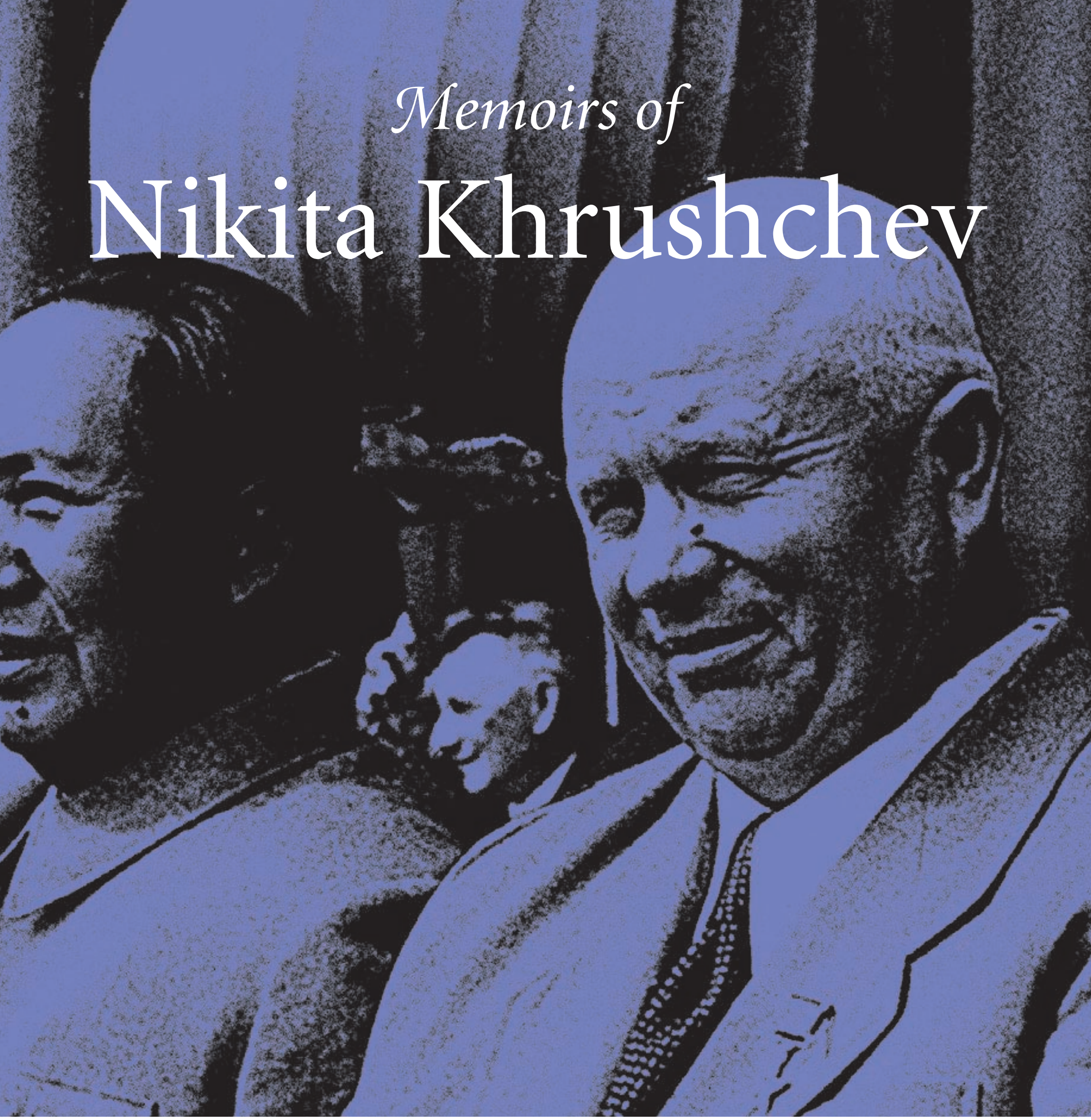

Memoirs of
Nikita Khrushchev

Edited by Sergei Khrushchev

VOLUME 3

STATESMAN

[1953–1964]

MEMOIRS OF NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV

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⟦ 1953–1964 ⟧

Edited by
Sergei Khrushchev

Memoirs translated by George Shriver
Supplementary material translated by Stephen Shenfield

The Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies
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Frontispiece: Visit to Magdalen College, Oxford, April 1956.
Khrushchev and the president of the college, Thomas Boase, lead the way.
Courtesy of Magdalen College, Oxford. (Photo: John Gibbons Studios)

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Sergei Khrushchev, editor

Abbreviations and Acronyms

ASSR	Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
AUCP(B)	All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)
CC	Central Committee
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CDU	Christian Democratic Union
CEC	Central Executive Committee (of Soviets)
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CER	Chinese Eastern Railway
Cheka	Extraordinary Commission for Combating Sabotage and Counterrevolution (original name of the Soviet secret police)
CMEA *or* Comecon	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
Comintern	Communist International
CP(B)U	Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine
CPA	Communist Party of Austria
CPD	Communist Party of Denmark
CPI	Communist Party of Indonesia
CPN	Communist Party of Norway
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
FLN	National Liberation Front (of Algeria)
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)
GDR	German Democratic Republic (East Germany)
Gosplan	State Planning Commission
Gosstroi	State Committee for Construction
GPU	State Political Administration (Soviet secret police)
KGB	Committee for State Security (Soviet secret police)
Komsomol	Young Communist League
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MGB	Ministry of State Security (Soviet secret police)
MPR	Mongolian People's Republic
MTS	Machine and Tractor Station
MVD	Ministry of Internal Affairs
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NKVD	People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (Soviet secret police)

OGPU	Unified State Political Administration (Soviet secret police)
Orgburo	Organizational Bureau
Politburo	Political Bureau
PUWP	Polish United Workers Party
RCP(B)	Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)
RSDLP	Russian Social Democratic Labor Party
RSFSR	Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
Sovinform	Soviet Information Bureau
Sovnarkom	Council of People's Commissars
Sovrum	Soviet-Romanian joint enterprise
SRs	Socialist Revolutionaries (members of the Socialist Revolutionary Party)
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic
TASS	Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union
TOZ	Association for Cultivating the Land
UAR	United Arab Republic (Egypt and Syria, later Egypt alone)
UN	United Nations
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

THE MEMOIRS

Relations with the West: The Cold War

BEFORE AND AFTER THE PEACE TREATY WITH AUSTRIA

After Stalin's death we were left with an unsigned peace treaty with Austria. Austria itself had not fought against us—that is, Austria in the sense of the country that had previously existed. It had been annexed to Germany before Hitler started the war against the USSR. After the defeat of fascism Austria was reestablished as an independent country, and consequently a separate peace treaty should be signed with it. I remember that, when Stalin was still alive, negotiations on this matter were being conducted with the Austrian government. All questions had been agreed on, so that the treaty was ready for signing. But at the time when the draft treaty was prepared, our relations with Tito became strained. More precisely, the question of Trieste becoming part of Yugoslavia had not been resolved.

I don't recall all the details now. But no peace treaty was signed with Austria while Stalin was alive. It was left to us to resolve the problem. What has stayed in my memory is that the difficulties connected with the signing of the treaty had to do with Trieste. We thought that Trieste should become part of the Yugoslav state, but the Western countries insisted that it should go to Italy.[1] Then they agreed to make Trieste a "free city," but still as a protectorate of Italy. Stalin would not agree to that, and so the peace treaty with Austria was not signed, although there were no other problems that might have prevented us from signing.

The outdated relations between Austria and the USSR were burdensome to us. Our two countries were still formally in a state of war. As a result, contacts between us could not develop normally. We didn't have an embassy in Vienna. Of course we didn't especially need to have one because our troops were present in Vienna. We still occupied a substantial part of Austria (one fourth of the country, as I recall). Austria had been divided into four occupation zones just like Germany. It was divided among the four occupying powers—the United States, Britain, France, and the USSR. Berlin and Vienna were also divided into sectors [each under the control of one of the four occupying powers].

We also owned property in Austria. These were factories that we managed and where economic production went on. They had previously belonged to German capitalists and were confiscated after the war. That also complicated matters. We had to decide what to do about this property. Quite a few workers were employed at these factories, although as a rule they were not large factories, but more medium-sized or small. The technology and equipment in these factories was outdated, and without modernization we could not carry on production at a high economic level in order to earn profits and guarantee the payment of high wages for labor. But as a socialist country, owning property where Austrians were working, we had no alternative. It wouldn't do for those workers to earn less than others who worked at capitalist factories. So a fairly serious problem had arisen for us. We couldn't squeeze enough out of the antiquated machinery, and it was hard to compete with the capitalists on that basis. They had experience in management, and they had highly qualified and trained managerial, engineering, and technical personnel. We brought the best people we could to those factories, but the most prominent specialists left us to go work for the capitalist employers because they were personally opposed to the socialist system.

We also encountered slowdown strikes. The Communist Party of Austria did everything it could to smooth over relations between the workers and our management if strains or conflicts arose. We succeeded in avoiding any serious clashes over the question of piece rates and pay scales. But in general the situation remained abnormal. We had to try to present a model of economic activity at the socialist factories, to try to achieve a higher productivity of labor on the basis of the most modern technology with a smaller number of workers and less intensive physical labor. The problem was that we could not run these enterprises sensibly at the existing technical level. They had to be updated and modernized. New equipment needed to be installed in the factories. They had to be reequipped with new machine tools and with new, updated technology in general.

Doubts arose in our minds. Did we really need to have our own property in Austria? After all, public opinion might form a negative impression, comparing the conditions of labor at factories belonging to a socialist government with working conditions at modern capitalist factories equipped with the latest technology, where the conditions existed for production at a high level. We were not in any hurry to invest capital in reequipping our factories, because we had doubts about the expediency of such actions. Perhaps it would be worth our while to get rid of these properties altogether, to sell these factories to the Austrian government. I don't remember who this idea occurred to first, but gradually we were all won over to this point of view, and we leaned more and more toward selling our factories in Austria.

We were also concerned about the continued presence of Soviet troops in Austria. After all, we were engaged in an intensive campaign to promote peaceful coexistence among countries with differing social systems. And that meant we also advocated the withdrawal of troops from foreign territories. Yet it turned out that we ourselves had troops in Austria, which had not been an initiator of the war. The victorious powers—including the Soviet Union—had a special attitude toward Austria. But there was no peace treaty, our commandant was sitting in Vienna, and we were maintaining the institutions of occupation. This gave rise to disputes with the population and with government officials, although on the whole the population treated us well. I don't recall receiving any reports of hostile attitudes on the part of Austrians toward our Soviet troops. And our troops conducted themselves properly; they didn't interfere in the internal affairs of the Austrian republic, but simply went about their business. Their activity provoked no objections and caused no strains. Nevertheless we understood that the presence of foreign troops on someone's territory was not viewed as a gift from God. It was a measure we had been forced to take as a result of the war. But the war had been over for quite a few years; still, we couldn't seem to solve this problem of officially acknowledging the end of the war and concluding a peace treaty. We had no substantial reasons not to sign the peace treaty with Austria.

Stalin himself had raised this question quite a few times. No one could bring up such questions other than Stalin—except perhaps Molotov, as long as he remained foreign minister of the USSR, that is, before Vyshinsky[2] replaced him in 1949. Stalin said: "There's no point in our not signing a peace treaty. Why have we put off signing it? To act this way because of Trieste makes no sense, because, after all, that no longer exists as a problem." Stalin no longer wanted Trieste to become part of Yugoslavia because he was incredibly embittered and angry toward Tito. He was even ready to start a war against Yugoslavia. I think that he had already thought up something or other along those lines, although I never heard any direct conversations about a military attack on Yugoslavia. But immediately after the break with Tito, Stalin began sending our agents into Yugoslavia and making a show of force. There were discussions on this subject at Stalin's dacha among Politburo members, but these matters were not discussed at any official session.

In that period of Stalin's life no major official sessions were held. What did we mean by an official session? One where a secretariat was elected, where minutes were kept, where questions were brought up and discussed, where there was an exchange of opinions, and a decision was made or a resolution adopted. There was nothing like that. Stalin was the omnipotent God, surrounded by archangels and angels, to whom he might listen if he decided to. But the main thing was that they should listen to him and do what he said, whatever he wanted. That's how all questions were decided, and everyone in our country had become accustomed to that, both in the "upper echelons" and among the people. There were no complaints. Now and then, on one or another question, someone would express his own opinion. Stalin might take that opinion into account, but usually he would bark at the person rather rudely, as much as to say: "Who do you think you are, getting into this? You don't understand anything about this question!" He decided everything as he thought necessary, and his decisions were made official through the apparatus of the USSR Council of Ministers or the party Central Committee. All international questions were handled in the same way and were passed along through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs via Molotov and later via Vyshinsky. The result would be that some note or official statement would be issued by the foreign ministry or a campaign would be "whipped up" in the newspapers through TASS [the telegraph agency—that is, news service—of the Soviet Union]. In short, the levers of government were put into operation to influence events in the necessary direction in the light of Stalin's understanding of any question, and documents would be prepared to address a chosen subject or to address a particular country that Stalin wanted to attack or defend.

When Stalin died, our ship of state was sailing along the same old course, even though all of us felt that it was not normal. In regard to the peace treaty with Austria, the idea also occurred to me that it was time to put an end to the matter. Molotov, who again became foreign minister [in 1953 after Stalin's death], displayed no initiative on this question, and I decided to take it on myself. But first I had an exchange of opinions with Mikoyan[3] because I considered him an experienced and intelligent man. It was interesting to exchange ideas with him and sometimes to argue on questions of international politics or domestic problems.

I asked Mikoyan: "Anastas Ivanovich, what's your view of the question of signing a peace treaty with Austria?" It turned out that he was thinking along the same lines as I. I don't remember if I consulted with Malenkov then, but a conviction was formed in my mind that we could no longer limit ourselves to mere talk and keep dragging things out, that the abnormality should be eliminated, that a peace treaty with Austria should be signed quickly and our troops should be withdrawn from that country. That would untie our hands and free us to develop a campaign at the top of our voices against the military bases of the United States, which had sent its troops to all the different continents and countries and was pursuing an aggressive policy as world policeman in relation to countries within its sphere of influence, maintaining military bases on their territories. For us to speak at full volume and seek to organize public opinion throughout the world to fight against this situation, we ourselves needed to withdraw our troops from foreign territories. This meant Austria first of all. Germany was a special situation. Austria had been dragged into the war, whereas Germany had taken the initiative in going to war.

I approached Molotov, asking him: "Vyacheslav Mikhailovich, what's your view of signing a peace treaty with Austria? It would seem that we ought to start negotiating with the Austrian government, work out the details, and sign such a treaty." I didn't expect the reaction I got. Molotov reacted very sharply against my proposal. He argued that we could not sign a peace treaty as long as we had differences with the United States over Trieste. I said to him: "We need to come to some sort of resolution and remove these obstacles. You know that yourself. There's no point referring to Stalin, because during the last year of his life he frequently raised the question of signing a peace treaty with Austria." Stalin had raised this question at a time when Molotov was no longer one of the people constantly in Stalin's presence.

After the Nineteenth Party Congress Molotov was generally excluded from Stalin's inner circle. Stalin not only refused to talk to him, but in general would not tolerate his presence. At first Molotov continued to show up at Stalin's dacha, of his own accord, without being invited, as though out of force of habit. Some of us, older members of the Politburo, helped out in this, and we wanted to reconcile the two of them, but Stalin warned us harshly that we should stop pulling our tricks and not make these arrangements any more. How else could Molotov have known when and where we were meeting and come without an invitation [if we weren't informing him]. So we stopped letting Molotov and Mikoyan know where and when we were gathering with Stalin. They stopped coming to his place, and a complete break occurred between Stalin and them. That's why I assumed that Molotov might not know about Stalin's new point of view in regard to the peace treaty with Austria, a view he held during the last months of his life. My guess is, however, that even before the Nineteenth Party Congress, when Stalin was still communicating with Molotov, he probably commented on the need to eliminate the state of war between the USSR and Austria.

So then, Molotov objected sharply. It's generally known that he was a harsh, abrupt person. When he was convinced that he was right, he could be not only sharp but unrestrained. His harshness was never expressed in an insulting form, but in the impassioned attitude he took, the conviction that he was right. Things should be decided precisely the way he thought! Was it possible that he was still thinking in the old way, that other people were sticking their noses into his business, into foreign policy? It was as though he were saying: "I was a political leader long before you stepped onto this path. I have traveled a long road as minister of foreign affairs. How many times have I met and conducted negotiations with major government leaders from other countries on all sorts of questions decisive to the life of our country? And now after Stalin's death, you won't listen to me, and you're trying to impose your ideas, which are incorrect and harmful."

I said to him again: "Vyacheslav Mikhailovich, try to listen calmly. I don't understand your arguments. They're not convincing to me. I repeat, we have to think about signing a peace treaty with Austria." At that time I was already first secretary of the party's Central Committee, and what I had to say carried a lot of weight. My very position obliged me now to show some initiative, and I began to insist: "I don't understand the delay. There's no longer any question of obstacles now." By then the problem of Trieste had been worked out with Yugoslavia. Tito had abandoned his claim to Trieste, agreeing that Trieste should become part of Italy. As I recall, Yugoslavia had already signed some sort of treaty to that effect.[4] Thus for all practical purposes the problem had been solved. There was no longer any basis for the argument we had once used for not signing a treaty with Austria. The governments chiefly concerned in this matter had made an agreement among themselves. And of course Molotov knew that. But such behavior was typical of him. He was like a clockwork mechanism. Once it had been wound up it would keep going as long as the wheels and gears kept turning, until the entire wound-up spring had unwound. He was a very stiff and awkward man, quite inflexible in his thinking.

I continued: "Comrade Molotov, you can't take this kind of approach to solving problems! It looks as though we're being as stubborn as an ox on this question. But there is no problem. The problem has been removed; it no longer exists. The countries that had an interest in this question have come to an agreement among themselves. How can we now take the kind of position we did in Stalin's time, saying that we wouldn't sign a peace treaty with Austria unless Trieste became part of Yugoslavia? Yugoslavia has dropped any claim to Trieste, and are we supposed to be against that?" But none of this helped. We had to solve the problem in spite of the position taken by the foreign minister of the USSR. This sounds so unbelievable nowadays that people, when they read my memoirs, might have their doubts, but I swear on the Bible, as religious believers used to say when they were asserting the truth of their words. I am not a religious believer, and the Bible is not an authority for me. I never did recognize it as an authority even before I joined the party. I always was an atheist. But among the people it was customary to use this as an expression of the truth of their words.

But it's not a question of how convincingly I swear to my arguments. Any person with common sense could simply say: "Khrushchev apparently has a poor memory and that's why he's attributing this sort of heresy to Molotov. But Molotov was no fool. How could he defend a heretical position like that?" Unfortunately, everything was as I have said. Previously I had a great deal of respect for Molotov. When Stalin was alive, Molotov was, in my eyes, a courageous and principled person who sometimes raised his voice in opposition to Stalin's views, and in doing so he more than once sided with me when Stalin vented his hot temper against me. And the opposite also happened [that is, I spoke up in defense of Molotov].

Also, in 1939 when I was working in Ukraine, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich [Molotov] tried to persuade me to come work for the USSR Council of People's Commissars as his deputy. He had been working for a number of years as chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. I tried to persuade him against that proposal. He turned to Stalin and convinced Stalin. Stalin agreed with him. My final argument then was the only one that had an effect. I said that it didn't make sense to transfer me because war was approaching and could break out at any time. I was already familiar with Ukraine and Ukraine was used to me, but if a new person came, what would be the sense of it? Difficulties would arise for someone who didn't yet know the republic. Stalin agreed with me and said: "All right, drop it. Khrushchev is right. Let him stay where he is." That's what relations were like between Molotov and me. Later, after the Twentieth Party Congress, our relations took a different turn, but I was not the initiator; I am not to blame for that.

Within our circle, over the course of time, working together with Molotov, we had already become accustomed to the harshness of his opinions. But I would be cautious about using the term *tupost* (dimwittedness, thickheadedness). Stalin tried to foist this characterization of Molotov on us. He would fly into a rage when he had verbal skirmishes with Molotov, and that word would come up as his final argument [that is, he would call Molotov thick-headed]. Sometimes we agreed with Stalin to some extent. Of course such a question was never discussed openly between Stalin and us, but sometimes Molotov really did display incredible stubbornness almost to the point of thick-headedness. And that's how things were on the question of Austria. I realized that I was not going to succeed in reaching agreement with Molotov, so I made this proposal: "Let's present the problem to the Central Committee Presidium. We'll discuss it and consider your point of view. You should state it there. But we must decide the question because we can't keep putting it off. It will only do us harm to postpone signing the treaty. That would not benefit our international policy, nor would it help improve our relations with Austria and the Austrian people."

Molotov again began to argue that we should continue our former policy. But for how long? Until when? He no longer mentioned Trieste. That argument had fallen by the wayside. After all, people would have said to us: "Please, what business is this of yours? The question of Trieste concerns two countries, Italy and Yugoslavia. They have reached agreement, so why are you sticking your nose into this business?" And we would have had nothing to reply.

I asked Molotov: "Do you think it's necessary for us to maintain our positions in Vienna and on Austrian territory for the purpose of starting a war more easily?"

He said: "No, that's not what I want."

But the only possible remaining objection would have been preparation for a war. If we were preparing for war, of course we should not sign a peace treaty with Austria. Thus our troops would remain on Austrian territory, and from Vienna we would be close to Italy and the borders of other Western countries that formerly had been our allies but now had become our adversaries. Such arguments would have had some weight. Why withdraw our troops and then have to shed blood to regain those positions? We already held good positions from which to strike a military blow.

But Molotov's reply was: "No, I don't want a war."

I said: "Well, if you don't want one, and I don't want one either—since neither of us is posing such an objective—I suggest we sign a peace treaty."

In the draft treaty both we and our former allies in the fight against Hitler undertook to withdraw our troops from Austrian territory. In doing this we hoped to create a milder climate in international relations, to strengthen our positions in the international arena in the struggle to preserve the peace, the campaign for peaceful coexistence. By displaying initiative and demonstrating good will, we wanted to win over more supporters and allies in the struggle against aggressive forces. Our main opponent then was the United States. I would not say that the French, for example, displayed such aggressive zeal. The United States used the so-called Soviet bogeyman to frighten French public opinion and to frighten people in other countries, claiming that we supposedly wanted to conquer the world. I repeated to Molotov: "If you are not pursuing the aim of starting a war, the most intelligent thing to do is put an end to the surviving remnants of World War II, if only on the territory of Austria, and sign a peace treaty." But he would have none of it!

We presented the question at a session of the Central Committee Presidium and discussed it from all angles. Molotov expressed his point of view, and I expressed mine. I had spoken about this earlier more than once with other members of the Presidium. Molotov had, too, and therefore our different points of view were well known. But I had had a more detailed exchange of opinions with Mikoyan before the session, and he was the first to support me. I have already said that I respected Mikoyan's penetrating mind. On problems of relations between states, he had accumulated a great deal of experience. Stalin had sent him abroad many times. For my part, I had no experience of international contacts. Both I and many others, after Stalin's death, found ourselves in the position, if one may put it this way, of the character Dunka in the play *Lyubov Yarovaya.* In that play she was getting ready to make her first trip to Europe.[5] Within our circle Mikoyan was the Dunka who had already been to Europe, and to America. That's why I considered it necessary to take his opinion into account on one or another question. Most often his views and mine coincided.

At last we all came to agreement that a peace treaty should be signed. The appropriate documents were drawn up. Discussions were begun with the Austrian government. Before we spoke out publicly, we coordinated our position with leaders of the other socialist countries through diplomatic channels. The signing of a peace treaty with Austria was a matter of interest to all of them, although it directly affected only Hungary and Yugoslavia. We no longer had fraternal contacts with Yugoslavia. Stalin had broken them off.[6] As for Hungary, it was our ally and friend, but on the other hand there were no territorial disputes between Hungary and Austria. There were, however, territorial disputes between Yugoslavia and Austria concerning certain small territories claimed by Yugoslavia.[7] In our foreign policy we had taken account of these Yugoslav claims against Austria—before the conflict with Tito—and of course we had supported those claims. However, that did not concern us now, because Yugoslavia no longer looked to the USSR to defend its interests.

I forgot to say that we also informed the Communist Party of Austria on this matter. We told them our considerations in detail, so that the Communist Party of Austria would be thoroughly prepared for the withdrawal of our troops and for the full attainment of independence by Vienna. We assured them that we were signing the peace treaty and withdrawing our troops only on the condition that the other countries, which, like us, were occupying powers on Austrian territory, would also withdraw their troops. Not only did the leadership of the Communist Party of Austria have no objections; we found a complete understanding of our position by them. The Austrian Communists said to us: "After the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Austria we will be stronger. Right now we are being blamed for all sorts of things. We are accused of relying on the armed forces of the Soviet Union and not really being a party of the working class that takes its own independent position, that we serve only as agents of the USSR, carrying out its orders." We were pleased with this reaction because we wanted the Communist Party of Austria to understand that we did not want to strike a blow that would hurt it politically.

We took the measures I have mentioned through diplomatic channels and entered into negotiations with the Austrian government to prepare for the signing of the treaty. Some time went by between our raising of the question and our finally coming to agreement on all points. But eventually all paths were cleared of obstacles and we got down to specific negotiations. I don't remember now what the minor details of the matter were. Such things always occur when a document is being agreed to point by point. The only thing I remember is a question that was fundamental for us: that Austria should undertake the obligation to pursue a policy of neutrality, of nonalignment with any military bloc, not allowing its territory to be used for any kind of military bases. We referred to the examples of Switzerland and Sweden, stating that Austria should declare that it would follow their example in adhering to neutrality. I cannot say now whether that formulation was written into the document or whether there was just a personal understanding that the example of those two countries would be followed.

Austria did not accept this position immediately. Its representative argued that the Austrian republic was not about to go to war and had no thought of such a thing, that in its policies it would be guided by peaceful aspirations and would establish good relations with all countries, but it did not want to take on an official obligation. In the early stages of the negotiations the Austrian side displayed a reserved attitude. It was not so much that they were openly opposed, but they were being cautious. Finally Vienna agreed, and then a text was drafted that was mutually approved by the two governments through their foreign ministries.

The Austrian government at that time was headed by Julius Raab,[8] leader of the main capitalist party, but it was not a homogeneous government; it was a coalition government that included the Social Democrats. The Social Democrats had fewer seats in the Austrian parliament, but they were a substantial force. The Social Democrat Bruno Kreisky[9] was the vice-premier. I met with him more than once. He came to Moscow when we were completing the negotiations on the peace treaty, but Raab was the one who signed the peace treaty in Moscow. Here in Moscow, when we met with the government delegation from Austria at the highest level, the final "pressures were put on" regarding the question of neutrality. Raab agreed, and the Social Democrats, through their vice-premier, had already expressed support for this position earlier.

In general the Social Democrats took an understanding attitude toward our position. I don't remember any opposition from them; not even a negative nuance has remained in my memory. Apparently they had talked everything over among themselves ahead of time, and they presented a united front in discussions with us. There was no sense of any disagreement among them. In the personal conversations that I and other leaders of the Soviet government had separately with Raab and his vice-premier, we also had a sense of their complete unity on the question of signing a peace treaty. Our discussions proceeded in a friendly atmosphere. My attitude toward Raab was one of respect. He was a capitalist, but he had a flexible mind. He not only understood the necessity of tolerating the existence of the Soviet Union as a socialist state (and of course that didn't depend on him), but in general he didn't display the kind of intolerance that Churchill and other big shots of the capitalist world displayed. Of course he remained a capitalist, and his sentiments were opposed to Communism and to Marxist-Leninist theory; however, he had reconciled himself to the existence of differing social systems and took a fairly flexible approach in the negotiations in regard to solving problems that were of interest to both governments. When we finally came to agreement, Raab and his vice-premier were literally beaming. At last they had achieved full independence, and all foreign troops would be removed from Austria.

Before we met with the Austrian delegation we had to conduct negotiations with the United States, France, and Britain about their adherence to this peace treaty. They should also agree to remove their troops and, most important, to recognize Austria's commitment to neutrality. That was our fundamental demand. Negotiations began. It has stuck in my memory that in the early phase not everything went smoothly. As I recall, the United States took the position that the commitment we were demanding [on neutrality] was an imposition on the Austrian government, as though we were depriving Austria of its independence in making governmental decisions. However, we argued that a neutrality clause would be useful because Austria was a small country and its geographical position was such that it would find it more advantageous to maintain neutrality and thereby preserve its independence. A neutral Austria could create conditions for contacts with all countries that wanted to have diplomatic relations with it,[10] and it could establish economic relations on a commercial basis. Furthermore, the neutrality clause would protect Austria from making any other agreements that actually might violate its sovereignty, transforming it into a springboard for foreign armed forces. Raab and other members of the Austrian government were quick to understand this point, and since they agreed with us, that made it easier to defend our point of view in negotiations with the United States, Britain, and France. Finally our former allies also agreed.

I thought then, and I still think today, that this was a great victory for us on the international arena. We leaders of the Soviet government were very pleased that it was precisely on our initiative that an agreement had been reached among the great powers on such a complicated and important question. So that those who read this text will better understand my personal feelings, they should keep in mind that Stalin, at the first opportunity, and whenever conversations about relations between the USSR and the capitalist world came up, kept telling us that we were like little kittens or helpless calves; we didn't understand anything, and the foreigners would twist us around their little fingers; we would give in to their pressure. He never once expressed any confidence that we could represent the socialist state in a worthy manner and defend its interests in the international arena, stand up for our interests without doing any harm to ourselves, and establish relations between governments on an equal basis so as to strengthen peace.

Austria turned out for me, and for all of us, to be a trial balloon, a demonstration of the fact that we were capable of conducting complex negotiations and carrying them through successfully. We defended the interests of the socialist countries and forced the capitalist countries that were pursuing an aggressive police to agree with our position, sign the peace treaty with Austria, and withdraw their troops from that country. As a result it became a neutral country and officially proclaimed its neutrality. This commitment was undertaken not only by a declaration of the administration in power; the declaration was also approved by the Austrian parliament. Inwardly my colleagues and I celebrated our victory. Dunka's trip to Europe had proved to be a success. It was a demonstration that we were capable of orienting ourselves in international affairs without Stalin's guidance and instructions. To put it in a colorful way, in our international policy we had now changed from the short pants of boyhood into the trousers of grown men. Our successful debut was recognized not only in the USSR but in other countries as well, which was also of great importance. We were feeling our strength.

But that was not all. There was another aspect. After all, things that had happened under Stalin were regarded as manifestations of wisdom, including Stalin's abuses of power and the snuffed-out lives of so many honest people, as well as our lack of preparedness for war. During Stalin's lifetime and immediately after his death, all that was considered a manifestation of wisdom. Even the killing of people was considered a work of "genius." Here this man of genius had been able to detect enemies of the people, while others, who were some sort of poor sucklings, wet behind the ears, were not able to detect them. We even thought of ourselves that way under Stalin. It was only later that we found out in full measure that what was involved was really not wisdom at all but the carefully calculated measures of a despot, who had managed to instill in the minds of many, many people that Lenin didn't really understand, that he didn't know how to pick people, and so virtually everyone who headed the country after Lenin's death turned out to be an enemy of the people. Unfortunately, we believed this nonsense. Even today some hardheaded people remain who hold the same position, who pray to the idol of Stalin, the murderer of the flower of the Soviet people. Molotov reflected this point of view from the Stalin era most distinctly and prominently. If all that is kept in mind, the signing of the peace treaty with Austria [in May 1955][11] was at the same time a step toward reexamining our own positions on the question of Stalin's role. And as everyone knows, we did reexamine that question.

I am now dictating my memoirs and reviewing in my thoughts all the events that occurred. From today's standpoint, many things that happened seem simply unbelievable. If I had not been a participant in those events, and often an initiator of events, it would be hard for me to imagine how things went. But I am not exaggerating one bit. I am only telling what I saw with my own eyes and stating it literally. I want our descendants to understand how we lived, what difficulties we encountered, and how we overcame them, and I want to illustrate this with particular individuals and particular facts.

Of course minor and insignificant facts or details remain in my memory together with the most important ones. For example, I remember the following episode. After our negotiations with the Austrians, we were all sitting together at dinner. Raab was sitting next to me. After dinner an announcement was made that coffee would be served. According to the European tradition, liqueur or cognac was always served with coffee. Raab was a corpulent man with a large face and a round head. We conversed about trifles over coffee. The important things had already been agreed on. I said to him: "Mr. Raab, this is the first time in my life that I have had the occasion to sit next to a capitalist. When I was a worker I did meet with representatives of the capitalists. We had strikes at the companies where I worked. And I enjoyed the confidence of my fellow workers and was included in the committee that led the strikes and negotiated with the management. And so I did meet face to face with representatives of the capitalists. The owners of the companies were too important to participate. They lived in Saint Petersburg or somewhere else and we never saw them. But now here I am sitting at the same table with a real live capitalist. And, as they say, 'I can reach out and touch him.'"

Raab laughed. He and the others present understood that I was joking. He answered: "Mr. Khrushchev, what you say is right. Of course I am a capitalist, although a small one, a very small one."

I said: "Yes, you're a *Kleinburger,* a small capitalist, but still you are a capitalist. You employ workers. They work for you. And I, too, am a worker. If I was an Austrian, maybe I'd be one of your workers."

Raab said: "But look at this, even we can arrive at an agreement. The capitalist and the worker have come to an agreement, and together they are doing a good thing." It all ended with a friendly toast.

I was also pleased by the conversation with Raab's vice-premier, Kreisky. You could talk simply with him. He himself came from a working-class background, as I recall, but he was what you call a skilled worker, from the "aristocracy of labor." I also remember him joking.

I said to him: "I support the ideas of your boss, the small capitalist Mr. Raab!"

He replied to me: "Comrade Khrushchev (he was addressing me of course as a comrade in the working-class movement), do you know what a *Raab* is?"

I said: "No."

"Do you like Raab?"

"Yes, together with him we're doing a good thing, one that is useful for our nations and the entire world."

"In Russian *Raab* means *vorona* [that is, 'crow']."

Raab looked at him and smiled.

I responded: "Well, what of it? We're doing a good thing with this 'crow.' Won't you join us?"

Kreisky replied: "Of course, I fully support you both."

These jokes demonstrated our mutual sympathy and the relaxed nature of relations that had been established. In general Raab left a good impression as a capitalist who understood Austria's position and the importance of the Soviet Union and its role in world affairs and evaluated that correctly. That too was of importance to us. After all, it's always more pleasant to deal with a person who understands you.

After signing the peace treaty with Austria we felt more than ever the need to eliminate the properties we had there. This was further complicated for us by the fact that we had to consider the interests of the Communist Party of Austria (CPA). Some of its activists worked at our factories, and naturally they enjoyed influence there and had our support. We didn't know what attitude the Austrian comrades would take toward our intentions, whether they would understand us correctly, whether they might insist that we maintain our properties there as a base from which they could expand their activities. We told the leadership of the CPA about our intentions and what prompted us to make such a decision: maintaining those factories at the existing level of technology would make it impossible to ensure payment of appropriately high wages. If wages at our factories were lower than at those working on a capitalist basis, that would tend to discredit the socialist system and do harm to the political activity of the CPA. On the other hand, we could keep running those factories at a loss to ourselves, which was also unacceptable. We asked that the Austrian comrades understand us correctly. The representatives of the CPA agreed with our arguments and supported our decision.

Then we established contact with Austrian government bodies and began negotiations on selling the factories. What would the Austrian government's attitude be toward this? In my opinion, it took an ambiguous attitude. On the one hand, it was interested in our selling the factories and in general wanted to see us disappear from Austrian soil, including the people on our staffs who ran the factories. I'm talking about the representatives of the bourgeois parties. The Social Democrats also had an interest in acquiring our factories in Austria. But in this case they had their own special reasons. As we found out later, the Social Democrats wanted these factories to remain state-owned, and not be privatized. I find it hard to draw any conclusion as to what advantage they could derive from this. It's possible that they expected Social Democratic managers to be installed in those factories and that their people would be employed there. Possibly they thought they could derive some material advantages for their party from these factories. All this is just supposition on my part. At any rate, the Social Democrats also expressed an interest in buying the factories from the Soviet Union.

I don't remember now what sum we agreed on, but it was not large. And so we sold those factories and liquidated the property we formerly owned in Austria. No property of ours remained in Vienna other than the building where our embassy was located, a solid, high-quality building. Besides that, our ambassador had a place in the country, also a nice place. Later when I was a guest of the Austrian government, on a day off I visited our ambassador there, a very polite man who was also a skilled diplomat and a firm Communist.[12] When we relinquished our control of these factories in Austria, this action brought even more public sympathy toward us, including from those who took a capitalist view of things. They regarded this as a sign that the Russians were serious about leaving and had no desire to interfere in Austria's internal affairs. Yet we never had engaged in anticapitalist activity in Austria, either organizationally or propagandistically. After all, the form of government and the social order in any country is the internal affair of its people. Meanwhile the Communist Party continued to exist there. We withdrew from Austria, confident that Marxist propaganda would not cease, but the promotion of Marxist ideas would not be done by us but by the Communist Party that had its roots in the Austrian people.

We received information from the CPA through our embassy. The leaders of that party had no regret that we had sold the factories. They now had the opportunity to develop their propaganda more broadly at those factories from a purely class standpoint. Previously they had been in an ambiguous position. For example, if the workers were dissatisfied, should they lead them in a strike? Or if the bureaucratic factory managers were acting like fools? Bureaucratic distortions exist in the factories or businesses of all countries. I remember in 1931 when I was working in Moscow as the secretary of the party's Bauman district committee, we had some really serious strikes. And later on there were slowdowns at a number of factories, even after the Great Patriotic War, including some that were quite unpleasant. They were brought about either by low wages or by bureaucratic distortions and occurred most often when new piece rates or wage scales were being introduced. Such campaigns [setting new piece rates and wage scales] are carried out in our country every year, and they always cause tensions and strained attitudes among the workers toward the management. I don't think such changes are introduced smoothly everywhere even today. Everything depends on the intelligence of the leaders or managers and the influence of the party organization.

Of course it's no longer 1931 now! But back when we first introduced the NEP [in 1921 and after] many strikes occurred. New piece rates were set, and it seemed as though the former egalitarianism[13] was being abolished, and as a result workers with large families ended up receiving practically nothing. It was a difficult time, especially for those with many children. There was one incident where the workers of the Trekhgornaya textile mill[14] went on strike. Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin[15] went to talk with them. They themselves had demanded that he come. They cried out: "Send Kalinych!" I personally know what that was like. After the civil war, when I returned to the mines where I had previously worked, [Yegor Trofimovich] Abakumov[16] and I also went to talk to the miners who had gone on strike. They gave us hell [literally, "put us under a hail of nuts"] even though they knew us inside out. They knew Abakumov and me thoroughly, like they knew themselves. After all, we had worked with them before the revolution at that very mine. Anyhow, the striking workers greeted Kalinin with a great racket and uproar: "You don't know what our lives are like. Nowadays you're the 'village elder' of the Soviet Union.[17] That's how things are for you, but how about us? You should be in our shoes for a while!" Others said: "What's the use of talking to him? Look at him. His boots have no holes or scuffs, his shirt is new, and he has everything he needs. Probably he's had lunch and he's had something to drink."

Mikhail Ivanovich didn't lose his head. He said: "Yes, I've had lunch, and I had a little glass of something, and my boots are new. But what would you prefer? Would you want me, a man who represents the Soviet Union, the village elder of our country, to walk around in pants with holes in the seat and my rear end showing through? You want me to walk around in bast slippers instead of boots? Wouldn't you be ashamed then? You can't afford to feed and dress one leading representative of your country, its village elder? What kind of government would that be?" Other voices began calling to order those who had been shouting complaints and insults. They said: "What Mikhail Ivanovich says is right." But the others wouldn't subside, the ones being called to order. They said: "But what about this, Mikhail, our families are not on an equal footing. It's one thing for a bachelor and another for a man with a family. I have so many mouths to feed, and there's only one of me working!" That was a very severe problem at the time. I also encountered that problem frequently, especially in 1922 when I returned from the Red Army.

Kalinin answered: “Well, after all, that’s your business. Those are your children. You fathered them, so you’ve got to feed them!” Some of the workers began to laugh at that point, but others got angry. One worker refused to give in. He said: “You say I fathered them. Well, everybody does that. There’s no kerosene for lamps. It’s dark at night, and so that’s what I do. You can’t read in the dark. And then children are the result. You have to feed them, but we aren’t paid hardly anything.” Again everyone laughed. Mikhail Ivanovich kept up his end in this exchange of fire, defending himself against his attackers. Another worker yelled: “Hey, what are you trying to reason with him for? He’s an old man. What does he understand about these things? We’re young still, but for him that’s all beside the point!” Kalinin said: “What do you mean-—old? Who says I don’t understand these things? I still know my way around when it comes to that.” Again there was general laughter. Finally Kalinin convinced the workers, and they agreed to go back to work. [He explained that] not enough goods were being produced to satisfy the needs of all blue-collar and white-collar workers. Therefore it was necessary to work harder and better so that in the future there would be more goods and then wages would go up.

When problems like this arose among the Austrian workers at the factories we owned, the CPA was put in an awkward position. On the one hand, it supported the Soviet management, but on the other hand, for them to take such a position went against the interests of the Austrian workers. When we sold all the factories[18] the CPA was able to speak up in defense of the working class at the top of its voice. The question then arose of selling the factories to private individuals. Naturally the capitalists had a greater hankering for profitable factories. But debate arose in the Austrian government, and the votes were divided. The Social Democrats were in favor of maintaining state-owned property, and the Communists supported them, but the capitalist parties took a different position. I don’t remember how the dispute was resolved. But we had untied our hands.

