Excellency may remember the conversation we had in Madras when you and Mr. Bulganin visited this city. The frank and clear statements I had the honour of hearing you and Mr. Bulganin make in answer to my queries during that quiet private talk in the Governor's house, and the events that have happened since then encourage me to approach you with a proposition which I trust you will not reject out of hand as merely idealistic. It is a practical move of creative power that I am suggesting, one emerging from the very special nature of the present moment.

Now that you have established beyond doubt the definite superiority of your technical achievement and potentialities, which have left the opposite party dumbfounded, no gesture on your part of a peace-seeking nature can possibly be misconstrued as arising out of a desire to cover weakness. I submit therefore that the supreme occasion for you has arrived to declare on behalf of your country that you not merely ask for an agreed ban on nuclear weapons, but you will unilaterally abjure the use of those weapons in warfare. This unqualified declaration will give the start for the moral law to work out its chain reactions in the field of the human spirit even as the split atom does in your atomic plants.

It is not pacifism that I am asking you to declare, but only the abjuring of nuclear weapons. It is this new development that has robbed war of all its gradualness which had been the all-important automatic safeguard for peace, humanity and civilization to survive in spite of what would otherwise be an unqualified evil. It is therefore this type of war and these weapons of destruction that have to be abjured for the sake of civilization. There is a point at which man's instruments unfortunately and without his knowing it become his master instead of being his inanimate instrument. That dangerous point has been almost reached in the case of nuclear weapons. It is necessary to halt before it is too late and to restore man's control over his tools and prevent his becoming a helpless victim of his own invention.

It is needless for you to point out to me the lapses of the Western Powers. I know them all and I have been pointing them out publicly. But a supreme moment has now arrived when your republic can attain undying glory by a great and historic step whose moral force will be irresistible, a glory not less than Russia's heroic defence against the might and ferocity of Hitler when she bore the whole brunt of his attack. If this qualified and absolute declaration I am suggesting be forthcoming from you, the West will have to bow in awe and reverence before your moral height. It would be an achievement in the spiritual field no less than what you have demonstrated in technology which has extorted the admiration and envy of the West. As you recently said in your jubilee speech in Moscow, the pattern of competition in the future will change from one of destruction to the unravelling of the mysteries of nature and the promotion of human welfare if you take this great creative unilateral step without caring what others may do or not do.

I have made appeals for unilaterally abjuring nuclear weapons to America and to Britain in the columns of the *New York Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*. This appeal I make to you, may I say, I make with greater hope? For as I have said already, you are in a position of great and demonstrated strength which gives you the status and power to make such a proud declaration.

With highest regards,

Yours sincerely,

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Madras-17, Tyagaroyanagor,
Bazlullah Road, 60

N. S. KHRUSHCHOV'S REPLY TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI'S
LETTER

Madras

Your Excellency,

I was very happy to receive your letter which brought back pleasant memories of my stay in your wonderful country, of our talks in Madras. I remember the talk we had during a concert, when even the superb folk dances of India could not divert us from discussing the important problems that preoccupy all who sincerely want to safeguard peace.

I read your letter very carefully and I am most grateful to you for it. I should like in replying to set out certain considerations regarding the proposal it contains.

We regard your suggestion that the Soviet Union contribute its share to the establishment of a lasting peace among nations as evidence of your lofty convictions, of the great concern for peace of a prominent public leader and statesman, whose life and energies are devoted to the struggle for the great cause of peace.

In your letter you speak in flattering terms of our country, of our people, of the progress they have made and, in particular, of the achievements of Soviet science and technology. I will not deny that we are proud of these achievements, for they show the progress made by a people that has won its freedom from capitalist slavery. You know, of course, that the overwhelming majority of the population of tsarist Russia was illiterate, that Russia was a backward peasant country with an underdeveloped industry. In the 40 years that have elapsed since the Soviet system was set up our people have given free rein to their energy and talent; they built an up-to-date industry, reorganized agriculture along the most modern lines and trained their own intellectuals and their own scientists in all spheres. The construction and launching

of the world's first earth satellites was a striking demonstration of the achievements of our people. All this is for us a source of pleasure and inspires us to renew our efforts to attain the great goal set by the Communist Party—to build a communist society in our country, a society in which men will really be brothers, in which everyone will work for himself and for others to the best of his ability and in which all the people's requirements will be met in full. The Soviet people are sparing no effort to build such a social system.

We appreciate that concern for the destinies of the world with which your letter is imbued. Mankind is threatened with a catastrophic war of extermination on an unprecedented scale, a war which, if it breaks out, will take a toll of many millions of lives. This prospect is particularly absurd today, when science is advancing rapidly, when man has far greater opportunities to ease his toil and employ the world's natural resources to meet the requirements of all the peoples inhabiting our planet. It is today perfectly possible therefore to ensure progress and prosperity for every country and every nation on the basis of peaceful co-existence between all states, friendly co-operation and mutual assistance.

Today more than ever before, every honest person, and society as a whole, must strive to find ways not only of postponing war, but also of abolishing it for ever. This problem cannot be completely and finally solved until mankind has established a society in which there will no longer be rich and poor, in which all will be equal and all derive equal benefit from the blessings of collective labour. It will be what we call a communist society. We are convinced that in the long run mankind will build such a just social system. But that still requires a great deal of effort, because the peoples are at different stages of development and there still are many countries where the forces that would dominate others and live on their labour are still strong.

Our common duty today is to prevent war. If we cannot at the moment abolish it for ever, we can and should create conditions enabling the peoples to live in peace, without fear that a war of extermination will be suddenly launched in accordance with the desires of a few madmen.

You propose that, to promote international confidence and save mankind from the threat of a disastrous atomic war, the Soviet Union declare its unilateral renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons for military purposes. We greatly appreciate the confidence that you show in us by submitting this proposal to the Soviet Union, and we wish we could take your advice. The Soviet Union firmly advocates the condemnation and prohibition of the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons as means of mass destruction and calls for their removal from national armouries. We still insist on this; we are prepared to conclude an appropriate agreement with other Powers at any time. It is now up to the Governments of the United States and Britain to decide.

I should also like to draw your attention to the fact that at the jubilee session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in Moscow on November 6 last it was solemnly declared on behalf of the Soviet Government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that our people had never thought, nor would ever think, of using any means of destruction unless our country was attacked by imperialist states. I believe that that declaration is to a considerable extent in line with the idea expressed in your letter. Would it not be a major step towards eliminating the threat of a new war if the U.S. and British governments were in their turn to make similar official declarations?

As for the renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons by one Power only—the Soviet Union—irrespective of the stand taken by the other Powers possessing such weapons, while we fully appreciate the motives underlying your proposal, prompted by deep faith in the good that is inherent in every person, we cannot forget that there

are facts and circumstances that necessitate the utmost prudence in considering this matter.

You presume that, by unilaterally declaring that it renounces nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union would set off a moral "chain reaction" in the world and that the West would have to do the same. I must tell you quite frankly, however, that the facts do not warrant so optimistic a presumption.

In this connection I cannot but mention the perfectly correct idea, expressed in one of your articles, that the United States cannot expect the Soviet Union to take unilateral action aimed at ceasing nuclear weapons tests unless it itself intends to take similar action. This is still more true as regards the renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons.

Can we, aware of the great responsibility we bear for the welfare and security of the peoples of the Soviet Union, disregard actions by the Governments of the Western Powers such as the establishment of a network of U.S. military bases along the frontiers of the Soviet Union and of countries friendly to it, a network covering territory belonging to dozens of European, Asian and African countries? Have we the right to ignore the fact that the United States and its West European allies in the NATO military bloc are doing their utmost to make atomic and hydrogen weapons the key element in their armories, and indeed say so officially?

It is well known, furthermore, that the chief item to be discussed by the forthcoming December meeting of the NATO Council is the roles that the members of the bloc will have to play in preparing an atomic and hydrogen war. The Governments of the United States, Britain and other Western countries persist in rejecting even such measures as the immediate and unconditional suspension of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests on terms equal for all parties.

As we think of all this we fear that if the Soviet Union

were to declare its unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons, those governments with evil intentions vis-à-vis our country, far from following suit, blinded by their hatred for our new system and all that we are creating, would be tempted to take advantage of the resultant weakening of the Soviet Union's defences. They might attack our country with atomic and hydrogen weapons in order to wipe out the socialist gains which the Soviet people have achieved as a result of their tremendous exertions. We consider the achievements of the Soviet people to be not only our achievements, but also those of all progressive mankind, of all those who want to build human relations on the principles of equality, mutual assistance and respect.