We also withdrew our troops from Austria. That became a great event for the Austrian people to celebrate. All the Austrians, including the workers, were pleased that we had withdrawn our troops. After all, it was not only our troops, but also the American, British, and French troops that withdrew [in October 1955].[19] As a result of the withdrawal of the foreign occupying troops, Austria in fact regained full sovereignty and now took full responsibility for the state of affairs in its own country. The Communists now had the chance to raise their voices and hold up the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union as an example and to publicize and promote the ideas of

Communism. In short, we were all satisfied. I have already said that Molotov objected to the treaty with Austria. So then, how did he conduct himself afterward? He too was satisfied. He saw that he had been mistaken and began to take an active part in the negotiations with Austria, working out the terms of the peace treaty.

After some time, Vienna began putting out feelers to find out what our attitude would be toward an invitation for a Soviet government delegation to make a friendship visit to Austria. We arrived at the unanimous opinion that such a visit would be useful, and we agreed. The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers [Soviet equivalent of prime minister] was to head the delegation. When these negotiations were going on [in 1960] I had already become prime minister [in 1958]. Our foreign minister, Gromyko, was part of the delegation, along with other high-ranking officials. As I recall, my deputy in the government, Kosygin,[20] accompanied me, but he traveled there separately. We were curious to have a look at Austria. I was personally attracted by the possibility of sniffing the atmosphere in this capitalist country and getting the feel of it, firsthand, for myself. I wanted to look at the state of their industrial production, travel around the country, and get to know the living conditions of the peasants. In general I developed an interest in seeing other countries, especially this one in which we had formerly been an occupying power.

I had been in Austria before. In 1946 I asked Stalin to let me go to Germany, where our troops were deployed, and from there to travel through Czechoslovakia to Vienna. The commander of our troops in Austria then was Colonel-General Kurasov.[21] He impressed me as an educated and cultured military man who knew his business. He also understood his political role well and made proper use of the authority delegated to him as representative of the Soviet Union and commander of our troops in the Soviet occupation zone. Kurasov made arrangements so that I could become acquainted with Vienna. I was particularly interested in the municipal economy and certain factories that produced consumer goods.

All this happened shortly after the war. We had hardly anything in our country, and we wanted to see how everything was done in Austria. I was also interested in their ceramics production, especially that of hard-burnt brick (and the Austrians made a fine kind of ceramic brick of this type). In our country we needed to pave our roads, and a discussion had developed among our road builders as to which type of paving was more durable, cheap, and long-lasting. It was well known that granite paving blocks, or paving stones *(bruschatki)*, were the most long-lasting, but they were very expensive. Some specialists proposed that we organize production of hard-burnt ceramic brick, because that type of pavement was good-looking and long-lasting. In this connection I visited many brick factories, but I didn't find a high-quality product of this kind in Austria after all. I did see excellent ceramic brick in Hungary, though. I was thrilled by it, and even today I have nothing but good things to say about the production of that ceramic brick in Budapest. [In the end] we never did use that type of brick in our country. We estimated the costs, and it turned out that, given our conditions at the time, it would not be economically advantageous. It would be better and cheaper to make reinforced concrete slabs to pave the roads. The quality of cement in our country was improving, and concrete was making a way for itself everywhere.

I was also interested in laundry facilities. We didn't have modern, up-to-date laundries. Everything was organized in the style of cottage industry, the way our grandparents used to do. In Austria mechanized laundries were operating. I took a look at them and I was enraptured. But at that time we were not yet able to organize such things in our country. Our technology was not yet at a high enough level. I was also shown all the delights of Vienna. Then Kurasov suggested we go to some famous ravine not far from the capital city. Kurasov said, "There you will see a funicular railway or cable-car that the tourists use." It was in operation, but the commander tried to dissuade me from getting on it. He said: "I don't advise you to go up in that. It's an old system. There's been a war on. It's had breakdowns. There's no guarantee of safety."

I told him: "Don't go up with me. I'll go up by myself. After all, other people are using it."

He felt ashamed, and we rode up together to the top, where there was a scenic overlook, a very beautiful place. Of course it couldn't have been otherwise; there would have been no point building the cable-car system to take people up there. The site that had been chosen dominated the locality and was surrounded by beautiful mountains covered with green foliage.

Then Kurasov showed me the Schönbrunn Palace, a very rich and splendid structure. I had once seen a remarkable American film called *The Great Waltz.* It tells the story of how "Tales from the Vienna Woods" [by Johann Strauss] was composed.[22] I liked that film a lot, and Strauss's music is just wonderful. The action in the movie takes place right there in the Vienna Woods. The point is that the Schönbrunn Palace is located right next to a wooded park. I also visited a luxurious palace of the Austrian emperors from the Baroque era and viewed a park filled with fountains. The delight I felt at its beauty stayed with me a long time.

British and American troops were stationed there already. I remember as we were passing by a British barracks some unit was doing military exercises, the training of new recruits. That was the first time I saw Scottish soldiers in their kilts. Architects and engineers who worked on the municipal economy in Kiev were accompanying me. We watched this spectacle with pleasure and joked for a long time afterward about those soldiers in skirts. It was all new and unusual for us. I was traveling incognito then; my identity papers said I was General Petrenko. I wore a military uniform so as not to attract special attention to myself. Our military men were everywhere around Vienna at that time, and among them I was simply just one more Russian general.

We had entered the American zone in that area near the imperial palace. We were looking at our surroundings through binoculars and some people began taking photographs. The American troops had set up some platforms and other temporary structures. I was told they were getting ready for their national holiday. When our people began taking photographs, the American military police immediately showed up on motorcycles. But they didn't come right over to us; they stopped at some distance away and observed our actions without interfering. The fact that our commanding officer was with us evidently restrained them. They saw this person who had diplomatic immunity, and they saluted him. Thus we had a chance to get a good look at everything. I also went to the Vienna opera, where the voices of the singers were excellent. I liked that very much. The opera theater was located in the American sector of the city, but representatives of all the victorious countries had free access to all the zones, and no one tried to stop us.

I remember some kind of structure in the Vienna woods similar to a restaurant. Our commander showed me names that had been carved into the walls. Some of those names were familiar to me. Those who participated in the storming of Vienna had made these inscriptions. After entering the city, apparently, everyone considered it his duty to leave his autograph on the walls. I don't know how the authorities in Vienna acted subsequently: whether they left the autographs on the walls or removed them. But many of our "Ivans" had left their names there. On the whole, Vienna, green and beautiful, left a powerful impression on me [from back then in 1946]. Now [in July 1960] I was going there as head of the Soviet government and as a guest of the Austrian government, no longer on the same level. The Austrian government made all the necessary arrangements, so that we felt as good as can be and had a chance to see more and find out more, as well as to have useful meetings and conversations.

We traveled to Vienna by train through the city of Bratislava [capital of Slovakia]. The welcome was splendid, in keeping with our position. Then the official receptions and discussions began. They proceeded in the usual manner. The communiqués in such cases say that the meetings proceeded in a cordial atmosphere of complete mutual understanding. But that's actually how things were. We didn't have any complaints or claims to make against Austria, just as Austria had none against us. Our meetings took place in the shadow of the treaty that had been signed between our two countries, and our desire to ensure peace had been made clear in that document, as well as our desire for peaceful coexistence. All the speeches—at the banquet tables and at public meetings—expressed that same spirit. Then a trip through the country was organized for us. I don't recall the route we took, unfortunately, but it was very interesting. We gladly accepted the proposal to make that trip, and lovely recollections of my stay in Austria have remained with me. It's a fairyland country. The roads are excellent; the hills and mountains very beautiful; the forest glades overgrown with greenery; the landscapes and views of nature pleasing to the eye.

We also made a trip on a bus that had been specially made for excursions. I said later that it would be good if we could borrow Austria's experience in this regard because such buses were not built in our country. The bus was designed to allow riders a full view, 360 degrees around. Everything was of glass except for the small stanchions between the windows that held up the roof. It was easy to roll the windows up and down, to provide ventilation. An electric stove had also been installed, on which snacks were prepared. In short, you had everything you needed for a trip. The bus was earmarked for our delegation only, and there were not very many people on the bus. Our visit to Salzburg especially stayed in my memory. The mayor was a left-wing Social Democrat. They told me he had an understanding attitude toward the position of the Communists, had taken part in the antifascist resistance, and had been a partisan. A left-wing person in the Western style is not the same as a left-wing person in our Communist understanding. But at any rate he proved to be better than many other Social Democrats.

I remember a public meeting held in his city. It seemed that the entire city had turned out. We spoke from a balcony, and the people gave our delegation a splendid greeting and responded well to our speeches. I also gave a speech, although it was standard fare: peace, security, the struggle against aggression and for peaceful coexistence, the right of each nation to decide its destiny for itself, and the idea that revolution cannot be exported. That's approximately what I talked about. This was a standard kind of speech we had worked out, but it was a correct one. The Austrians greeted our words with understanding and evidently took a trusting attitude toward our speeches, especially because they sensed our sincerity, and that strengthened their confidence.

I also remember visiting a metallurgical works not far from Vienna.[23] Austria is not a large country, so that all our destinations were reached quickly. The factory was small by comparison with the scale of things in the Soviet Union, but I was very much drawn to this factory because steel was made being there by a new type of converter.[24]

I had read a lot about this new type of production and heard the arguments of our engineers and the advocates of this process. I was interested in seeing how the converters worked and how complicated the equipment was. In showing us the factory, the deputy prime minister, a Social Democrat, who accompanied us, displayed great zeal. His behavior was determined by the fact that the Austrians were interested in our purchasing a license to produce steel with this new process and to purchase the equipment for that production. I was strongly in favor of making that purchase. This was the first time I had seen steel refined in such a converter, and I was delighted. Later I thanked the engineers and advocates of this progressive method of production who had reported to me about it and urged me to have such equipment purchased.

I don’t remember the size of their converters. By contemporary standards the size was not great. Later I read that we now have converters that are much more powerful. And that’s how it should be. After all, time has gone by. Apparently Austria also produces much more powerful converters today. I don’t know the details because now I am a retired person. Back then I was strongly of the opinion that we should purchase that technology. However, it was not so easy to accomplish, even in my official position as chairman of the Council of Ministers. When Kosygin and I returned to Moscow and reported on our trip, we encountered (and even today it makes me angry when I remember this) a solid wall of resistance. Some said: “Yes, you’re right, it really is a progressive method for producing steel, but we are working along the same lines ourselves, and after a certain length of time we will have our own more sizable and more powerful converters, and so why waste the money?” The Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy made the objection that the Austrian converter was not a progressive method at all. The statistics showing relative economic efficiency were accurate, and this type of steel was cheaper, but on the other hand the variety of steels produced was limited. And we needed to refine many different types of steel for various purposes.

To obtain steel with the required qualities it was better to use open-hearth furnaces, they argued, and therefore it would not be expedient to introduce these new converters in our country.

Today, when I am reduced to being nothing but a reader of the newspapers, I dictate my memoirs without making use of any special information. Still, now and then, I hear about the advantages of [Linz-Donawitz] converters. The newspapers say over and over again, with a single voice, that this is the most progressive method, that it is precisely the converter that allows us to obtain steel with the specified qualities, and I feel indignation seething inside me. Here were these people, standing at the head of the metallurgical industry, experts in their field, with long records and a great deal of experience, and they took a conservative position. Life itself has now demonstrated this irrefutably. Now these engineers themselves have taken a new orientation. In their speeches and in their practice they themselves are refuting their former position. Back then we didn't buy the license [from the Austrians]. Negotiations over it were dragged out for a very long time. But in the end, after a great deal of time was lost, the production of steel [by the basic oxygen process, with Linz-Donawitz converters] has now been recognized as the most progressive. Well, all right! They didn't have sense enough, as the saying goes, to evaluate what others had seen right away, but over the course of time anything progressive will drill through the thickest foreheads and overcome all opposition.

We also visited the death camp at Mauthausen, a small town where prisoners of war were held behind barbed wire, both our people and those of other countries. It truly was a death camp. The Austrian interior minister accompanied us on the visit there; he was a Social Democrat who always took a positive attitude toward friendship with the USSR. He was a heavy-set, good-natured, and mild-mannered man, with a correct political orientation. We also saw the place where Soviet General Karbyshev was tortured to death. The fascists froze him alive. They soaked him with water and turned him into a statue of ice.[25] He accepted death by torture rather than become a traitor, showing the strength of spirit of one loyal to the Soviet system. You might think, what did Soviet power matter to him? He had been a military man under the tsar. But this tsarist officer became a Soviet general, and the honor of being a warrior of the Red Army did not desert him. Glory to him! They showed us the cells where the prisoners had been held and the gas chambers. We saw with our own eyes this whole technology for killing people invented by the fascist minds. The interior minister who accompanied us also showed us a cell in which he himself had been a prisoner and from which he had been freed by the Allied forces.

We were also shown an ancient hunting palace of the Austrian emperors with a remarkable museum displaying hunting trophies.[26] Although I myself was a hunter, I had never seen anything like this! We also very much liked the dancing drills of specially trained horses.[27] Vienna holds first place in this field, as they say. The horses are extremely well trained, and the riders wear beautiful uniforms as they skillfully perform the figures and drills. This spectacle made a big impression. Later I saw the same thing in a movie, but it looks better in real life.

In conclusion I want to say a few words about Kreisky as an individual. As deputy prime minister of a coalition government and leader of the Social Democrats, Kreisky held the second most important position in Austria, if we leave aside the president of the country. He showed an understanding of the necessity for friendship and agreement with us, took a position in favor of peaceful coexistence, and sought to improve and alleviate relations between the socialist and capitalist countries somehow. Although he was an opponent of the Communists, you can have a dialogue with a person like that.

Somewhat later Kreisky tried to organize a meeting between Willy Brandt [a leading figure in the German Social Democratic Party] and me.[28] Unfortunately, it did not take place. It became known from information published in the press that I was getting ready to go to Berlin for some sort of ceremony and that Moscow had received information from Austria through our embassy, information transmitted from Kreisky, that Brandt wanted to meet with me when I was in Berlin. Brandt and Kreisky were friends. Their paths had crossed in Sweden. When the Germans occupied Austria, Kreisky emigrated to Sweden from Austria and Brandt went there from Germany, both being Social Democratic leaders, and they both lived there as exiles. After the war they maintained their friendly relations. I gave my consent for an unofficial meeting, agreeing that no information about it would be published in the press. However, the press got wind that a meeting was in the works, and pressure was put on Brandt accordingly. At the last minute, when I was already in Berlin, he canceled the meeting.

I did want to meet with Brandt, expecting that such a meeting could be useful. He has now become the leader of West Germany.[29] He has taken positive steps and shown an understanding attitude toward the necessity to improve relations between West Germany and the USSR and East Germany. What this dialogue will lead to, and whether Brandt will have the courage to resist the forces that oppose any relaxation of tension, only the future will tell. If he displays firmness of will and keeps working in this direction, it will surely prove to be in the interests of both our peoples and of all countries that favor peaceful coexistence. I have learned from the press that the Social Democrats have now won a majority in the elections in Austria [in 1970]. They have earned the right to form the government there. Very good!

1. Since the fourteenth century the city of Trieste most often belonged to Austria. Following the defeat and disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian empire in World War I, the city became part of Italy in 1919. From 1943 to 1945 Trieste was under German occupation. After World War II, it was under Anglo-American military administration until 1947, when together with the surrounding area it became the free territory of Trieste under the same administration. [MN/SS]

2. Molotov was people's commissar (minister) of foreign affairs from 1939 to 1949 and from 1953 to 1956, Vyshinsky from 1949 to 1953. See Biographies.

3. At this time Mikoyan was minister of foreign trade. See Biographies. [SS]

4. The Italian-Yugoslav treaty of 1954 divided the free territory of Trieste into a western part (including the city), which went to Italy, and an eastern part, which went to Yugoslavia. The border between the two was established by the Italian-Yugoslav treaty of 1975.

5. The play Khrushchev mentions was written by the Russian and Soviet writer Konstantin Trenyov (also spelled Trenev; 1876–1945) and was first staged in 1926. Its setting is a small town on the Crimean peninsula during the Russian Civil War; and its heroine, Lyubov Yarovaya, is a Bolshevik activist, whose husband, pretending to be a Red Army fighter, turns out to be a counterrevolutionary White officer. In the end she rejects him. The play came to be considered a model of "socialist realism"; it was produced by the Moscow Art Theater in 1936 and awarded the USSR State Prize in 1941.

Dunka is a minor character in this play. The name "Dunka" is a slightly pejorative form of Dunya, a nickname derived, in this case, from a typical Russian peasant woman's name, Avdotya. At first Trenyov's Dunka is one of the poor people who have been "liberated" by the revolution, but in fact she is selfishly grabbing everything she can, while working as a housemaid *(gornichnaya)* in the small Crimean town that is under Bolshevik rule. After the counterrevolutionary White Army takes the town, Dunka becomes a speculator, supplying defective goods at high prices to the White Army. She has to bribe a White official to earn the right to go to the area near the front lines where she can sell her goods. The bribed official says, "Our patriotic Avdotya Fominishna is dying to go to the front, captain" *([ona] rvyotsa na front;* the verb *rvyotsa* suggests that the subject is desperately eager for something, "just bursting" for it). Later, when the counterrevolutionary Whites, who had occupied most of the Crimea under General Wrangel, are facing imminent defeat, everyone is desperate to escape from the small town. But there are not enough seats in departing vehicles that will take them to ships leaving for Europe. A priest and his wife say they have reserved seats in a departing car, but Dunka has taken a seat and refuses to leave. A White official, Professor Gornostayev, rushes up and orders: "Let her go! Let Dunka go to Europe!" *(Pustite, pustite Dunku v Yevropu!)* A blend of these two lines from the play entered into the Russian language. The phrase *Dunka rvyotsa v Yevropu* ("Dunka is just bursting to go to Europe") was said of anyone who had a great desire to go somewhere or do something, but actually knew little or nothing about it. [SK/GS]

(For an English translation of the play, see "Lyubov Yarovaya," in Konstantin Trenev, *In a Cossack Village* [London: Hutchinson International Authors, 1946], 254–335. For the Russian original, see Konstantin Trenyov, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia v dvukh tomakh* [Selected Works in Two Volumes] [Moscow, 1986], 2:72–160.) [GS]

6. The break in contacts took place in 1949. Contacts were restored in 1955–56.

7. The main territory to which Khrushchev here refers is Carinthia, which had belonged to Austria since the fourteenth century and was divided among Austria, Yugoslavia, and Italy in 1919.

8. Julius Raab (1891–1964) was vice chairman of the Austrian People's Party from 1945 to 1951 and its chairman from 1951 to 1960. From 1953 to 1961 he was federal chancellor of Austria. See Biographies.

9. Bruno Kreisky (1911–90) was vice chairman of the Socialist Party of Austria from 1959 to 1967 and chairman from 1967 to 1983. He was foreign minister (not vice premier) in Raab's cabinet from 1959 to 1966 and federal chancellor from 1970 to 1983. See Biographies. [SS]

10. Ivan Ivanovich Ilyichev (1905–83) was the first ambassador of the USSR to postwar Austria (in 1955–56). See Biographies. Prior to this he was deputy political adviser to the Soviet Control

Commission in Germany (1949–52), head of the Soviet diplomatic mission in East Germany (1952–53), and supreme commissar of the USSR in Austria (1953–55). In 1956 he was appointed head of the Department of Scandinavian Countries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in 1957 head of its Third European Department. [MN/SS]

11. Khrushchev here refers to the signing in Vienna on May 15, 1955, of the State Treaty Concerning the Restoration of an Independent and Democratic Austria. The Austrian parliament adopted the law on permanent neutrality on October 26, 1955.

12. Khrushchev met the recently appointed Soviet ambassador to Austria, Viktor Ivanovich Avilov (1900–?), during the visit he made to Austria between June 30 and July 8, 1960. [SS]

13. The Russian word used here *(uravnilovka)* means literally "leveling." It acquired a negative connotation in the context of Stalin's campaign to widen wage and salary differentials. [SS]

14. The Trekhgornaya Manufaktura Textile Mill, situated in the Presnya district, is one of the oldest factories in Moscow. Before the revolution it belonged to the Prokhorov merchant family. The last owner was Ivan Prokhorov (1890–1927). [SS]

15. Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin was chairman of the All-Union Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, that is, he was titular head of state, despite the fact that he was not one of the most powerful of the top leaders. See Biographies. [GS/SS]

16. Yegor Trofimovich Abakumov should not be confused with his namesake, the NKVD chief Viktor Semyonovich Abakumov. [SK]

17. This colloquial expression for Kalinin referred not only to his position as titular chief of state but also to his peasant origin. [GS/SS]

18. The USSR transferred to the Austrian state former German assets, a number of firms, oilfields, and the property of the Danube Shipping Company.

19. The last of the occupation forces left Austria on October 25, 1955.

20. Kosygin was a deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers from 1953 to 1956 and from 1957 to 1960 and its first deputy chairman from 1960 to 1964. See Biographies.

21. General Vladimir Vasilyevich Kurasov (1897–1973) served in Austria after World War II as deputy commander in chief and commander in chief of the Central Group of Troops. At the time of the signing of the State Treaty with Austria, he was head of the General Staff Military Academy. See Biographies.

22. Khrushchev saw the first production of this musical, released in 1938, with lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein II. A new production of *The Great Waltz* was released in 1972. Johann Strauss, Jr. (1825–99) composed over 170 waltzes as well as many polkas. The waltz that is the subject of the film was composed in 1868; its name is actually "Tales from the Vienna Woods." [SS]

23. This was the Fest metallurgical complex in Linz. [SK]

24. Khrushchev is probably referring here to the Linz-Donawitz converter, a type of converter used in the making of steel that came into general use in the 1950s. Apparently this type of converter was first developed at Linz, Austria's third largest city, which is the site of a major metallurgical complex, as mentioned above. (Donawitz is a town near Linz, on the Danube, or Donau.) The process involving the Linz-Donawitz converter is called the basic oxygen process, and in the 1950s became the most widely used method for making steel.

The *Encyclopedia Britannica* ("Macropedia," 21:448) states: "The Linz-Donawitz (LD) process, developed in Austria in 1949, blew oxygen through a lance into the top of a pear-shaped vessel similar to a Bessemer converter. . . . With this process, which became known as the basic oxygen process (BOP), it was possible to produce 200 tons of steel . . . [in] 60 minutes."

As Khrushchev indicates, this process greatly speeded up steel production. Another source states that a Linz-Donawitz converter could refine a batch of steel in 45 minutes, whereas the open-hearth furnace required five or six hours. With the Linz-Donawitz converter also came greater ease of control as well as lower costs.

In the 1950s this new type of converter generally replaced the open-hearth furnace, which used the Siemens-Martin process. Open-hearth furnaces had dominated steel making for nearly a century. In Russian, an open-hearth "Martin oven" is called *martenovskaya pech.* The first word in the phrase is derived from the name of the French engineer, Pierre-Emile Martin (1824–1915), who in 1864 improved the open-hearth process first developed in 1856 by the German-British firm headed by Sir William Siemens and his brother Ernst Werner von Siemens. [GS]

25. General Dmitry Mikhailovich Karbyshev (1880–1945) was a tsarist and later a Soviet military engineer. He was taken prisoner at the beginning of the war, passed through thirteen German prisons and camps, and (together with some 200 other Soviet prisoners of war) was murdered at the Mauthausen concentration camp during the night of February 16, 1945. The memorial erected in his honor resembles a block of ice with a human face. See Biographies. [SS]

26. Khrushchev may be referring here to Schönbrunn Castle, which originally held a royal hunting lodge. The lodge was burned down by the Turks in 1683. [SS]

27. The dancing horses were probably Lipizzaner stallions. [GS] These stallions are trained and kept at the Spanish Riding School. [SS]

28. At this time Brandt was chairman of the Social Democratic Party of West Berlin and the

city's mayor. [MN] Kreisky tried to organize a meeting between Brandt and Khrushchev not after but before Khrushchev's visit to Austria, during Khrushchev's visit to the Leipzig Fair (March 4–12, 1959). The meeting was scheduled to take place in Berlin on March 9. However, at the last moment Brandt declined to meet with Khrushchev, and instead Khrushchev met with Erich Ollenhauer (1901–63), chairman of the German Social Democratic Party. As mayor of West Berlin, Brandt was afraid that he would be suspected of negotiating the "surrender" of the city. [SK]

29. That is, when he became federal chancellor of West Germany in 1969. He remained in this office until 1974. See Biographies.

THE FOUR-POWER SUMMIT MEETING IN GENEVA (JULY 1955)

After World War II our relations with Great Britain became very strained. The tension arose as the result of a policy proclaimed by Churchill. Churchill put forward the slogan of "containment" of the Soviet Union. In his Fulton, Missouri, speech Churchill called on the capitalist countries to organize themselves to resist the alleged threat from the USSR.[1] Although a Labour government was in power in Britain, it was pursuing an unfriendly policy toward the Soviet Union. Our commercial and trade ties hardly developed at all. It can't be said that they were in a totally frozen state, but the British [Labour] government did nothing to promote commercial relations, to bring them to the level they should have reached.

After Stalin's death, British Labour Party leaders came to visit us, and we established contact with them to a certain extent. But by that time the Conservatives had replaced them in the government, with an administration headed by Anthony Eden.[2] We had a positive attitude toward Eden. We considered him a progressive figure among the Conservatives. We had good memories of him and the position he took before the war. He had been the British foreign minister for a number of years and, according to the information we had, was in favor of signing a treaty with the Soviet Union against Hitler's Germany. When Baldwin took a sharply anti-Soviet line, encouraging Hitler to move against the Soviet Union, Eden submitted his resignation.[3] This was conducive to our having a good attitude toward Eden and allowed us to hope that he would somehow succeed in improving relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain.

During the war I had met Eden in passing. He had flown to the Soviet Union, and coincidentally I had been summoned by Stalin from the front lines at the same time. I met him at a dinner at Stalin's place. But the only thing that happened there is that I saw his face, as they say, and heard his voice. I had no conversation with him. If Stalin invited someone from the leadership, a member of the Politburo or the government, it was only to sit, eat, and look on. The main thing was to take up space. We were not allowed to enter into questions of policy. Each of us was supposed to know his proper place.[4] To some extent this was correct. It was necessary that the person who had a determining role in the policies of the Soviet Union should be the only one to speak. A range of different voices was not acceptable in such cases. But I also think it's not proper to limit your colleagues, especially as you get on in years, as was true of Stalin at the time. It was necessary for him to start training his associates, just as a hunter trains a young dog. But that was an idea Stalin didn't want to admit for consideration. He understood the whole situation, but he couldn't bear to admit such a notion.[5]

The idea of the Geneva meeting came, as I recall, from Churchill. He felt it was necessary to establish contacts with the new leadership of the USSR before it was too late. Churchill suggested that the death of Stalin should be taken advantage of. The new Soviet leadership had not yet solidified, and it might be possible to come to an agreement with the new leaders, to put pressure on them, to force them to agree to certain conditions. A lot of material began to appear in the foreign press to the effect that the leaders of the four great powers ought to meet. We were also in favor of such a meeting. As it turned out later, we had a somewhat exaggerated notion of the possibility of arriving at a mutual understanding. Our thinking was that after a war with such terrible bloodshed, which we had fought together with our allies against Germany, we ought to be able to come to some agreement on rational foundations.

What did we mean by rational foundations? To sincerely support peace and not to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. Peaceful coexistence was the foundation of our policy. But the Western leaders held a different position. They wanted, as is only natural, to force us back, so that the countries that had been liberated by the Red Army would develop on a capitalist basis. This had to do above all with Romania, Poland, and Hungary. Most of all they hoped somehow to tear Poland free, as they put it, from the Soviet bloc. There were other questions of a political nature that concerned the West. For example, the Near East, including Egypt and Syria. Leanings toward socialism were intensifying in those countries, and the traditional influence of Britain and France had declined sharply. The latter two countries wanted to save and restore their influence and somehow come to an agreement with the Near Eastern countries on their terms, without taking into account the role of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Through diplomatic channels we made contacts, held consultations, agreed on a date for the meeting (July 1955), and chose Geneva as the meeting place. At that time the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR was Bulganin.[6] I would say that the preparations for the meeting in Geneva had some relevance to the fact that Malenkov was relieved of his post as chairman of the Council of Ministers. We became more closely acquainted with Malenkov's practical abilities after Stalin died. Malenkov proved to be a man totally lacking in initiative, and in that sense he was even dangerous. He was weak-willed and gave in too easily to the influence of others. Not just to pressure from others but simply their influence. It was no accident that he fell into Beria's clutches. Beria was smarter than Malenkov and was a cunning man of strong will. That's why Beria got hold of Malenkov and took complete control over him.

I said to Molotov: "We could find ourselves in rather painful circumstances. Malenkov would head our delegation, but during the meeting it would become obvious to everyone that Malenkov was not really capable of standing up to our adversaries. He's the kind of person who likes to smooth over the rough edges. He's always smiling. He isn't capable of parrying blows from an opponent, and he's even less capable of taking the offensive in the discussion of various questions. But we can't do without that kind of thing. If the only thing we did was defend ourselves, it would be an encouragement to the enemy. It's necessary to attack. [That is, the best defense is offense.] That military tactic is true of politics as well." Molotov answered: "Of course if a meeting takes place, Malenkov will not be the only one to go." He was hinting at himself. As foreign minister he would go there without fail and stand up for the interests of his country. That's true. I had no doubts about that. Molotov would defend the interests of the Soviet Union. But Molotov was *too* rough around the edges. He was the opposite of Malenkov. Sometimes it's necessary to show some understanding, even some tactical flexibility. He was not capable of that. He was harsh and abrupt to an extreme degree. When he objected to something even his face became distorted. His presence in the delegation would not be conducive to the search for an agreement. I doubted that his participation would help constitute a delegation that could be relied on, about which you could be confident that it would make use of all possibilities to arrive at an agreement, a delegation that would display both firmness and elasticity.

At that time we felt we should not give anyone grounds to think that we still stood on the old positions of the Stalin era. But Molotov was the very personification of those old policies. We began to display a critical attitude toward him. Needless to say, an even more critical evaluation of his actions was widely held outside our country. As long as Molotov was defending the interests of the Soviet state his firmness and stubbornness were good qualities, but he didn't have enough of the elasticity that is necessary for a diplomat. That was a weakness in Molotov's diplomatic work. The search for an appropriate candidate to head our delegation also served as one of the reasons (of course, not the most important by far) for the replacement of Malenkov. We were forced to replace Malenkov. There were other reasons for that, but I won't go into them now. We needed a firm person, a strong person, for the discussions at Geneva. We promoted Bulganin. It's true that, later, it turned out that on questions of international politics Bulganin was also incapable of displaying the necessary understanding and proved to be a person not suited to diplomatic negotiations.

We began deciding the makeup of the delegation that would go to Geneva. Of course Bulganin as head of the government had to be included first. After all, this was a meeting of heads of government. The head of the government of the United States was President Eisenhower.[7] Other Western leaders were also heads of government. Eden was the British prime minister, and France was represented by Prime Minister Edgar Faure.[8] At the Central Committee Presidium, when we discussed the composition of our delegation, we decided that Molotov should go to Geneva as foreign minister. The prime ministers of other countries were also accompanied by their foreign ministers as part of their delegations. That was normal.

During the discussion of the composition of our delegation some members of the Presidium spoke to the effect that I should be included as well. I objected, since I thought that such a step would be difficult for our counterparts to understand. After all, I did not hold a government post; I only represented our party. However, Molotov objected that it was our business, and no one else's, who we selected to include in the delegation accompanying the chairman of the Council of Ministers. "Besides," he said, "you're a member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and so you would not be going as secretary of the party's Central Committee, but as a member of the Presidium of the supreme governing body of the Soviet Union."

I don't know if we acted correctly or not. It's late in the day to have an opinion about that now. I will not hide the fact that I *did* want to participate in this meeting, to get to know the representatives of the United States, Britain, and France, and become acquainted somewhat with world politics at the highest level. Then we learned that Eisenhower was including his secretary of defense among the people that would be accompanying him. I then proposed: "Let's include our minister of defense in our delegation as well." Zhukov was our defense minister then. My thinking on this matter was as follows: during the war, Zhukov had maintained very good relations with Eisenhower, and that could contribute to better contacts between our delegation and the U.S. representatives. Zhukov's personal contacts with Eisenhower could be useful for us. And so that is what we did.

We arrived in Geneva. The impression given by our arrival at the Geneva airport was not entirely favorable for us. The U.S., British, and French delegations had arrived in four-engine planes. That made a strong impression. We arrived more modestly, in a twin-engine IL-14. This somewhat reduced the solid impression made by our delegation, if I can put it that way, because our airplane was not a good indication of the high level of development of aeronautics in the Soviet Union. The Western leaders were obviously trying to make us look bad in this respect, especially the United States. Eisenhower arrived in a magnificent four-engine plane. The arrival of each delegation was accompanied by the usual ceremony: an honor guard marched and formed up in front of the head of the delegation, after which that person inspected the unit and exchanged greetings with the honor guard. At that time we were not accustomed to such things.

Eisenhower got into his car, after going through all the ceremonies, with the purpose of driving off to his residence (each delegation was housed in a special building that had been rented by its embassy), and the members of his guard ran along on foot behind his car. This also seemed unusual to us and somewhat theatrical. We didn't understand what all this was for. After all, people couldn't keep pace with the speed of an automobile. Later, on the occasion when we arrived in Washington and rode together in the same car with Eisenhower, I saw the same practice followed in Washington. These hefty fellows from Eisenhower's personal bodyguard ran along behind the car for some distance until the car picked up speed.

Here's another humorous incident connected with our arrival in Geneva. When we landed we were led to a prearranged place, and Bulganin read aloud a previously prepared statement. Then (or perhaps it was before that) Bulganin was supposed, like other heads of government, to review a parade and walk along the ranks of the military unit as it was lined up and say hello to them. And at the moment when Bulganin was supposed to step forward, together with a representative of the Swiss government, to walk along the ranks of the honor guard, suddenly the chief of protocol of the Swiss government placed his broad back right in front of my nose. I was about to get him out of the way, but then I realized that he was doing this on purpose, having been given the order to prevent me from possibly walking forward together with Bulganin. The Swiss apparently thought that Bulganin might not review the honor guard alone and that I would go out there with him. But since I held the post of first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at that time, from their point of view, it was inadmissible that I take part in this official procedure. That's why they blocked me off so rudely with the back of this man who was the chief of protocol for receiving delegations. But there was no point to all their efforts, because it had never occurred to us that anyone besides Bulganin should take part in this ceremony. The Swiss evidently had their own opinions on the subject and had made provisions to forestall any eventuality.

We made Eisenhower's acquaintance. It's true that we had met him once before when he came to Moscow right after the war. I met him in person on top of the Lenin mausoleum when we were reviewing the victory parade [in June 1945]. But it was a different kind of acquaintanceship back then. Both he and I were on different levels. What kind of meeting was it? It was like this: Stalin beckoned me with his finger and introduced me. We said hello, and that was it. Now we were officially representing our respective countries, both Eisenhower and I. Eisenhower gave a very good impression when he interacted with you in person. He is a man who easily wins people's confidence. He is easygoing in his dealings with people, and his voice is not the kind to make the person he is talking with tremble, as the commanding voices of military men are usually described. No, he had a human voice and he treated people humanely. I would even say that there was a magnetic, attractive quality about the way he treated people.

We found out that Eisenhower was being accompanied by [Nelson] Rockefeller.[9] We didn't fully understand why Eisenhower had chosen Rockefeller as an adviser. After all, what questions were facing us? The main question was to improve relations and ensure peace. Besides that, we wanted somehow to come to agreement on the possibility of obtaining credits in the West to eliminate the consequences of the terribly bloody war [World War II] and the ruin and destruction it had brought on us. We thought that the United States might give us credits (and in the first few days after the end of the war some hints to us were made to that effect), something on the order of $6 billion. To judge by what I heard from Stalin, that was the figure being discussed. Naturally we would have liked to obtain a loan like that. Of course, by then a legal dispute had been going on between the Americans and ourselves for a long time over the question of our repaying them for the aid they had delivered us under the lend-lease program. We had refused to pay, stating that we had paid enough with the blood our people had shed during the war. However, during the negotiations at Geneva we agreed to pay part of the sum the Americans were demanding of us on the condition that they grant us new long-term credits amounting to $6 billion. We felt that under those conditions we could repay the Americans for their lend-lease aid.

Our meetings and conversations went fairly well, but things didn't really move from dead center. Things couldn't move ahead because this meeting of heads of governments of the four great powers was a venture that Churchill had undertaken with the aim of simply feeling us out. He based his thinking on the notion that after Stalin's death new people had come into the leadership, and evidently, as he saw it, we were not very competent in matters of world politics; we had not yet solidified. So he decided that it would be good to test us, to put pressure on us and try to achieve concessions that the imperialist powers wanted. That's how the representatives of Britain, America, and France behaved. They sought to put pressure on the new leadership of the Soviet Union to try to extract guarantees that they considered necessary.

What in fact were they trying to achieve? What were their chief goals? The main problem was the unification of Germany. They wanted to remove the beginnings of socialism from the German Democratic Republic (the GDR, or East Germany) and decide the question of unification of the two German states in their own way, that is, on the basis of eliminating the beginnings of socialism, whose first shoots had sprung up in the GDR. They wanted to have a unified capitalist Germany, and one that would be part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). We, of course, were pursuing different aims. We wanted to sign a peace treaty with Germany recognizing the existence of two German states and giving each of them the chance to develop on the basis chosen by the people of each of the two republics. Actually we were seeking to obtain assurances of nonintervention in the internal affairs of the GDR by the Western powers and the signing of a peace agreement precisely on that basis. That was the only way to establish the conditions for peaceful coexistence. Ensuring peace was the most important question, but our Western counterparts were far from wanting to agree to the measures we were proposing. And they set conditions that we could not agree with. Therefore the Geneva meeting was doomed to failure.

The results of the meeting were literally described that way—as a failure. In terms of the practical content of the documents that were signed, the Geneva meeting did in fact turn out to be unsuccessful.

But you couldn't say the meeting was totally useless. There *were* benefits. After the official sessions, as was customary according to the international rules of diplomatic courtesy, each delegation invited another delegation to come visit for lunch or dinner on a particular evening. There the exchange of opinions continued after the official negotiations were over. At the plenary sessions an exchange of opinions of course went on among the delegations of the four powers [based on a schedule previously agreed to], with each delegation stating its point of view. But during the dinners, one delegation would sound out another on all the questions it was interested in. Although we reached no agreements about anything, we understood [better] what we could talk about at the negotiating table.

This was the first time in the postwar period that the heads of the four great powers had met. The so-called spirit of Geneva arose at that time, and the peoples of the world breathed more easily. Everyone felt that the war on whose threshold we had stood was no longer imminent. It was at Geneva that the long and difficult road began that has led us to détente, to the conclusion of agreements banning nuclear weapons testing, and to the signing of other important documents. This road has not been simple or easy, and much still remains to be done in the future. But it is good to know that we were at the very beginning of that road and took the first step into the unknown in search of ways of guaranteeing peaceful coexistence. We moved along a narrow path that began there at the Palais des Nations [former headquarters of the League of Nations] in Geneva.

[At this point I will make] some comments on the United States of America. The conversations with the U.S. delegation and its president were fairly friendly in character and proceeded under normal conditions. But the phrase "normal conditions" does not mean that they were making any concessions. The United States was not able to make concessions at that time. After all, John Foster Dulles[10] was still alive, and it was he in particular who was deciding U.S. foreign policy, not President Eisenhower at all. I want to tell about a scene I witnessed at a plenary session. The heads of the delegations took turns chairing the sessions. When Eisenhower was chairing, Dulles sat on his right side, and I was sitting to the left of the head of our delegation, Bulganin. Thus I ended up being right next to Dulles, with only the translator between us.

The scene I observed was a surprising one, and it made a powerful impression on me. During the course of the session Dulles would write something down in pencil in his notebook, tear off a sheet, and put it in the president's right hand. As the session went on Eisenhower was taking these small sheets of notepaper and reading them. It isn't as though, once he read them, he drew some conclusions for himself and presented his own position. No, he very conscientiously, like a pupil in school, read out the notes from Dulles. It's hard for me to say whether he was reading them literally or was just using them as notes to which he added his own comments. But the impression given was that he was reading them word for word. And I felt sorry for him. He shouldn't have behaved that way in front of all the delegations. The president of the United States lost face. He gave the impression that he was seeing the conference through the eyes of his secretary of state. And that's the way it actually was.

That brought us no joy, because until then we had felt a certain confidence in Eisenhower. Our confidence in him came about as a result of his behavior during the war. I am talking mainly about the last stage of the war when the Germans were removing many of their troops from the Western front, where they were fighting against the Allies who had landed [at Normandy]. The Germans were taking them from the Western front and sending them against our forces. Hitler wanted to hold us back and not let us take Berlin. Stalin said that he appealed to Eisenhower, pointing out that this would be unjust. In effect the Germans had ceased any active resistance against the American and British troops. Eisenhower then held back the offensive of his forces, Stalin told us. I remember that very well. Eisenhower's reply was that the Russians should be given moral satisfaction. The Russians had taken the heaviest casualties in fighting the Germans, and they were the ones who rightly should enter Berlin with their troops. Stalin attributed what we won in battle [the taking of Berlin] to the chivalry and nobility of Eisenhower, and I agreed with Stalin's assessment.

Another detail. When our troops had smashed the Germans, broken their resistance, and were heading in the direction of Vienna, and when the Germans saw that they could no longer put up any resistance to our forces, instead of surrendering to Soviet troops, they turned westward and wanted to surrender to the Americans. Stalin again addressed Eisenhower, pointing out that it was we who had smashed the Germans, but they were laying down their arms and turning themselves over to others. Eisenhower ordered his troops not to accept the defeated Germans as prisoners but to tell the commanders of the German forces in that area to surrender to the Russians, to lay down their arms and turn themselves over to our forces.

Here's another incident. Because the Germans did not put up much resistance on the Western front, the troops of the Allies were able to advance beyond the positions assigned for their forces under the agreement made at the Yalta conference [in 1945].[11]

I remember that Stalin expressed alarm (in my presence). He was concerned about whether the Americans and British would withdraw their forces again to the lines specified at Yalta or whether they would demand recognition of the status quo, setting the lines of demarcation between our forces on the basis of the positions actually occupied by their troops. When the Germans surrendered, the Americans did return to the lines specified by the Yalta conference. And when the Americans did that, the British followed suit.

All these things disposed me favorably toward Eisenhower then, and they still do—regardless of the strained relations that developed later. We nourished certain hopes that once he had become president he would maintain his former worldview and that we could "get somewhere with him," as the saying goes—that we could reach an agreement on a rational foundation. That is, in such a way that the interests of the United States, of course not class interests but state interests, would not be infringed on, but at the same time the interests of the Soviet Union and a number of other countries would be taken into account. A good agreement like that would ensure peace and noninterference in internal affairs.

But when I saw that Eisenhower was reading aloud whatever notes Dulles slipped into his hand, all my hopes immediately faded. The Eisenhower we remembered was a different man, an outstanding military leader, but now what we encountered was a run-of-the-mill politician. He was not taking his own position on international questions but was relying totally on Dulles. And we considered Dulles a man lacking in common sense, intoxicated and paralyzed by hatred. He did not want to look at the future realistically, a future in which a different relationship of forces was taking shape and which would become more clearly defined as time went by. He could not correctly evaluate what was going on or foresee the course of events from a proper angle. Dulles, Eisenhower, and our other Western counterparts in the negotiations of course stood on capitalist positions. Nevertheless, politicians who are not lacking in reason even from their capitalist class positions ought to be able to weigh facts in a sound and realistic way and understand that the balance of forces had changed and would continue to change to the disadvantage of the capitalist world. The strength of the socialist countries was growing, and the forces of the proletarian Communist working class movement were increasing. That's what Dulles should have looked for as a foundation for his policies. Dulles, however, wanted to put all his energy into trying to stop the increase in the strength of socialism, and of the progressive movement, that had occurred and is still occurring now in the world.

Despite all of Dulles's blind hatred for Communism and for the progressive forces, when it came to the possibility of war being unleashed he remained a sober politician. He invented the term "brinkmanship," referring to the policy of going to the brink of war, and he based his policy on going to the brink. But he knew that if he crossed over the line, he would get it in the teeth but good. And no matter how much Dulles shouted about war and about containing Communism, we knew that he would not cross that boundary and would not rashly plunge the world into a new war. His sober-mindedness as a politician was displayed in this respect. In a certain sense it was easier for us to deal with him than with politicians who were hotheads, people about whom it would be difficult to say what they would do when under the influence of some impassioned mood of the moment.

But it was impossible to come to agreement on anything with Dulles. The mere thought of the possibility of establishing friendly relations with the Soviet Union simply drove him wild; he was beside himself at the very thought. And so the brightly colored image of Eisenhower that I had painted for myself faded right before my eyes. Zhukov did meet with Eisenhower on the basis that they were old acquaintances. I observed Zhukov's first meeting with Eisenhower. It was very warm, and you could even say friendly. I felt that Eisenhower greeted Zhukov with great respect. Then Zhukov went by himself to visit Eisenhower, and they sat together an entire evening and had a conversation. Later Zhukov told us about it. Of course the conversation couldn't go beyond the bounds of the negotiations that we were engaged in. It couldn't go further and it couldn't become too intimate. But I don't think they focused especially on such matters [under discussion at the conference]. They mostly reminisced about the war, their roles in it, and all sorts of military episodes. In that respect they did indeed have something to talk about. When Zhukov returned he only said: "Look, the president gave me a fishing reel as a gift." Eisenhower also presented some gifts for Zhukov's daughter (she had just been married) and some souvenirs for Zhukov's wife. That was all. We had thought that Zhukov somehow might be able to convince the U.S. delegation to take a more favorable position toward the relaxation of military tensions and establishing conditions for peaceful coexistence. But everything was limited to merely military reminiscences.

Even with this result, I don't think we were wrong to take Zhukov along, including him as one of the people accompanying our chairman of the Council of Ministers to the Geneva negotiations. The U.S. delegation of course had every reason to take the leadership in the negotiations, because the United States was the leading power among the capitalist countries. Neither France nor England could determine the course of Western policy. But blocking the path toward a relaxation of tensions was John Foster Dulles. He was like a watchdog, the way he sat down right next to Eisenhower and directed his every action. He was a fervent anti-Communist, and an aggressive man who could not agree to peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union. Thus neither the conversations we had during a dinner in honor of Eisenhower, nor the meetings and one-on-one conversations between Zhukov and Eisenhower, could produce any results. They were nothing but polite formalities. Eisenhower personally didn't want to engage in any political negotiations [in those private meetings].

During the breaks between sessions, when free time was available, our delegation traveled around in an open car to see the city. We drove along the shore of Lake Geneva and into the suburbs of Geneva. People were surprised that we conducted ourselves so freely, having no fear that some terrorist attacks might occur. I didn't notice any displays of hostility from the onlookers, of whom there were not that many. People looked at us with curiosity, as if to say: "What kind of people are these? They seem to look the same as everyone else." We noticed curiosity but not hostility. But there were also no special displays of sympathy toward our delegation. Apparently the public in Geneva was accustomed to all kinds of foreign delegations and took a rather calm view of the fact that one more delegation had arrived, one more series of international meetings was going on. That's why our stay in the city didn't provoke any great hullabaloo. And actually we didn't expect anything like that.

When we gathered for the first meeting Eisenhower proposed: "Let's follow this procedure: after each session let's go into the barroom *(prikhodit v bufet)*[12] and have a martini in a small glass to remove the aftertaste of our quarrels." And that's what we did. As soon as the session ended, we all went to the *bufet,* and each poured himself a small glass. Of course while doing that we joked a little and then we went our separate ways. Dulles and Rockefeller usually accompanied Eisenhower. I remember he introduced me to the latter. He said: "Here, Mr. Khrushchev, Mr. Rockefeller." This banker's appearance made no special impression on me then. He was dressed "democratically," with no similarity to the image of a millionaire that I had previously created in my imagination. I looked at him and said: "So this is the Mr. Rockefeller I've heard so much about!" I went up to him and gave him some pokes in the ribs with my fists. He took it as a joke and responded in kind. After that our relations were totally relaxed.

The conversations at dinner with the British delegation, headed by Eden, were more interesting than the others. Eden turned out to be a handsome man. Tall, with a mustache. He reminded me somewhat of a Georgian, if you will. He was a pleasant man. The British foreign minister, Selwyn Lloyd, accompanied him. Our conversations with them were not actually on a friendly basis, but still it was a warm atmosphere. Eden was a very likable man who tended to win favor with people. He was an experienced politician and personally directed the policy of his government and of the Conservative Party, unlike Eisenhower. In our meetings Eden was a model of British politeness and polish. His delicacy and democratic manners were expressed in everything he did.

After the meetings with Eisenhower and Eden I noticed that neither of them had a passion for drink. They drank in moderation. They were more inclined to joke and engage in conversation.

Our relations with the French delegation were especially good. Edgar Faure was a very witty person who was very easy to be around, if I can put it that way. He knew how to win people over. It was pleasant to talk with him. During our conversations we often joked. I remember I began calling him Edgar Ivanovich. He understood my jokes and responded to them. But the French delegation did not have a leading position at Geneva. I would say, it didn't even have the position it should have had, the position that France should have held in principle. The government changed very frequently in France and therefore its policies were unstable. As a result it was not customary to take a serious attitude toward France's position. If Faure's government had grown stronger, there could have been hopes for improvement in our relations and for the development of trade. We could hardly expect more than that in those days.

So the conference continued, but essentially no problems were solved. In opposition to us stood the three other delegations, who held a unified position against us. The fact that Eden formulated the very same policy line in a softer way by no means changed the situation. It was the same line that the United States and France were pursuing. At dinner Eden asked us: "What would your attitude be if we invited you officially to make a visit to Great Britain? It would be useful for both of our governments." We answered that, yes, of course it would be useful and we would gladly take up such a proposal if we received it. Perhaps we didn't answer in such categorical terms as I am now using, but nevertheless we virtually agreed that London would send an invitation and that this invitation for our delegation to visit Britain would be accepted. All the meetings were the same, dinner followed dinner. These meetings simply took up time but essentially solved none of the problems we had gathered to seek solutions to.

Later when I met Mr. Nehru of India[13] (as I recall, it was in 1960, when I headed the Soviet delegation to the UN General Assembly) he was always smiling and had such a gentle expression on his face. He was quite prepossessing. He asked me: "Mr. Khrushchev, I am interested in how your talks with Dulles went." I understood that he was particularly interested in this. He knew our uncompromising position in regard to the policies Dulles was pursuing, and he knew that Dulles's policies were absolutely uncompromising toward the Soviet state.

I answered: "Yes, we met during our dinner with Eisenhower. We met in unofficial circumstances, and Eisenhower sat us next to each other."

"Well, what happened?"

"We talked about which dishes he liked, or I liked, comparing the ones that we had just tasted. That actually was the entire content of our conversation. Nothing more."

Dulles was a man of dry personality. In the conversations at dinner he was more restrained than others; he was not at all talkative, like the French or even the British. In this sense Edgar Faure was far more hospitable and polite. When we talked with him at dinner he invited us with great warmth to make a trip in the evening, going from Geneva to France, to a place nearby that was especially famous for its good wine. He wanted to treat us to this wine. We replied that we were agreeable to his invitation, thanked him, and were ready to make the trip. Of course we weren't seriously getting ready for this outing. I think that Faure also assumed that we wouldn't be going. It was simply a demonstration of politeness. He knew very well that we would not put him in an awkward position, making him take us to a place that was not provided for by the diplomatic protocol.

When we began to draft the final document of the conference the irreconcilability of our positions became evident. Our position was based (and this continues to be true) on the recognition of the borders that had actually been established after the war. It followed from this reality that Germany should be divided into two separate states, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG, or West Germany) and the German Democratic Republic

(GDR, or East Germany), and this needed to be recognized. We also considered it necessary to ban nuclear weapons. Those were the two key questions. Resolving them would contribute to relaxation of tensions and increased mutual trust. That's what we were striving for.

The West said that it was also in favor of peaceful coexistence, but without the recognition of two separate Germanys. They regarded the existing situation as a leftover result of the war. They accused us of not wanting a single unified Germany, and they continued to insist on their rights as occupying powers until a peace treaty was concluded with Germany. But they could not sign a peace treaty because of the existence of two separate Germanys. They would only recognize one Germany: West Germany, headed by Adenauer. And so we tossed this ball back and forth on the playing field, or rather over the table separating our delegations that had gathered in Geneva.

In regard to Germany we sought some sort of compromise, so that a common text could be issued in the name of the four powers. The formulations in the text made it possible for each delegation to interpret them in its own way. Four delegations were meeting, but really there were only two sides: the Soviet Union and the three countries of the capitalist world. In order not to mislead public opinion, we prepared a statement that we planned to issue separately, and immediately after the signing of the document we organized a press conference at which we read out our special statement as to how we understood the declaration adopted in Geneva. As a result both sides remained in their former positions.

I think that ultimately our opponents will be forced to recognize the German Democratic Republic and establish diplomatic relations with it. That would contribute to the normalization of relations between peoples and governments. But for this to happen, effort is required—and, I repeat, patience. Of course, patience by itself is not enough. We must seek opportunities for negotiations and be persistent in trying to reach agreement and achieve normalization of relations. Today the GDR has all the conditions necessary for development as an independent state. It has its own governmental structure, army, and borders. It controls its borders and defends them itself. It has strong friends in the form of the socialist countries, and so the capitalist powers will not be able to solve the problem "from positions of strength." The problem can no longer be approached that way. The enemies of Communism understand this and are forced to take this reality into account.

I don't know who asked me if I was acquainted with Adenauer (whether it was Eisenhower or Eden). I said that I was not personally acquainted with him, but I knew him fairly well from the press. I was quite familiar with his position and the policies he pursued. His policies promised nothing good for us. The person I was talking with looked at me and made a kind of "well-meaning" face and said: "You know it would be useful for you to meet with him. He is not at all the kind of person who I see you imagine him to be. He is a good old fellow. He's a person you can talk with."

I replied: "As for good old fellows, that is a question of each person's approach in evaluating his goodness. Our position is opposite to the one you are taking—with your 'good intentions' and 'well-meaning expression' on your face." The conversation was going on at the dinner table, and I didn't really phrase my remarks all that sharply. I knew that for the time being we were divided by a deep abyss. We were people from different camps, and that's why for them he was good but for us he was bad.[14]

But I have digressed. I don't want to try to say now how the questions discussed at the meeting in Geneva were formulated exactly. I am speaking from memory and am not making use of any specialized literature. Besides, this stage of the political struggle has already been bypassed. What I want to talk about here is the spirit and character of our meeting, which was useful in spite of everything. The capitalist countries were feeling us out. They apparently decided that it no longer made sense to try and talk with us "from positions of strength" on fundamental questions. I don't know if they definitively came to that conclusion at that time. But at any rate they became aware that we would not just give in. We demonstrated to the world that we were seeking peaceful coexistence, but without concessions that would indicate that we could be forced back from our positions by threats and intimidation. We also felt that although we honestly and sincerely expressed our desire for peaceful coexistence, stating that we had no desire to conquer the world, as we were accused by the press in the capitalist world, nevertheless, we were not able to convince the Western countries to agree to an improvement in relations.

What we thought at the time was that in the first stages it would be good to agree to expand commercial relations. We especially wanted trade with the United States. They had passed a law restricting trade with the Soviet Union. We also wanted increased trade with France and Britain. However, as I have already said, the question of questions remained the German problem. This was where the critical contact points were located, in our opinion. This was the question that would decide whether the political temperature would rise to a critical level or would remain normal, neither cold nor hot but warm—all that depended on these points of contact. If a warm atmosphere could be maintained, it would be mutually beneficial and would create favorable conditions for peaceful coexistence of the two systems, capitalist and socialist.

We were seeking peaceful coexistence on the governmental level. On the question of ideology and philosophy we always made a clear distinction, and we stated openly that peaceful coexistence between socialist and capitalist ideology was not possible, that they were incompatible as long as each side remained on positions of principle, from which neither side could back down. In that area the battle had to be fought through to the end, and it was clear to every sound-thinking person that ideological questions could be solved only through struggle and would only be decided in the end by the victory of one side or the other. If we are Communists, Marxists, Leninists, then our belief has been and still is that victory will go to the new, more progressive system, to Marxism-Leninism. And if that is so, how can there be any talk of peaceful coexistence with capitalist ideology?

That's how the Geneva conference went. We returned from Geneva without achieving the desired results. But it is not quite accurate to say that. In spite of everything there were some results: in a certain sense we broke out of isolation, the isolation that had existed around us previously. This found expression, if nothing else, in the fact that we were invited to visit Britain, and we accepted this invitation. This represented a kind of breakthrough on the front lines for those days.

Actually the Geneva meeting produced a lot of results. First of all, it gave us the opportunity to become personally acquainted. We got to know one another's positions better. The meeting took place after Stalin's death, and the Western countries in turn had a chance to meet the new leaders of the USSR. They were able to weigh what kind of people we were, what we were capable of, and what could be expected of us. They were able to see whether or not they could win anything from us by using pressure. We also were able to picture our opponents more concretely and realistically. The document we mutually adopted also had quite a bit of significance. Of course it revealed disagreement on the fundamental question [of Germany], but to make up for it, we reached a certain understanding about where we were not yet ready to decide questions through negotiations. Things still remained at the beginning stages.

I think the Geneva meeting was very useful for us. If I am to speak only for myself, I viewed it as a test for us, as our going out into the world, measuring ourselves against others shoulder to shoulder—that is, against our counterparts representing other countries. It was a chance for us to compare our understanding of questions with theirs. This has great importance, very great importance, for leaders. Especially for us, people who had lived for such a long time under Stalin's wing. Stalin had decided all international questions on his own. He had always set the direction of Soviet foreign policy, and suddenly we were left without Stalin.

It was necessary to see the world and show ourselves to the world, as the saying goes. We wanted to get to know the personalities of these other people better, and their approach to solving governmental problems, and other qualities that it's necessary to know about any political figure. You have to know your counterpart, your adversary, in order to do a better job of constructing your own policy. This kind of meeting allows you to understand on what questions and on what basis you can come to agreement and on what questions you cannot come to agreement. Once you know people, it's easier to understand how to arrange relations with countries with which you have disputes. This has great importance. Opposing sides always seek various ways to resolve problems: sometimes they roll out the welcome mat or spread out soft rugs on which they walk quietly on cats' feet, treading ever so gently, and then suddenly they start to bellow and make other threatening sounds. In politics everything should be balanced and measured *(sorazmereno)*. There's a saying that if you raise your voice half a note too high, you can end up soiling your pants [from straining yourself too much]. On the other hand, if you don't make use of such half notes [that is, if you keep your voice too low, seeming to be weak], you may show that you don't understand what's going on, and then your opponent will either come down hard on you or disregard you altogether.

In short, we were sniffing one another out and walking around one another at these official and unofficial meetings. Especially when we met at dinners, we acquired a great deal of knowledge of our counterparts, getting to know the leading figures in international politics and the heads of government with whom we had to live either in peace or in war. At any rate we had to live. After all, we all live on the same planet, and unresolved problems disturb everyone. You have to try things out to contrive how to live and how to arrange your mutual relations. I think that a very useful meeting was held in Geneva. It had great importance for our Soviet government and for our leadership. I think our delegation emerged with honor from this mutual probing. We carried out the tasks that had been assigned to us by our Soviet government and our Central Committee.

I am telling about everything from my own point of view. Some people might say: "What is this? Weren't there other people there?" Especially since the head of the delegation was Bulganin. Molotov was there, and Zhukov, and a supporting apparatus from the Central Committee department of political information. I am speaking in my own name because I am dictating my memoirs. Of course all the others carried on conversations, expressed themselves, and had their own opinions. But the general political direction we all took was the same, without any shadings of difference. And so the position that I have laid out was the united position of all of us. Strictly speaking, that was the position of our government and the position of our Central Committee. There were no differences of opinion in our delegation at all. I would like to be understood correctly by those who read the transcripts of these memoirs. When we were having conversations at the dinner table the heads of delegations addressed themselves to me personally most often. Of course they addressed everyone and made it appear as though they were addressing everyone equally. But I sensed that both Eden and Eisenhower, not to mention Edgar Faure, addressed me more frequently. When questions came up that I thought the head of our government should respond to, I held back and hid behind Bulganin. But Bulganin frequently encouraged me, as though giving me a push with his shoulder. "You answer, you answer," he would whisper to me, and I would answer. I did not decline.

What about Molotov? Molotov was the most experienced of us all in political negotiations. He had already participated in similar conferences many times in the Stalin era. But he had already acquired a certain reputation. He was the man who said "Nyet"—that's what they used to write about him.[15] It may be that Western leaders thought it would be easier to come to an agreement with Khrushchev. It's more likely that they understood that the structure of our government rested on Marxist-Leninist doctrine and therefore the role of the party and the role of the Central Committee and consequently the role of the first secretary [that is, Khrushchev] was very great. I will not conceal the fact, to put it briefly, that it fell to my lot more than to others to reply to questions. At the official sessions, all the talking on behalf of our delegation was done by Bulganin and no one else. The rest of us only listened and looked, paid attention, observed—nothing more.

We wanted our delegation to give the appearance of solidity, and we didn't want the head of our government to look like Eisenhower, who was openly displaying his subordinate position by following the prompting given to him in the form of Dulles's notes. We came to agreement ahead of time on all questions, and Bulganin on the whole answered all questions confidently. If during the course of a session it was necessary to react to some unexpected comment from our counterparts, we would whisper together a little bit—that was entirely permissible—and again Bulganin would give the answer. I want to be understood correctly. Not only did I not infringe on the dignity of the head of our government but on the contrary I sought to protect and preserve his dignity.

When the meetings ended and the delegations began to disperse (I don't remember now in what order the various delegations left Geneva), we had arranged in advance that on our way back to our country we would stop in East Berlin, where we would hold consultations and issue a joint statement with the government of the GDR, and that is what we did.

We arrived in Berlin. We were met there with great honors. Crowds of people came out to meet us and met us very favorably. I visited Berlin many times after that, but that first meeting remains especially vivid in my memory. It seems to me that that was my first official visit. I had been in Berlin in 1945 after the signing of the Potsdam agreement, but I went there incognito, as a private individual. I wanted to familiarize myself with the municipal economy of Berlin. But now we were officially representing the Soviet Union, and therefore the welcome that was organized for us was splendid, even sensational.

I was surprised by it. I would have thought that after the bloody war of mutual annihilation, which the German people and the peoples of the Soviet Union had gone through, we could hardly expect to be greeted with much warmth. I even assumed that there might be some displays of hostility. Of course, rather sour expressions were noticeable on some faces, but we didn't encounter a great many people like that. For the most part the people we met were friendly toward us and behaved in a fairly upbeat manner. As I saw it, that testified to the fact that the Germans had had their fill of war and sincerely wanted to build friendly relations with us. The negotiations we had with the leaders of the GDR were good and were conducted in the proper spirit. The documents we adopted corresponded to the desires of both sides, and those documents were published.[16]

We took that step so that public opinion would understand things correctly. After all, the declarations signed by the four delegations at Geneva allowed for different interpretations on some points. We interpreted them in our way and the other side did so in their way. Only as a result of that kind of compromise were we able to sign a document at all, but we didn't want to leave without anything to show for the meeting. We also didn't want those [ambiguous] points to be interpreted as a concession in principle on our part. That's why we made a public announcement in Geneva and repeated it in the bilateral statement signed by representatives of the USSR and the GDR.

Thus ended our first trip abroad in our capacity as leaders of the land of the Soviets. We met with the heads of the capitalist governments, looked them over, and let them see us. I would say that to a certain extent we passed the test as to whether we could represent our country worthily without giving in to intimidation and without displaying excessive hope, but taking a sober approach to the existing situation. I say this because before his death Stalin would constantly repeat, whenever he got angry: "I'm going to die, and they'll wipe you out like so many partridges—the imperialist powers will. You don't know how to defend the Soviet state." He would always reproach us in that way, but we kept quiet because there was no point arguing with him, and he wasn't asking for any response from us. Now it was interesting for us to go abroad, meet the representatives of the capitalist countries, and feel them out.

We needed to do that because we didn't think Stalin always approached his assessment of the international situation soberly. He exaggerated the role of our armed forces. He thought that by threatening and intimidating the imperialists we could maintain the peace, however shaky it might be. He was expecting a new war at any moment. The antiaircraft artillery around Moscow was kept on constant alert. Stalin didn't assess the postwar international situation correctly when he assumed the imperialist powers would attack the Soviet Union. In fact no such situation existed. Apparently he frightened himself with the thought of a possible attack on the USSR and thought that after his death we wouldn't be able to defend the country, that the capitalist powers would crush us.

Our trip to Geneva convinced us once again that no pre-war situation actually existed at that time and that our likely enemies feared us as much as we feared them. That was why they too rattled their sabers and tried to put pressure on us to obtain an agreement that would be advantageous to them. On the other hand, they also knew the boundary that they should not cross, and they conducted themselves circumspectly, taking our resistance into account and recognizing that they could not get what they wanted by force or extortion. They understood that they had to establish relations with us on a different basis. That's why the trip to Geneva was useful even though it didn't produce any actual results. The mutual probing during our meetings also had positive results, if only in the sense that people abroad saw that we were worthy representatives of our country, that we were prepared to defend the gains of our revolution and defend the agreements made as a result of the defeat of Germany, so that they were not successful in extracting what they wanted and revising the Potsdam agreement to the advantage of the West.

What else have I forgotten? What else is there that deserves attention? Our delegation worked harmoniously when we gathered together, held our meetings, and exchanged opinions. No disagreements appeared on our side. Absolutely none. That made me happy and created all the conditions necessary for us to work out a common position of our own and to go on the offensive against the opposing side. We sought to defend our point of view and to achieve the maximum in the effort to preserve the peace. We encouraged our counterparts to recognize that only peaceful coexistence, and the acceptance of that, could help us avoid a confrontation. The opposing sides were already armed to the teeth, and the dangerous stockpiling of nuclear weapons was continuing.

At Geneva, at the same time that we put pressure on the opposing side and attacked them, we spoke in favor of the withdrawal of troops from occupied territories. It could not be permitted that someone's troops should remain deployed on the territory of other countries. Otherwise we could not succeed in establishing normal conditions, removing tensions, and ensuring nonintervention in the affairs of those countries. That's when I began to think that we ought to untie our own hands, to give ourselves freedom of action, to be the first to withdraw our troops from those countries where to do so would not harm us. Our troops were stationed in Finland. We had a military base there. It was literally right on the edge of Helsinki, their capital city.[17]

Why does a recollection about that base come to me now? Our ambassador in Finland reported to us, back then, that when the train from Helsinki passed through the area occupied by our military base, the curtains on the railroad cars were closed and people were warned not to leave their coaches, not to go outside, and not to look out. Also the lights were turned off. Naturally this caused upset and irritation for the Finnish passengers. If we wanted friendship with Finland, and to strengthen such friendship, there was no reason to expect it on a basis like this. Our military base threatened Helsinki with its cannon, and we were causing painful pinpricks to Finnish pride and self-respect every day. What could we do that would be worse?

Every day several hundred people were being reminded in a way that was impossible to misunderstand that our military base was right there on top of them, right next to their capital city, and they had to obey our orders. All sorts of misunderstandings also occurred when our officers traveled on Finnish roads. This is totally understandable and inevitable. After all, this was a military base, and these were not some trade-union delegates making a visit. It was a military base, military personnel were stationed there, and they were manning their fortifications. In short, they were doing what military men are supposed to do.

I was troubled by this thought: “How could we call on the Americans to withdraw their troops from foreign territories if our base existed in Finland?” It was performing the same function as the American bases, for example, in Turkey and other countries. I wanted to untie our hands in foreign policy, so that people could not throw accusations in our faces, and so that we could freely and at the top of our voices speak out, appeal to, and mobilize public opinion against countries and politicians who advocated placing their military bases on foreign territory.

I had an exchange of opinions with Bulganin. He agreed with me. Our foreign minister, Molotov, thought differently, and knowing that, I didn’t exchange opinions with him on the subject, because I foresaw his reaction in advance as a person who did not have flexibility of mind. It was only with difficulty that he could make a sober reassessment of the international situation.

One day, during a break between sessions, when Zhukov and I were alone together, I asked him: “Listen, Georgy . . .”—our relations were that friendly and close that I used to address him by his first name—“tell me, does our base in Finland have any value?”

He frowned and looked at me sternly: “You know, to tell the truth, it has none. What could this base actually do?” He even spread out his hands [in a sign of helplessness].

I asked: “And if that base didn’t exist, could a threat develop against us from the direction of Finland?”

“None whatsoever,” he said.

I understood that myself. But I wanted to have confirmation from the lips of a military man, especially from Zhukov, who had already become defense minister of the Soviet Union. I was providing myself with verification. I didn’t want distorted interpretations going around, saying that we had established this base under Stalin, then as soon as Stalin died we eliminated the base and weakened our position. “I agree with you,” I replied to Zhukov. “Shouldn’t we then eliminate that military base? That would be very much to our advantage politically, and even more so economically. We’re pouring money into that base. What for? We’re maintaining an army there. And that costs us millions. Plus there’s the fact of the deployment of our troops on Finnish territory. That is not the way to win the respect of the Finnish people. That’s an insult to their national dignity, and it could become a catalyst giving rise to hatred toward the Russians and the Soviet state. And after all, so much combustible fuel has built up after two world wars and other military conflicts. I don't think that's the best way to win the confidence of the Finnish people—by holding a knife to their throat in the form of our military base."

Then I said to Zhukov: "When we return, write down your thinking on this subject." (I wanted the initiative to come from the military.) I added: "Then I will bring the question to the Central Committee Presidium."

That's what we did. Of course we discussed the question before the document was submitted. I told the others about Zhukov's opinion. The memorandum from Zhukov arrived and we made the decision. Then we invited the Finns to Moscow. We wanted to give them something to gladden their hearts. They correctly understood the measure we were taking, which I would call magnanimous and sensible. Immediately tense muscles relaxed and the bitter taste left over from the wars that had been waged was wiped away. Trust and sympathy toward us grew. Not only in the leadership, but also among the people.

So many years have gone by since then. I look back over the path we have traveled, and I am very pleased that this was done. We now have the very best relations with the Finnish people. I met with the president of Finland many times and traveled to that country myself. Our meetings were of various kinds, and at one time I even sat in his private sauna, and we drank beer there. The Finns invariably take steam baths in their saunas and invariably drink beer while they are doing that, and if they are in a good mood, they sing songs. President Kekkonen came to visit us several times. I conducted negotiations with him. Our talks led to the very best results. And I see now that Finland seeks our friendship and wants to expand good relations with us, relations whose foundation was laid in those years when we withdrew our troops from their country.

Of course we had signed a peace treaty with Finland even earlier, and then we signed a friendship treaty, and so on and so forth. But what if foreign troops are right next to your capital city, and your neighboring country is demanding that representatives of your country agree to certain unpleasant, even repulsive measures, and you have to agree to it all because of your weakness? That is no testimony to friendship; it only attests to weakness. You cannot arouse any inner sympathy that way. But with a display of good intentions you can. Our good intentions were expressed in the withdrawal of the troops that had been stationed there under Stalin. I am sure that if this kind of policy is continued, the Finns will continue to be our good friends. And that has great importance. Of course Finland is a capitalist country. But we were also a country of capitalists and landlords at one time, and we became a socialist country. We Communists believe that the entire world will come over to our point of view and begin building socialism.

When will that happen? It's impossible to predict. Each country and each people will do this in its own time and with its own hands. Socialism cannot be imposed. We have to remember Lenin's statement that the revolution cannot be exported. But also the counterrevolution must not be exported. That is the position we took back then, and even now I am deeply devoted to these principles. I find it pleasant to recall the correct way we acted in relation to Finland. We did a good thing and at the same time we untied our hands.

Of course, none of the capitalist governments followed our example. But we have gained many supporters in the capitalist countries. Perhaps the capitalist states are pursuing a policy based on "positions of strength." But our strength is also growing. A good example finds imitators and wins sympathy. With that I will end this section of my memoirs.

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1. This is a reference to Churchill's famous "Iron Curtain" speech (March 5, 1946) at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, in the home state of U.S. President Harry Truman. Truman invited him there after Churchill had been defeated in the British elections of 1945. [GS]

2. The Conservative government headed by Anthony Eden held office from April 6, 1955, until January 9, 1957. See Biographies.

3. The Conservative government of Stanley Baldwin, in which national Liberals and national Laborites took part, held office from June 7, 1935 until May 28, 1937. However, it appears that Khrushchev has in mind not Baldwin's government but that of Neville Chamberlain, which had the same political complexion and held office from May 28, 1937, until May 10, 1940. It was as a result of disagreements with Chamberlain that Eden resigned from the position of minister of foreign affairs in 1938. [MN] This happened after the Munich agreement with Hitler. [GS]

4. Here Khrushchev uses an expression that comes from a Russian saying, *Kazhdy sverchok znai svoi shestok,* which means, "Every cricket should know its place under the stove." [GS]

5. It was not that the other leaders were trying to become more involved in foreign policy. They would never have dared even to try. Stalin was incapable of changing his dictatorial nature, and therefore could not admit to himself the need for training other leaders in making foreign policy decisions. [SK]

6. Nikolai Bulganin headed the Soviet government from 1955 to 1958. See Biographies.

7. Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969) was president of the United States for two terms, from 1953 to 1961. See Biographies.

8. From February 23, 1955, to January 24, 1956, Edgar Faure headed a coalition government in France consisting of the radical and social republican parties, the Popular Republican Movement, the Democratic and Socialist Resistance Union, Republican and Social Action, the peasant group, and independents. See Biographies.

9. This was Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller, grandson of the founder of the Rockefeller financial dynasty, who in 1955 was special aide to the president on foreign policy. See Biographies.

10. John Foster Dulles (1888–1959) was U.S. secretary of state from 1953 to 1959. In 1954 he put forward the doctrine of "massive retaliation" against the countries of the socialist camp in the event of international military conflict. See Biographies.

11. The Yalta conference was held February 4–11, 1945, when it was obvious that Germany would soon be defeated. Accordingly, lines of demarcation were agreed upon, specifying exactly which part of German territory each Allied power would occupy and where the lines between each occupying force would be drawn. Joint policy toward postwar Germany, coordinated by an Allied Control Council based in Berlin, was also agreed upon, but that arrangement did not withstand the test of time.

The conference was held near the Crimean resort town of Yalta, with the delegations being housed mainly in two former palaces and a former nobleman's villa outside the town, including the former tsar's Livadia palace, where conference sessions were held. The heads of government of the three Allied powers, Stalin for the Soviet Union, Roosevelt for the United States, and Churchill for Great Britain, presided at the conference. They were accompanied by their foreign ministers and chiefs of staff, along with many other advisers. The U.S. and British delegations each had about 350 members.

Because so much has been written about the Yalta conference, including by three participants—Churchill, U.S. Secretary of State James Byrnes, and U.S. Undersecretary of State Edward Stettinius—it is not necessary to go into detail here. Among the many points taken up at the conference were the following: founding of the United Nations, with a Security Council on which the chief Allied powers each would have a veto; postwar reparations; the character of the governments to be established in Poland and Yugoslavia; maintenance of the status quo for Mongolia; and agreement by the Soviet Union to declare war on Japan within three months after the end of hostilities in Europe—with the Soviet Union obtaining southern Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands, as well as the right to occupy northern Korea down to the 38th parallel and rights to Port Arthur, Dalian (Dairen), and two Manchurian railroads. [GS]

12. The *bufet* was a refreshment room or area with a table or counter where drinks were available. [GS]

13. At this time, Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) was prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of India. See Biographies.

14. In the next chapter, Khrushchev recounts Adenauer's visit to Moscow, in September 1955, shortly after this July 1955 meeting in Geneva. [GS]

15. U.S. newspaper headlines and stories in the late 1940s and early 1950s often quoted the Russian word *Nyet* (meaning "No") in an effort to ridicule the frequent Soviet use of the veto in the United Nations Security Council. It was in this connection that Molotov was often depicted as "the man who said 'Nyet.'" At the founding of the United Nations five countries were given veto power, the right to say "No," in the Security Council—the United States, Britain, France, China, and the Soviet Union. [GS] Molotov was also given the nickname "Stonebottom." [SS]

16. The treaty on relations between the USSR and East Germany was officially signed on September 20, 1955. Its main provision was that Soviet troops deployed in East Germany would not interfere in the country's domestic affairs. At the same time, letters were exchanged between the two governments, the main provision of which was that East Germany would guard and control its own borders as well as lines of communication between West Germany and West Berlin.

17. The Soviet base was at Porkkala Udd, a peninsula about 400 square kilometers (160 square miles) in area in southern Finland, not far from Finland's capital city, Helsinki. In September 1944 the peninsula and adjacent waters were leased by the Soviet Union for use as a military and naval base for a fifty-year period. When Finland withdrew from World War II, in August-September 1944, breaking its former alliance with Nazi Germany, a Soviet-Finnish armistice agreement was signed on September 19, 1944. The leasing of Porkkala Udd for use as a Soviet military base was included as clause 8 of that agreement. This agreement was confirmed by a 1947 peace treaty signed in Paris. (Five peace treaties were signed in Paris in 1947—between the World War II Allies, on one side, and, on the other, Finland, Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary, each treaty being a separate document.) Under Khrushchev, the Soviet government withdrew from the Porkkala Udd base in the latter part of 1955, and an official document restoring the territory to Finland was signed on January 26, 1956. [GS]

MEETING WITH ADENAUER (SEPTEMBER 1955)

I will now express a few thoughts about the reception in the USSR of a delegation from the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). The delegation was headed by Adenauer.[1] The only meeting I had with Adenauer was that one—in Moscow in September 1955. We were very pleased by the

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This part of the memoirs was tape-recorded in 1969.

initiative taken by Adenauer when he proposed that there be a meeting in the Soviet Union. Both sides wanted such a meeting, and it was beneficial for both. The situation in Germany had remained abnormal (it still is today [in 1969]). That's why there naturally arose a desire to normalize it.

After Stalin's death, Adenauer and his party [the Christian Democratic Union, or CDU] thought it would be possible for them to achieve their maximum goal of absorbing the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), thus creating a unified German capitalist state. Adenauer and his supporters—our former allies—felt that West Germany had already built up enough economic strength. Now it was able to offer credits to other countries. The USSR needed credits to buy modern equipment on the Western market. Credits would allow us to obtain equipment that we needed but were not yet able to produce in our country, nor could we obtain it in the other socialist countries.

As far as I remember, the government of the FRG (the initials used for West Germany, the Federal Republic of Germany) said at that time that it was ready to offer us credits by way of compensation for postwar reparations that had not been paid—reparations due to us under the Potsdam Agreement.[2] The FRG had not paid them on time. I don't remember the amount. A figure something like 500 million West German marks keeps running through my head. The West German mark had a high value on Western markets. Adenauer had imagined incorrectly the position we might take in regard to the GDR (East Germany). First, we could not at all agree to the question being posed: whether East Germany was to be or not to be. After all, that was a question for the [East] Germans themselves to decide—that is, those who had established this new republic. We had an interest, not in eliminating, but in strengthening East Germany. It's hard to imagine how this idea could have occurred to Adenauer—that we might agree to the elimination of East Germany. Our ideological, political, and economic contacts with East Germany were mutual, not unilateral.

We insisted on the preservation of an independent German state of the workers and peasants that would be our ally. Besides, our military-strategic interests also lay in the direction of strengthening East Germany. As for West Germany, as I have said, it was seeking to achieve a unified German state on capitalist foundations. If that had happened, we would have been forced to retreat immediately to the borders of Poland. Thus, if we had given in to threats or persuasion like that, it would have meant a political and strategic retreat, a renunciation of East Germany and of its socialist path of development. That would have inspired aggressive forces in West Germany to apply even more pressure, to try ultimately to move the Polish border farther east—a goal the West Germans had been trying to achieve even before that, and they're still trying to [at the time this was taped, in 1969], despite the fact that borders have already been firmly established. If that happened [that is, if the Polish border were moved], it could set off a chain reaction. There was no way we could agree to that. We could not even imagine that, or think such a thought.

But strong desires sometimes have a blinding effect on sound thinking, and ideas arise that make it seem possible for the unattainable to be realized. Apparently such ideas inspired Adenauer and his circle to make the decision to come visit us, so that through personal contacts, in the course of discussion, they could tempt us with the offer of credits, that is, to create for themselves conditions in which they could achieve the desired goal without war. The people who accompanied Adenauer then were as follows: Kiesinger (who later became chancellor),[3] [Karl] Arnold (the head of the trade unions, who later died),[4] Schmidt,[5] and one other Social Democrat. These are the names that have stayed in my memory. I don't remember whether Hallstein was there.[6] It seems that he was. In those years the Hallstein doctrine was making a big splash.[7] Today it no longer has such prominence, but at any rate it has not been abandoned. In their debates and in practice the West Germans still adhere to the Hallstein doctrine.

The main question was the signing of a peace treaty [that is, between the Soviet Union and Germany]. Adenauer had been expressing himself in favor of that. However, in our view, such a peace treaty could be arrived at only if an agreement was signed between the two German states, with West Berlin set apart as an autonomous "free city." The West Germans, however, were proposing a united Germany with its capital in Berlin, which did not coincide with our interests at all. We had no moral right to try to influence the GDR in that direction. For the GDR, such a solution would have meant renouncing its independence and dissolving itself into capitalist West Germany. On the other hand, what we wanted to focus on in our negotiations was officially putting an end to the technical state of war that still existed—that is, not so much to sign a peace treaty as to sign an agreement officially stating that the USSR and Germany were no longer in a state of war. Such an agreement would make it possible to establish diplomatic relations, which would facilitate economic, cultural, and social contacts between our two countries.

As the negotiations proceeded each side tried by every possible means but without results to achieve its goals and intentions. When nothing was being achieved a break in the negotiations ensued. I don't remember the nuances now. But in the final stages the West Germans categorically rejected the proposals we were making; we likewise stated our lack of agreement with Adenauer's proposals. Suddenly he declared that since they could not sign a suitable document, they would be leaving the next day. I said to them: "I express my sympathy and regrets. Such a step would do harm to the relations between our countries and above all to the Federal Republic of Germany itself. But that is your affair. Go ahead and leave, but you will suffer losses, both politically and economically, because economic ties with the Soviet Union would be very profitable for you."

We were ready for them to make a demonstrative departure the next day without any final document being signed and without any ceremonial sendoff. But that very same day we found out they wanted to meet with us again. The threat of leaving our country demonstratively turned out to be just a way of applying pressure, an attempt to extort an agreement from us, a test to see whether we would stand our ground firmly. Adenauer wanted to frighten us with the thought that the state of war would continue. But we were not especially troubled by that prospect, although there was no question that we would have regretted such an outcome. Apparently, though, the capitalist big shots in West Germany put pressure on their government because they especially felt it was necessary to "open a window" onto Russia. In earlier times Germany had extracted great profits from trade with the old, prerevolutionary Russia and with the USSR. Before Hitler came to power we had good trade relations with the Weimar Republic. Our relations were stable and "big deals" were concluded between us and the German capitalists.

I remember after the civil war a German company was given a concession in the Donbas to sink a new shaft that would be Mine No. "17-bis." It would be right next to Mine No. 30, which was currently in operation, but the new shaft would be deeper. Our head miner felt offended and dismayed that in effect we had given this job to the Germans, as though to say that we ourselves didn't know how to sink such a shaft. He went to see Abakumov, who was the mine manager, and offered his services: "Trust me, Yegor Trofimovich [Abakumov], I can sink a new shaft at the mine, a test shaft or prospecting shaft, no worse than the Germans. Just give me the necessary equipment." But that was precisely the problem—equipment! In spite of everything, we dug up what reserves we could, and, as an experiment in competition, we allowed our head miner to "take on" the Germans. He managed to sink a test shaft, and so we didn't end up being hopelessly outclassed.

As I recall, the Germans also restored a coke byproducts processing plant at Mine No. 30. A rally was held to celebrate the completion of this work. At that time I was in charge of the organizational department of the party's Yuzovka district committee. I was invited to this rally as an old-timer who had worked at the mines when they had been owned by a French company. I had worked there as a machinist *(slesar)* [in a machine shop for the maintenance and repair of mining machinery]. That's why the workers there knew me backward and forward, and I knew all of them just as well. This was where I had spent my childhood and youth. I took a German Communist with me to the rally. He was studying in Moscow, taking some courses, and had come to Yuzovka for the spring break. I wanted to have a German Communist who would speak for our side. I remember the beginning of the rally very well. First a representative of the German company spoke, a heavy-set man, some sort of engineer or technician. He spoke in German, and he wasn't sure whether we had a translator. The workers stood there and listened to him. They were gawking at him, as the saying goes. On the surface it wasn't a very attractive scene. All the people were from the villages, many were wearing bast shoes, and their clothing was old and worn, if not completely tattered. In short, the people looked pretty drab back then. Of course that's entirely understandable. After a world war, then a civil war with sabotage, which was what the revolution ran into, it was slow going, trying to restore the economy. The accumulation of resources was also going slowly, and the people's standard of living was not rising. We understood this, but I'm talking about the outward impression given at the time.

The workers listened to the foreign capitalist speaker, but you didn't hear one person clap. Then I announced that a representative of the Comintern [the Communist International] would now speak, comrade so-and-so, also a German. He was immediately greeted with applause. And when he finished his speech, which was a short one, the kind you give at a rally, a stormy ovation was worked up in his behalf. I don't think the listeners entirely understood the essence of the speech by the Comintern representative, whose mastery of Russian was poor. But it was enough to say that he was a representative of the Comintern for them to award him in a truly fraternal way with a warm greeting and give him a big ovation. That was how high our regard was, back then, for the banner and authority of the international Communist organization, the Third International.

The Western industrialists extracted all they could from the commercial ties established with us after the end of the Russian civil war.

Naturally, the representatives of the big corporations of West Germany, knowing the history of their previous relations and the opportunities they had had earlier, continued to calculate what they might extract from us if our relations were normalized and they were again able to do business with the USSR. Adenauer felt the pressure from these businessmen, and he himself had an interest in accomplishing the same thing. And so the Germans didn't leave after all. We continued our discussions and began to work on a document that we could both sign. On one particular question our counterparts put up especially stubborn resistance. We were surprised, and then they leaked the information that the U.S. ambassador to the USSR, Charles Bohlen,[8] was putting pressure on Adenauer.

At first when Bohlen became ambassador we had good relations with him. Our sympathy for him was based on our high regard for Roosevelt. Bohlen had been Roosevelt's personal interpreter both at Tehran and in the Crimea [at the Yalta conference], and not only in the Crimea. In short, we had the impression that he was a Roosevelt man and would therefore stick to Roosevelt's foreign policy. However, it turned out later that Bohlen was a rabid reactionary. He supported the hateful policy pursued by the circles in the United States that were hostile to us. He was ambassador for a long time, and he did whatever nasty things he could against us. He worsened relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Not only did he do nothing toward improving those relations but he also put the freeze on any initiatives in that direction. I don't know if he received some instructions from Washington on this particular question or if this was a case of his taking personal initiative. I think he did it of his own accord, because he didn't want any improvement in our relations. So the information we got from the Germans was something that we believed.

I also remember a man by the name of Arnold, who was a representative of one of the German provinces [North Rhine–Westphalia].[9] Later he headed the trade unions in the Adenauer era. During the course of the negotiations I had the opportunity to talk with him at some of the official receptions. Arnold showed more interest than the others in signing an agreement, reducing tensions, and normalizing our relations. The Social Democrat Schmidt held a special position. As for Kiesinger, I didn't form any particular impression at that time. I think he was Adenauer's right-hand man and had no disagreements with him in his views on the possibility of signing an agreement, especially on not making "concessions to the Soviets," as they used to say.

At the end of the negotiations Adenauer bragged that, in spite of the pressure put on him by Bohlen, he had nevertheless carried the talks through to a successful conclusion, so that in the end we agreed upon a text.[10] The Germans let us know that they wanted to have the text signed in a hurry before Bohlen could see the final version. We agreed with their approach. If it was acceptable to us and not acceptable to Bohlen, of course we would be on Adenauer's side in such a case. Thus the document was signed. Later I was informed that Bohlen was extremely angry at Adenauer's position, but the document had already been signed.

One particular impression has remained with me about Adenauer himself. He was a man capable of resorting to what I would call crude flattery, if he thought it necessary. During our conversations he "singled me out," saying things like, "Only as a result of your influence has such and such happened." It was unpleasant for me to listen to this from a political leader. It impinged on his dignity. When I saw this unpleasant type of behavior I thought to myself, "What a petty way of thinking about other people." Probably he himself was a petty person. For example, when we had an exchange of views during dinner he whispered in my ear, right then, through his interpreter, with some sort of flattering remarks. But as far as the policies he was pursuing are concerned, in his understanding of his own interests, he was a solid representative of the German capitalists and their great defender.

The negotiations ended, the documents were signed, and the West German delegation left. We saw them off, and that was the first and last contact we had. There were no more meetings between Adenauer and myself and no more exchanges of governmental delegations. It's true that economic relations between our two countries began to develop. I often received representatives of Krupp[11] and of other West German firms with whom we were bound by common economic interests. We placed orders with them, and they supplied us with good machinery and equipment. The Germans know how to work and how to trade.

What else can I say about Adenauer? He of course has gone down in the history of his country as a representative of big capital. But as a person he was, so to speak, quite skillful. How many years was it that he managed to stay in power in West Germany! And he had the support of the voters. I remember the following episode. During one dinner Schmidt turned to me and, in accordance with the custom in the Socialist and Communist parties, called me "Genosse Khrushchev" *[Genosse* being the German word for "comrade"]. In reply I called him "Genosse Schmidt." When Adenauer heard this an ironical expression appeared on his face, and he mockingly repeated the phrase, "Genosse Khrushchev." Then he addressed me as "*Mister* Khrushchev" and said, "Do you think that the workers in our country vote for these Social Democrats? No, the majority of the workers in Germany vote for me!" And he immediately rattled off how many votes the Social

Democrats had won, how many workers belonged to their trade unions, and how many votes his party had received. It turned out that the majority of workers had voted for Adenauer's party. Unfortunately, that was the truth. If the majority had voted for the Social Democrats, of course, Adenauer would not have been the head of the West German government. Even after Adenauer's death the situation didn't [immediately] change.[12]

Adenauer laid the foundations for the present-day policy of the German Christian Democratic Party. It's still very strong today and has great influence in that country. You have to give Adenauer credit. He was a man you had to take into account. But he remained an irreconcilable enemy of Communist ideas and therefore was our intransigent ideological opponent. That held us back, and for his part, he did not seek any close contacts with us through government channels. That's what I wanted to add to the generally known fact that Adenauer was a representative of the reactionary circles in West Germany. That was what he had always been and what he remained till the day he died.

However our meeting was useful. We put an end to the official state of war between Germany and the USSR[13] and exchanged ambassadors. Through the Soviet embassy in that country our influence on public opinion was strengthened, and we had the opportunity to make contacts with business circles and with people who were sympathetic toward us. Such contacts always have good results. We broke through the isolation in which we had found ourselves, and that was not to the liking of the United States. Their people did literally everything they could to prevent the agreement between West Germany and the USSR, not wanting us to break the ring of isolation in which they had encircled the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. But we broke out of that encirclement. That was beneficial not only for us but also for the other socialist countries, although they did not yet have embassies in Bonn, because the Hallstein doctrine was still an obstacle to such relations. Even today only Romania and Yugoslavia, it seems to me, have embassies in West Germany.

When Yugoslavia was temporarily on bad terms with the other socialist countries it concluded a treaty establishing diplomatic relations with West Germany. Later, when relations between Yugoslavia and other socialist countries were normalized, Yugoslavia recognized the German Democratic Republic. Diplomatic relations with West Germany thereby ended automatically [because of the Hallstein doctrine]. That was in 1957, but in 1963 relations were reestablished between West Germany and Yugoslavia.[14] Comrade Tito should be given credit. He preferred to have relations with

East Germany and resisted the pressure from the West Germans. Thus the Hallstein doctrine did not withstand the test of time, and that's why at a certain point West Germany did normalize its relations with Yugoslavia.

I consider it necessary to emphasize further why Charles Bohlen undertook everything he could, for his part, to try to prevent the agreement between West Germany and the USSR He kept sticking spokes in the wheel as much as he could, but Adenauer didn't listen to him, and after we had come to agreement on the main questions, Adenauer proposed that we make the agreement official by placing our signatures on it as quickly as possible, because he was afraid that pressure from the United States would be intensified, with direct pressure coming from Washington through the U.S. ambassador in Bonn. But what were the considerations Adenauer was guided by in this situation? Was he expressing any particular sympathies for the Soviet Union? Why did he want to restore diplomatic relations? It was purely commercial interests that were at work here, the big money interests in West Germany. In contrast, it was to the advantage of the United States that West Germany should remain officially in a state of war with the Soviet Union and not have its own diplomatic representatives in Moscow, while we too would not have our diplomatic representatives in Bonn.

Then commercial contacts would not have developed between our two countries, and that would have served the interests of the United States. They wanted to invest their capital in West Germany and to influence the development of its economy. West Germany, on the contrary, wanted to free itself from the embrace of the United States. West German capital, having regained its strength, was seeking markets for the sale of its goods and seeking customers who would order its products. That's why Adenauer wanted to open a window onto the Soviet Union. That was his primary motive, not any special sympathy or any noble feelings possessing his mind. The idea of profit was what predominated. In this case the interests of the United States came into conflict with the interests of West Germany. When people's pocketbooks are involved, and the interests of the banks are affected, the requirements of one's ally may be left out of account. The German capitalists were quite resourceful. They knew very well what opportunities our market offered, and they resorted to whatever cunning devices they needed to.

Now that I am retired I sometimes remember Adenauer. He gave me a gift as a souvenir—a good pair of binoculars made by the German company Zeiss. When I go for walks I use these binoculars, so that "with Adenauer's assistance" I enlarge my range of vision. I have a chance to get a closer view of the broad fields, the woods, and the other delights of nature outside

Moscow. If people I meet take an interest in my binoculars, I say: "A gift from Adenauer." That immediately makes them more interesting. Of course we [in the Soviet Union] also make binoculars, probably no worse then the German ones. I have other binoculars, too. But I use this pair because they're more convenient. And there you have one of the memories that has stayed with me from my personal meeting with Adenauer.

1. Konrad Adenauer (1876–1967) was a conservative German politician. Before World War II, as a leading member of the Catholic Center Party, he was mayor of Cologne (Köln) and president of the Prussian State Council. After World War II he was a co-founder and leader of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and in 1949 he was elected the first federal chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). He remained chancellor until his retirement in 1963. See Biographies. In 1955 he took the step of establishing diplomatic relations between West Germany and the USSR. [MN/SS]

2. The Potsdam conference of the allied states, which took place between July 17 and August 2, 1945, reached agreement, inter alia, on reparations to be made by Germany. Under the terms of this agreement, the claims of the USSR to reparations were satisfied by means of the transfer of German economic assets in the Soviet zone of occupation and of German investments abroad. In addition, the USSR obtained one quarter of the industrial capital equipment that the allies appropriated in the western zones of occupation.

3. Kurt Georg Kiesinger (1904–88) was an official in the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1940 to 1945. He was federal chancellor of West Germany from 1966 to 1969, and leader of the CDU from 1967 to 1971. See Biographies.

4. Karl Arnold (1901–58) was not head of the *general* trade union movement in West Germany, though he was active in the *Christian* workers movement both in the Weimar period, when it was linked to the Catholic Center Party, and after World War II, when it was affiliated with the Christian Democrats. He died of a heart attack in 1958. See Biographies. [SS]

5. Helmut Schmidt (born 1918) had been a deputy of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SDP) in the Bundestag since 1953. From 1967 to 1969 he led the SDP fraction in the Bundestag. Between 1968 and 1983 he was deputy chairman of the SDP. From 1969 to 1974 he was minister of defense, economy, and finance, and from 1974 to 1982 federal chancellor of West Germany. See Biographies.

6. The jurist and politician Walther Hallstein (1901–82) was appointed state secretary in the federal chancellery by chancellor Konrad Adenauer in 1951. Later he was transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he was responsible for the formulation of the doctrine that bears his name. He became the first president of the Commission of the European Economic Community (from 1958 to 1967). [SS]

7. The Hallstein doctrine stated essentially that West Germany was the only true representative of the German people and that it spoke in the name of Germany as a whole. This doctrine denied that East Germany had any valid legal standing. [GS] The doctrine was announced in September 1955. It was repudiated in 1972 when the two German states signed a treaty on the foundations of their mutual relations. [MN/SS]

8. Charles E. Bohlen (1904–74) was U.S. ambassador to the USSR from 1953 to 1957 and special assistant for Soviet affairs from 1959 to 1962. See Biographies. [SS]

9. Karl Arnold was minister president of the land of North Rhine–Westphalia from 1947 to 1956. [SS]

10. The text dealt with the establishment of diplomatic relations between West Germany and the USSR. Relations were established on September 13, 1955. In 1958 a treaty was concluded on consular relations and an agreement signed on general questions of trade and navigation.

11. The Krupp concern combines mining operations with the production of steel, metals, machines, automobiles, ships, aircraft, and electricity. It also designs and builds turnkey production facilities and conducts large-scale trade.

12. Adenauer resigned as chancellor in 1963. [GS] The West German Social Democrats entered a coalition government for the first time in 1966. [MN] It was not until 1969, when the Social Democrat Willy Brandt became chancellor, that West German foreign policy shifted toward détente with the Soviet Union. [GS]

13. The USSR declared the termination of the state of war with Germany on January 25, 1955.

14. On October 19, 1957, diplomatic relations between West Germany and Yugoslavia were broken off. Diplomatic relations were restored with Yugoslavia on January 31, 1963, and with Romania on January 31, 1967.

THE VISIT TO GREAT BRITAIN

I took up a lot of space to tell about the four-power summit meeting in Geneva, but for me that was a way of laying the groundwork for telling about my impressions of our trip to London. We were supposed to arrive in England, as we arranged with the British government, at the end of April 1956.[1] The agreement was reached that we would travel on one of our military vessels, a cruiser [the *Ordzhonikidze].* We wanted to arrive on a cruiser because we thought we would then have, as it were, our own temporary base in the port city where our ship would be docked. From Portsmouth, where we were to dock, we would go by train to London and thus would see more.

The delegation included Bulganin and myself. Although Bulganin was chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR at that time, I was included in the delegation because at Geneva better relations between [Anthony] Eden[2] and me had been established. When we had conversations at Geneva, he addressed me most of all, and I replied to him in the name of the entire Soviet delegation in response to questions he asked. We also decided to include Academician [Igor Vasilyevich] Kurchatov[3] in our delegation. He was a very interesting man, not only as a scientist. As a person he was very pleasant and a witty conversationalist. Through him we wanted to make contacts with British scientists, a goal that we achieved. He went to British scientific institutions, and that was beneficial for the establishment of new contacts.

When we were getting ready to leave, the British embassy in Moscow proposed that we take a British military attaché with us. We agreed. Of course there were objections from some people: we were sailing on a military vessel; it was a new ship; and the military attaché would undoubtedly take an interest in it and might discover some secrets of our military technology. Such reasoning of course was foolishness, inspired by the customs and habits of the Stalin era. So we took him with us. This military attaché had the rank of colonel. He was a very likable man; I don't remember his name now. He behaved modestly and conducted himself well. When we were already at sea, on April 17, my birthday, we decided to have a small dinner as a celebration. The whole delegation ate together. We decided to invite the military attaché to the dinner. At the dinner, especially since it was a birthday party, of course there was drinking, and apparently this military attaché had a taste for drink and was well acquainted with the various types of alcoholic beverages. He got completely drunk, so that, later on, he was not at all up to trying to inspect the vessel. He barely made it to his cabin, and he slept there soundly for the whole next day of our voyage.

I recalled this later when I was talking with Eden. Eden had a good sense of humor and asked me: "Well, Mr. Khrushchev, how was our military attaché? Did he behave himself on your ship?"

I answered: "He behaved well. He was a worthy representative of Great Britain."

"How was he as a spy? Did he look into everything?"

"Oh, he was simply impossible! He poked into every nook and cranny, places where an insect couldn't crawl. He got into everything and saw everything." Eden laughed. I don't know if he was aware that the attaché had drunk too much. Perhaps the military attaché himself reported this to his superiors. At any rate, Eden did ask me about him.

When we arrived in Portsmouth we were greeted with the customary military honors. We had arrived on a military ship, and the standard practice was to give a military salute. We immediately transferred from the ship to a train and continued our journey that way. All of it was unusual for us. Not counting the trip to Geneva, this was my first official visit to a Western capitalist country. We had gone to Geneva by plane and flown back by plane, but here we were arriving by ship, then traveling by train, and we saw much more along the way. As we were passing through the country by train the buildings we saw made a strong impression on me. What caught my attention was that they were mostly small buildings of red brick. I also saw such buildings in London when we arrived there. Of course not in the center of the city. Later when we traveled around Britain these typical buildings "followed us everywhere." Why did they stick in my memory? Because they were the very same little red houses of my childhood.

As a boy I lived in the Donbas, where my father worked in a mine. The Yuzovka metallurgical works belonged to the British capitalist Hughes.[4] All the little houses that Hughes built for the technical personnel, skilled workers, and foremen were exactly like the kind I was now seeing in Great Britain. When I went to the bazaar in Yuzovka as a youngster, we had a common saying: "What road are we taking today? We're taking the road past the British red houses." I think those red houses are still there on the road from Yuzovka (now Donetsk) to Mariupol. They used to be overgrown with ivy, and so were the houses in Britain. In the summer only the windows were visible; the walls were entirely covered with green ivy. That was my first vivid impression after arriving in Britain,

In London, at Waterloo Station, Eden and other members of the British cabinet met us. I no longer remember who they were exactly. After the usual ceremony of greeting we set off for our rooms at Claridge's Hotel, where we were to stay. The hotel was excellent and the service remarkable. All this was new to us. We had never had such close dealings with [Western] foreigners before. When we arrived at the hotel, the long line of cars stopped some distance away, rather than pulling up to the entrance. Some members of our delegation got out of their cars and proceeded to the hotel on foot. The Londoners knew about our arrival from reports in the press, passersby were stopping, and of course little boys showed up. They took a special interest in Academician Kurchatov's beard. They pointed their fingers at him, laughed, and jumped up and down, as little boys do, little boys of every country and nationality. Later, when we were in the hotel, Kurchatov chuckled: "Look what an impression my beard made on them!" It's true. Everyone really did point at his beard. The press even wrote about it. I met Englishmen who also had beards, but Kurchatov had a special kind of beard with streaks of gray, not a thick beard, but quite impressive.

Meetings with the British government began. It was mainly Eden, [Selwyn] Lloyd,[5] and, as I recall, [Harold] Macmillan[6] who conducted the negotiations with us. Strictly speaking, these occasions were a case of "pouring from one empty vessel into another."[7] Our positions had been made clear even before the meeting in Geneva, so that these talks could really add nothing new. It was as though we were simply tossing balls back and forth. The questions revolved mainly around the same old thing: Germany in general, the GDR in particular, disarmament, and peaceful coexistence. These were very important problems, but we saw that the West was not prepared to solve them. The Western countries were playing with us, pretending to pat us on the head a little, smooth down our fur, try to dispose us more favorably toward them, and get us to make some kind of deal. A deal in the sense that everything would have to be agreed to from their point of view. We of course could not do that. And so there was no hope of achieving any kind of agreement.

In what sense was this meeting of interest for us? As we made closer personal acquaintance with our counterparts, their political positions became more distinct. Apparently the British were interested in accomplishing the same thing. Besides, Britain at that time wanted to come to some kind of agreement with the USSR more than the other Western countries in order to rule out the possibility of a military confrontation. In addition, they were trying to prevent our influence from penetrating westward, especially into the Near East, above all Egypt, Yemen, and several other Near Eastern areas. The British themselves proposed that we agree not to sell arms to the African countries. We agreed in principle. We said we were agreeable to signing such a treaty—on the condition that the British also promise not to sell weapons to those countries. Only on the condition of such a mutual commitment could we find a solution. If on the other hand the British could not give such assurances, we would stand by our view of things and would not undertake any obligations.

Eden, as I have said, was a man capable of winning people's favor. With his tact and soft-spoken manner he drew his interlocutor into relaxed conversation, instilling trust and confidence. We valued Eden especially [as I have said] for his position before the war, the position he took when he was part of the British government. He had taken the correct position then, and we remembered it, and we were favorably disposed toward him because of that. Sunday came, and Eden invited us to his dacha. I have used the Russian term "dacha," but actually it was the country home of the prime minister at Chequers. They told me the history of this country house. Some capitalist had given it as a gift to the government for use by the prime minister of Britain, and from then on the prime ministers of Britain, regardless of what party they belonged to, made use of this home in the country.

We accepted the invitation. Eden had said previously that several members of his cabinet would also attend the meeting out in the country. When Bulganin and I went there, Eden and his wife were already there, along with Macmillan, Foreign Minister Selwyn Lloyd, and another influential Conservative (whose name I have forgotten).[8] They said he was destined in the future to be a prime minister or foreign minister. Actually he did become foreign minister[9] and later visited the Soviet Union in that capacity. We had information that this man had a negative view of the USSR, that he was an anti-Communist, and not just because he was a member of the Conservative Party. Even among the Conservatives he was a super-conservative. However, in the meetings and conversations we had there, he didn't reveal any of this. He made no outward show of aggressiveness at all, although we felt that he did nurse some hostility toward us as representatives of the Soviet Union.

The house on Downing Street, where Eden lived as prime minister, did not look very presentable. It was a separate house of red brick, a very old building, rather dilapidated and sorry-looking. The outer wall was also of red brick, old and blackened with soot. In short, it was not at all attractive.

Chequers was not very far from London,[10] but the country around it was beautiful: meadows and a small wood in the distance. Bulganin and I took a walk before lunch and went a long way down the path. The natural surroundings reminded me of Oryol and Kursk provinces. It was the same kind of landscape. Many flowers were planted next to the house. The British heat their homes with fireplaces, and they were burning anthracite coal. There was powdery black soot inside the houses from this coal. When anthracite burns (and I know this from my experience in the Donbas), it has a lot of sulfur in it; an unpleasant smell results and you feel somewhat suffocated.

The lady of the house also sat down to dinner with us. We had a rambling conversation and took up various questions. They asked and we answered; then we in turn asked questions. There was nothing especially noteworthy in those conversations. Our embassy had informed us that Eden's wife was a niece of Churchill's. She had evidently inherited some qualities from her predecessor as far as drinking goes. She knew how to drink. But I wouldn't say that we noticed her abusing drink. We drank everything that was there, nor did she hesitate to join in.

When our conversations dealt with political subjects, we mainly stressed our military might. By that time we already had up-to-date bombers. We had the TU-16 and we had produced the jet bomber IL-28 in large numbers. These are very good planes for front-line support action. Our weapons were, in our opinion, quite good. We were also adding to our navy. We had built several new cruisers and destroyers and quite a few submarines. Of course, by comparison with the West, we did not have so many. At that time we didn't have any intercontinental missiles at all, but we had a fair number of missiles with a range of 500–1,000 kilometers [300–600 miles]. Therefore we were able, as it were, to threaten England. After all, we could reach its territory with our missiles. It was within range, and we let it be known unmistakably that we had the means of causing great damage to any adversary who took it into his head to attack us. These missiles could reach not only Britain, passing over West Germany and France, but also other European countries that belonged to NATO. Those countries were also vulnerable to a possible blow from us. This evidently disturbed our counterparts in the conversation.

I am telling about this now because during dinner Eden's wife asked us a question: "What kind of rockets do you have? Do they go far?"

I answered her: "Yes, they go far. Not only can our rockets reach the British Isles; they can go even farther."

She bit her tongue. My remark came across rather crudely and could have been interpreted as a threat. We actually did have that kind of purpose in mind. We didn't especially want to threaten anyone, but we wanted to show that we had not come as supplicants, that we were a strong country. Consequently, it was necessary to come to an agreement with us and not hand us any ultimatums. You couldn't talk with us in the language of ultimatums.

Eden said that the next morning we were invited to visit a university, either Cambridge or Oxford, as I recall,[11] and from there we would come back to

Chequers. Lloyd went there with us. He stopped by to pick us up. Kurchatov was not with us, but to make up for it, Gromyko traveled with Bulganin and me. Lloyd behaved very politely along the way and he joked a lot. The three of us were sitting in the car. He addressed me: "A little bird flew onto my shoulder and whispered in my ear that you are selling arms to Yemen."

I replied to him: "Various kinds of birds fly around and whisper various things. A little bird flew onto my shoulder and whispered that you sell arms to Egypt, Iraq (there was a reactionary government in Iraq then), and to all sorts of people in general, whoever wants to buy them from you. And if they don't want to buy, the bird whispers to me, you impose the weapons on them. So you see there are different kinds of little birds."

He went on: "It's true that there are different kinds of birds, and some whisper to us and some whisper to you."

I said: "What they ought to whisper is that we have undertaken a joint obligation not to sell arms to anyone. That would be useful for the cause of peace."

The USSR really was negotiating arms sales with Yemen. It seems that these negotiations had ended with our agreeing to supply Yemen with a certain quantity of arms. Then the crown prince of the Yemeni monarchy, El-Badr,[12] came to visit us. Later he became the king and fought against the republican government. But earlier he represented a progressive force, because he was willing to fight to free Aden from the British, and we were interested in seeing Yemen become a fully independent country. British intelligence had provided accurate information: the little bird had whispered the truth in the ears of the British government, that we were selling arms to Yemen. That was the truth.

We arrived at a college, apparently an institution for students from the elite, from well-to-do families. The president of the college[13] took us on a guided tour, showing us the classrooms and a large courtyard. We went in some door, and there we suddenly saw a caricature portrait of this very president painted on a wall. He merely glanced at it and said rather calmly, "The students love to make fun of the likes of us," and we went on. Later he told about all sorts of pranks and escapades that the students indulged in. Well, what can you do? Young people are young people. You can expect anything from them. The students showed some interest in us, but I would say it was not very lively. It was not a working-class crowd. Students of conservative bent were being trained for government work. Therefore we couldn't count on any kind of understanding or sympathy.

From the university we returned to Chequers. I have already described how dinner went. Eden invited us to spend the night, and we did stay over at Chequers, but all the others, aside from Eden, departed. The layout of the rooms inside the house was as follows: there were two stories, with cantilevers. Downstairs there was a pool room, a dining room, and various annexes, and the bedrooms were upstairs. They showed us Bulganin's accommodations and mine. Each of us was placed in a different corner of the house. I was not well oriented in the place. In the morning I got up early; the whole house was still asleep, and I had nothing to do, so I put my clothes on and decided to go visit Bulganin, but I got the locations of the rooms confused and went up to a door thinking that it was the door to his room. I knocked. You can imagine my fright and surprise when a woman's voice answered. I literally fled, and it was only then that I realized I should have gone a little farther. I never did tell anyone, although I thought that she would assume that it was one of us, either Bulganin or me, who had knocked. To tell the truth, I related the whole story to Bulganin and we had a laugh over it, but we decided not to explain to our hosts who it was that had knocked on the door of Mrs. Eden's room.

It had been arranged that on the next day we would visit Queen Elizabeth.[14] The distance was not far. We got our things together quickly, and it was easy for us to do that, because we had warned our British hosts in advance that we didn't have any special clothing of the kind customarily worn on such occasions. We didn't have it, and we weren't about to acquire it. If it was convenient for the queen to receive us as we were—in the clothes we were wearing for our discussions with our hosts—that was fine. If not, that was up to her. We had a prejudice against such ceremonies, and we didn't want to dress ourselves up in fancy costumes, such as a coat with tails, a top hat, and other accessories, as is customary on such occasions in the West.

Mikoyan went once as our representative to Pakistan, and later we saw a newsreel showing the reception he was given there. We saw Anastas Ivanovich [Mikoyan] in a coat with tails, wearing a stovepipe hat, and we laughed at him for a long time. He joked his way out of it. Anastas Ivanovich distinguished himself among us as a "European" of long standing. The forms of etiquette customary for diplomats were not strange to him, including the customary clothing that they wear abroad when visiting especially important persons.

When we arrived at the royal palace, a lot of people were there. They were tourists on an excursion. It was warm out, April, the best time of year in England, as Eden told us. There was not much rain, everything was green, and it was indeed a beautiful time of year. The crowd of tourists was seeing the sights in the palace, and there certainly were things to see. When we entered the palace the queen came to meet us with her husband and two children. We were introduced. She was dressed very simply, in a light-colored dress whose color was not very bright. On Gorky Street[15] in Moscow in the summertime you could meet a young woman wearing the same kind of clothing that the queen wore when she greeted us.

The queen introduced us to her husband, then took us on a tour of the palace and showed us the various sights. She played the role of a guide. We walked around for a little while; she showed us everything and then invited us for a cup of tea. We went into some large room and were invited to sit at the table.

We sat down and chatted about this and that, as always happens when there's no particular subject for discussion. Her husband showed some interest in Leningrad. He said: "They say it is a very interesting city." We agreed and said that in general we were proud of the city. He added that he had never been there, but that his dream was to go there some day. We said that as things currently stood, his dream could easily be realized: "All you have to do is express the wish, and you will receive the appropriate invitation from us. The invitation will be whatever you would like: either on the governmental level or from the military command. You can make your acquaintance with Leningrad and with the Baltic fleet and in general with everything that's of interest to you." He thanked us and said that he would take us up on our kind offer if the occasion arose. With that our conversation ended. To tell the truth, the queen also displayed some interest in our new airplane. The first flights of our TU-104 had begun just then. That plane was flying to London, bringing us the latest mail. Of course we organized this deliberately in order to show the British that we had a good passenger plane with jet engines. It was the first passenger jet in the world, and we wanted people to take a look at it, if only as it went by in the sky. It turned out that our plane was circling for its landing right nearby, not far from the royal palace. The queen said: "I have seen your plane. It's a remarkable plane. It has flown by here several times." We began telling her about the plane, what a fine, modern plane it was, the best in the world, and that no other country in the world so far had such a plane. Then we thanked the queen, took our leave, and returned to Eden's place, where we continued our previous discussions.

I don't remember whether members of the cabinet came on that particular day—the ones that had been present at our first conversation. We told Eden about our reception by the queen. We agreed with what he had told us in advance: that she was a modest woman, intelligent, and of good bearing. He had told us: "You'll find it pleasant to meet with her." And that's how it turned out. I would say that she didn't make any display of royal haughtiness when she met with us. Her behavior and outward appearance didn't "make us tremble," as happens in novels when people describe meetings with royalty. Elizabeth II was an ordinary person, the wife of her husband, and the mother of her children. That's how she presented herself to us, and that is the impression that has remained with me. Her voice was soft and calm, with no special pretensions. The questions she asked were no different from those any foreigner would ask when meeting people from the Soviet Union.

Incidentally, I remember a conversation about the queen with an Englishwoman. It happened right at that time, when we were visiting England.

She asked: "Did you meet Queen Elizabeth?"

"Yes, we did."

"Well, how did you like her?"

We told about our impressions, and this Englishwoman immediately added in a sad voice: "I feel sorry for her, the poor woman."

"Why do you feel sorry for her?"

"Well, you know, a young woman would like to live a little, as anyone would want to at her age. But as the queen, she's denied the ordinary pleasures, she lives under a glass case, and is always being watched by people. It's a very difficult life and a heavy responsibility. That's why I sympathize with her."

I liked the humane way this woman approached the question. The poet [Aleksandr] Nekrasov was right in his poem *Who Is Happy in Russia?* Looking back over all the people met by the wandering peasants in his poem, Nekrasov wrote, "Even for the priest things go hard, in their way, and even for the tsar, things are not easy." *(I popu po-svoyemu plokho, i tsaryu nelegko.)*[16] Thus too, it seemed, things were not easy for Elizabeth II.

When the itinerary for our visit to Britain was being worked out, Eden proposed that we have a meeting with the First Lord of the Admiralty.[17] He told us: "There at the Admiralty, you'll meet military men, mainly navy men." He gave us some preliminary information about them. We had been invited by the minister of the navy, the First Lord of the Admiralty. Actually the commander-in-chief of British naval forces was Admiral Mountbatten,[18] but he declined to meet with us. He was related in some way to the family of the Russian tsar and considered us (and rightly so) the heirs of the Bolsheviks who had killed his relatives in the Urals region in 1918.[19]

Arrangements were made about the timing of the meeting at the Admiralty. When the appointed day came, Bulganin and I went there. I constantly use the phrase, "Bulganin and I," because, formally speaking, Bulganin was the head of our government and I was just a member of the delegation. But things turned out in such a way—without any such intentions on my part—that it fell mainly to me to do all the negotiating and to answer the questions asked by the English side. You could even say that it fell exclusively to me. Not because I wanted that. No, I understood my position and tried to have the head of our government answer questions, as was appropriate. But Bulganin himself told me he would like me to answer. There were cases when questions were asked and I would turn my head toward Bulganin indicating that I expected him to answer. He would immediately turn to me and say: "You answer!" And I would answer. So that no awkwardness would arise and so that the British side would not be given any reason to make any negative assumptions, I would answer after a pause, which always gave Bulganin the opportunity if he wanted to do the answering and to be included in the conversation. As a rule he would nudge me in the side, or make a sign with his eyes, or say outright: "Khrushchev will answer." I want to be understood correctly. I had an unpleasant conversation on this very subject when we returned. After each of the talks that were held, a report was drawn up [based on the interpreter's notes], and we sent them to Moscow. This went on during my entire stay in Britain, so that the CPSU Central Committee Presidium would be accurately informed about the progress of our visit there, about the conversations, the questions that were raised, and how we replied to them. Thus our leadership could see from these reports that I was the main one giving the answers.

It was unpleasant for me after we returned to have Molotov ask: "Why were you giving the answers the whole time?" I sensed a certain dissatisfaction on his part, suggesting that I was putting down the head of the government and the head of our delegation.

I felt obliged to say this: "Comrades, I beg you to ask Bulganin himself to clarify why this happened." After all, [when we were in Britain] I couldn't get into an altercation with him, right there in front of everybody, when it was time to answer a question. Bulganin kept saying: "You answer!" What could I say to him? Should I have said: "No, according to protocol, you're the one who's supposed to answer?" It would have looked foolish to behave that way in front of the foreigners. Bulganin himself yielded his role to me, and there were no underhanded intentions or aspirations on my part.

I will not pretend to any unnecessary modesty. It became clear later that Bulganin, correctly understanding his own abilities [or lack of same], was unable to respond to a number of questions as needed. He is someone that people can roll right over *(obtekaemy)*. This became strikingly apparent when the Labour Party people arranged a dinner in our honor. There he answered all the questions that the Labourites asked us, but he answered in a very ordinary way [not as a political figure at his high level should have]. I felt obliged to intervene and express my point of view. A sharply strained political discussion occurred, and we simply left that dinner after a thoroughgoing exchange of insults and curses with the Labour leadership. This was a digression, but it's something I considered necessary to mention.

So then, we went to Greenwich to the reception by the British navy men.[20] A lot of people had gathered there in a large room with a long table. The room was rather dark, as is customary among the British, with the lights turned down low. A state of semi-darkness. We had drinks and gave speeches. I don't remember what the British talked about. For the most part the same admiral did all the speaking for them, and it was up to us to reply. Bulganin again said: "You take the floor." And so I did. It was a kind of freewheeling, unofficial meeting with off-the-cuff speeches. The subject I chose was intended, more broadly, to present a picture of our country and of its potential, that is, to put it crudely, I took the offensive against the British. This is the topic I confronted them with: "Dear Sirs, you represent Great Britain. Your country 'rules the waves,' but that is a thing of the past. We have to look at things realistically today. Everything has changed. The technology is different, and the status of the navy is different. Previously a naval fleet was like floating artillery, and it inspired fear wherever it went, opening up the way for the marines. Today, when planes equipped with missiles exist, as well as the missiles themselves, which can be fired at targets great distances away, distances that naval artillery cannot reach, a new situation has taken shape. It can be said that today battleships and cruisers are floating graveyards. Their time has passed. We came to visit you in a cruiser. It's a modern cruiser, a good ship. That's the very kind of appraisal I heard from your specialists about it. Even though they rate our cruiser highly, we could sell it now because it's outdated, and its guns are also outdated. In a future war the chief military questions will not be decided by cruisers, not even by bombers. They too are outdated, although not as much as the navy, so far, but they are also outdated. Today the submarine fleet has come to the forefront as the chief naval weapon, and the chief aerial weapon is the missile, which can hit targets at great distances, and in the future the distances will be unlimited."

Various questions were asked and answers given, but the discussion turned mainly on the issue of the navy. We wanted to emphasize the decline in military effectiveness of the British navy in relation to ourselves, and we spoke about this directly to their naval officers. Our speeches were not worded aggressively and contained no threats. Everything we said was with a smile on our face, so to speak. They also joked and made ironic remarks. Today I no longer remember exactly how all this was presented, but on the whole the discussion was fairly relaxed and candid with no formal commitments being made on either side. It was not a matter of official negotiations, but an informal exchange of views at the dinner table, over a glass of whiskey. We were talking about the world situation at that time, about possible future wars, and about the role one or another weapon might play.

Our host, the Lord of the Admiralty, proved to be a man who could take a joke, and I didn't feel that our statements about the navy offended him in any way or that he was dissatisfied with them. If we had sensed any such thing, we would have immediately stopped talking like that, because we certainly didn't want to put our host in an awkward position. We parted on friendly terms. But the next day we met with Eden again.

As always Eden spoke with a smile on his face: "How did you like our navy men? What impression did they make on you?"

I answered: "You have good navy men. They are famous throughout the world."

"And how did your talks go?" He looked at me with a smile on his face.

I said: "I see that you already know about our conversations, since you are smiling."

"Yes," he answered, "I know. Your statements were reported to me."

"And what is your opinion of them?"

"I agree with you. But as prime minister, I can't talk about that with our military people. We really have no major weapons other than our surface fleet and bombers. Those are our primary means of waging war. I could not destroy their confidence in our weapons."

"Yes, I understand you, but we were simply presenting our point of view honestly."

Later there was a big to-do in the world press in response to my speech. The United States reacted especially sharply against the point of view I expressed at that dinner at the Greenwich Naval College. Refutations of my speech began to appear in the U.S. press: No, the navy has not outlived its usefulness. It is still an awesome power in warfare, as are bombers. After a certain number of years, not only in conversations but in the press as well, American journalists began to admit that bombers had outlived their usefulness and that missiles were now the chief weapon. They wrote along these lines: "If we American journalists previously took a different position, arguing against Khrushchev and defending our own point of view, that was because it was necessary at the time, because the Russians had rockets that could send payloads into space earlier than the United States, whose defenses were then based on the navy and on bombers."

All of that is true. I also understood that they couldn't openly agree with us. After all, their military bases, which surrounded the Soviet Union, were full to overflowing with bombers, and they didn't have missile forces at that time. We didn't have very many ourselves, back then, but we did have them. With our missiles we could pretty well take care of any likely adversary located nearby, if a war was imposed on us. It's true that the United States was beyond our reach at that time, because intercontinental missiles had only just made their appearance in our country. I am talking about the R-7 missile, although essentially it was not a military weapon but a means of launching payloads into space for research purposes. It was in that area that it proved its worth, although we also did produce several of those rockets for military purposes. Later, when other types of missiles came into existence, we abandoned [any military use of] the R-7; it was no longer suitable [for that]. We produced other types of missiles for our defense in the necessary quantity, and now we have a sufficient number—more than enough, in fact—and a negative aspect of that situation has become apparent, because producing those missiles sucks money out of the budget to no good purpose and exhausts our financial capabilities. But that is a separate question.

We traveled all over England, in keeping with the program that had been approved. First we went to Birmingham, a major industrial center. The people there also greeted us courteously. We drove around that city with the mayor. He drove us in a Rolls Royce. Even today that car is considered the best. It's not made on the assembly line. The British produce and sell those cars only in response to individual orders. It was a luxurious automobile with a lot of glass, providing a splendid view.

As we were driving around I asked: "Mr. Mayor, are there many such official cars in your city?"

He answered: "I am the only one who has such a car. No one else does."

"Why?"

"Oh, it's a very expensive machine. It would be wasteful if they were furnished to others. I'm the only official person here who has one. Private individuals also own Rolls Royces, but only a limited number."

Our schedule during the visit to England was fairly crowded. They began piling things on us to the point where it became impossible. From early morning to late at night we were rushing around the country in cars or on planes. We felt overburdened and began to express our displeasure. There was one more English city we were supposed to visit, and then we were to head off for Scotland.

The next time we met with Eden I said: “Mr. Eden, my legs won’t hold me up any longer. I can’t continue at this pace. You are exploiting us. I’m tired out and I won’t go any further. As of tomorrow I’m declaring a strike and will remain at the hotel in London.”

He laughed: “Mr. Khrushchev, I beg you, I simply plead with you, let’s agree that you won’t have to go anywhere else except to Scotland. I beg of you ever so much, you really have to go there. Do you know what Scotland is like? If you don’t go there, Scotland will revolt and withdraw from the Commonwealth. That’s what the Scots are like! You don’t know what nationalists they are. They’ll give me no rest! I beg of you!”

Bulganin and I exchanged glances (he was of the same opinion that there was no point in making any more trips), then we said: “All right, we’ll go to Scotland.”

We went there. It was interesting for us to look at this country, but it turned out to be like a flying cavalry raid. As a result very few impressions remained with us, especially since the English had made all the arrangements: no contact with the people, meetings with only those who were necessary, that is, those who were officially chosen to meet us and accompany us. No one else. We didn’t walk on the streets, and no visits to factories were arranged. Thus, we were in Scotland, but we only saw the people from our car windows. And only those who were walking on the streets. We had no meetings that were not part of the official itinerary. We flew to Edinburgh. We were warned that in Scotland it’s always raining, and sure enough, Scotland greeted us with a fine drizzle. An honor guard had formed up, and it marched by with its special music. Scottish [bagpipe] music and the Scottish military uniform are quite unique. I had practically never before seen these Scotsmen in their plaid kilts, berets, and bagpipes. I had seen them only once before, and heard their music, in 1946, when I went to Berlin and then to Vienna. In Vienna I saw a Scottish military unit marching by in their special national costumes and with their Scottish musical instruments. But I had observed them for literally a few moments only. Now we were seated under a canvas awning, and the Scottish troops marched past us so that we could get a close look at them.

A dinner was then given in our honor at the Edinburgh royal palace. We were told that the dinner had been provided for us in the name of Queen Elizabeth, because she was the queen of Scotland as well as of England. A man who acted as her representative, or deputy, as it were, received us and arranged the dinner in her name. Small tables were put up all around, and the members of our delegation were each seated separately. I ended up sitting with some Scottish people. Bulganin was also seated at a separate table, so that different people could eat with us. That was correct from their point of view, because more people could be included that way, and we wouldn't interfere with one another in the course of conversation. But what if, perhaps, they had some other aims in mind? There would be more varied statements from our scattered delegation members, and they might get more out of us. However, I don't think they were pursuing any such aims. After all, in such situations there is usually nothing going on except humdrum conversation, providing no special information to either side. It's a different matter if good relations exist. In that case business matters might also be discussed. But these were only our first contacts. Each side was feeling out the other. So it was unlikely that anyone would say anything unusual, especially at an official dinner, and in Scotland at that.

The building where the dinner was held, it was explained to us, was the palace of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots.[21] They showed us a piece of sculpture that was molded from her head [possibly her death mask; the Russian phrase is *slepok s yeyo golovy]*. The Scots spoke of this queen with great deference and viewed the time of her rule as one of greatness. It was evident that they honored their past and the merits of Queen Mary quite highly. They also showed us a local fortress, which contained a museum with historical relics of Scotland.

When we were getting ready for our trip to Britain we agreed that I could bring my son Sergei along. At that time he was still a university student. He told me that he too was seated at a separate table [there in Edinburgh], and an elderly woman who did the translating was seated with him, along with another Englishwoman. The translator tried to impress him with the fact that he was sitting next to a princess, but she saw that her words were making no special impression on Sergei, and again she began putting great stress in her conversation on the fact that this was not just an ordinary person, but that a princess was sitting and eating with him at the same table! My son told me about this, laughing: "I wasn't filled with any special feelings of awe that a princess was sitting at the table with me, not just some ordinary person." The translator apparently had told him about the princess with a special intonation in her voice, indicating the due respect and deference that was owed to this princess. Such traditions still exist in England, and I don't think it was any kind of prearranged theatrical display. This woman was truly overjoyed that she, just an ordinary translator, could sit at the same table with a *princess,* but this young man from Russia didn't understand anything, and the word "princess" didn't seem to make any impression on him.

A visit to a major atomic research center at Harwell was included in our program. One of the leading atomic scientists of Great Britain received us there; I've forgotten his name now. Later he came to visit us and was a guest of Kurchatov. Kurchatov found it very interesting to meet this man. They knew of each other, but had never had personal contact before, as far as I know. They showed us all the facilities, including the laboratories. This same scientist told about their work. The subject was very complex, and the details were only of interest to Kurchatov, although there could hardly have been anything new for him in what this scientist related. What we were interested in was something else: to establish contacts. The situation needs to be viewed from the standpoint of that time. Here we had gone abroad and had taken with us an atomic scientist and had gone to an atomic research center and were inspecting it. This meant that we would be expected to respond in kind, to invite a British scientist and show him our atomic research centers. For us, at that time, that was virtually an impossible step to take. After all, how many decades had it been that we were trained in the spirit of thinking that the imperialists were our enemies? They would snoop around and poke into everything of ours and show us nothing of theirs. They would look around and find out everything, and on top of that, they would recruit our people and worm their way in among us!

Of course there was much that was correct in that point of view. But to take things to an absurd length, to frighten your very own self, and to absolutely lose faith in your own people, who were fighting to build communism, who had their own national pride and self-respect, their own sense of self-worth—that was inadmissible. Stalin didn't believe in such things. The only faith he had was in police measures: to keep people locked up and not let them go. "You're not going anywhere, not one step, and no one's coming to see you." That's why any exchange of experience was considered theft. Of course everyone steals. Other countries also steal, if they can't buy a license and they have an opportunity to steal. I don't mean to condemn such methods. But it's better to maintain contacts through an exchange of licenses. It's simpler and more convenient than stealing secrets. Sometimes when you buy something that has been stolen it doesn't always turn out that you've got what you need. Sometimes the thief [providing you with stolen secrets] is one only in a conditional sense. He's selling you "secrets" on orders from his intelligence agency.

I know of a case when Grechko was still in charge of our forces in East Germany and we bought an American missile in West Germany. When it was brought to us, and given to our scientists to analyze, it turned out to be the most thoroughgoing fraud. The American we had made contact with was himself a spy. He outsmarted our man, guessed that he was an agent, and foisted off this "missile" on him.

One day Eden, who was arranging for us to have dinner at his residence on Downing Street, warned us in advance that Churchill would be at the dinner. There was a narrow circle of people at the dinner: Eden, Churchill, Macmillan, Lloyd, and that other Conservative whose name I've forgotten and whose sentiments we were constantly told were extremely anti-Soviet. We met him again later when he visited the Soviet Union. This man turned out to be no worse than any other Conservative. The attitude he had toward us was in keeping with his convictions and his views on Communism and the land of the Soviets. He was no worse and no better than others. He is dead now, but back then he was the great hope of the Conservatives. It was generally considered that he might become prime minister in the future.

We went into Eden's office, which was not very large. On the wall I saw a portrait of Tsar Nicholas II. I looked closely at it and of course everyone noticed that my attention was drawn to the portrait. I said: "An amazing similarity to our former tsar, Nicholas II." Eden answered that this was one of the British kings, who was a cousin of Nicholas, and that's why they looked so much alike. I showed no further interest. After all, it could be unpleasant for them because this cousin of their king was killed in Yekaterinburg. They too did not return to the subject.

At the dinner table we were assigned our seats. I ended up sitting next to Churchill. He was old, this man sitting next to me—heavy-set and decrepit. We exchanged a few remarks, of no significance, and began to eat.

We were served oysters and he asked me: "Have you ever eaten oysters?"

"No, Mr. Churchill."

"Watch how I eat them. I really love them."

"All right, I'll be your pupil."

He began to eat the oysters, and I did everything I saw him doing, including squeezing the lemon. He swallowed his oysters and so did I.

Then he asked: "How did you like them?"

"I did *not* like them at all."

"Well, that's because you're not used to them."

"I understand that I'm not used to them, but I still don't like them."

I didn't have any conversation with Churchill other than that, if you leave aside the fact that he touched on the question of Stalin. He expressed a good opinion of Stalin: "I had a lot of respect for Mr. Stalin during the war."

He spoke about the processes under way in our country in connection with the condemnation of the cult of personality. He said that we were courageous people since we had decided to take that step: "That means a big change in people's consciousness, and people are usually very conservative. In order not to get burned, all of that has to be done very cautiously and gradually, not all of a sudden." I agreed with him. Evidently Churchill was conducting himself cautiously toward us because he didn't want to create the appearance that he was still directing the government or interfering in its affairs. Since Eden was the prime minister, all practical questions had to be discussed with him. I encountered Churchill a second time in Parliament. I didn't meet him directly but I saw him. A visit to the Parliament building was included in our schedule. Anyone could go into the side rows where the public was seated, without interfering with the proceedings in Parliament. A young Conservative Party member had been attached to us, one who spoke Russian very well. He tried to demonstrate to us his profound knowledge of the Russian language by expressing himself very well in the language of cab drivers. He pronounced our words fairly well and had quite a store of those colorful expressions. Apparently he wanted to demonstrate to us his knowledge of the Russian language, and show that he was simple and down-to-earth. We of course made no comment.

He took us into the Parliament building. We sat on the benches and observed as the debates proceeded. I don't remember now what question was under discussion. At first Churchill was not present at the session, but then he appeared. The young man accompanying us, who was playing the role of guide, said: "Look, there's Churchill." In Parliament everyone has his assigned seat, and Churchill sat down in his. The guide warned us: "He won't be able to sit there like that for more than five or ten minutes, then he'll fall right to sleep." And sure enough Churchill soon let his head droop, and it was obvious that he was sleeping peacefully through the session of Parliament.

Our cruiser was docked in Portsmouth. We had told the captain of the vessel to organize the most careful possible watch over the ship and to do everything customary in such situations. Suddenly he reported to us that someone had surfaced in the water next to the cruiser. When our sailors noticed him, he dove underwater again and was seen no more.[22]

We told our hosts what our sailors had observed and asked how we were supposed to understand this. I don't remember what explanations were given, but we didn't attribute any great importance to the incident, although we didn't rule out the possibility that divers could attach magnetic mines to the sides of the cruiser and that this could be costly for us. That's what our military people reported to us about this incident. Consequently, we thought about returning home by plane. But the TU-104 was still going through tests, and it was not really safe for traveling. It seemed to us that it would be unbecoming to fly home on the IL-14 after the great to-do that had been made over the TU-104.

I didn't believe any provocation was possible. After all, to blow up a cruiser with the head of a foreign government on board would have been an act of war! The British would never have allowed something like that to happen. And we decided to return home on the cruiser. The press reported on this incident at some length. It turned out that the diver had been some special underwater intelligence agent who had the rank of major, as I recall. He died, and at first the press wrote that we had apparently taken him prisoner and were going to drag him off to Moscow with us. Then his corpse was discovered. We didn't know exactly who he was, but we had no doubt that he was an intelligence agent. Our intelligence people explained what happened by saying that the British were possibly interested in the propellers that drove the cruiser or some of the details of the ship's body, its design or the way its shape added to its speed. We didn't pay any special attention to the incident, although we did comment that they had invited us as guests and now were going through our pockets. Yes, their intelligence people were certainly doing their job. They were curious to find out about our ship, and they weren't satisfied with what the military attaché who had been on our ship had seen. We hadn't placed any limits on him, and he could have gone anywhere he wanted. He did go some places, but he didn't show any great interest. Evidently he didn't want us to think he was spying.

In England we flew from city to city in a British plane. They had a four-engine plane built by the Bristol Company, the same type of plane as our IL-18. We didn't have the IL-18 yet back then, but the planes we had were good ones, two-engine planes with piston engines. Their plane was more modern for those days, and Bulganin and I exchanged opinions on whether we should sound out the British to see if they would sell us such a plane. We tossed out this "bait" during the course of our conversations, but they replied, as was usual in such cases, that we had to negotiate directly with the company. We assigned someone to establish contact with the company and start negotiating, but nothing came of it. Apparently, Bristol would sell us those planes only if they were sure we would buy more than just a couple, that we would buy a whole series and use them on our airlines. But they knew that we would only buy one or two as models, because our airplane designers Antonov and Ilyushin[23] were already developing similar planes by then. Thus, the company saw no prospect of gaining a substantial customer by dealing with us. They certainly didn't want to sell us a plane that we would use as a model to copy from; they didn't want to give away their secrets.

During our stay in London we made contact with the Labour Party people. The head of their party then was [Hugh] Gaitskell,[24] a fairly conservative man, a bitter opponent of ours, who held anti-Soviet views. The left wing of the Labour Party was headed by [Aneurin] Bevan. I knew him well. I had met him in Moscow. He really stood out among the other Labour Party people, played the role of a leftist, and the content of his speeches really did depart from the ordinary. He would criticize the Labour Party, sometimes quite harshly. His hair was completely white, although he was not old; it's just that his hair had turned white before its time. He introduced us to his wife, whose hair was also white, although she too was not an old woman, but an active political figure in the Labour Party.

Bevan made a very good impression on us. Later after Gaitskell's death he headed the Labour Party. As a leader, in spite of all his declarations, the policies he pursued did not differ at all from those pursued by Gaitskell.[25] As it turned out, he didn't do anything different. That's what the British opposition is like: they criticize the people in power, and within the party they criticize the leaders, but only so long as the critic is not the head of the party. That's what happened with Bevan. Later [Harold] Wilson became leader of the Labour Party. He, too, was considered our friend and was opposed to the leadership. He often declared that if he was in power, British policy would take an entirely different course. But he has been in power now for so many years, and the policies he follows are still the same old ones that the Conservatives followed as well as Gaitskell and Bevan.[26]

The Labourites proposed that we meet with them and have supper (or as they put it, to have dinner in the evening). According to our Russian custom, that would have been supper. We agreed, although we didn't expect anything special from them. They were even more bitterly opposed to us than the Conservatives. We met at the Parliament building. They had some sort of restaurant there, in a great big room. That's where they proposed our meeting take place. At that meeting were Gaitskell, Brown, and other leaders of the Labour Party. Brown was aspiring to the leadership at that time, and he sometimes tried to set the tone for the party as a whole. His attitude toward us was very hostile. We all took our seats. The invariable glasses with whiskey were already on the tables. Gaitskell proposed a toast to the health of the queen. It turns out they never have a public meal without drinking to the queen. I don't know what the Communists do there. I don't think they drink to the queen. But what the devil, if they're going to drink to the queen, then let's drink to the queen! We went along with them and drank to her health, and then we drank appropriate toasts to our delegations, to our health and to theirs. Then the conversation began. The details escape me now, but there was a great deal of tension.

If we make a comparison with our meetings with the Conservatives, there was not the same kind of tension with them. The explanation for this is apparently that we and they were too much at opposite poles: the Conservatives represented big capital, and we represented the working class and the Communist Party. That meant that our only contacts could be on a businesslike basis of mutual advantage to our governments, and they could have no other claims on us. We of course nourished no hopes in regard to them. But when we met with the Labourites, it was a different story. They considered themselves a workers' party, defending the interests of the working class. We of course do not acknowledge that claim, and we never have. And so tension immediately arose. It's true that Gaitskell continued to try to behave tactfully. The cause of the conflict was as follows.

They had made an arrangement among themselves in advance, and during his speech Gaitskell pulled a paper out of his pocket and said that he had there a list of Social Democrats who had been arrested and were sitting in prisons in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other countries of Eastern Europe. He asked for our assistance in having them released. At first Bulganin wanted to take the list from him and began to say that we would study the question. But I nudged him and whispered that he was being drawn into a provocation. After all we could not discuss such a question even as a matter of formality. That would be interference in the affairs of other countries. That is how we replied to them, and we advised them instead to address themselves to the governments of the appropriate countries.

At that point Brown intervened. He began asking provocative questions simply aimed at making a scene. He took the floor and made a speech in which he criticized our internal arrangements. This was impermissible. We were their guests, and they were criticizing our domestic policies. Bulganin took the floor to give a reply. He replied in a very ordinary, uninspired way, and it was simply impossible for me to sit there and listen. He made no mention of the critical remarks that had been aimed at us; instead, he proposed some very ordinary toast to the health and happiness of those present. It was a very commonplace speech that might have been appropriate for a drinking party when comrades and friends got together and were wishing one another health and happiness, "hoping prosperity will come your way." But the other side had given an insulting and aggressive speech.

I couldn't hold back, and when Bulganin had finished I asked: "Please allow me to speak." They agreed. I directly attacked Brown. I said: "Mr. Brown, I regard your remarks as a provocation." I called everything by its real name and began to criticize him in turn: "You invited us to dinner. But if you want to have a conversation that is insulting to us, nothing is left for us to do but thank you for the invitation and leave." The situation immediately became very tense. As it turned out, the dinner ended with that, and we demonstratively walked out.

The next day, when we met with Eden, he again was smiling into his whiskers: "Well, how did the evening with the Labourites go last night?"

Of course he already knew everything; it had been reported to him. I also smiled: 'Well, you know, it wasn't entirely . . . ."

"Well, I told you that you would do better to make contacts with the Conservatives rather than with the Labourites. They are really impossible people!" As a Conservative, he was trying to take advantage of this conflict, building up his own people.

In reply we also made a joke: "Yes, we're comparing the two of you. We're trying to make a choice about which party to join, Labour or the Conservatives."

"I suggest the Conservatives."

"We'll think about it. Maybe we actually will join the Conservatives." Our reply later appeared in the press.

The next day we were supposed to attend a session of the House of Lords. Some Labour Party people were there also, including those who had been present the previous evening. They began to come over and say hello to us. Among them was one man who made an especially decent impression on me. I don't remember his name now. He was a man well on in years. His thinking was more sensible in regard to our affairs. Although of course he was not a supporter of the Soviet Union, he did want improved relations between our countries and the establishment of contacts between us and the Labour Party. I'm not saying they wanted contacts with the Communist Party exactly, although the Labour Party people did come to Moscow and our Central Committee had talks with them. But those meetings also failed to produce any good results.

I was in a bad mood. I was offended by the behavior of the Labourites at our meeting. Brown turned out to be there, too. He came up to me and put out his hand.

I looked at him and said: "Mr. Brown, I will not shake your hand. After what happened last night I cannot do it!"

He put out his hand, then pulled it back, then repeated these movements a couple of times, looking at me. I didn't stir.

"You won't shake hands?"

"No, I won't."

He put down his hand, and we went our separate ways.

Other Labourites saw the rebuff I had given Brown, and when they approached me they were very cautious and slow to put out their hands, as though to test whether I would shake hands with them or not. I shook hands with all of them, and we greeted one another, although I did express my dissatisfaction to them.

They sent a representative of theirs over and asked that we receive their delegation, which wanted to explain about the incident of the previous evening. The delegation was to consist of three people. The man I was talking about before was one of those who came, and there were two others, I don't remember who. They excused themselves for Brown's behavior and said that he had behaved rudely. This was not something they had wished to happen; Brown had made this attack on his own personal initiative. They regretted what had happened. That was the end of the matter.

I have already told what specifically gave rise to the conflict. Actually, we had opposing positions on all questions of an international character and in regard to the working-class movement. Therefore, on any question, no matter which one you might take up, a conflict could easily arise if you wanted it to. No especially great wisdom was necessary for that. Evidently Brown was a man of very strong anti-Soviet sentiments and had decided to make use of our meeting to try to spoil our relations. And he achieved his aim. Thus our first contact with the Labourites was a failure. The Conservatives were very pleased by this and displayed more politeness than ever toward us, assuring us in every possible way that they wanted to improve relations with us in the future.

The chairman of the House of Lords made a very strong, in fact comical, impression on me that day. I had met him earlier. He greeted us at the House of Lords before the session, wearing some sort of red costume, a robe and a huge white wig, and he showed us the place where he would be sitting during the session. A large bag covered with sheep's wool was lying there. All this looked so theatrical that it made the impression on me of something that was not at all serious. I was amazed that serious people could decorate their meeting place in such a farcical way, like a puppet theater, and dress themselves up in foolish-looking clown costumes. Well, I understand that that's their tradition. I've read about it, but when I saw it for myself it made me laugh involuntarily. I can't even imagine that serious people can dress up that way, conduct a session, and present themselves to a foreign delegation.

The English also showed us their historical sights. There was the Tower of London, with its execution chamber. They told us the history of this bloody place, where kings had had people executed and where kings themselves had been executed. We watched the changing of the guard, another exotic English custom. Soldiers in red uniforms with tall hats made from the fur of bears, all fuzzy. Again it was a rather theatrical sight. But the ceremony made a good impression. It's also part of history. It was a pleasure for me to see how the English paid tribute to their history. They told us that tourists invariably come to watch the changing of the guard as a kind of entertainment.

During the course of our talks we invited Eden to make a return visit to the Soviet Union. He accepted the invitation and thanked us. I think he sincerely wanted to come. Eden visited our country more than once before the war, when he worked in the British foreign office. He held his own special position then in regard to a rapprochement with the Soviet Union with the aim of uniting our efforts against the growing threat of war from Nazi Germany. He came to our country several times during the war as well. Thus he knew Moscow and was familiar with our conditions of life and traditions. But there was another reason [for our inviting him]. He was the head of the British government, and we wanted to improve our relations through such contacts. Above all we wanted to create conditions for expanded trade between our two countries. That would have been useful for our country and no less useful for Britain. We had no other hopes for expanding contacts between our two countries. No new developments had emerged.

As it turned out, Eden didn't come to visit us. After all, our trip to England was in 1956, shortly after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. After that came the events in Poland and Hungary and—more important—the attack by Britain, France, and Israel on Egypt. We took Egypt's side, and our relations abruptly deteriorated. We not only criticized them but took steps through diplomatic channels to put pressure on Britain, France, and Israel. The war was ended twenty-two hours after we sent messages to Eden, Guy Mollet, and Ben-Gurion.[27] The war ended, but the polemics in the press became extremely heated. At that point there was no longer any possibility of Eden visiting our country. I will tell about that in more detail when I talk about the events in Hungary and the Suez crisis.

I will add here only one incident having to do with a left-wing British Labourite. I forget his name. He died about three years ago. I was well acquainted with him. He was our good friend, a man of Finnish extraction. He was so devoted to the Soviet Union that the Labourites expelled him from their party. He wanted to come visit us. Stalin, who was already ill, suddenly took it into his head that this man was an agent, a foreign spy (and during the war he actually had served in military intelligence). He didn't deny that he had served in British intelligence. And so he was not granted a visa to visit the Soviet Union, although at the time he had been speaking publicly in our favor [in Britain]. Later I met with him, and he said to me: "Comrade Khrushchev, people didn't understand me correctly. I was always your friend. It was wrong to treat me like that. I will be your friend till the day I die."[28]

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1. The visit took place between April 18 and 27, 1956.

2. Anthony Eden (1897–1977) was prime minister from 1955 to 1957. See Biographies. [SS]

3. Igor Vasilyevich Kurchatov (1902–60) was at this time director of the Institute of Atomic Energy of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He was in charge of all work on atomic energy in the USSR. See Biographies.

4. John Hughes (1814–89) obtained a concession to build a factory in the Donbas. In 1869, he established a joint stock society to control the metallurgical factory that had been built in the settlement of Yuzovka. [MN] It was from Hughes that Yuzovka—that is, "Hughes-ovka"—derived its name. [GS]

5. John Selwyn Brooke Lloyd (Baron Selwyn-Lloyd) (1904–78) was foreign secretary from 1955 to 1960. See Biographies. [SS]

6. Harold Macmillan (1894–1986) was one of the leaders of the Conservative Party. At this time he was minister of finance. Later he became prime minister. See Biographies.

7. The Russian expression means "shooting the breeze; engaging in idle chatter." [GS]

8. The "influential Conservative" whose name Khrushchev had forgotten may have been Alec (later Sir Alec) Douglas-Home (Earl of Home, Baron Home) (1903–95). He was foreign secretary from 1960 to 1963 under Harold Macmillan and succeeded the latter as prime minister in 1963–64. See Biographies. [SK/SS]

9. Khrushchev uses the term "foreign minister," which is more familiar to him, but the corresponding official title in Britain is "foreign secretary." [SS]

10. Chequers is set in an estate that occupies 1,250 acres of land in Buckinghamshire, a county that borders London to the northwest. [SS]

11. Khrushchev and Bulganin visited Magdalen College, one of the constituent colleges of Oxford University. They were accompanied by Selwyn Lloyd and British minister of education David Eccles. I am grateful to Dr. Robin Darwall-Smith, Archivist at Magdalen College, for providing information about the visit. [SS]

12. The monarchical regime of Muhammad Al-Badr was replaced by the Arab Republic of Yemen on September 26, 1962. The Soviet-Yemeni agreement referred to was officially concluded on March 8, 1956.

13. The person who showed Khrushchev and his party round was Thomas Boase (1898–1974), who was president of Magdalen College from 1947 to 1968. [SS]

14. Queen Elizabeth II (born 1926) ascended to the throne in 1952. She is still there (as of 2006). [SS]

15. Gorky Street, now called Tverskaya, or Tver Street, one of the main streets in Moscow, was perhaps the most fashionable street of that city in the Khrushchev era. [SK]

16. This lengthy, satirical narrative poem by Nikolai A. Nekrasov (1821–78) is entitled in Russian *Komu na Rusi zhit khorosho* (literally, "For Whom in Russia Is It Given to Live Well?"). Its title in English is also translated as "Who Can Be Happy and Free in Russia?" (See the translation by Juliet

M. Soskice published in 1917 by Oxford University Press.) It tells about some peasants who were arguing over "who could be happy in Russia." They set out on a journey to find the answer to the question. They met a great many people, both rich and poor, but all had problems of their own, including the priest and the tsar. It turned out that no one in Russia lived happily. [SK/GS]

17. The Viscount J. P. L. Thomas (1903–60), Lord of Kilkenny, was the First Lord of the Admiralty from 1951 to 1956.

18. In 1947, Lord Mountbatten had been the last British viceroy of India. From 1954 to 1959 he was chief of the British naval staff.

19. Tsar Nicholas II and his family were kept under house arrest by the Soviet authorities in Yekaterinburg in the Ural Mountains region and were executed there when White monarchist forces were approaching that city. [GS]

20. The meeting took place on April 20, 1956, at the Royal Naval College in Greenwich.

21. Mary Stuart (1542–87), also known as "Mary, Queen of Scots," was Queen of Scotland from the sixth day after her birth (in real terms from 1561) to 1567. In addition, she was Queen of France in 1559–60 and laid claim to the English throne. She was found guilty of plotting to assassinate her rival Elizabeth Tudor (Queen Elizabeth I) and beheaded on February 8, 1587. [MN/SS]

22. This underwater swimmer, who was wearing a black diving suit, was found dead in the water about a week later, not far from the *Ordzhonikidze*. "Newspapers soon reported that the diver in the mask and flippers had been Commander Lionel Crabbe, an experienced and daring individual" (see Sergei N. Khrushchev, *Nikita Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower* [University Park, Pa.; Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000], 126 and 133). According to a UK web site "The Biography Channel," Crabbe was "a wartime diving hero [an 'ace frogman' during World War II]. He disappeared during the Cold War while spying on the hull of a Soviet ship in Portsmouth harbour." A movie was made about his World War II exploits, with the title "*The Silent Enemy.*" The "Biography Channel" web site claims that government files about Crabbe were ordered sealed for a century, rather than the usual three decades. [SK/GS]

23. The Soviet aircraft designers Oleg Konstantinovich Antonov (1906–84) and Sergei Vladimirovich Ilyushin (1894–1977). See Biographies.

24. Hugh T. N. Gaitskell (1906–63) became leader of the Labour Party in 1955. He set his sights on "modernizing" the Labour Party; this involved abandoning left-wing policy positions that he regarded as outdated. In particular, he tried to change Clause IV of the party program on the nationalization of industry and successfully resisted attempts to commit the party to unilateral nuclear disarmament. See Biographies. [SS]

25. Aneurin ("Nye") Bevan (1897–1960), a former coal miner and trade unionist, became a Labour member of Parliament in 1929. He served as minister of health in the Labour government from 1945 to 1951, instituting Britain's system of socialized medicine (the National Health Service). He became leader of the party's left wing, opposing German rearmament and calling for more nationalization of industry in Britain. Competing with Gaitskell for the party leadership, Bevan was briefly expelled from the party for insubordination in 1955. After reconciliation with the Gaitskell leadership, Bevan was appointed the Labour Party's spokesman for foreign affairs. [GS]

Khrushchev is mistaken in saying that Bevan became leader of the Labour Party. He did become deputy leader of the party in 1959, the year before his death, but he never became party leader. Gaitskell did not die until 1963 and was succeeded directly as party leader by Harold Wilson. See Biographies. [SS]

26. Harold Wilson (1916–95) was leader of the Labour Party from 1963 to 1976 and prime minister from 1964 to 1970 and again from 1974 to 1976, when he resigned from a leading role in political life while remaining a member of Parliament (until 1983). It is true that Wilson, like many other Labour Party politicians, was associated with the left wing of the party in the early part of his career but moved to the right as he rose to the top leadership. He had a reputation as a "technocrat." See Biographies. [SS]

27. Guy Mollet (1905–75) was prime minister of France in 1956–57. David Ben-Gurion (1886–1973) was prime minister and minister of defense of Israel from 1955 to 1963 (with an interval in 1961).

28. Khrushchev is referring to the left-wing Labour Party politician Konni Zilliacus (1894–1971). Although Zilliacus served as an intelligence officer for the British interventionary force in the Russian Far East in early 1918, he was opposed to the foreign intervention and undermined it by leaking information about the situation in Siberia to the press. In the interwar period he worked for the League of Nations. Elected to parliament in 1945, he was one of six Labour members who in 1949 voted against Britain joining the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), leading to his expulsion from the Labour Party and the loss of his seat in 1950. He was readmitted to the Labour Party in 1952 and reelected to Parliament in 1955. He continued to pursue a left-wing line in foreign and defense policy, supporting the movement for unilateral nuclear disarmament and later protesting against the American intervention in Vietnam. See Biographies. [SS]

BEGINNING OF THE VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES

In early 1959 the Soviet government received an invitation from the governments of the Scandinavian countries for us to send a high-level friendship delegation to visit those countries—a delegation that would include the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR [that is, Khrushchev]. This invitation of course was not made collectively by all of the Scandinavian countries. I don't remember which government took the first political initiative. It seems to me it was the Swedes. But I'm afraid of making a mistake here as to whether the invitation first came from the Swedes or from the Norwegians. But we were invited by all three—the Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes. Then through confidential, reliable channels we received information that if we were going to make an official visit to the Scandinavian countries, the Finns also wanted to coordinate with Moscow and send their invitation. We had already been to Finland, and Finnish delegations had visited us. By that time the USSR had established what I would call good relations, even friendly relations, with the Finns.

With the other Scandinavian countries there was, as the saying goes, neither war nor peace. During World War II we didn't fight them, and the relations that had taken shape were neither cold nor hot. And so we now accepted their invitation with pleasure, but we wanted to inform them separately, later on, about the exact timing of the visit. Reactionary circles in those countries had started a big campaign in the press. They criticized their governments for inviting a Soviet delegation headed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers. Our country was reviled and abused in the press, and the reactionary circles threatened to organize demonstrations of protest, and so forth.

We said nothing, but naturally this angered us. The annoyance we felt was because we didn't yet understand the real situation in the bourgeois-democratic countries. We were used to the fact that in the USSR our press printed only what it was allowed to print; otherwise it simply could do nothing, because in our country everything was centralized and controlled. The conditions existing in the capitalist countries are different. They have many political parties there, and each one can take its own particular position on any question, and express its attitude independently, to some degree, concerning one or another decision made by the government, or any and every action of the government. But at that time we felt insulted. We "pursed our lips," but said nothing. Then suddenly we received an invitation from the president of the United States to visit that country. Eisenhower addressed the invitation to me personally, suggesting that I head a delegation as chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The invitation from Washington was absolutely unexpected. We never counted on any such thing in any way. Thus, we had not been planning any trip to the United States in the near future or in the more remote future, because relations between us were fairly cold. How did this surprising thing happen?

Some sort of delegation of American industrialists and influential people had come to visit us. They enjoyed the confidence of the Eisenhower administration and perhaps had been given some sort of assignment. They acquainted themselves with the operation of certain branches of industry in the USSR. As I recall, they were especially interested in shipbuilding. We showed them how our atomic-powered icebreaker was built, and they inspected it. The ship was called the *Lenin,* the only atomic-powered icebreaker that we had at the time.[1] The ship has been successfully operating in the Arctic Ocean for many years now. The members of the U.S. delegation invited Soviet specialists to come to their country and take a look at their shipbuilding industry. We readily agreed to the proposal, because it meant that new contacts could be established. In our view, any contacts that might help relax the tensions in U.S.-Soviet relations would be advantageous to both sides. The delegation included [Frol] Kozlov, a secretary of the party's Central Committee and previously secretary of the party's Leningrad province committee.[2] He was therefore familiar with shipbuilding, for which Leningrad was famous (although by education he was a metallurgical engineer). Exactly which U.S. company sent the invitation is completely gone from my memory, but it certainly was not a government invitation. The aim we had in mind was an exchange of experiences, so that people in our two countries could become acquainted with each other's industry.

Kozlov later told me about inspecting a ship with an atomic engine in the United States.[3] Construction of the ship was only half-completed. Kozlov had clambered up and down the ladders and stairways there, and the engineers who traveled with him had also looked into everything they were allowed to. Of course the representatives of that U.S. company only showed what they wanted to show. But I think that in any case our engineers saw a lot of interesting things. When the schedule for the visit by our delegation ended, and it was getting ready to fly back to our country, a courier from Eisenhower suddenly showed up and handed Kozlov a large envelope with the request that it be personally delivered to Khrushchev. After he returned, Kozlov called me at my dacha on a day off, then came to see me, and said:

"I have some special mail for you from the president of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower." And he handed me the envelope. The document contained in it was quite concise: an invitation to the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers from the president of the United States to make a friendship visit to that country. The document was addressed to me personally.

I must confess that at first I didn't believe it. It was all so unexpected. We were not at all prepared for something like that. Our relations then were so strained that an invitation for a friendship visit by the head of the Soviet government and first secretary of the CPSU Central Committee seemed simply unbelievable! But the fact remained that Eisenhower was inviting us to send a government delegation, and I would head the delegation. It was surprising, but quite pleasant. And it was also interesting. I wanted to take a look at America. By then of course I had already traveled abroad. But in our imaginations and our conception of what the outside world was like, the United States held a special place. Nor could it have been otherwise. After all, this was our country's most powerful opponent, the leader of the capitalist countries, and the one that set the tone for the entire anti-Soviet crowd in the outside world.

Who was it that set the tone for the economic blockade of the Soviet Union? Also the United States. If the partners of the United States by that time had, in spite of everything, begun to make certain economic contacts with us, the United States itself was still blockading us. We bought some industrial equipment abroad and sold some things, mainly raw materials, and occasionally industrial items and some machine tools. But the United States boycotted us entirely. It had even imposed a special ban on the purchase of Russian crabs, giving as the grounds for this ban the alleged fact that the product was caught at sea by Russian people who were supposedly doing slave labor. This was absurd, but that is exactly the argument they gave for their decision. They even refused to buy from us such traditional products as caviar and vodka, although Russian vodka had always had customers in the United States and was highly regarded by connoisseurs. My understanding is that our vodka is still valued highly.

Yet all of a sudden this invitation had come! How were we to understand it? Was it a policy change? An about-face in foreign policy? No, it would be hard to imagine that. Yet with no preliminaries, here was this letter from the president. The Central Committee Presidium convened and acquainted itself with the document. The decision was made to accept the invitation and express our thanks for it. Now we were confronted by a new question.

We had received the invitations from the Scandinavian countries first, and then the one from Eisenhower. If we were to observe proper etiquette, we ought to visit those countries first. But we were drawn to making the American trip first. The United States was the key country among the capitalist powers—the one that established the climate for relations by other countries with the Soviet Union and with all the socialist countries. Therefore a visit to the United States would have an impact on a great many things.

The capitalist newspapers (one must grant them this) are no respecters of persons, regardless of the office one holds. Since the press in the Scandinavian countries contained mounting criticism of their governments for sending us those invitations, we decided to answer each government separately and individually, saying that for the time being we would postpone our visit because of the atmosphere that had been created in that country, which did not contribute to a normal visit by our government delegation to their country. Meanwhile we began to discuss specifics with Washington through our embassy in the United States. Menshikov[4] had been Soviet ambassador to that country for a long time. He knew the procedures in the United States well, and we began to clarify the appropriate questions through him. We came to agreement on the dates for the visit and the procedures that would be followed.

We were somewhat concerned about what the welcoming ceremony would be, whether some form of discrimination might occur. They could pointedly omit doing something that was normally done for a visiting head of government, and in this way they would be dealing us a kind of moral blow. To some extent that *is* how they conducted themselves. Another question was, "On what level were we actually being invited—on the level of head of government or chief of state?" In the Soviet Union the official chief of state is the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. In the United States of course the president is both head of government and chief of state. But they had emphasized to our ambassador that the invitation was to the head of government. That corresponded to my rank. A discussion also began about whether, in response to my trip to Washington,[5] Eisenhower would later accept our invitation and come to Moscow.

We warned Menshikov that in working out the procedures and ceremonies for the reception of the Soviet delegation, everything should be properly provided for, and we warned him that we would arrange the same kind of ceremonial reception for Eisenhower as the ceremony they gave us when we arrived. In other words, we wanted to be greeted with presidential honors, and if they refused, our intention was to receive Eisenhower in his capacity as head of government rather than as chief of state.

Of course if you go into this matter somewhat more scrupulously, our demands were exaggerated. We wanted to emphasize these demands in order to rule out any possible discrimination, because we knew that such a desire did exist on their part, and the temptations for them were even greater than their desires. Washington came to agreement with us. The time of arrival was set, a program of activities was worked out, and we began preparations for the trip. Before that I had made a trip to India [and Burma and Afghanistan, in 1955]. Also, I had been in England, Finland, and at the negotiations among the four leaders in Geneva. The last meeting had been strictly business. We had not been visiting Geneva as guests of the government. We didn't take our wives with us on those trips. First of all, that was a legacy of the Stalin era. Stalin himself never went anywhere, and he took a very jealous attitude toward anyone who took his wife on a trip. As I recall, Stalin only ordered Mikoyan once to take his wife with him on a trip to the United States. Second, among us it was considered a kind of luxury to take your wife along; either that or it was considered somewhat philistine, an uncultured thing to do, not very businesslike.

Now the same question arose in connection with this trip. Once again I was expecting to travel alone, not accompanied by my wife. But Mikoyan said: "Ordinary people abroad take a better attitude toward men who come as guests with their wives. And if they are accompanied by other members of their family, that disposes people even more favorably toward them. Therefore I would propose that Khrushchev take Nina Petrovna[6] with him and also include in the delegation other members of his family. This will be well received by ordinary Americans, and that would be better for us." I had my doubts as to whether we should do things this way. But the other members of the Central Committee Presidium supported Anastas Ivanovich [Mikoyan] and started trying to convince me that this really would be better. I finally agreed.

The official delegation included Foreign Minister Gromyko, and we proposed that Andrei Andreyevich [Gromyko] also bring his spouse along. Earlier, when Bulganin and I went to England, we had included Academician Igor Vasilyevich Kurchatov in the delegation. He made a big impression on the British, not only with his impressive beard but mainly with the power of his mind. He was a well-known figure to British scientists, and the new personal contacts that resulted created better conditions for strengthening such contacts in the future. Unfortunately, this time he was unable to come with us [because of poor health]. I proposed that the delegation include a writer, so that we could establish contacts with writers in the United States. The person I named was Mikhail Aleksandrovich Sholokhov.

We knew about a certain "failing" of his: sometimes when he had had too much to drink he could become rather unrestrained. Earlier I had given him a good talking-to about this problem. He had come to see me once and complained: "They won't let me go abroad. But I have to go to Norway. (It seems that he had received an invitation to go there.) But no, they won't let me go anywhere!" I said to him: "The reason they won't let you go is not that they don't trust you politically but because they aren't sure you won't foul things up somehow and thereby do damage not only to yourself but also to our country." He then gave me his word of honor that he would behave, and we let him go. He went to England, Sweden, Norway, and Finland. We received no negative comments about him from our ambassadors (and in such cases the erring person was always informed on). Sholokhov's authority as a writer was high both inside our country and outside it. His writings had earned a great reputation throughout the world for many years, and we were satisfied.[7]

The moment for our departure was coming closer. A question arose about how we would travel. Should we go by ship? No, that would take too long. We thought about what airplane to use. The only plane we had that could cover the distance from Moscow to Washington without stopping was the TU-114.[8] It had been designed by Andrei Nikolayevich Tupolev, one of our great citizens and a remarkable designer. But it had not yet been sufficiently tested in flight. At times certain mechanical failures had occurred, which caused us concern.[9]

Was the TU-114 a reliable plane for us to fly on? We didn't have any other appropriate means of making the trip. If we flew in an IL-18,[10] we would have to land along the way. We could also make use of some foreign airline. Or we could take one of our planes and change over to a ship: we could fly on an IL-18 to London or Paris, then board some passenger ship sailing regularly between Europe and America. But we wanted the government delegation from the USSR to arrive in the United States in our own plane, and we wanted it to make an impression. The TU-114 was precisely the plane that could do that. It was the best plane then in terms of distance and speed, and in storage capacity. Also it was the roomiest. It had made a strong impression in the world of technology and engineering, not to mention the impression it made on ordinary people.

In the course of the conversation with Tupolev he told me: "I'm absolutely certain there won't be any untoward occurrences. The airplane is absolutely reliable and will carry its load. Let me send people with you who, in case of need, can do something right on the spot. I'm so sure of this plane that I would ask you to allow my son Aleksei Andreyevich [Tupolev] to fly with you as part of the crew."

I answered: "Well, what can I say? I couldn't ask for anything better than that. I think that Alyosha (that was the nickname of Tupolev's son) will be not only a guarantee (although I don't need a 'hostage'—if there's an accident, what difference will it make whether he's there or not?), but if any surprises come up, he might prove to be useful."

He had worked alongside his father and had an excellent knowledge of this airplane and all its systems. He also wanted to make the flight. His father, too, felt it was desirable that the son have a chance to see the United States, if only "with one eye," as the saying goes [that is, with just a fleeting glance, a quick look].

We had an extremely poor knowledge of the United States then. This was true not only of our leaders who were up to their ears in domestic problems. When it came to foreign affairs we were mainly concerned with questions of war and peace. We were also concerned to some extent about countries we traded with. We had an interest in what we might be able to buy. Regarding any other questions our knowledge was poor. For example, when we reviewed the proposed itinerary we saw that a certain number of days and a certain amount of time were set aside for our meeting with President Eisenhower at Camp David. I was unable to get any explanation from our people as to what Camp David was. That seems ridiculous now, but back then it was an important question for us. What exactly was this Camp David? I began making inquiries with our foreign ministry. Someone there, whoever it might be, was supposed to know such things. The answer we got was: "We don't know." Then I ordered them to ask our embassy in the United States, "What in the world is this 'Camp David'?" Perhaps it was a place people were invited to if you didn't trust them. Some sort of quarantine facility. So that only the president by himself would be allowed to meet with me there. This would be a kind of discriminatory action. Why not meet in Washington? Why in Camp David? Today all of this is not only funny to me; I feel a little bit ashamed.

In the end we learned that it was simply the president's country place. Franklin Delano Roosevelt had it built during World War II and had gone there when he was unable to leave Washington for long stretches. When Eisenhower entered the White House, this residence outside the city was named after Eisenhower's grandson David. As it turned out, it was a special honor for a visitor if the president invited him to go outside the city to his private residence so as not to be distracted by other people or things. Conversations of interest to both sides could be conducted freely there.

You see how fearful we were then that we might be humiliated? I remember when the first contacts with the bourgeois world were made, a Soviet delegation was invited to take part in negotiations on the Prinkipo Islands.[11]

In the newspapers at that time this is what was written about the Prinkipo Islands: it was a place where stray dogs were kept. They were shipped over to those islands to live out their lives.[12]

In other words, the Prinkipo Islands had been chosen as a meeting place to emphasize discriminatory treatment of the government being invited there. That's how things were in the first years after the revolution, when a civil war was being fought in our country. Soviet power was becoming firmly established, and the bourgeois world was forced to take into account the existence of this new state. They had to move toward making some sort of contacts with us, but those contacts remained fairly unstable. And they approached such contacts cautiously, looking over their shoulders.

The capitalists always tried to wound our pride and humiliate us. That's why this put me on my guard. Wasn't this Camp David some sort of place where I would be invited for a few days [placing me in humiliating circumstances]? That's why I reacted in such a touchy way and urgently requested that this matter be looked into thoroughly. Finally they reported to me. It turned out that everything was the opposite [of what we had feared]; we were being favored with a special honor. We then accepted the invitation with pleasure, and of course we didn't tell anyone about our doubts. That's how uninformed we were. We didn't know things that were probably known to the whole world. Our embassy in Washington couldn't figure the problem out correctly at first, and it had to make further inquiries.

So then, we got ready to make the flight on the TU-114 without any stopovers. Let me repeat how proud we were to travel on such a plane, one that could fly from Moscow to Washington without landing to refuel. There wasn't another plane like it in the world. The United States didn't have such a passenger plane until some time after that. Later, when we were negotiating air connections between the USSR and the United States and when an agreement was reached, the arrangement was postponed for a little while before being implemented in accordance with a request from the American side—because at that time they still lacked the appropriate aircraft. As soon as the United States had produced a plane with that flight range, regular flights were established between the United States and the USSR. Yes, indeed, the

TU-114 is a proud emblem of our technological progress! We were overjoyed that this plane had been built by Comrade Tupolev in the Soviet Union.

The amount of time we would spend in the air had also been exactly calculated. The hour of our departure from Moscow was set so that we would arrive in the United States at a predetermined hour. This was important because of the time difference. A particular welcoming ceremony would be prepared in Washington [at a certain hour], and therefore we should not be late for it, nor should we be too early. If it turned out that we were flying in a little early, we could circle in the air above the landing point in order to stretch out the time to the appointed moment. But if we were late, that would be damaging to our prestige. People would say: "Look, they were unable to arrive on time, and they forced the president and all the people who had gathered to wait for them!" We were scheduled to arrive in the afternoon, during the first half of the afternoon, as I recall. And so we took to the air. The flight went well. It was calm flying over Scandinavia and then over the ocean. During the night we slept. I managed to sleep, but I wasn't used to it, and I wasn't entirely comfortable; also the roar of the plane proved to be rather substantial. Eventually, from exhaustion, and from the fact that I kept telling myself, "You've got to go to sleep!" I did fall asleep. I knew that the next day, when we arrived in America, would be very stressful. Therefore I really ought to rest my head.

Morning came. We were flying over the ocean. It was interesting. I had a feeling of pride the whole time. Not because we idolized America or because some mystery was awaiting us. We understood capitalist America perfectly well. We remembered how Gorky described it in his book about the "city of the yellow devil."[13]

I myself met some Americans shortly after the civil war in our country, when I returned from the Red Army and worked at the Rutchenkovo mines as assistant manager. Some American miners came to help restore mining operations. That was my first encounter with working-class America. Our people also went to the United States, and they had many interesting things to tell about it. But now it was not America itself that was somehow inflaming our imaginations. No, we were proud of the fact that at last we had forced America to recognize the necessity for establishing closer contacts with us.

If the president of the United States had invited the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers to come visit, this meant that the situation was entirely different from the relations we had had with the United States during the first fifteen years after the October revolution. It was not just that they refused us diplomatic recognition [before 1933]. Today, not only do they recognize us diplomatically—that is a stage that has long since passed—and not only did they fight together with us against a common enemy [Nazi Germany], under the whip of necessity. No, the point was that the United States had invited the head of the Soviet government to make a friendship visit. The pride we felt was for our country, for our party, for our people, and for the successes we had achieved. We had transformed Russia from a ruined, backward, and illiterate country into one that amazed the world with its successes. That's what had forced the American president to seek closer contacts with the Soviet Union. Those were our feelings as we flew toward the United States.

I will not hide the fact that I was worried about meeting the U.S. president again. I was acquainted with him to some extent because we had met in Geneva, as well as even earlier, after the defeat of Nazi Germany, when Eisenhower came to Moscow. Stalin introduced me to him then. But that was an acquaintanceship of a different kind. Now I would have to converse and negotiate with him one on one, eyeball to eyeball—although Gromyko would also be present. Certain complications made themselves felt. The thing was, you know, you couldn't take a quick look at a reference book or whisper in Andrei Andreyevich's [Gromyko's] ear to consult on some questions that were suddenly causing difficulties. That kind of behavior on Eisenhower's part was something I had previously deplored—when we were at Geneva and he read notes aloud that had been composed for him and handed to him by Secretary of State Dulles. I didn't want to find myself in that position now, and to a certain extent that troubled me.

I had already passed the test of interacting with capitalist leaders—in India and Burma [in 1955], and in Britain [in 1956]. But after all, this was America! We didn't place American culture on a higher level than British, but in those days this was a country whose power had decisive significance. Therefore it was necessary to represent the USSR in a worthy manner and to relate to our negotiating partner with a good understanding of the situation. Of course disputes would arise between us; there was no question that they would; but we had to go into them without raising our voice. That was the difficulty. We had to argue for our position and defend it in a worthy way so as not to humiliate ourselves, but also not to allow ourselves to say anything inappropriate during diplomatic negotiations.

All that seemed to us quite complex, especially because Stalin to the day of his death kept drilling it into our heads that we, his comrades-in-arms of the Politburo, were really unfit, that we would not be able to stand up against the forces of imperialism, that with our very first personal contact we would not know how to represent our homeland in an honorable way and defend its interests, that the imperialists would simply crush us. He implied that we were not capable of defending the dignity of our country. Now his words echoed in my consciousness, but actually I didn't feel oppressed by them. On the contrary, they mobilized my strength. I was morally and psychologically prepared for the meeting. I am referring to the series of questions on which we needed to have an exchange of views in order to find a possible way of resolving them. The main thing was to preserve the peace, peaceful coexistence. Also, to seek to achieve an agreement on banning nuclear weapons, to solve the problem of a mutual reduction in our armed forces, the elimination of military bases on foreign soil, and the withdrawal of troops from such bases, and their return to their own countries. These very same questions have essentially not been resolved to this day. As before, every country still confronts these questions, and they are just as awesome and threatening. Perhaps they are even more threatening than they were back then, when I was on my way to meet with the president of this country that was the most formidable military power in the world and possessed awesome power. I am referring, of course, to nuclear weapons.

We were interested in the people of America. I had met American miners in 1922 and later. It would be more accurate to call them workers who had come from America, because the majority of them were of European background—Yugoslavs or people of other European nationalities. We didn't have any Americans of Anglo-Saxon heritage at our mines. Among workers, miners were considered unfortunate people condemned to the kind of hard labor assigned to convicts. In the capitalist countries, that was the position they were in, and that's still true today. Meeting people from the general population in the United States would be something altogether different. I was worried about what their attitude toward us would be. There, on the one hand, would be the Soviet leaders and, on the other, the American public.

I was also interested in contacts with the world of business, which were provided for in our itinerary. After all, even Stalin had wanted to obtain loans from that source and had asked the Americans to lend us 3 billion dollars.[14] On the condition that they give us such a loan, we agreed to repay certain sums that were being demanded of us under the lend-lease agreement. We also needed to hold talks on that question. I didn't think we could achieve substantial results, but I was ready to hold such talks and felt that they were unavoidable. I was also concerned about the question of trade with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. I thought it might be possible to have the ban on trade removed. The U.S. Congress had imposed a ban on trade with the USSR. All that was of great economic and political significance.

I also hoped to meet with representatives of the Communist Party of the United States. I had no presentiments of any difficulties in that regard, but it would also be interesting. In general everything, all of it, was of interest to me. America has been well described and depicted by Ilf and Petrov, Maxim Gorky, and other Soviet writers.[15]

Descriptions by Soviet writers are one thing. But the America that we were approaching was the actual reality. All of us were on our guard, wide awake, straining every nerve. Here at last was the real, live America. In a few minutes real, live "Amerikenny" would appear before us. And then we saw them. (I've used this word, "Amerikenny," from a play by Vsevolod Ivanov, *Armored Train 14–69,* in which some Soviet partisans under Vershinin, the Soviet guerrilla leader in the Far East, had been interrogating an American, and one of the partisans reported: "We've taken one of the Amerikenny prisoner."[16])

We were notified that we were approaching the United States and then that we were approaching Washington. We flew in a circle over the city. I don't know if this was a kind of a salute or part of the approach to landing. Then we landed. The weather was marvelous. Nature over there gave us a very affectionate welcome. It was warm and the sun was shining brightly. When I looked out the airplane window I saw a lot of people gathered. A speaker's platform had been erected, soldiers were lined up to give a ceremonial welcome, a welcome mat had been rolled out, but what caught my eye was the crowd of people in their bright summer clothing, very elegant. It was one solid, multicolored array, like a carpet of flowers.

The plane taxied to its berth. It turned out that our plane's chassis was higher than the standard American plane, so that the self-propelled ramp that passengers used to disembark from the plane couldn't reach the door. As I recall there were no ramps high enough at that time. The ramp had to somehow be raised higher. So we descended from the plane in a not especially elegant manner—that is, there was no ceremonial descent as provided for by protocol. But we were not offended, nor did we feel humiliated by such difficulties. On the contrary, we just spread our hands, shrugged our shoulders, and laughed, as did the Americans. And I thought to myself: "Good for our boys! They've built a giant passenger plane that for the first time flies across the ocean without stopping, and the other guys have nothing like it." I think the Americans suffered more than we did over the fact that their ramp wasn't high enough.

Once I had descended from the plane I saw that troops had been lined up for a parade, and then I saw the president. He was dressed in a civilian suit, not a military uniform, even though he was a general. Our embassy staff also welcomed us. I and others shook hands with the president, and he led me over and introduced me to members of his Cabinet. I said hello to each one individually, then I said hello to our ambassador and staff members from the embassy. The wives and children of the staff members presented us with flowers.

I felt in good spirits, although I noticed that the people on the speaker's platform and in other locations reserved for the public greeted us in a restrained way. In our country a welcoming occasion like this was usually accompanied by shouts of greeting. There was nothing like that. They seemed to look at us as some kind of strange creatures, as if to say: "What kind of Bolsheviks are these? And what can we expect of them?" You could notice a different kind of expression on some of those present, as if to say: "Why have they come here anyhow? What was the need for inviting them?"

We bowed slightly after removing our hats, but we still bore ourselves proudly. Eisenhower invited us to the top of the speaker's platform, which was covered with a red carpet and had radio equipment installed. Perhaps the radio broadcast would reach beyond the borders of the United States. That I didn't know for sure. Everything there was glistening and gleaming. Everything was done with great refinement and taste. We didn't do things that way. We did them more simply, in a proletarian way, even negligently. The way they did things was very thorough, fully thought out, with everything in its place.

First the president gave a short speech, then I was given the floor. As far as I knew, the proper procedure in international relations was, first, for the host to greet the arriving guest, and then for the guest to reply with greetings to those who had come out to welcome him. Then the national anthem of the host country would be performed, followed by the national anthem of the guest country. All this was done very ceremoniously and filled us with even more pride. Here was the United States government organizing an honor guard for us and playing the Soviet national anthem! An artillery salute followed. As I recall, there were twenty-one volleys. In general everything was done according to protocol, and we found this gratifying. We were being treated with due respect. We were especially pleased that these honors were being conferred on us. Not because I was being welcomed this way, but because this was the welcome being given to a great socialist country, Eisenhower proposed that I greet the honor guard. The officer saluted me, the ceremony was completed, and we walked down the red carpet past the ranks of the honor guard. I don't remember if it was part of the protocol for me to say hello to the honor guard or not. That isn't required by the rules of protocol in every country. In some countries you simply walk past, and with that the ceremony of being welcomed by the honor guard is considered complete. Eisenhower invited me to take a seat in his automobile next to him. The two of us sat together. [My wife] Nina Petrovna took a seat in another car with the president's wife. Everyone else was seated as well, according to protocol, as agreed upon by the protocol departments of the diplomatic services of our two countries. The car started and we began to move, but very slowly. The president's guards ran alongside the machine on the left and the right, stretching out in a thin line. The guards surrounded the automobile in the front and the back as well. We had already seen them do this when we visited Geneva.

We were not accustomed to this kind of procedure. But later, when I found out what people in America were capable of, I understood. A short time later President John Kennedy and his brother Robert Kennedy were both assassinated—Robert when he was running for president. Later [in 1968] the black leader Martin Luther King, who was fighting for equal rights for his people in the United States, was also assassinated. Other political assassinations occurred in the United States as well. Perhaps this procedure involving guards, which had been worked out then and to which I was a witness, was justified. However, it obviously didn't provide any guarantees. The assassinations that happened are proof of that. Nevertheless, having a bodyguard does make it more difficult for acts of terrorism to be committed. We guessed that there were many people there who were enemies (not of me personally but of the Soviet Union). Of course I knew that, but I sincerely confess that I absolutely never thought about such things and felt no anxiety in that regard. I am talking now about potential dangers. But at that time even the thought of a terrorist act didn't occur to me.

When we left the airport, we saw a lot of people. That was also true in the city, but not as many as there would be in our country. We organize rows of people to greet the "dear guest." In such welcoming situations our people don't arrange themselves in rows; they are organized that way. We give orders to the party's city committee to bring out a specified number of people, and we tell them where to line up. We have a definite procedure worked out for this. We know the distance from one row to the next, how many people can fit in a certain space, and we end up with a solid row of people, and without fail they are carrying the flags of the country from which the guest is arriving. All this makes an impression. Sometimes this caused dissatisfaction for some people, but we continued to follow this practice. We behaved like the drunkard who even if he can't drink vodka, simply has to have a sniff of it; otherwise he will suffer. We had this kind of "alcoholic addiction" to welcoming ceremonies. In the bitter cold of winter and in rainy autumn weather, the poor people stood out there in their welcoming rows.

Sometimes when I drove along [accompanying the official visitors] I felt sorry for these people. I understood how they felt, and if I had been in their place, I probably would have protested insistently and openly. But we were all slaves to formality. If a welcoming ceremony had been given to one person, the same kind of welcome had to be given to another; otherwise it would be discrimination! The idea occurred to me that we should switch over to a different way of expressing our attitude toward guests, as they do in the West. No one drags the people out onto the streets there. There is no organization to do that, and it's really impossible to force people to come out. If someone wants to come out and gawk, they will. If they want to stand there with their mouth hanging open, they will; if they want to grind their teeth, they will. That's entirely their business, those who are doing the welcoming. But in our country you can't say that people went out into the streets of their own desire. First, they were dragged out by the party organizations. Second, they were paid to do that [that is, they received their usual wages despite time away from the workplace], with the result that some people gladly came out, especially if it was good weather. And after all, why not? Have a look at the strange guest, be he black, brown, or white. It was something exotic, no matter what. Sometimes the guest would be so exotic that our blue-collar and white-collar workers had never seen the like before! At this point I'm making condemnatory remarks about our past, and I don't approve of the present situation, in which things continue according to the customs established in the past.

I knew of course that in the United States and other countries there was another custom—people would come out with placards on which harsh statements were printed in large letters, protesting against one or another guest or caricaturing the person who had arrived. In short, a form of protest was expressed in a public statement of opposition to the arrival of this guest. I didn't notice anything like that. There wasn't any such thing. You might say that the police cleared away those who wished us ill. No, it's my assumption that they simply didn't exist. The Americans seemed to take a tolerant attitude toward us, as though to say: "We'll see how things turn out.

Let's see what kind of sly fox [literally 'goose with paws'] it is who heads their government." It was interesting for them to take a look and listen to this strange creature. Since of course there were forces in the United States hostile toward us, and quite a few of them, it would be foolish and naïve to say that the whole population greeted us with joy. The United States is a class society and that is very strikingly expressed. You can find everything there from extreme poverty to absolute abundance. Therefore it was impossible that everyone there would give the same welcome to us as representatives of the working people and of a socialist state. In general we were prepared for anything, and my explanation for the restraint of the public is that it was a kind of expectant, wait-and-see attitude. Or perhaps it was an expression of respect for their president because I was his guest. After all I was riding in the president's limousine, sitting next to him. And perhaps that's why the people were restrained.

We went from the airport directly to the residence provided for us [Blair House]. The president left us to rest for a short time, and a little while later I made my first visit to the White House. While resting, I received information from our ambassador, Menshikov, about the press reaction to our arrival. He also reported about a newspaper interview given by Vice President Nixon.[17] There was no direct verbal attack against our country or against me as a representative of the Soviet government, but there were all sorts of old, unfriendly remarks that were usually typical of Nixon. I was used to that and had read a lot of such things before. He had expressed himself even more harshly in articles before. Nevertheless, I was angered by the lack of tact shown toward a guest of the president on the very day of his arrival. In his interview Nixon was trying to set the mood for the people as to "how they should understand" the arrival of Khrushchev. That was precisely what angered me.

When I arrived at the White House, Eisenhower met me at the doors of his office. We went inside and sat down. On his side, Nixon was present; and on our side, Menshikov and Gromyko. As soon as we had exchanged greetings with the president, as is customary in such situations, I immediately blew up, as it were. I said: "Mr. President, I cannot help but express my astonishment and indignation." He pricked up his ears. "Your colleague, Vice President Nixon, has allowed himself to commit a tactless action on the day of my arrival. He has given an interview in which he used impermissible expressions." Eisenhower looked with surprise at Nixon, and I immediately realized that the president didn't know about it. Evidently he hadn't had a chance to look at the newspapers. In fact I don't know whether he read the newspapers carefully at all. I had the impression that he ruled, but didn't manage. Probably a summary of clippings from the press was prepared for him. When he looked at Nixon, the latter nodded his head, confirming my words. I don't remember exactly what Eisenhower said to me then; it was something meant to calm me down. But I could see from the expression on his face that he was not pleased with what had happened.

To me it was all quite clear. The intention of this interview was not to be tactless; it was simply a normal statement by a class adversary. You couldn't expect anything different from the class enemy, although I thought that Nixon, being bound by government obligations, should remain within certain limits and consider the fact that I was the guest of the president. And since he was the vice president, I was his guest as well. The newspapers wrote in a different tone. In any capitalist country various newspapers exist, representing the views of differing social groups—the differing social classes as a whole, and the subsidiary strata that make up those social classes. Each was expressing its attitude toward our socialist country and its representatives. We understood this and were well inoculated from our class point of view against such hostile sallies against us, our policies, and our people. But Nixon was an official figure, a fact that obliged me to take a special view of his verbal assault on us.

I don't remember now all the details of our itinerary in the United States. I can only give a fragmentary account of our visits to various regions and cities. I will tell about the most typical visits and the things that stayed in my memory regarding the people we met. The president kindly suggested that I make my journey around the United States in his official plane [Air Force One], a Boeing 707. In their country, this passenger plane was considered the fastest and the one with the largest capacity. I don't think it was faster than our TU-104. The difference was that our TU had two engines but the Boeing had four. But since it was a special plane for the president's use, it was specially equipped. For the president an enormous compartment, or salon, had been set apart, and at some distance there were several easy chairs for the people accompanying him. The plane was well furnished and very comfortably equipped.

I gratefully accepted his offer, thanking the president for his consideration. He said: "Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge will accompany you," and he introduced Lodge to me. He was a middle-aged man, no taller than average, radiating strength and good health; he had been an officer during the war and held the rank of major general (the equivalent of that rank in the Soviet Union).[18]

Later Lodge and I got to know each other better and spent a long time together. As the president's representative he accompanied me everywhere.

On our side, Gromyko, [my wife] Nina Petrovna, and Gromyko's wife were always with me. I don't remember whether Sholokhov traveled all around the country with us. As I recall, he was only with us in some cities. He wanted to stay in Washington longer, apparently because he wanted to meet with some American writers.

I will begin my account with Los Angeles because it became a kind of special place for me during our trip through the United States. After seeing the city, we were supposed to go to Disneyland, a "fairyland theme park," as they say, a very beautiful place, but we ended up not going there. Lodge and the deputy mayor, Victor Carter, began trying to dissuade me. Carter spoke Russian, but with a noticeable accent similar to that of Jews who live in the USSR.

I asked him: "Where do you know Russian from?"

"That's where I'm from. Russia. That's why I know Russian."

"Where did you live?"

"Rostov on the Don."

Then I began to wonder how could he have lived in Rostov being a Jew? After all, Rostov was part of the territory of the Don Cossack Host, and under the tsars, Jews were not allowed to live there.

I mentioned this to him and asked: "How could that be? Under the laws existing before the revolution it was forbidden. After all, you are Jewish, aren't you?"

"Yes, I'm Jewish, but my father was a merchant of the first guild. Under the laws of that time, merchants of the first guild had the right to live in any city of Russia."[19] My attention was immediately riveted on him, and from then on he was the one who explained everything we saw as we traveled around the city.

What I remember most about Los Angeles was how many flowers there were, how warm it was, and how high the humidity was. Later they explained that although a visit to Disneyland was planned, they wanted to persuade me not to go there. Some sort of counterdemonstration was being organized there by people who had found out about the planned trip, and there were even personal threats against me. When they told me about that I wondered whether to insist or to abandon the trip. At first I insisted. Our host spoke very strongly against it. He explained that there would be a huge crowd of all sorts of people, and disorders could occur. Of course if I continued to insist, this former man from Rostov who was escorting me—whose father's money had been lost because of the revolution in Russia—this man would probably be pleased by a hostile demonstration. I didn't want to think that the worst could happen, but it actually could. Then I thought it over and stopped insisting. So the only place we saw was Los Angeles, and we saw that from an open car.

Then we were invited by big shots in the movie industry to visit Hollywood—which was a republic unto itself in a kingdom where movies of all genres and on any possible subject are "cooked up." By then they had virtually stopped making progressive movies. It was no longer the Hollywood that had once produced films by Chaplin and other progressive directors. As we were being shown through the film studios [of Twentieth Century Fox], they were filming some scenes from *Can-Can* right at that time. I don't think these scenes were timed for our arrival or were done according to any prearranged plan. Our visit coincided with a scene where some very elegant and beautiful young women in colorful costumes were dancing the can-can. There are moments in this dance that cannot be considered quite decent, scenes that would not be taken well by everyone. Later we were invited into the offices of the film studio; these women and other participants in the filming operation were invited there as well. Our entire delegation went in and we were asked to have our pictures taken together with the actors and actresses. I stood next to [my wife] Nina Petrovna, the pretty girls surrounded us, and the cameramen went to work. I heard one of the cameramen talking to a woman next to me, but I didn't know what he was saying. A little later our interpreter told me that the cameraman was addressing the actress Shirley MacLaine. Speaking very softly he had suggested to her: "Lift your skirt a little higher, a little higher!" As I understand it, she did that. She was standing next to me and apparently this character wanted to get a more risqué photo. A girl like that, right next to Khrushchev! As for me, I remained indifferent. What was the big deal? She was just an actress performing the can-can.

When we were in Denmark [later on] they were also putting on a show with the name "Can-Can." In one of the scenes the young women were dancing and then turned their backs to the public, swept up their skirts, and revealed the lower parts of their bodies. They were wearing pantaloons on which letters of the alphabet were visible. The wife of the prime minister of Denmark, who herself was an actress, told us that the letters spelled out: "Happy New Year!" For the Soviet public of course such a scene would have been excessively risqué. We are not accustomed to that genre and would consider it indecent. Why should I pay so much attention to all this? After all, the American actors and actresses who were visiting with us and the other participants in the filming operations made a good impression on us. Apart from their dancing scenes these young women didn't stand out in any unusual way.

They behaved themselves modestly. That is, they were simply doing their job. As I recall, we received a copy of that photo.

Later some of the leading figures in Hollywood gave a luncheon in our honor.[20] Quite a few people were present, the cream of the crop among actors and actresses, all the movie stars. The atmosphere at the luncheon was relaxed, with no manifestations of anti-Sovietism. Of course attitudes toward the USSR among those present varied, but everyone behaved in a friendly way. On the whole it was a very pleasant encounter.

We were in Los Angeles for only one day. In the evening there was a dinner in honor of our delegation. It was hosted by the mayor of the city, a Republican.[21] I was told that this man had sharply anti-Soviet views, and therefore we could expect any kind of dirty trick, although it would hardly be in a crude and open form. But he might attack our country in a disguised way in his speech. We had a very intolerant attitude toward any negative expression in our direction. We did not want to permit even a hint of disrespect toward us.

The lengthy banquet room of the Ambassador Hotel, which seated about five hundred persons, was filled to overflowing with invited guests. I was told how such receptions were organized. In our country the government or some institution pays for such things, when receptions are organized, but in their country private individuals do it. Admission tickets cost a great deal. The woman sitting next to me at the table was evidently exactly that—a wealthy person, the owner of a large fortune; otherwise she could not have come there. [My wife] Nina Petrovna, I, and our entire delegation were seated at a table with the mayor and his wife. At that table I had a conversation with this wealthy woman. For the most part, she kept initiating the conversation. She spoke with kindness toward our delegation and toward me personally. But that didn't mean she had a respectful attitude toward the Soviets. It seemed to me that she wanted to have a look at this strange guest as a kind of exotic bear from Russia, where they walk bears down the street on leashes. She had been favored with the opportunity to sit right next to the bear, but for some reason it wasn't growling. She said: "Do you know how many people wanted to come to this dinner? I'm here by myself, my husband is sitting at home, and naturally he envies me. Every individual present had to pay a great deal of money to be admitted to this dinner. Of course we would have paid for two, so that we could be here together, but there were so many who wanted to come that a special arrangement was made—only one member of a couple, either the husband or the wife, could come. Luck was with me, and I consider myself very fortunate. Here I am at the reception in your honor, while my husband is sitting at home, feeling bored and envious of me."

Accompanying our delegation, in addition to Lodge, was the U.S. ambassador to the USSR, Mr. Thompson[22] and his wife. The atmosphere was very ceremonious and splendid, all the proper table settings were laid out, the room was elegantly decorated, and candles were burning. They have a tradition of serving dinners by candlelight. A state of semi-darkness prevails, a soft pleasant light not disturbing to anyone. Everything was going along fine until the mayor spoke. I don't remember his name [Poulson]. He was about fifty or a little older, not at all corpulent, the way capitalists are usually portrayed in caricatures on placards in our country. He was a man of quite normal dimensions. His speech was short, but some sharp pins stuck out—aimed at the Soviet Union. I don't remember now whether they concerned me personally. As I recall, they didn't, but were aimed against the Soviet system as compared with the system in the United States. He made uncomplimentary remarks, especially regarding the position taken by the USSR in world politics. Although the anti-Soviet trend of his remarks was not crude or blunt, but was camouflaged, I felt it and it made me angry. I could have let it pass, because it was not done crudely. I don't even think that everyone present understood the essence of what he had said. But I understood. Since his speech was addressed to me, I had the right to make it look as though I didn't understand. But I decided to react in a demonstrative way and give him a public rebuff, so as to clear things up right then and there, and not wait until after the dinner to speak to him one on one.

I asked for permission to reply and he gave me the floor. Then in a very sharp way, with a tone that expressed a certain amount of exasperation, I stated my protest against the content of his speech: "Mr. Mayor, I am a guest of the president and I have come here at his invitation. I have also come to visit you according to the scheduled program for this visit, which has been approved by the president of the United States. But I did not ask to be your guest, and I will not permit any disparagement, any humiliation, and especially any insulting statements against Soviet policies, against our country—the great Soviet Union—and against our people. We are a socialist country and have traveled a difficult path, reaching great heights in the development of our economy and culture. We do not bow and scrape, and we did not beg you to let us be your guests. If we have been invited, we will not tolerate anything that might insult or belittle our country or its representatives. If my visit here as a representative of the USSR does not suit you, our plane is sitting at the airport in Washington. I can always summon it to come right here and fly back to the Soviet Union from here."

This made a powerful impression. Later I was told that the wife of the U.S. ambassador, Mrs. Thompson, was in tears, and addressing those sitting next to her, she expressed her displeasure with the mayor for allowing this to happen. She was a very excitable woman, and it seemed to her that a war was about to start if Khrushchev left. I don't remember now how the mayor himself reacted. At any rate, he didn't get into a fight. As for my behavior, I didn't regret it then, and I don't regret it now. It was necessary to give a rebuff, to let this anti-Soviet person have it in the teeth, even though he held a fairly high post. The dinner ended and we said goodbye. Of course I thanked the mayor for receiving us, and we headed for the hotel where we were to spend the night. The plan was for us to leave from there early the next morning and take a train to San Francisco. After returning to the hotel all those accompanying me gathered in my hotel room, which had a large living room. I continued to feel indignant and expressed my indignation in a very strong manner, making some very sharp statements. To demonstrate my exasperation I said that if this was the kind of reception we were going to get, I would refuse to continue the trip through the United States and would fly back to our country.

I intentionally expressed all this very loudly, showing that I was very worked up. I made many unflattering remarks about the mayor, asking: "How could he allow himself to attack the guests of the president?" Gromyko's wife, a dear woman, was very upset, and began trying to calm me down. She even ran off to get some Valerian drops and gave them to me to calm my nerves. I indicated to her with a gesture that she shouldn't be upset, that I had my nerves well in hand and was simply expressing my indignation for the ears of our hosts. I was convinced that listening devices had been installed and that Lodge, who had a room in the same hotel, was in his room listening to me. I wanted him to understand that I would not put up with such things, that this was impermissible. It ended with me asking Gromyko as foreign minister to go immediately to the room of the president's representative, Mr. Lodge, and express our dissatisfaction to him, stating that we were refusing to go to San Francisco the next day.

Comrade Gromyko left and came back with Lodge, who apologized for the mayor's remarks and simply pleaded with us not to cancel the trip to San Francisco. He said that he would guarantee that nothing like this would be repeated: "On the contrary Mr. Khrushchev will be very pleased by the atmosphere in San Francisco." We allowed ourselves to be persuaded. Later in the railroad car he took the initiative and began to talk about this incident. I listened benignly to his assurances, but warned him that if anything like this was encountered again, I would cut short my visit and return to the Soviet Union.

Now a few words about the train. American railroad cars have good springs that give a soft ride. They are very comfortable and it's a pleasure to travel in them. In general, the entire railroad system seems to be on a high level.

Lodge couldn't stop himself and made the following remarks about the previous evening's incident: "Mr. Khrushchev, I read the mayor's speech. Only a fool could have written such a speech. If only you had seen what he had put in his first draft, which he gave me to look over! I crossed it all out and said it was unacceptable. The passages that you reacted against had also been crossed out, but he, like a fool, left them in. Apparently he doesn't understand the situation, the blockhead."

Of course I don't know whether things were really the way Lodge described them. Maybe he himself left in those passages, because to his way of understanding they were not grounds for protest and he had thought they were entirely permissible. Or maybe he really did indicate to the mayor [that he shouldn't say those things], but the mayor out of stupidity didn't take his advice. To me what had happened was normal, because our class enemy had simply taken the position that was natural for him. But this had happened not in a private meeting but during an official ceremony as part of our visit. Otherwise there would have been no reason to get angry, and I could have simply explained to the man that he was mistaken. But his speech took on a different significance because he was giving an official reception to our Soviet delegation. My attitude toward Lodge was one of confidence. In my opinion, he conducted himself in a sincere manner and in general performed his duties conscientiously as a representative of the president. He is an intelligent man. The policies he pursued were bad, but after all, he was a government official carrying out the policies of his government. He was ambassador to Vietnam twice and took part in the negotiations concerning Vietnam in Paris. In politics he supported the policies of the Republican Party, but in private he was a pleasant conversationalist, and his relations with me at any rate were good. He and I often joked together. He told me about his wartime experiences, and I told him about mine.

Once I said to him jokingly: "Mr. Lodge, you are a military man and therefore should observe the rules of subordination. You are a major general, but I am a lieutenant general. My military rank is higher [in the Soviet system of military ranks]. You should treat me accordingly and conduct yourself as a junior officer is supposed to toward a senior officer."

He laughed: "I understand, Lieutenant General, Sir."

Another time he said jokingly: "The major general wishes to report . . ."[23]

In short, Lodge made a good impression on me. It was pleasant to spend time with him. During our travels by plane, train, or otherwise we didn't talk much about official matters. He couldn't solve any of these problems, and I understood his position. Therefore I didn't get into any arguments with him on political subjects. There was no need for that. Still, we didn't avoid such discussions entirely. Being political people, we couldn't always avoid such conversations even if we wanted to. But our conversations remained within definite limits, so that no passions would be aroused and so that our personal relations would not be strained.

According to the schedule, the train stopped at a particular station [San Luis Obispo]. A lot of people had gathered there, apparently from nearby towns. I don't know who these people were. When the train stopped everyone was staring at the railroad cars. They were obviously trying to get a look at the Soviet delegation. Apparently an announcement about us had been made earlier.

I suggested to Lodge: "Let's go out on the platform."

"What are you saying? I wouldn't advise it."

But in my view, since the people had come there, we should go out to meet them; otherwise it might be misunderstood, as though we were ignoring them, displaying lack of respect for those who had wanted to meet us or at least to see us. On the other hand, people might think that I was afraid, too much of a coward to come out. So I went to the exit, jumped down on the platform, and went over to the gate between the station and the lawn on which the people were standing. The people crowded around Lodge and me and pressed us against the gate. People were shoving against one another, pushing their neighbors out of the way. But this situation lasted for only a short time because the whistle blew for the train's departure. We returned to our railroad car, but I spoke to people out the window and answered questions. Not everyone could hear my voice and suddenly from somewhere, a bullhorn appeared. Lodge held it in front of me while I spoke. I then finished a brief speech of thanks. After I had gone back in the railroad car, Lodge stayed outside for a short time, and when he returned he gave me a medal with a bas relief of Lenin on it, which had been pinned to my suit. I had received it from the Society for Peaceful Coexistence.

I asked him: "Where did you find it?"

"Some man handed it to me and said: 'Mr. Khrushchev dropped this. Please give it back to him.'" I was very glad to have it back; a feeling of respect for this unknown person welled up in me. After all, someone else might have just kept what they found as a souvenir or have been tempted to hold on to this treasure, because the medal was made of gold. To a selfish person, even though it wasn't large, it would have been a temptation.

In San Francisco our delegation was met by the governor of the state and Mayor [George W.] Christopher. The mayor was very polite and left a very good impression. A lot of people came out for a welcoming ceremony. We were presented with luxurious bouquets of flowers. The mayor introduced his wife, and she immediately went over to [my wife] Nina Petrovna and Lidiya Dimitryevna Gromyko, and then remained with them, while the mayor attended to me. In the crowd at the railroad station and along the way to the hotel I noticed no manifestations of hostility. Although I was prepared for that, because relations between us and the United States at that time were quite poor. Besides, even in a country that you have good relations with you cannot count on a total understanding by everyone of the need to strengthen friendship. So when you meet with the head of a government that you don't have respect for it doesn't take a great deal of talent to express your displeasure in one form or another. But nothing of the sort occurred—at least nothing that came into my field of vision. There were neither shouts nor gestures, although Americans know how to do such things if they want to show their hostility. Lodge later said to me: "You see, I promised you there would be a completely different atmosphere here." I thanked him. Evidently he had somehow warned the mayor of the city and had been able to rely on the mayor.

The mayor said to me in a conversation: "Oh, Mr. Khrushchev, this is San Francisco. I am running for election to a second term and my attitude toward your government and toward you personally is one of respect. We are very glad to receive all of you and to confer our hospitality on you. By nationality I am Greek, and my wife is also Greek."

Then I made a joke: "That means that you and I are brothers. When Russia adopted Christianity it chose the Greek Orthodox religion. I'm not a religious person myself, and I don't know about you, but I think you'll understand me and won't be offended if I say openly that I'm an atheist. However, the history of Russia is such that its people feel a very close kinship with the Greeks and always had a sympathetic attitude toward them. They were ready to give assistance to the Greeks in their struggle against the Turks for independence."

The mayor nodded his head and smiled as I said this.

A reception and dinner had been arranged. The people who attended were quite well off, by no means ordinary workers; they paid big money for the right to attend. Substantial amounts had also been spent on the food, because we were being treated, you understand, not to sauerkraut soup, but to a wide variety of dishes that were *anything but* sauerkraut soup.[24]

The serving staff alone must have cost a pretty penny. I think this dinner drew people more out of curiosity than as a demonstration of a friendly attitude toward us. Again a woman sat next to me who was very polite to me, but in principle she was more interested in the fact that she was able to attend this event. The U.S. press bandied my name about a great deal in various ways, and here she had the good luck to sit right next to me.

I was reminded of myself as a teenager, a worker at a factory not far from which, every September 14, a big fair was held. People of all ages went to the fair. Items of all kinds were on sale there, mainly agricultural goods, but other items, too, for everyday use. Gypsies brought horses there. A circus arrived with animals in cages on wheels. It used to be that people would pay fifty kopecks to take a look at the elephant. Among the workers at the factory there was a joke going around: "Well, did you pay your half ruble?" "Of course I paid and I even got to yank the elephant's tail." Now I would say I was confronting a similar kind of situation: some people wanted to take a gander, not at an elephant, but at a Russian bear. What did he look like? Could he hold a knife and fork in his hands while sitting at table in company? How did he behave? Did he cough or belch? And so forth. Others wanted to hear what Khrushchev had to say on questions of war and peace. That was a problem that concerned everyone, but they approached it from different angles. No social class was indifferent to this question. Americans, for the most part, feared war and considered the Soviet Union the only country that might threaten them with a war.

I later invited the mayor of San Francisco to come visit us in the Soviet Union. I said: "Come for a visit. You'll be treated well." He and his wife did come at the invitation of the Moscow Soviet, but not as tourists. I received him and talked with him, and I was pleased that again he conducted himself quite well. But back at that time in San Francisco he was getting ready for an election, running for office for a second time. The reception that the mayor gave for the Soviet delegation tipped the scales of the election campaign in his favor. If the mayor of Los Angeles, to the contrary, had won a few extra votes on the basis of his anti-Soviet statements, here the marked respect shown in the reception of the Soviet delegation had the opposite effect; it promised to bring in extra votes for the mayor. This Greek came to Moscow after the election, and I congratulated him on his success. In San Francisco he treated us with dairy products of excellent quality and said: "These are from my farm, which processes milk and sells dairy products." All of his products, the way they were packaged and the way they tasted, were on a high level. I praised them publicly, and that also proved beneficial to the mayor, but in this case it was beneficial to him as the owner of the farm, because such advertising promised to increase his sales and his profits.

The mayor suggested that I take a look at the construction of some small private homes, or "cottages." I accepted his proposal with pleasure, and we went to the outskirts of the city. The cottages they were putting up were made of wood, of prefabricated panels, and an entire street or even an entire small settlement was being put up all at once. The prefabricated components were made at a factory and shipped to the construction site, where a foundation had already been laid and the plumbing and sewage work had been completed. All that remained was to level off the area. Even the approach roads and walkways had all been finished. Then the prefabricated panels were put up and fastened very quickly, and these buildings took on a finished look. They were painted nicely and looked attractive. The number of rooms in each house varied, depending on the customer's ability to pay. But when I looked at these panels up close, I was disillusioned. "What is the filler in the panels made from? Woodchips or sawdust?" "Something like that," they answered. "It's is an inexpensive type of construction." They told me the low price these houses were going for; it was very little by American standards. These houses were similar to the Finnish ones that gained fame in our country after the war. We bought a lot of them in Finland, back then, regarding them as temporary housing. We got nothing but complaints from the people who lived in them—they were being devoured by fleas. Sawdust is a habitat favored by these insects; they multiply in it.

Of course everything depends on the level of culture in the maintenance of buildings. People in Finland lived in homes like these and were not bothered by fleas. As for us, we needed available housing as quickly as we could get it, even if it came with fleas. I had another question about the cottages: "How many years will this little house stand up? Will it last twenty years?"

"That's the warranty we give to buyers, that these houses are built for twenty years."

"What happens then?"

"Well, why build a house that's going to last a hundred years? In twenty years we'll build a whole new house for the customer to whatever design he orders."

From the point of view of the company and its commercial interests, that's correct. But I know the psychology of our peasants. It's a psychology that arose out of the [limited] material possibilities of their everyday life [in Russia before the revolution].[25] To build something that would last only twenty years would have meant sheer ruin for a peasant. I know Kursk province well; that's where I was born. House fires were frequent guests in our village. The wood in the region belonged to the landlords, and you had to buy it from them. And when a peasant built a house he invariably made the walls of logs, and the type of logs he would buy for himself would be aspen, because oak was too expensive. Pine didn't grow in our forests, but aspen did, and it was cheap. Oak logs were bought only for the lowest row [that is, the row of logs resting on the ground]. If a peasant was well off, he could buy three or four rows of oak beams, and after that a hut whose upper rows were made of aspen would last for thirty years.[26]

American customers were being told: "Please, [don't worry,] after twenty years we'll build you a new house." For us that's far and away too short a time.

San Francisco made me happy with a display of solidarity from workers. The dockworkers' union there was headed by a progressive [Harry Bridges].[27] He was not a Communist, but he held left-wing views and had a very positive attitude toward the Soviet Union. I received an invitation from the longshoremen to speak at one of their meetings. I agreed with great pleasure, and on the appointed day and at the appointed hour I arrived at the meeting place. Not that many people had gathered. Nevertheless, the meeting has left a very pleasant trace in my memory—the meeting with the dockworkers and the way we were received. To open the meeting a union official made a friendly speech with respect to our people and the policies of our government and in regard to me personally. The reaction of the crowd was also quite warm and welcoming. Several longshoremen spoke. They ardently expressed their sympathies for us. Then I gave a short speech. It was received warmly by everyone. An interpreter gave a simultaneous translation, and the audience responded with applause to virtually every sentence.

When the meeting ended I came down off the speaker's platform, and a young fellow ran up to me, took off his cap, and put it on my head. It was his dockworker's cap (apparently part of what they wear to work), so then I put my hat on his head. This caused laughter and expressions of approval; the people applauded for a long time. That was our warmest meeting. A truly proletarian meeting, and I felt a debt of gratitude toward that trade-union leader. I knew about his sympathies beforehand. But it's one thing to have an expectation; it's another to experience directly such a warm meeting and such fraternal embraces. The journalists, and there were several hundred of them, recorded it all with their movie cameras and in still photographs. Later the gathering was publicized in the press. They were forced to report this event accurately. Although some journalists are inclined to distort the facts, that didn't happen on this occasion.

Then I learned from our journalists that a leader of the autoworkers union was in San Francisco, Mr. [Walter] Reuther. I knew about him from articles in the press. At one time he had held left-wing positions and had belonged to the same international trade-union organization that representatives of the USSR belonged to. Then Reuther left that organization and took an anti-Soviet political position.[28] When I was told he wanted to meet with me, and was asking that a time and place be set, I didn't expect anything good from such a meeting. But I did want to see him, in order to have a talk with him. I was then told that if I agreed, three other trade-union "bosses" would attend. Reuther's brother [Victor] also showed up with a movie camera and a regular camera. Later we found out that he had also brought a tape recorder. I had nothing against this. Please, go ahead! We agreed upon a time and place, and the meeting was held in the hotel where I was staying. This meant that I was the host, and I treated them to beer, cold drinks, juice, and appetizers.

Reuther turned out to be a man in his middle years, younger than me. I remember an older man who accompanied him, a leader of the brewery workers. Reuther's brother sat off to the side, at the end of a long table, where he recorded our conversation, mainly on a tape recorder rather than in a notebook, although he tried to keep it from being too obvious. On our side, Gromyko was present, along with the journalist Yuri Zhukov[29] and some other reporters. They too recorded all the questions and answers, because the meeting would later be reported in the press. Zhukov is a brilliant journalist. He knew his way around on questions having to do with America in general and with the U.S. trade-union movement in particular. Generally speaking he's one of our best journalists. I had great respect for him and readily invited him to the meeting. I frequently invited Zhukov to meetings, though not to all of them, of course.

The questions touched on in the conversation with Reuther were general ones, the same ones that had interested us earlier during our talks with U.S. government officials. Specific problems, having to do with peaceful coexistence, a united front of workers, and the question of unifying revolutionary forces, the question of class struggle—all these came up. I didn't meet any other trade-union leaders in the United States after that. Although the initiative for the meeting came from Reuther, the conversation left a bad taste in my mouth. Usually there is mutual understanding that gets expressed right away. In this case it didn't happen, because our viewpoints were so utterly opposed. Reuther supported everything the U.S. government did, and he was in favor of class peace, for peaceful coexistence not between countries, but between classes, which contradicts Marxist-Leninist doctrine and is harmful to the workers. Reuther himself was an intelligent man, who came from a working-class background. At first he had worked at the Ford Motor Company, which had sent him to the USSR to help build an auto factory in the city of Gorky. Reuther was one of the instructors who taught our people how to set up the machinery for producing automobiles, and he told me that he had worked in Gorky for two or three years, that he knew the conditions of life in the Soviet Union well and remembered the city of Gorky well. He said: "I have good memories of your people," and he began recalling the names of those he had had contact with. I am avoiding the phrase "made friends with," although it may be that he did make friends back then. Reuther also talked about Soviet women in a rather playful manner and in general tried to convince me that he had an excellent knowledge of our people and way of life, had gone to parties with young people in our country, and so forth.

In spite of all that, he remained a man who rejected the class struggle. In the United States he helped organize strikes and engaged in trade-union activity, but only within the limits of what was permissible, so as not to shake the foundations of the capitalist system and not to weaken the government. The struggle he engaged in was for a few dollars more, for a pittance. This was economic struggle, not political. In politics he held the same positions as the two government parties—the Republicans and the Democrats. Which party did he call on people to vote for? Probably for the Democrats, but the horseradish is no sweeter than the radish. Essentially there is no class difference between the Democrats and Republicans. Both parties hold positions in favor of strengthening and further developing capitalism and suppressing the workers movement.

Let me say a few words about the men accompanying Reuther.

One of them was older, no longer middle-aged, and seemed to me an intelligent man who took an understanding attitude toward our policies. The sense I got was that this man wanted to have some sort of dialogue with the Soviet trade unions. On some of the questions that we discussed, he made comments in which he expressed a not unfavorable attitude toward our policies, but he was very soft-spoken, and Reuther took no account of him. Perhaps he was part of an opposition to Reuther? Or perhaps he wanted to demonstrate

American democracy: "Look, you see, the head of our trade unions has one opinion, but I, a member of the same union, although I support the basic line, have my own opinion on particular questions."[30]

The leader of the brewery workers was not only old, but it looked as though he had lost possession of his faculties.[31] During the entire conversation I heard not one intelligent remark from him. The only thing he did was drink beer; he kept pouring it into himself as though into a barrel, and he ate absolutely everything that was on the table. What remarks he did make were simply foolish. This annoyed me. Reuther noticed it and said: "Why make an issue of it? After all, he's not a politician, but a trade-union leader. And do you know how many years he's been heading his trade union?" I answered bluntly: "I don't know how many years, but I can't take him seriously and I can't respond seriously to his absurd remarks. I see no point in it."

The third guest was not much different from the brewery workers' leader. His position has not stayed in my memory. But from the remarks he made I recall that he was close to the older man in his views.[32] I noticed one thing that has impressed me as rather strange. When the brewery union leader reached out for his beer glass, I noticed that he was wearing a gold wristwatch on his right arm and also one on his left arm. Why wear two wristwatches? Was this some sort of ornamentation? Did he regard them as bracelets? I wasn't about to ask him, but I concluded to myself that he was a philistine, with a limited outlook, and that it would be useless to try to hold a conversation with him. I understood that I was in the presence of a union boss who was supported by the workers in his union, I don't know why; they simply supported him and reelected him. It's hard to say how the election machinery operated in such situations. But obviously the political level of those whose union he headed was low.

Incidentally Reuther is also proof of an identically low level among auto workers. Yet these are highly skilled workers. Why did they vote for Reuther? There were genuinely left-wing forces in that union, including the Communist Party. Alas, although the Communists enjoyed a certain amount of confidence in the U.S. trade-union movement, they were not able to occupy the position they deserved. The trade-union movement in that country supports the basic foundations of capitalism. Sometimes I read in the newspapers or hear on the radio that a strike is taking place here or there [in the United States]. When they report that, for some reason they don't clarify the fact that it's not a political struggle going on, but a purely economic one. Lenin condemned those tendencies within the working class that denied the political struggle of the trade unions and limited their activities to the economic struggle alone. That is the position that the trade-union movement in the United States holds today, and a strikingly representative example of this tendency is Reuther. I was later given a report on the salary he earned. I was surprised. He earned as much as the director of some of the largest corporations. This means that the capitalists know how to appreciate people who can organize on their behalf in the working class; they support them and pay them. Salaries like these are a restraining factor, and such people pay more attention to the capitalists than to the workers. This is a traitorous outlook, but unfortunately it is strong in the American trade unions.

That just about wraps up the essence of the conversation we had back then. It was held against a background of sharply irreconcilable views. I would say that Reuther was demonstratively showing his daring in opposition to Soviet policies. I not only responded to him with the same defiance, but, as the saying goes, I poured some hot [melted] lard down the back of his collar.[33] I denounced his position as a betrayal of the working class. Reuther didn't deny that his purpose was not to fight for socialism; he was simply fighting to improve the living conditions of the workers. His union included a certain percentage of the workers, but many American workers didn't belong to trade unions.

Incidentally, when I was in the United States a strike was under way by the steelworkers, one of the largest unions. Our plans included a visit to Pittsburgh, one of the centers of the steel industry. The press had already announced I would visit that city. The trade-union leaders issued a warning that I should not expect to meet with them, because they didn't want to meet me. In general they conducted themselves in an unfriendly way, expressing their hostile attitude toward my visit to the United States and toward any trip to Pittsburgh during the strike.

In spite of that we decided not to change our plans, but to make use of the trip to Pittsburgh, if for nothing else, just to see the city. We went there by car [from the airport].

It's a hilly region, with a lot of greenery, and lot of people were standing along the road. Also, families were out for a walk, and women with their baby carriages were sitting on the grass. The clothes they wore made a vivid impression on me: they wore elegant, brightly colored cotton print dresses that looked very attractive. But I was surprised at how freely they were dressed. In our country women wear dresses that, strictly speaking, cover them well. But these women were walking around in shorts, blue jeans, and very lightweight dresses. I personally think that that's practical, although it's not customary for us. Our women wear more expensive dresses, with darker colors, that cover their bodies more. This crowd of colorfully dressed people against a green background really caught my eye. They were out enjoying their day off, and at the same time were waiting to meet us. After all, people knew we were coming on that road and that's why they had gathered alongside it.

As we went by some of them greeted us, and there were a fairly large number who did so. I didn't hear any shouts of a hostile nature. Restraint was evident; nevertheless, people expressing sympathy for us were noticeable in the crowd. Still, no meetings with trade-union leaders or with working-class people took place in Pittsburgh. The unions that had warned us had their way. That also tells you something about the nature of their trade-union movement and its political line. The trade unions didn't want to dirty their clothing by contact with representatives of the Soviet government, and they wanted to make a display of their doglike loyalty to capitalism and their hostility toward socialism. I assume that the trade unions, not only in the United States but in other capitalist countries as well, are still pursuing that kind of policy today.

Our schedule also included a visit to a large plant that produced sausage and other meat products.[34] This took place under interesting circumstances. The workers at the packing plant were also on strike, and their union leaders also warned that they wouldn't meet with us. The capitalists had really housebroken them well. Suddenly the owner of the plant invited us to see how the products were made, even though we wouldn't meet and talk with the workers. We agreed and went there. The owner knew how to advertise his products. We saw that television cameras had already been set up. The manager arranged a scene in which we would taste his products. We were given some tasty hot dogs with mustard, and we treated ourselves to them right there in front of the television camera. Mr. Lodge also ate some hot dogs and smiled. He understood the publicity purposes of this tasting session. Then we took a look at the production operation, but it was not of particular interest to me personally. If Mikoyan had been along, things would have been different, because he has more understanding of this business. My invitation to this plant to a certain degree had a distinctly challenging quality about it. The steelworkers union, which was on strike, had demanded that I not come within shooting distance of them. The meat-packing workers supported their point of view and also wanted no contact with me. The owner, on the other hand, obviously decided to make some money out of the situation and invited us in order to gain publicity.

When we left I asked Lodge: "What happened here was just for advertising purposes, isn't that right?"

He smiled, and said: "Yes, undoubtedly. The owner has increased his earnings thanks to you."

Then I joked back (and Lodge had a good sense of humor): "You should get some payment for this publicity since you accompanied me here, shouldn't you?"

Lodge laughed, and didn't deny it, but joked in reply that I, too, should be paid something for publicizing the company.

It was after that that we visited Pittsburgh. We drove around and looked at it but had no further contacts with anyone. And so, I had seen the working class and the trade unions of the United States in the midst of a sharp strike situation, and I had also seen their attitude toward our socialist state and toward the question of fighting against capitalism. In some other countries, politically conscious workers may devote all their efforts to the class struggle, but not in the United States.

According to the schedule, we were next supposed to visit a machine-building factory.[35] I was told that it was an old factory with obsolete equipment. In its volume of production, it was a medium-sized or even smaller factory. Here's how I happened to end up at this factory: at a dinner with Eisenhower he introduced me to a friend of his, a woman past her middle years, who nevertheless looked quite fresh and alert, and he said that this lady was inviting us to visit a factory that partly belonged to her, since she owned stock in the company to which the factory belonged. I thanked her for the kind invitation and accepted it.

The management met us at the factory. I didn't see the lady, but as soon as I had crossed the threshold I felt myself at home. We walked along, calmly observing the production process and looking at the machine tools, but the workers didn't take a break. That's not how things would have been in our country. If visitors arrive at one of our factories, it will virtually come to a stop. Although the machinery wouldn't stop working, still everyone would look at you, walk over, and strike up a conversation. In the United States people are bound very strictly by the rhythm of production. No one has the right to stop work, even though this was not assembly-line production. The work was being done at individual machine-tool stations, and certain individual parts were being worked on, so that the workers could have taken a break without any particular damage being done. But they were careful to observe the proper work hours and to be disciplined. Besides, the management was standing right next to them, so that everyone stuck strictly to the routine.

I walked over to a drill press and said to the manager: "This machine is my contemporary. Early in my days as a young man I worked at a machine-building plant, and we had exactly the same machines." We walked up to a mechanical power saw for cutting off the ends of semi-finished metal products.

I smiled and asked: "How old is this?"

"Yes, Mr. Khrushchev," they answered, "our factory is old, and that's why you'll find equipment that varies from being up-to-date to being antediluvian."

I commented: "This is more than antediluvian."

There were a lot of obsolete machine tools there, both planing machines and slotting machines. I don't know how such a factory could even compete with production operations that had been set up more properly with up-to-date equipment. If this factory was making a profit, it was a sign of great skill and cleverness on the part of the capitalists. In their world, if something wasn't rational, it didn't survive. If something didn't make a profit, it was doomed to the scrap heap.

As we walked through the shops in this factory, we saw that the walkways between the machine tools had patches in them, places that had been mended with fresh asphalt. I remarked to the manager: "This is very similar to the way things are done in our country. Before visiting leaders arrive, all the potholes are mended."

He smiled: "Yes, Mr. Khrushchev, before you arrived we made some repairs. If a guest is coming, you have to patch things up."

As I was going past one planing machine a worker came over, offered me a cigar, and clapped me on the shoulder in a friendly way. Other workers lifted their heads immediately. I clapped him on the shoulder in response, took off my wristwatch of Soviet manufacture—it wasn't gold, but it was a good one—and handed it to him. The worker was pleased by this.

Later some American journalist asked me: "Mr. Khrushchev, you gave your wristwatch to a worker. How is that to be understood? When Mr. Nixon was in Moscow and gave a worker some money at a market your press condemned him, regarding it as an attempt at bribery."

I replied: "Take a look at how this happened. You yourself saw that this worker extended a kindness to me, offering me a cigar as a gift. I accepted it, even though I don't smoke. Human obligation requires that you give a gift in response. I had nothing else, and so I gave him my wristwatch. So it's not an attempt at bribery, but a mutual kindness. That has nothing in common with what Mr. Nixon did, especially considering the aims he was pursuing. I am not pursuing any such aims."[36]

I call attention to how closely the journalists were following my every step and my every action, waiting to see if our side might commit some indiscretion that could be used to discredit the Soviet Union and me as the head of the Soviet delegation. That's how they always operated.

Once, a few years before I went to the United States I made an incautious statement in regard to America, saying: "We will bury *(zakopayem)* the enemies of the revolution." Enemy propaganda seized on this and made a huge production out of it, as though Khrushchev and the Soviet people wanted to "bury" the people of the United States. That's how, for their own purposes, they used a phrase I had uttered incautiously. At a press conference when I arrived in the United States, they asked me about this, and I explained that we were not about to try to bury anyone, that the capitalist class would be buried by the working class of the United States itself. This is an internal matter for each country. The people themselves will decide what road they want to take and what methods they want to use to achieve victory.

Later, according to the schedule we were to visit factories of the John Deere Company, a major agricultural machinery corporation, which was well known in the USSR because we used to buy their farm machinery.[37] By inviting us I think the company had commercial goals in mind. They wanted to show us their products and interest us in purchasing them in the future. We walked through the shops of one of their factories, but no special impressions have stayed in my memory from that. Since we had been invited by the company, we didn't make any contacts with the trade union. During our visit the employees were working. No expressions of hostility have remained in my memory, nor was any special sympathy shown on their part. The workers looked at us simply to see the sight of people from beyond the sea. That was all. Then they took us to the office where the management informed us about their production operations. They make good farm machinery. It is well liked by Soviet engineers and industrial workers and by workers at the state farms and collective farms.

When lunchtime came the director invited us to a dining room and said that he himself always ate there.[38] The management and the employees both ate there in the lunchroom. Like everyone else, we picked up our utensils and went to the window where they give out the meals, they put our food on our plates, and we went back to whatever table we chose, and once we had eaten that dish we could repeat the procedure and get another dish. It was a democratic arrangement. I think the management was deliberately trying to make a demonstration of democracy, and I admit that I liked it very much. In my speeches later on [back in the USSR] I promoted and encouraged this kind of food service for our factories: there was nothing superfluous anywhere in the operation. The surface of the tables in the lunchroom was plastic. All you had to do was wipe it with a damp cloth and the table was clean.

I was informed that the director of the factory also ate in that lunchroom. Unfortunately in our country at many factories there are separate lunchrooms for the management and for the workers. A huge staff of service personnel has to be kept up. The service is no better for all that; actually it's worse. There are long waiting lines constantly, and the workers mutter their dissatisfaction against the way the lunch break is organized. That's why I recommended to the leaders of our party and trade-union organizations that they adopt this American system. We saw the same kind of scene in India, also at some factory. Lunchtime came, and Nehru invited us to the lunchroom and said: "Mr. Khrushchev, no one will be serving us here. The procedure is that each person takes tray and utensils to the window where the food is served. There we receive our portions, then we go sit down and eat." We ate our fill and the food was tasty. There were no waiting lines.

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1. That is, with an atomic power source. It entered service in 1959.

2. On Frol Romanovich Kozlov, see Biographies.

3. Kozlov visited the United States in July 1959 in connection with the opening of a Soviet exhibition in New York. During his stay Kozlov visited the *Savannah,* which was then under construction in Camden, New Jersey. The *Savannah* was the world's first nuclear-powered commercial ship. Work on it began in 1959, one year after the Soviet icebreaker *Lenin* had became the world's first operational nuclear surface ship. [SK/GS] The company that built the *Savannah* was New York Shipbuilding. [SS]

4. Mikhail Alekseyevich Menshikov (1902–76) was Soviet ambassador to the United States from 1957 to 1961. Thereafter until retirement in 1968 he was minister of foreign affairs of the RSFSR. [MN] As the RSFSR did not conduct a foreign policy distinct from that of the USSR, this was an honorary position. [SS] See Biographies.

5. Khrushchev's visit to the United States took place between September 15 and 27, 1959. The party accompanying him consisted of 22 persons. [MN/SS]

6. Like many other Soviet women, Khrushchev's wife continued to be known by her maiden name, Kukharchuk, after her marriage. The form Khrushcheva was used only in the Western media. In the memoirs Khrushchev refers to his wife by her first name and patronymic alone, as Nina Petrovna. [GS/SS]

7. Sholokhov, who was very much in the good graces of the Soviet authorities, was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1965. This was widely regarded as a conciliatory act by the Nobel committee to make up for the award to Boris Pasternak in 1958, which was seen by many as an "anti-Soviet" action, singling out a Soviet writer who was not then in the good graces of officialdom in the USSR. [GS] In fact, Khrushchev recounts that on his visit to Sweden in June 1964 he himself suggested that the award be given to Sholokhov. See the chapter "In the Scandinavian Countries." [SS]

8. The TU-114 was the world's first turboprop intercontinental passenger liner. It made its maiden flight in 1957.

9. After one of the flight tests of the TU-114, which was a turboprop plane, microscopic cracks had been found in the vanes of its turbojet engines. [SK]

10. The turboprop aircraft IL-18 was already in service in 1957.

11. The Prinkipo Islands, also known as the Princes Islands, are in the Sea of Marmara near Istanbul. (This sea is part of the waterway that connects the Black Sea to the Mediterranean Sea between European and Asiatic Turkey. [SS]) They were used by the Byzantine emperors as a place of detention for rival princes, family rebels, and princes who were out of favor with the imperial family. [GS] In January 1919, President Woodrow Wilson proposed that a peace conference of all the

warring parties in Russia be held there. But at first the government of Soviet Russia failed to receive an invitation. Then the conference was unable to convene because a number of White Guard groupings refused to take part. [MN]

12. In 1918–19, as part of a campaign to clean up the city of Istanbul, stray dogs actually were removed to the Prinkipo Islands. [SK]

13. This description occurs in the collection of Gorky's essays and pamphlets *In America (V Amerike;* 1906). [MN] Gorky was writing about his 1906 visit to America, which was highly controversial. (He was trying to raise money and win support for the fight against the tsarist system being waged by the Russian Social Democrats.) Here Khrushchev refers to him as "A. M. Gorky." His real name was Aleksei Maksimovich Peshkov. The name by which he is best known is of course his pen name, Maxim Gorky, which means "Maxim the Bitter." [GS]

14. In his chapter on the four-power Geneva summit of July 1955, Khrushchev cited 6 billion dollars, not 3 billion, as the amount Stalin had wanted to borrow from the United States.

15. Ilya Ilf (1897–1937) and Yevgeny Petrov (1903–1942), a pair of Soviet authors, originally from Odessa, constituted themselves in 1926 as a writing team, collaborating on humorous, satirical works. They are best known for their two satirical novels, *The Twelve Chairs* (1928) and *The Little Golden Calf* (1931)—the "hero" of both novels being the picaresque scoundrel Ostap Bender. (Ilf is a pen name, a variation on the word "Elf." His real name was Ilya Arnoldovich Fainzilberg; Petrov is also a pen name; he was really Yevgeny Petrovich Katayev, younger brother of a prominent Soviet writer, Valentin Katayev.)

In 1935–36, Ilf and Petrov visited the United States and traveled around the country in a Ford car. Their book of humorous, mildly satirical travel essays about this visit was called *Single-Storied America (Odnoetazhnaya Amerika;* also translated as *Little Golden America,* in a 1937 edition). Their description of the life of ordinary Americans "in the heartland" was a revelation to most Russians, whose image of the United States centered on the skyscrapers of Manhattan. At first this book was reprinted many times in the USSR, but then it was suppressed in the Cold War era. Only after Stalin's death did it again see the light of day. [SK/GS]

16. This play by the writer and playwright Vsevolod Ivanov was first performed in 1927. [MN] It is about Soviet guerrilla fighters in the Far East during the Russian civil war. The United States had intervened and sent armed forces into the Soviet Far East. For more about U.S. intervention in Soviet Russia, see note 30 to the chapter "Washington and Camp David." [GS]

17. Richard M. Nixon (1913–94) was president of the United States from 1969 to 1974 (one complete and one incomplete term). From 1953 to 1961 he was vice president. See Biographies.

18. Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. (1902–85), a prominent Republican senator, was at this time the permanent representative of the United States at the United Nations and on its Security Council. He had been a lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Army in World War II and in 1959 was a major general in the U.S. Army Reserves (so Khrushchev was not mistaken about his rank). See Biographies. [SK/GS/SS]

19. In prerevolutionary Russia most Jews were allowed to live only in the Pale of Settlement *(cherta osedlosti)*—a zone along the western edge of the empire, from Lithuania in the north through Poland, Belorussia, and western Ukraine to Bessarabia (now Moldova) in the south. The prohibition was especially strictly enforced in the Cossack territories of the south of Russia. Some categories of Jews were exempted: the most prominent merchants and industrialists (like Carter's father), men who had been conscripted into the army for 25 years and served out their term *(kantonisty)*, and also prostitutes. The system broke down during World War I and was legally abolished after the revolution of February 1917. [SS]

20. Spyros P. Skouras, president of Twentieth Century-Fox, and Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, hosted this luncheon at the Café de Paris, according to the book by Soviet journalists *Litso k litsu s Amerikoi* (Face to Face with America) (Moscow, 1959). [SK]

21. This was Norris Poulson. [GS]

22. Llewellyn E. Thompson (1904–72) worked in U.S. embassies and consulates in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Switzerland, the USSR (from 1940 to 1944), Britain, Italy, and Austria. He was U.S. ambassador to the USSR from 1957 to 1962 and from 1967 to 1969. For a number of years he occupied responsible positions in the State Department. See Biographies.

23. In the Soviet system of military ranks, a major general had only one star and was one rank below a lieutenant general, who had two stars. Therefore Khrushchev mistakenly thought Lodge had a lower rank, but in fact Lodge and he were both "two-star generals." The rank of major general in the U.S. Army was roughly equivalent to the rank of lieutenant general in the Soviet Army. [SK/GS]

24. Khrushchev refers to sauerkraut soup, or pickled cabbage soup, because it was standard fare for poor peasants in old Russia. Sauerkraut was made from chopped cabbage pickled in a fermented brine of its own juice, with salt. Thus cabbage was preserved through the winter and into the next summer, and a basic meal, cabbage soup, was made from it. [SK/GS]

25. By the phrase "material possibilities of their everyday life" Khrushchev is referring to the restricted social and economic situation faced by

most peasants in tsarist Russia, as described further below in this same paragraph. In European Russia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the best land—including most forests, the source of timber for home building—was owned by the landed gentry, an estimated 200,000 out of a population of 150 million, according to Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia* (Oxford University Press, 1984). The land-poor peasants had few sources of income and could hardly even afford to purchase the wooden logs used to build their modest huts. [GS]

26. Oak was more resistant than aspen to decay. If the foundation row, the logs resting on the ground, were of aspen, they would rot quickly. The more rows of oak beams in a hut, the longer it could be expected to last. [SK]

I have omitted a comment by Khrushchev that in the Kursk region people said thirty *godov* (years) rather than thirty *let* (summers)—the latter being the form used in standard literary Russian. [GS]

27. Harry Bridges (1901–90) led the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) for more than forty years. [SS]

28. At this time, Walter P. Reuther (1907–70) was director of the Industrial Union Department of the merged American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) as well as president of the United Automobile Workers (UAW). Reuther had felt some sympathy for the Soviet Union in his youth, but was disillusioned following a period working at a Soviet automobile factory (after losing his job at the Ford Motor Company in 1933). While he did adopt "anti-Soviet" positions, he always remained a left-wing figure, at least by American standards. For example, he supported social welfare legislation and the civil rights movement and was active in the campaign against the Vietnam war. See Biographies. [SS]

29. Yuri Aleksandrovich Zhukov (1908–91) worked on the editorial board of the newspaper *Pravda* from 1946 to 1962. Subsequently he was deputy chairman, and from 1982 to 1987 chairman, of the Soviet Peace Committee. See Biographies.

30. The annotator of the 1999 Moscow News Russian edition of Khrushchev's memoirs states: "Apparently this is a reference either to Joseph Curran of the maritime workers or to George Leon-Paul Weaver of the electrical workers." Actually, the reference might also be to James B. Carey of the electrical-workers union. It would be surprising if Curran had shown an "understanding attitude toward Soviet policies," because, although Curran had worked closely with the pro-Stalin Communists in the National Maritime Union (NMU) before and during World War II, in the postwar era he made an abrupt shift to support for State Department policies and drove all those suspected of being Communists out of the NMU. At the 1949 NMU convention, in keeping with the "red scare" atmosphere of the McCarthy era, Curran's faction, riding roughshod over an opposition that wanted democratic rights for union members, imposed the requirement that all members take an anti-Communist loyalty oath and that circulation of any "subversive" literature inside the union be banned. As president of the NMU, Curran retained tight anti-Communist control of the union up until his retirement in 1973.

Carey was president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (IUE). He had also been secretary-treasurer of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) before the CIO merged in 1955 with the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Carey apparently wrote a document entitled "Report of the CIO Delegation to the Soviet Union" around 1945. (Curran also traveled to the USSR in 1945.) In addition, Carey was a member of the U.S. government's Trade Union Advisory Committee on International Affairs. [GS]

Weaver was Carey's assistant for political education and international programs. Later Weaver was assistant secretary of labor for international affairs under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. In 1969 he was appointed special assistant to the director-general of the International Labor Organization (ILO). [SS]

Two somewhat different accounts of Khrushchev's discussion with the U.S. trade-union leaders exist. A "summary of the dinner meeting of American labor leaders with Premier Khrushchev . . . as made public by the labor leaders present," was published in *The New York Times* on September 22, 1959, two days after the dinner, taking up almost all of page 20 of that issue of the *Times.* A Soviet account in English may be found in M. Kharlamov, ed., *Face to Face with America: The Story of N. S. Khrushchev's Visit to the U.S.A., September 15 to 27, 1959* (Moscow, 1960). [GS]

31. The idiom in Russian is "had outlived his mind." [GS] Khrushchev is referring to Karl F. Feller, president of the United Brewery Workers and one of the vice presidents of the AFL-CIO. According to Reuther's summary of the meeting (see previous note), at one point Khrushchev said to Feller: "Think it over. Drink your beer. Perhaps that will help you find the answer to your question." [GS/SS]

32. Khrushchev's recollection is mistaken here. There was not just a "third guest." Many more than three U.S. union officials attended the meeting. In addition to Reuther, there were nine others. [GS]

33. The Russian saying is roughly the equivalent of "put some ice down the back of his neck." [GS]

34. This factory was in Des Moines, Iowa, not in Pittsburgh. Apparently this was a day or so before Khrushchev's visit to Pittsburgh [GS]

35. This was the Mesta Machine Company in Homestead, Pennsylvania, owned by relatives of Perle Mesta, who had been a hostess of Khrushchev in Washington, D.C. [GS]

[36] Further on, in his third and last chapter about the visit to the United States, Khrushchev again discusses the incident in which Nixon tried to give someone money at a peasants' market. See below, the end of the chapter entitled "Washington and Camp David." Sergei Khrushchev gives a detailed account of this incident in his book *Nikita Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower*, 319–26. [GS/SK]

[37] In 1959 the company had fourteen plants and employed 45,000 workers.

[38] This incident occurred in California when Khrushchev was visiting a plant belonging to the computer manufacturing company IBM. The president of IBM at that time was Thomas J. Watson Jr.

FROM NEW YORK TO IOWA

My next recollections, chronologically, are about my stay in New York City. We went there from Washington by train, as I recall.[1] The mayor of the city, [Robert F.] Wagner, officially greeted us. It seems to me he belonged to the Democratic Party. The governor of the state was [Nelson] Rockefeller, who had replaced [W. Averell] Harriman.[2] Rockefeller belonged to the Republican Party. But that wasn't particularly significant. The welcome was restrained and formal, in the usual manner and style: polite greetings, flowers, and so forth. In our honor Wagner gave a luncheon with many participants, so that it was fairly representative.[3] I think it was organized in the same way as the one in Los Angeles: all the attendees bought tickets, as though to the theater, for the right to sit at the table. I don't remember Wagner's speech or mine, because they were both standard speeches. There was nothing special that I could say there, and I spoke in the traditional way: I described the essence of our policy of fighting for peace, peaceful coexistence, friendship, normal economic development, trade, and so on, although of course virtually no economic ties, including trade, existed at that time between our two countries, as I have already said.

Then I was told that, on the initiative of some businessmen in New York, another dinner in my honor was being proposed, so that there could be an exchange of views at that dinner, I accepted the proposal and went to the dinner. I don't remember what it was officially called—"a meeting of businessmen with Khrushchev" or simply "a dinner in honor of Khrushchev." But I remember that it was held in a large room.[4] Again a lot of people attended—several hundred at least. They all took their places in this large restaurant. The tables in the large room were spread out in the Western manner, that is, there was not one large common table, as is customary in our country, with guests seated each according to rank in previously assigned places. No, the way the tables were spread out in that restaurant was different. However, the small table at which I was sitting was singled out in some way, relative to the room as a whole. If you thought of the room as a meeting place, our table would have been the table where the presiding body sat.

The speeches began. I don't know if any time limit had been set. Everyone spoke as they wished, expressing different points of view on various questions, including on the need to develop trade with the land of the Soviets, but it was all very restrained, with words carefully weighed. Then I was supposed to speak, and so I did. I remember in my speech I wanted to outline the policies of the USSR in regard to peaceful coexistence with emphasis on the advantages of trade for both countries. I have only a vague recollection now of the content and style of my speech.

To my left, two or three tables away, some young people were seated, wearing the usual type of evening clothes for such an occasion. They didn't stand out as different in any way from the others present. It occurred to me that these must be scions of wealthy businessmen's families. Their attitude was aggressively hostile toward the policies of the Soviet government and consequently toward me as the representative of that government. They were behaving defiantly and were making remarks that were not at all benevolent. This angered me. It seemed to me their aim was to organize some sort of "cat's concert" in that restaurant, some yowling and caterwauling as a demonstration against the USSR, and I decided to react immediately. Right then and there I interrupted my speech and turned to them. I didn't just ask them not to interrupt my speech; instead I took the offensive: "I think I understand you correctly. You are speaking against the Soviet government and against socialism. But I am not here as a humble supplicant. I didn't come here with my hand out seeking alms. No, I represent the great Soviet Union, a country of the working class, which has achieved very definite successes. That is why we are offering to trade with you on terms of mutual advantage. We are offering you peace. I think that such proposals are useful for every country in the world." I am now presenting the content of my speech from memory, rather roughly. Of course it was published, so that the whole discussion became accessible to readers in general. The young people quieted down, and others in the room began shushing them, demanding that they behave properly. So I achieved my goal by cutting them off sharply, demonstrating the power of our state and my own refusal to give in. This had the desired effect. After that people listened to me very attentively, although I made no special new proposals. Any proposals flowed naturally from the policies of peaceful coexistence, of developing trade and economic ties with all countries, including the United States.

Later I was informed that Nelson Rockefeller wanted to make a visit to the hotel where I was staying. I replied that I would be glad to meet with him. I was already acquainted with him from our meeting in Geneva. He arrived at the agreed-on time.[5] This lively and agile man was dressed elegantly but without great luxury, in other words, the same way that all American businessmen dressed then. I mention this because Rockefeller is not just an ordinary capitalist, but one of the biggest. The visit was brief, without any real conversation. We simply said hello and exchanged a few phrases about having met previously. He said: "I considered it my duty to visit you and express my good wishes." As he was leaving, he tossed off the following remark: "I don't rule out the possibility that we will meet again. I certainly hope this will not be our last meeting. Possibly you and I will have some business talks in the future." I replied that I would be glad to meet him again, especially on the subject of business. I interpreted his words as a hint that he had hopes of winning the presidency. In that case we would be meeting in a different capacity, and we would have different possibilities for constructing relations between our countries. That of course is only my personal interpretation of his words, an interpretation that seemed to me to follow logically from his remarks.

I was shown around New York. I rode through the streets and went up to the top of the highest skyscraper [the Empire State Building]. Tourists go up there to get a view of the city. I don't know how many stories there are in that building,[6] but it really is very high. When we reached the top a fresh breeze was blowing. The owner or manager of the building was accompanying us, and he explained the surrounding view.[7] It was an impressive spectacle. Ilf and Petrov, in their book *Single-Storied America,* have given a very accurate description of skyscrapers. There were a certain number of them in other U.S. cities as well. For example, in San Francisco I also saw skyscrapers, but I didn't catch sight of any in Washington.

An invitation came from Mr. Harriman[8] to visit him at his home. I was told that if I agreed to this meeting, our host would invite some business friends of his with whom we could exchange opinions. I was very pleased by this proposal, because it seemed to me that a business meeting was in the offing, although without an agenda previously discussed and agreed on. I arrived at Harriman's home at the appointed time. We had formed a special attitude toward him. During World War II he was U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union. We regarded him as a trusted confidant of President Roosevelt, and as ambassador he pursued a political line that impressed us favorably: he considered it necessary to strengthen the military alliance against Nazi Germany; and he used every means in his power to support the USSR. This support consisted mainly in supplying us with materials necessary for our defense industry, especially various kinds of metals. We must give credit to the United States: that country gave us a great deal. I have already talked about this earlier in my memoirs, and I will repeat here that in the matter of providing support for the Soviet Union the U.S. contribution at that time was decisive.

But it should be clear to every person who is capable of thinking in the slightest degree that this was not some act of kindness or politeness as a result of respect for our system or our political views, let alone toward Communism in principle. No, this was done on a purely commercial basis: we will give you steel, aluminum, gasoline, canned meat, and so forth, and you can pay for this with your blood spilled in the struggle against Nazi Germany. But our circumstances were such that we had no choice. We were fighting for our lives, and therefore we agreed to those conditions, and were even grateful. Lenin foresaw that a socialist country might make use of the contradictions between capitalist countries in its own interests. So then, Stalin managed to convince the United States to give us aid. On this matter I absolutely agree with Stalin, who also valued very highly the assistance that came from the United States. He often said in conversations with me personally, or within our inner circle of Politburo members, that had it not been for America and the aid it provided during the war, we could not have coped with Hitler's invasion, because we had lost many factories and a lot of resources and materiel necessary for waging war.

Harriman played a big part in such matters back then [during the war]. He understood that the more weapons we received, the better we would fight, and the more we would drain the strength of Hitler's armies, bleed them white. Then the easier it would be for the United States to achieve victory. By paying with our blood, they wanted to gain the victory over our common foe and correspondingly take a leading position in the world. And that is what they did after the war. I heard that before the victory of the revolution in our country Harriman had been the owner of manganese deposits in Georgia.[9] I know from what Stalin said that when we took the Finnish city of Petsamo, near which some nickel-mining operations were located, belonging to some Canadian company, we discovered that Harriman was one of the stockholders of that company.[10] After the war Petsamo became part of the Soviet Union under the name Pechenga.[11] As Stalin explained, we established a common border between Norway and the Soviet Union in that way. But the main thing we were attracted by was the nickel. Historically this territory had once been occupied by Russians, and Russian settlers had lived there. Various monuments remain from that time.[12]

This region also had great strategic importance, with ice-free ports to be used by our civilian maritime fleet and by our navy. I remember Stalin expressing the opinion that some compensation should be provided to Harriman, even if not in full. I don't know if that was done. I've already said that Stalin, even when he expressed his views, didn't allow any exchange of opinions from us. He might listen to us, as long as nothing we said contradicted his understanding of things, but he had no need for any advice from us. He conducted himself as a dictator and decided all question unilaterally. I recall this in order to emphasize Stalin's attitude toward Harriman. I think he was right, because in view of the policy Harriman pursued, he deserved to be viewed favorably. After all, as ambassador he played a major role, because contacts between the United States and the USSR went mainly through him, and a great deal depended on how he reported things and how he presented our wishes. Harriman took an understanding attitude toward the interests of the Soviet Union, even though behind the wartime assistance they gave us you could see the naked greed of U.S. corporate interests as they pulled out their serving spoons.

When I arrived at Harriman's home, I saw a group of businessmen he had invited, choosing as he saw fit. There were between fifteen and twenty of them.[13]

The large room was completely filled by those present—people of different ages and appearances, although all were typical capitalists. By no means did they have faces like pigs, as depicted in posters from our civil war era. They didn't look at all like the capitalists you see in such caricatures. In general some dressed quite modestly, nor did their clothing suggest in any way that the men wearing these suits were major capitalists. Harriman introduced me to all of them. While introducing each one, he told me what the man owned and what products his company manufactured. Quite a few men of interest to us had gathered there. Then wine was served. I don't remember what other drinks there might have been, but there were trays full of champagne. During this reception we were not seated at a table; people walked around freely in the large room or sat where they wished and talked with one another. This format for a reception was introduced later in our country as well. After all, when you arrange a formal dinner, everyone has a designated seat at the table and wide-ranging contacts aren't possible, because once you've been seated you can exchange remarks with your neighbor on your left or on your right or the person across from you, but you can't really talk with anyone else. When people are free to move around, they can talk with anyone they want to.

I must confess that when Harriman suggested this meeting with influential people, I had some hopes that solid business connections might result. But you can't do everything at once. You have to start small. And when I began talking with those present I saw that there was no hope that the ice would be broken immediately: the conditions had not yet ripened for the development of economic ties. I remember that Harriman introduced me to the owner of some chemical factories, a man between fifty and sixty, fairly heavy-set. He spoke Russian well, and it seems was Jewish by nationality. But the tone in which he spoke promised no good business contacts. He asked the question: "Well, why should we trade with you? What do you have to sell us?" He wasn't the only one who asked this question. I heard the same phrasing quite often when I was in America during meetings with businessmen. This particular businessman said he was agreeable to selling products to us immediately in return for gold. However, his words didn't jibe with reality, because Congress had banned the sale of certain goods and raw materials to the socialist countries.

People were smoking, and the room soon filled up with smoke. Many people came over to me and exchanged remarks. They were feeling me out to see what kind of person I was and what expectations I had come there with. I think that mainly they were trying to dishearten me, to create the impression that the situation was hopeless, with no way out. Perhaps they wanted to make a united front with the government, so that we would accept the conditions they were trying to dictate to us. These conditions were not only economic but also political—terms and conditions that we had fought against previously and that we were ready to fight against to the bitter end. Thus, the meeting at Harriman's home produced no results for us. I won't say that I felt disillusioned by it, but if I had had any hopes, they proved unjustified. After this meeting no American businessmen distinguished themselves in any way; they didn't put any pressure on their own government, of the kind we would have liked to see, nor did they try to create a mood in favor of developing economic ties and trade with the Soviet Union.

The time came to leave. I thanked Harriman, said goodbye to those present, and went to my hotel.

What kind of impression did New York make on me in general? Obviously I can't add anything more to what has already been written by our journalists and writers who have traveled there and gone everywhere, looking into all the nooks and crannies of the city at all seasons of the year and all hours of the day. I really didn't see much of New York or of other U.S. cities. An official person is limited in his movements and possibilities. New York impressed me as a very large and noisy city. I was surprised by the bright lights of the advertising, the automobile traffic jams, accompanied by poisonous exhaust fumes that were suffocating for people. As in every capitalist city, poverty and slums existed side by side with luxury. My stay in New York was drawing to a close.

I didn't see or sense any particular anti-Soviet manifestations or actions against me or those accompanying me. I didn't walk around New York on foot, and so it was difficult for hostile elements to make any display of hostility. On the other hand in San Francisco I got up early one morning and went out of the hotel and headed up the street to take a walk that was "not part of the official itinerary." A group of bodyguards immediately strung out behind me, assigned by the government. They escorted me, but it was done in a very discreet manner. I saw that none of the people assigned to guard me stood out from the crowd in any way. They weren't wearing police uniforms, although there were policemen among them. In San Francisco, nowhere did I encounter any attacks or displays of hostility by forces opposed to us, although such forces undoubtedly existed and will exist as long as two differing social systems exist. Even within a social system various attitudes will arise toward the leadership. When I held a high position in the Soviet Union I received quite a few letters whose authors expressed themselves rather sharply concerning the policies being followed by the government of our country. That always happens. This is especially true in the case of the USSR and the United States, two contrasting countries with contrasting policies, antagonistic countries. The nature of their state system creates antagonism, and people support that and carry it further. Therefore I was, as they say, "ready for anything." If I didn't encounter any attacks, that didn't mean no hostile forces were present. Any other view would be oversimplified and a failure to understand the class approach to such matters.

A visit to the state of Iowa was part of our itinerary [after San Francisco]. When we arrived there, as things turned out, we got a good reception, the proper respect and courtesy was paid to us, and all the ceremonies were carried out that are customary when a guest is being welcomed. A visit to the farm of Mr. Roswell Garst was scheduled in Iowa. I very much wanted to visit him because I was acquainted with him. I first met him in 1955 or perhaps 1954 in the Crimea.[14] He had visited the Soviet Union to get to know our agricultural operations. Now he wanted to meet with me again. I was very pleased with our meeting. Garst is an interesting man who knows his business well. Even after my trip to the United States, I met Garst several times in the USSR when he came there, both on his own and with his wife. I always received him as a guest and we would discuss things. More exactly, he did most of the talking, and I listened, because he was a very interesting conversationalist who knew agriculture well. He was not a lecturer or a person who was giving official reports but someone who was specifically involved in the business. He ran his highly profitable farm himself, and that's why he was an interesting conversationalist.

When we arrived in Iowa, my assistant [for agricultural matters] Andrei Stepanovich Shevchenko (who had previously been an agronomist), a man worthy of respect, a modest man who knew and loved his work, let me know that he had established confidential relations with Garst, who had expressed the desire that we come meet him at his farm. He had expressed the following thought: the people acting as hosts to Khrushchev as well as those accompanying him were mostly city people, used to getting up late; they didn't know what a sunrise was; but he himself was a farmer who got up with the sun. Remembering earlier conversations that he and I had had, he drew the conclusion that since I had lived in a rural area and knew the work of the peasants, I too could do what Garst did [that is, get up with the sun]. Through Shevchenko he made the following proposal: "It would be a good thing if Mr. Khrushchev would agree to come rolling up to my farm early in the morning." After I arrived in Iowa, Garst made this proposal: "Mr. Khrushchev, let's have breakfast together, you and me. Let the others sleep, and they can come later. Then while it's calm and quiet I can show you everything and tell you about it." I realized that he had absolutely no conception of my official position as a guest of the government. I couldn't secretly flee the hotel and go no one knew where. It was totally unrealistic. After all, Lodge was accompanying me, and there was a police guard, which didn't have the right to let me out of their sight. Therefore I couldn't agree to some sort of "bride's abduction," as they used to do in the old days in the Caucasus and in Central Asia.[15] Given my position as guest of the president of the United States, a huge commotion would immediately arise if the discovery was made that the guest had run off!

Through Shevchenko I let Garst know that his proposed early morning get-together was unrealistic, although it would have been very interesting for me. When his plan fell through, a time and place for an official visit to the farm was set. Garst met us there. He had invited other people as well. I met Mr. Adlai Stevenson there, who since has died.[16] Stevenson had been the presidential candidate of the Democratic Party, but unfortunately had not won a majority of votes. In such cases what they say is that he lost the election. Nevertheless he was a respected person. I had met him once before my trip to the United States when he visited the Soviet Union. During that earlier conversation I had concluded that Stevenson was a man who thought realistically and wanted to change U.S. policy in the direction of a rapprochement with the USSR, to make a turn in the direction of mutual understanding, that he understood correctly the necessity for strengthening friendly relations with all countries of the world and first of all with such a great and powerful country as the Soviet Union.

Garst introduced me to his guests and to his wife and sons. I had met his wife earlier when the Garsts had come as a couple to Sochi, the Black Sea resort [in the northern Caucasus], where we had spent many hours together under calm circumstances. It was not out in the fields, of course; it was on the porch of a government dacha by the seashore. That conversation had not only been useful but also instructive for me. I had listened to him closely and remembered what he said in order to apply his experience on our soil. His experience is totally transferable and totally repeatable. The only question is one of material resources and of appropriate knowledge on the part of people involved in agricultural production. We had the necessary technology in our country in full range and in sufficient quantity. That is the kind of impression this remarkable farmer made on me! One of Garst's sons was an agronomist, but I can't say anything about the other son except that both of them were fine young men.[17] I liked the fact that Garst the agronomist was not only capable of giving orders but could get on the tractor himself, drive out into the fields, and do the plowing or the harvesting. In general that is a great merit possessed by all the agronomists and animal husbandry experts who are trained in the United States at agricultural colleges.

They began to show us around the farm. There were a great many people accompanying me, including journalists. As they say in our country, there were so many of them, some you could see, and some you couldn't.[18] I remembered a colorful expression used by a Ukrainian peasant, the huntsman Prokop. When he wanted to emphasize that the number of ducks on the marshes was like a countless multitude, he would use a Ukrainian expression that means, "They're everywhere, like manure." I don't know how many correspondents or journalists gathered there but it seemed like a huge army. Garst began showing me around his farm. First we went to where the steers were fed.

We looked at the structures built for feeding the steers—they were huge barns, but this was nothing new for me. When I was a youngster, in 1908, I herded the sheep on a large estate owned by the landowner General Shaukas.

I also worked for the landowner Vasilchenko for a while. He, too, owned a large landed estate, but it didn't operate at a very high level. Shaukas's estate was a highly productive farm with high yields of cereals, sugar beets, and other crops. The general also raised beautiful riding horses, English thoroughbreds, and he had a large number of fine-fleeced sheep from which he obtained wool. The buildings there were splendid. At an earlier time those buildings had been built by serfs, and of course their labor was free. The walls were made of red brick, and the buildings looked like fortresses. Of course at that time feeding and watering operations at the sheep pens and horse stables had not been mechanized. Those who tended the horses and sheep drew water from a well with a bucket and poured it into the troughs, but in other respects. . . . [That is, Shaukas's farm had been just as impressive as Garst's.]

I mention this to show that I myself had seen good farming on the large landed estates, and I regret that all of that was destroyed in the revolution. Such models would have been useful, after all, for our state farms and collective farms. Later when I visited my home village of Kalinovka, I discovered that only the manor house still remained [at Shaukas's former estate]; the rest had been taken away brick by brick, and the farm had been ruined. I understand of course how much hatred had built up among the peasants, how the sweat must have poured from their brows, how much blood the large landowners had sucked from them, and how many backs had been slashed by whips and birch rods. However, this outburst of rage swept away not only the perpetrators of cruelty and injustice but also things that the peasants themselves had built and that the despot had owned before them. The wealth created by the hands of the peasants could have been used to serve the needs of the people. But they didn't show the proper understanding of things, and throughout Russia everything was swept away. The peasants never rebuilt anything to approximate what they had destroyed. On the other hand, the working people had won power.

I have made a digression here, going back several decades, to make the point that I had seen several well-built structures before the revolution. Now I was comparing them. Feeding operations on Garst's farm had been mechanized. Mixed feed was produced, containing various useful components, with all elements properly balanced. This is necessary for the best possible feeding of animals, so that the maximum added weight can be obtained from the minimum amount of feed. This approach has been assimilated by all the farmers in the United States in their daily practice. If a farmer doesn't master such skills, but stands around scratching his head, as we still do in our country at the state farms and collective farms, such a farmer would be ruined and go down the drain. His competitors would devour him; he wouldn't be able to withstand the competition on the market. That is the great economic achievement of the American farmers, and not only of Americans.

The Soviet leadership was informed about this way of conducting farming operations, but such operations were not introduced in our country, and even today, unfortunately, they haven't been introduced. We also know about mixed feed. But what is our mixed feed like? It's unsuitable, half-rotted grain, or remnants, grain mixed with garbage and dirt, what the Ukrainians call *smittya.* This kind of feed is given directly to the livestock or is mixed with other elements. It ends up being a not very productive kind of feed and can't produce the desired results. Mineral additives are also very rarely used in our country now, although they are approved by science and recommended by scientists. In the United States, by contrast, everything that comes from the laboratory or is written by scientists, tested by experiments, and proven by results is immediately introduced. A specialized organization exists there, which in return for a certain payment gives recommendations on introducing new things at the farm. A contract is made with the farmer, and the college or institute sends specialists to the farm who give instructions, help organize the introduction of new things, and oversee the work, until the farmer has mastered the new process or operation. The farmer's expenses are recouped with interest as a result of the utilization of innovative methods on the farm.

I remember noticing that the animals were spilling grain from the feeding troughs, and I commented to Garst that that wasn't rational. In his deep voice Garst replied: "Yes, inevitable losses occur." He understood that I was joking, but I still said that it was necessary to think about minimizing the losses. Then he showed me the steers. They were in excellent condition, very well fed, with good weight on them. And of course it couldn't have been otherwise. If there wasn't good weight on them, that meant the farmer wasn't good. And ruin would follow, with the property being sold under the auctioneer's mallet. Garst was not that kind of farmer. Economically he occupied a very good position and had his legs firmly planted on the soil on which he conducted his operations. When he showed me his silos, he explained that these were already outdated and were no longer in use. I was surprised. Garst explained that various means of making silage had been studied, and easier, more accessible methods had been found. Today in the United States, walled-off cement surfaces are made, or simply the topography of the local area is taken advantage of. Pits are dug in the earth and the green fodder is placed in them. This method of making silage is cheaper, the results are better, and it's easier to deliver to the animals. When the fodder is stored in a tower silo, a mass of material has to be raised to a very high level, and later it must be brought down again. When the silage is stored in pits or trenches, no lifting or lowering is necessary. At first we had copied the American experience and built towers for silage, but later we also stopped using them. That is, we copied the Americans. And we were right to copy them, because we were learning from their experience.

I walked around Garst's farm and was delighted. I liked the fact that water was supplied by means of the simplest types of mechanization: a pump was put in place, pipes were laid, and there you had a mechanized water supply. We went out into the fields. Corn was Garst's main crop. I don't remember what other crops he planted. Corn silage is the best fodder for large-horned cattle. Monoculture, a one-crop form of agriculture, was practiced there, based on corn. Since I was familiar with corn and there were good examples of corn cultivation in the USSR, I knew how best to plant and cultivate it in order to obtain a higher yield At that time in our country we were promoting the square-cluster method of planting corn, which was also an invention of the Americans, who at one time had practiced that method. Now at Garst's farm I saw that the corn was planted in wide rows, the kind of method our peasants used before the revolution. I asked him the reason for this, and he replied that with this method the financial and labor inputs were lower. He was right. If the square-cluster method of planting is used, the crops are cultivated in two directions in order to eliminate weeds and to "hill," or "earth up." around the plants. I had seen corn growing in Ukraine as far back as when I worked at a metallurgical plant in the countryside. Corn was the main crop for feeding livestock. It used to be that when a Ukrainian went to the bazaar in Yuzovka (now Donetsk) he would grab a sack of corn, and without fail he would put that and a watering trough in his *arba* [cart].[19] Later he would pour some ears of corn into the trough and the horses would crunch and munch away on it. Back then the peasants cultivated the corn by hand, and as a result they obtained good harvests. But when there is a shortage of manual labor (and we always need to economize on labor), if production operations are mechanized, then it is more efficient to raise corn with the square-cluster method. That is also true for other crops that require tilling between the rows.

Now that chemical methods for combating weeds (herbicides) have made their appearance, the American farmer is able to return to the method of planting in wide rows, cultivating only in one direction, while the herbicides destroy the weeds near the cornstalks. By herbicide I mean chemical poison.

I said to Garst: "This is the best way to set out corn, so that there is one stalk growing by itself or at the maximum, two." The distance between rows in our country was 60–70 centimeters, but the Americans left 80 centimeters between rows and approximately 25–30 centimeters between one stalk and the next. I saw that in some places instead of two or three stalks in one cluster, there were as many as six, and the plants were restricting one another's growth. In that situation you don't get as good results as you could with only one stalk, or at the maximum two per cluster. There needs to be more space between stalks, and the root system has to be able to obtain nutritive elements from the soil more readily; this also ensures that the plants are well aired and get plenty of sunlight. Those are the most favorable conditions for growth. This is true for all crops, but especially for corn because it has such a tall stalk. If it's planted too close together, the sun won't warm up the soil; the corn will still grow but with poor results. And if the planted crop is neglected entirely, there will be no ears of corn. I talked to Garst about this, and he said: "Yes, you're right to take such a meticulous attitude toward growing these crops. But thinning out the plants would have to be done by hand, and that would require a lot of manual labor."

As we were walking through the fields we were accompanied by an enormous army of journalists, photographers, and movie camera operators. They kept running around to our left, to our right, in front of us, and behind us because they needed to photograph us from different positions. One photograph has remained with me. Caught by the camera lens is the venerable journalist Harrison Salisbury.[20] He has written about life in the USSR in different ways at different times, but at any rate he correctly understood the necessity for us to place our relations on a good basis. As Garst and I were walking along, Salisbury wanted to run ahead and photograph us from there, but Garst got so angry that he left the mark of his footprint on the eminent correspondent's rear end. This was also photographed and later appeared in the press. There was a lot of grinning and joking about that. Those were the kinds of incidents that occurred. You have to understand Garst! Obviously he was proceeding on the basis that the farm was his and the land was his, that he was the owner there, he had invited Khrushchev as a guest, and he was being interfered with, and in response he made use of his legal rights [to kick someone in the rear end]. He also got angry at another journalist, grabbed a stalk of corn and threw it at him, as if to say, Why are you bothering me? To put it briefly, he was furious. There had never been such a huge number of people in his fields, and probably after my visit there never would be again. This was quite harmful for the farm, which had been overrun by a veritable invasion of foot soldiers. Of course this was very bad for the farming operations. Garst was afraid that his crops would be trampled, that more harm would be done to them than locusts would do, and his farm would suffer losses. All these superfluous people exasperated Garst, and he growled like a bear at everything that was interfering with him.

The time came for lunch at the farmhouse. Nina Petrovna and I had a tour of Garst's home. It was a nice, pleasant house; the architecture was standard, no excessive decorations. It was the residence of a wealthy man, but a businessman who knew how to keep track of his money. I say this because if he had wanted to, with the amount of capital he had, he could have allowed himself great luxury, but wasteful expenditure was not Garst's way. He was not greedy, but rational. He did not stint on what was necessary and what would bring profit to the farm, but regarded spending that didn't pay for itself as stupid. It would be good if our people, working in the socialist economy, would be guided by this capitalist principle. Unfortunately, nowadays when I read the papers, I often encounter examples that would knock you off your feet—the people's resources being poured down the drain by thoughtless and wasteful bosses.

Previously I had pictured Garst as a modest man in his work. Now I saw him in his natural element. I saw him in action, and strong feelings of respect for him blazed up in me. I retain that respect for him even today. Some people will say: "What is this? Khrushchev, a Communist, a former proletarian, who worked for so long as a party and government official, has this kind of opinion of a capitalist, an exploiter?" Here's my answer: the socialist mode of economic production is more progressive; there is no doubt about that. But knowing how to make use of accumulated experience, thriftiness, and rational expenditure of resources are characteristics that are more highly developed among the capitalists. We have to learn how to transfer onto socialist soil all the useful knowledge accumulated by capitalism. We need to learn from the capitalists, as Lenin urged. Unfortunately, we repeat Lenin's words like parrots, but learn very poorly in practice and have done even worse when it comes to borrowing rational elements and introducing them onto our socialist reality. But if we could do this skillfully, how much farther ahead we would go! Of course we can't follow the example of capitalist businesses when it comes to questions of payment for labor, establishing work norms and quotas, and providing services for the workers. In that respect we establish our own norms on the basis of socialist legality. Nevertheless, there's much we could borrow from our class enemies, and we could apply their achievements to our socialist enterprises in modified form.

Let me return to Garst. The rooms in his house were also laid out in a rational way. I very much liked the plan of the house, which corresponded to contemporary requirements. It was comfortable to live in, although there was nothing in excess. If you judged externally, from the clothes Garst wore, you would say he was well off, but not blatantly so. The man wearing those clothes wasn't trying to keep up with the latest fashions. He was a well-balanced man, who stood his ground firmly and attended to his large business. I don't know how much capital he had. I wouldn't ask such a question; it would be impolite. That's a trade secret. But I was extremely interested in borrowing from his experience at running a business. It is surprising in spite of everything: he was a capitalist and we were Communists, but he readily revealed his secrets of production and shared them with us. When he was in the Soviet Union and saw something wrong at one of our farms, he was zealous about criticizing it. He angrily jumped on people who worked poorly. It would seem that here you had a capitalist who wanted things to be better for socialism. Could that be? Apparently his class sense was stripped away at such a moment because he was overcome with anger: "Don't do that! That's not the way to do it!" In that situation he was transformed from a capitalist into simply a master craftsman.

Garst was at one of our collective farms once when corn was being planted. This was being done without simultaneous treatment of the soil with mineral fertilizers. He really went after those collective farmers: "You can't do that without mineral fertilizer!" he shouted. Of course special planting machinery would have been needed to do the planting his way, and the collective farm didn't have such machinery. Still, fertilizer should have been put in the ground all the same. The chairman of the collective farm explained that the fertilizer had been put in the ground earlier. Garst's eyes flashed from beneath his overhanging brows and his anger subsided. I simply don't know what he would have done there if he had had the authority! As a man accustomed to things being done right, when he saw something being done wrong, even on someone else's farm, he forgot about everything else. For him the main thing was that no damage be done to the job at hand. I immediately grasped this positive personality trait of Garst's, and I respected him for it very much and regarded him very highly.

When Garst and his wife were showing Nina Petrovna and me their home, he wouldn't allow the other guests to come inside with us. Lunch was organized outdoors in a garden where tables were spread out, and our host treated only those whom he considered guests: the people who had accompanied me and were part of our delegation. He had no thought for the others whatsoever. They found their own way out, going to eat at a restaurant in a nearby town. The weather was sunny and it was cozy in the little garden. As Garst and I were coming out of the house Stevenson came over to us. He was all excited and wanted to have his photograph taken with us. One stood on my right and the other on my left; they put their hands on my shoulders and posed in this relaxed way for the photographers and movie cameramen. Garst sometimes doubled up with laughter; he really knew how to laugh. He was a large, powerful, heavy-set man but had a pleasant look about him. Perhaps I perceived him that way because I had a good attitude toward him and everything about him seemed likable to me. Maybe someone else would have a more critical perception of him. I actually had a dual perception of him: as a man and as a capitalist. As a capitalist he was one of my class enemies. As a man who I knew and whose guest I was, I treated him with great respect and valued him for his knowledge, his selfless desire to share his experience with us, to pass on his knowledge to others for use in another economy, even a socialist one. You don't find many capitalists like that.

There's no reason to try to describe the lunch. Americans know how to eat well and to treat their guests well. I don't remember what dishes were served, but I can assure you it was not poor peasants' soup.[21] They know how to cook very well there in America. Their canned goods also made a good impression on me; they were quite tasty.

There's one more thing I want to dictate about my conversations with Garst, my contacts with him, and my impressions of him, so that it will be understood why I was so favorably disposed toward this man. We became acquainted during his first visit to the USSR [in fall 1955]. Garst was in a militant mood then [as a corn promoter]. He considered corn the queen of the fields, the chief crop for livestock both as silage and as grain. Even today I fully agree with him, but back then he was an especially big promoter of this crop. Some people in the USSR didn't understand me before and they still don't understand me now. There are those who condemned me at that time and condemn me still. I think this is because of ignorance. They don't understand that there's no other crop equal to corn for feeding livestock. People may object that this isn't true everywhere, not by far. Yes, but the main thing has to do with people. In one and the same climate zone one person will be unable to grow corn and another will get between 500 and 1,000 centners of silage per hectare. To put it crudely, a smart man gets results, and a fool can't even grow oats or barley. Garst was quite energetic about promoting corn in our country. As I recall, he even brought some samples with him. I said to him: "Mr. Garst, you should understand that in our country corn is not grown on a massive scale. The regions where it is planted are limited, although it should be extended throughout the Soviet Union with the exception of the Far North. But wherever wheat and barley grow, corn can be grown, too, for silage, if it's tended skillfully and the appropriate varieties are selected. Therefore I am glad that you are promoting it."

I urged him to go to Odessa to look at the corn crops at the Lysenko Institute.[22] Academician Olshansky[23] was in charge of the crops there. I said: "They will tell you and show you how the selection work is being done there and what results this institute has achieved. They have developed the best variety for growing in the south and producing grain. It's the Odessa-10 (abbreviated as Od-10), the queen among all the other varieties. When you see it, and you know this business better than I do, you will understand that we are not just beginners. We need to grow this crop extensively and intensively. We have the beginnings of scientific knowledge, and we know how to produce hybrid varieties. Let's have an exchange of varieties and exchange our secrets of seed selection: we will give you ours and you give us yours."

He thought for a minute: "Mr. Khrushchev, if I could decide this by myself, I would accept your proposal. But I am a stockholder, and therefore the board of directors must decide everything. And I can tell you in advance that the board of directors will not agree, although I would meet you halfway and not hold back our secrets. When your people come to visit us, you can get to know our business and look at everything, but the source data for the varieties from which our hybrids are developed—that is something we cannot give you. That is a trade secret."

I objected: "In offering you this exchange, I don't know if I will get a better product from you in return for our varieties. I think actually that our varieties are better." Then I turned everything into a joke because I understood that we couldn't make claims against this man who was our guest.

Garst went to Odessa and looked at the Od-10 variety, and the people at Odessa gave him some ears of corn as a gift. Olshansky told me later that when Garst looked at the different varieties of corn planted and growing there it was precisely the Od-10 that made the strongest impression on him. When they gave him a sample ear of corn, he kissed it and said: "Khrushchev was right. You can do without buying seeds [from us]. You have your own seed-selection experts and plant breeders who are capable of developing tremendous ears of corn like these." It was pleasant to hear such a positive evaluation of the work of our scientists. I was proud of their work. I looked Garst in the eye defiantly and declared that in developing varieties of corn we were not lagging behind America. Our varieties were no worse, and some of them were even better. But we did lag behind in the way we raised this crop and harvested it, and especially the way we cultivated it. Americans have produced incredible products from kernels of corn. They are simply miraculous. But we just grind it up and make cornmeal out of it in a primitive fashion, or we use it in unground form. When the grain of corn is not ground up it does not give off its best nutritive substances. The result is a waste of feed in raising poultry and large-horned cattle.

Garst gave me an entire lecture on agriculture. Then he said: "Mr. Khrushchev, American farmers today engage in agriculture using the data at the disposal of science of all the countries of the West. How is this expressed? Earlier it was thought that you should not engage in monoculture, that there had to be crop rotation with a multifield system, combined with a grass-field system. Grass crops were made the foundation for that kind of crop rotation—alfalfa and clover, or timothy with clover mixed in. Science today considers that approach outdated. And I think so, too. Crop rotation arose because every crop has its pests. If one and the same crop was planted repeatedly in the same field, the number of pests would increase. Ultimately these crops would stop reproducing or their productivity would decline. Now there is no such problem. We have herbicides and other such chemical substances that make it possible to combat pests. How many years has it been already that I've been planting corn on top of corn, and every year I increase my harvest, and the yield capacity keeps going up. Previously we planted clover or alfalfa because they accumulate nitrogen in their root systems. The crop that is planted next on that field can make use of that nitrogen, which produces good results. This has also fallen by the wayside now. It is more profitable for me to buy nitrogen, potassium, phosphorus, in mixed form, and add this fertilizer to the soil in the necessary proportions when I plant a crop. That is cheaper and economically more effective. I don't even spread manure on the fields now. Although a huge quantity of manure builds up at my farm, I have it burned."

I was curious: "Why?"

"Because to transport and spread the manure, and to plow it under, costs more than to buy mineral fertilizers and apply them to the soil. That's why it's not profitable to waste time on manure. I would have to transport tons of manure per hectare, but in this case it's only kilograms."

All his arguments came down to what was cheaper and produced more profit. Is that really such a bad measurement? Under capitalism of course, it's a matter of life and death. But is it really of no significance for us as well?

To spend less, use less labor, and have fewer expenses and yet to obtain better results, increased yields, and higher productivity of labor! Over there, profit goes to enrich the capitalist, but under socialist conditions added wealth goes to satisfy the needs of the working people. That is the main aim of our economic activity. That is why I enjoyed learning from him. He was a unique capitalist in the sense that he didn't hide his secrets from representatives of a socialist country. Not only did he not hide them; he criticized us passionately when he noticed that our farming operations were being conducted irrationally and resulting in losses. Subsequently he revealed all his secrets to us; in fact he simply thrust them on us. On one of his visits to the Soviet Union, after looking around at one of our farms, Garst made this proposal: "Mr. Khrushchev, if you want, I will teach your tractor drivers how to work so that each of them can cultivate up to 100 hectares, with no use of manual labor—100 hectares of corn, given all the necessary conditions."

I said: "I would be very happy if that were possible."

"Choose some intelligent people and send them to my farm. They will work with my son, and my wife will feed them." I thanked him and immediately took him up on his offer, following hot on his heels. We did what he suggested.

I knew personally and had a high opinion of Aleksandr Vasilyevich Gitalov,[24] leader of a tractor drivers' brigade in Kirovograd province, an energetic and intelligent man and a good organizer. From a simple peasant he had become an outstanding supporter and practitioner of mechanization. He studied tractors and other agricultural machinery to perfection and got the maximum economic results out of them. That's why I decided to send Gitalov to the United States. He would look it all over, take it all in, and transfer the experience, introducing it in his own collective farm, which would become a model for all collective farms in the Soviet Union. I asked that others select the second person: let the agricultural department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine specify a candidate after consulting with the leadership of the various provinces. Garst really did take these men into his own home. For a while they ate at his home, although later they began going for lunch to some place not far from Garst's farm. That was a wise thing to do, and I reproached myself for not having suggested it myself. Why should Mrs. Garst have to suffer because her husband had invited these two outsiders? It really was too much! An obvious abuse of hospitality. But these tractor drivers corrected the situation on their own, and they were right to do that. Then they came back to our country. I constantly kept Gitalov in my range of vision, and now I keep him within my range of hearing; I keep track of his work. Sometimes they broadcast a speech by him over the radio. I also read about his successes in the papers. Nowadays I go for walks a great deal and listen to the radio. They often broadcast news of successes achieved by our people in their work, and it gives me joy to listen to this. Gitalov demonstrated in practice that it was possible under our conditions to raise corn by cultivating 100 hectares with only one tractor. Later he cultivated as much as 120–140 hectares. That is the kind of specific aid Garst gave us. We need to appreciate this because he received nothing in return except for moral satisfaction. And he grew in my eyes by displaying such nobility. Nitpickers or fussy people will be found who will say that Khrushchev is exaggerating! Well, what of it? In our country we have good Communists who are fanatically devoted to their homeland, but are incapable of evaluating realistically certain actions by representatives of capitalist society. I recall Savva Morozov.[25] Or here is another fact. The congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party was held in London in 1907, and to pay for the building where the congress was held,[26] Lenin was given a loan by a British capitalist. Of course these men were unique and did not reflect the essential nature of the average capitalist. That is, they were exceptions. I consider Mr. Garst the same kind of exception.

On one of his trips to the USSR he began agitating in favor of our buying operations in the United States for processing and sorting kernels of corn. This was something new for us. I had paid a lot of attention to similar matters and had had discussions with engineers who worked on agricultural machinery, agronomists, and scientists, and no one had ever suggested this idea. But in the United States they already had factories that processed corn by sorting it according to the size of the kernel—not its quality, but its size. This was a different matter that had to do with the seed-selection process. To process a huge number of kernels and select the best of them, which would produce the desired results—that is not easy work and it's completely mechanical. The seed-selection experts sometimes literally pick out the best kernels by hand using tweezers in order to plant a new batch. You can imagine what infernally painstaking work that is. Scientists do this kind of thing on a small plot of land, conducting scientific experiments. But on a large industrial scale? It's totally unrealistic and impossible. Consequently, when we talk about planting so many kilograms of grain per hectare we don't know how many unsuitable grains of seed there are. (I'm not talking about their germinating capacity, but about their size and volume.) To select the best grain for planting, the Americans developed these mechanized operations. They receive the grain from the farmer and they store it. Then the grain is sold to farmers with a guarantee that there will be certain definite varieties, that it will germinate quickly, within a certain time period, and will have other qualities necessary for a good proprietor to know when he is raising corn. In Ukraine we plant corn without sorting it. But as you sow, so shall you reap. You can't expect good offspring from a poor lineage. Garst taught us a good lesson, and I thank him. I said that then, and I repeat it now.

Within the Soviet government at that time I raised the question of buying these American operations. We discussed the matter, chose some people, and sent them to the United States to get to know this system. Then we bought several such facilities and distributed them in areas where corn is mainly raised: in Ukraine and the northern Caucasus, mainly in the regions of Stavropol and Krasnodar. Later we decided to buy a certain quantity of seed material to try out the best American varieties for silage purposes on our soil. How many good things Garst did for us, in addition to what I've mentioned! I thought we should pay him for this in some way. And to pay him as he deserved meant not to just buy him a box of candy. He was a businessman, a capitalist, and we made arrangements to buy grain from the company in which he was a stockholder. We would plant his corn under our conditions and in various geographical zones, test it out, and compare it with our best varieties. At the same time we would be allowing his company to earn something.

Our engineers studied their mechanized processes, improved some of the mechanisms, and adapted them to our conditions. We not only set up these facilities in our country and put them into operation but also expanded their production to cover a large territory, in order to sort kernels of corn and provide seed material for the entire country. On his next visit Garst saw these facilities in operation and commented that we had acted wisely in buying them. To me this praise was understandable: in a commercial operation gratitude is always expressed to a partner who has purchased something that enables the firm to earn more. But he said to me with full candor: "I have seen your facilities modeled after the American ones and the improvements that your engineers have made. They are rational. I think the facilities you have produced are better adapted to your circumstances. There's no sense now in your buying such facilities from us Americans. You've learned to do the job better than we do in the United States. Besides, I've looked at the corn crops raised from the seed you bought in our country and compared them to your own varieties. I've also seen the crops from grain that went through the selection process in your facilities, and I've decided I'm not going to urge you any more to buy seed from the United States. There's no need for it, because your corn seed is just as good as ours." That was the evaluation given by Garst. What could you want better than that? And I thanked him again. We had started looking at corn in a new way and had evaluated in a new way the importance of processing the grain and making seed selection in specialized facilities. It had been shown not in words but in deeds what great potential there was in corn if it was planted properly and if the required agricultural elements were present. We had equipment in sufficient quantity, and we could achieve a high productivity such as we had never dreamed of before.

Lenin's proposition—that we should not be afraid to learn from the capitalists and transfer onto a socialist basis what they had achieved—is gradually being put into effect. The knowledge the capitalists accumulated was achieved with the help of scientists and workers. When we transfer their experience onto our soil, we ourselves can develop it further and achieve an even higher productivity of labor. In the competition between socialism and capitalism the main question is which system will ensure a higher productivity of labor and consequently a higher standard of living. After all, when your labor productivity is low, you can't achieve victory over a society that has a higher labor productivity. And victory will consist in the complete satisfaction of people's needs. Garst made his small contribution by giving the aid that he did to socialism. But he also extracted some profit from this.

Besides all that, he insistently tried to persuade me to adopt an all-out program of road construction. And he was right! "If your people could only see the paved roads we have on every farm! How many resources you spend in vain on the kind of roads you have! It isn't rational." And he was right. I understood that as well as he did, but unfortunately, at that time our material resources were not such as to allow us to introduce what Garst was proposing. At that stage we were mainly concerned with issuing appeals, and we put the stress on having the collective farms, state farms, and local organizations show initiative [on road building]. A centralized road-building program at the expense of the central government—we couldn't have carried out such a program at that time. I think that in our country the roads will become just as good as, or even better than, the ones Garst was talking about, which I myself saw later in the United States.

I will end my recollections about the visit to Garst's farm. The atmosphere there was the most relaxed of the entire visit to America. His meeting with us had a warm human quality to it despite the fact that people of different political views and belonging to different classes were encountering one another. Each of us held to our own position in this situation. Garst is also a man of strong convictions, and therefore I didn't get into any political discussions with him, because I knew who I was dealing with. Nor did he touch on the subject of the socialist system, because he also had a perfectly good idea who he was dealing with. Despite our opposing class viewpoints, we easily found a common language on questions of interest to us both. The atmosphere was very good. After dinner, Garst sat me down with Stevenson, who had twice been the Democratic Party's candidate for president of the United States. Unfortunately, Stevenson didn't win on either occasion. Some of Garst's neighbors, also farmers, gathered there as well. In general, there were a great many people. You didn't feel any tension or artificiality. It was as though people had gathered to spend a day off together at the common table. They drank in moderation. They knew how to drink, and they knew up to what point to allow themselves to do that and how to go about it. Everything went, as we say in our country *chinno i blagorodno* (with dignity and decorum).

In private conversations with me, Garst often criticized his government and its programs. But he was not criticizing the capitalist system as a whole, just specific restrictions that the government imposed on farmers. Farmers were required to reduce grain production, because the United States had a large surplus. It was expensive to store grain, and it couldn't be sold on foreign markets at suitable prices. In order not to lower the price on many products within the country and on the world market, the government limited production. Garst said he received a subsidy for every hectare where he planted no crops, and that made him angry. He appealed to universal human feelings: "In the world there are so many hungry people, yet farmers who can produce substantially more grain are being forced to reduce the amount they grow, and we're reimbursed for every hectare where we plant no crops. Is that really a correct policy?" This exasperated him, and inwardly I agreed with him, but I never got into a discussion of this question. There were two aspects to the problem. One aspect, which he was talking about and on which he appealed to universal human feelings, was how to feed all the people. Another aspect was that if he did plant as much as he wanted or could, then unquestionably he would earn more than he was making in the form of compensation for each hectare that was not planted. That second aspect of the matter was probably the dominant one for him, although not consciously so. I did not call this to his attention. The thought occurred to me, but I held my tongue because I didn't want to insult him.

I repeat, we didn't touch on political questions at all, but we did discuss questions of trade. Why wouldn't the United States trade with the USSR? He was sincerely indignant over that. He thought it was a stupid policy, and he didn't restrain himself in expressing his views. It seems that he voted for the Democrats, although none of the Garsts held left-wing views. But it's hard to sort out the differences between the policies of the Democrats and Republicans in any detail. Their basic orientation is one that they hold in common—to strengthen capitalism and oppose the Communist Party of the United States. This is a position known to everyone. It has been discussed many times in the press, and therefore I don't want to go into it in my memoirs.

Here is something else that interested me during my trip. According to the itinerary, I was supposed to visit several agricultural colleges. I don't remember now what state they were in, but it was far away from any city, in the midst of farms.[27] I also liked those colleges very much. I took note of them and decided I wanted to create something similar, to some extent, in our country in the way of higher educational institutions and secondary educational facilities for agriculture. What exactly did I like? The students at these colleges worked and studied at the same time, doing all the agricultural chores: they plowed the land, processed the seeds and got them ready for planting, did the planting, brought in the harvest, and they did all these things with their own hands—from planting to storing the products in warehouses. In the livestock sector they also did all the work themselves: shoveled manure, milked the cows, cleaned the stalls, and processed the milk. As a result these colleges graduated the best specialists, who were trained not only in theory but also in practice. The theories that were drilled into their heads were immediately put into practice. Then when they went out to work, they were not novices, although outwardly, because of their youth, they might not have inspired great confidence. But actually they were good managers and consultants.

All of this pleased me. I think this is the right approach to the problem. I was surprised that the farmers, who base themselves on a capitalist outlook, raised their children and trained them this way: not at all as children of well-to-do parents, but as people who would have to earn their own livelihood. This forced them to study not only agricultural theory but to engage in practice and do all the dirty work in looking after livestock and cultivating the fields. A pampered person would hardly go to such a college. But that is exactly how the Americans train their specialists. In our country, on the other hand, the higher educational institutions for agriculture are as a rule located in the cities. The way of life and the type of instruction are different from those in America. Our students don't do the dirty work of farming, but instead an enormous staff of manual workers is maintained. In practice the students just give instructions as to what should be done and how. I've often encountered opposition from our collective-farm workers when it was suggested that graduates from our agricultural institutions be sent to them. They would say: "Well, what are they going to teach us? They don't even know the front side of a cow from its back side. They're afraid to walk up close to the cow because it might butt them." When I was in the United States and got to know their methods for training agricultural cadres, agronomists, and livestock experts, I immediately saw the difference.

When I returned I insistently began promoting what I had seen. But that wasn't to the liking of either the professors or the students, which is understandable. It's nice to live in Moscow and work at the Timiryazev Agricultural Academy.[28] It's a venerable old institution, a large economic unit, with skilled instructors, but it's in the city! Its students aren't yearning to work on the collective farms, because to do that they'd have to go out into the provinces and live in the sticks. They try to find a spot in Moscow they can dive into at some research or planning institution. There are many little niches you can burrow into once you have an education at government expense; then you can live without repaying [what was spent on you]. They do that instead of going into production, where values are created to meet the needs of the people. They go into the service sector. I once heard that a man who had graduated from the Timiryazev Academy was working as a floor polisher. I exclaimed, "How could that be?" It was explained to me: "You shouldn't be surprised. If he went to a collective farm, his earnings would be miserly. Most of our collective farms are poor. They put down a little checkmark for each workday, count up the number of checkmarks, and then pay in kopecks or nothing at all. But a floor polisher earns much more than a good agronomist at a collective farm or state farm. Besides, living in Moscow, he has all the advantages of the big city."

This ugly aspect of Soviet life had a depressing effect on me. I spoke about it many times in my speeches. This was simply a deformity, an ugly growth on the healthy Soviet body politic. For myself I give a further explanation for such behavior, as follows. [In the Soviet Union] a young person, after graduating from high school and thinking about continuing his or her education, starts to pick an institute or university. Often the person chooses, not on the basis of inner predilection, but instead by picking at random, shuffling through cards with the names of various universities and institutes on them. The prospective student licks his finger and shuffles through the cards. The name on the card that sticks to his finger is where he goes. Of course, that's an exception. But exceptions also cost us dearly. The losses the government suffers are too great, and it also has to put up with loss of time.

Time has gone by, and the specialist who has received his training still doesn't go to work in agricultural production. It also happens that someone who wants to go to a college of engineering, where the requirements in mathematics are very high, may fail the exam, but will have an agricultural college as a backup. If there's an opening at the agricultural college, the student will stay in the city and study at that college. But who is that good for?

It would be better if agricultural collages were located at large state farms, and students should be selected from among the workers at those farms. They are used to the life there, and they have a practical knowledge of agricultural work. They would study with great enthusiasm and, like the American students, would do all the work. Graduates like this would be worth their weight in gold; all the farms would snap them up. Young energetic people with strong ideological convictions, who believe in the socialist system and who have acquired profound specialized knowledge in growing plants and raising livestock! In a case like that, the specialist wouldn't stand there staring, wondering how to approach a tractor and how to start it. He would know how to look after the livestock and make them more productive. Such a graduate would meet all the requirements of the task. Wild horses couldn't keep him in the city, because after all, he grew up on the land and is not spoiled by city life. He finds satisfaction working in his native element.

When I used to talk about this in private conversations and at public meetings, everyone nodded their heads and agreed. But it's like the cat in the fable that's being yelled at for eating something it's not supposed to: "Vaska the cat listens—and keeps on eating."[29] The instructors are used to the conditions of life in the city. And suddenly they're transferred to a rural locality, where they think the sky's going to fall on them. They could not deny the correctness of my arguments, but they showed no enthusiasm about being relocated. What a contrast to their behavior I saw in Moldavia, where a three-year