Well knowing that once the Soviet Union has pledged its word it keeps it faithfully and never goes back on it, the aggressive circles of the Western Powers would react to our unilateral commitment to refrain from the use of nuclear weapons by building up their stocks of such weapons even more vigorously in order to gain superiority and then confront the Soviet Union with claims amounting to an ultimatum.

If, on the other hand, the Soviet Union were compelled by the actions of the Western Powers to reconsider its attitude after having once declared its unilateral renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons, it would tend to undermine the people's faith in our pledged word and cause confusion among those who are fighting for peace and whose support we value highly. Such a turn of events would do a great deal of harm to world peace, a cause which you and we have in common, and a great deal of moral harm to the idea of peaceful co-existence. This, in its turn, would complicate the struggle for universal disarmament and for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons; it would increase international mistrust and lead to an acceleration in the arms race and the stockpiling of the means of mass extermination.

All this would clearly benefit not those who champion peace, but those who advocate a policy "from positions of strength." Needless to say, we do not in the least want events to take such a turn, and I am sure you do not want it any more than we do.

As you see, your proposal gives rise to complex and difficult problems that substantially affect the interests of Soviet security and world peace. An exchange of views was held among the leaders of our Party and Government on the question raised in your letter. Having weighed and considered your proposal, we concluded that, to our regret, the circumstances do not at the moment allow the Soviet Government, for the reasons listed above, to commit itself unilaterally in the manner suggested in your letter. As long as the Governments of the Western Powers show no desire to adopt practical disarmament measures and to renounce atomic and hydrogen weapons, we can apparently do nothing but continue our efforts for peace, revealing to the peoples the disastrous character of the policy being pursued by imperialist groups today. We cannot be reconciled to a situation in which everybody is threatened with a terrible atomic war and in which an increasing share of human labour goes to produce weapons of extermination and destruction instead of to create material values and raise standards of living. We are confident that the peoples will bring greater pressure to bear on those governments whose policies run counter to the interests of peace, and will in the end make them lend ear to the voice and demands of millions upon millions of people and find such a solution as will preclude military catastrophe once and for all.

In conclusion allow me, dear Mr. Rajagopalachari, to wish you good health and success in your activity for the benefit of peace, friendship and co-operation among peoples.

Sincerely yours,

N. KHRUSHCHOV

December 3, 1957

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI'S LETTER TO N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

Dear Mr. Khrushchov,

Mr. Peter Petrov, First Secretary in your Embassy in Delhi, brought an "unofficial translation" of Your Excellency's letter of December 3 and gave it to me personally at Madras in my little room. I am grateful to him for the courtesy shown and trouble taken.

A private person like me has reason to be proud when a letter from him is given earnest and such full consideration by Your Excellency and your Government. The subject is of such momentous importance that I am grateful for the thought I have been able to provoke, whatever may be your reaction to my proposal. I thank you for this.

You said to Mr. Hearst on November 2 last:

"Let us put an end to the cold war." The very pith and substance of the cold war is suspicion. The very nature of the cold war—this suspicion—prevents hope for any "agreement" that can end the cold war. It can be put an end to only by one party or the other beginning with its own unilateral step. There is no way to end the cold war except by taking a first voluntary unilateral step in the conviction that it must lead to a good reaction on the other side. This necessarily involves risk. But the cold war cannot be ended by any process that does not involve risk. The cold war is going on developing a terrible risk by itself. We have to compare one risk with the other. Ending the cold war means suspending our suspicions.

The argument against any step towards it is suspicion itself. We are therefore in a terribly vicious circle. The more I think of it, the clearer it is to me that unless we produce the miracle in the shape of unilateral action, we cannot hope to end this cold war before it bursts into a flame, and I fear this is relentlessly approaching. The strikingly strong position Russia is now in, induced me to appeal to you.

If the step I suggested is unequivocally taken, the U.S.A. will be drawn as by a steel chain to follow suit. There can be no imputation of breach of faith if by aggression the other party forfeits the benefit of the pledge and disgraces itself. If we begin this way the time will arrive when the apprehension will wear away, and, as you have said, everybody can sink these weapons in the sea. My appeal differs from your standing offer for an agreement in that no condition is attached to the declaration. You need not fear reproach if by aggression, which will be universally condemned, the other party invites annihilation.

I have written this letter without waiting for Your Excellency's original letter to arrive. My highest regards and greetings for the New Year.

Yours sincerely,

Madras

December 10, 1957

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI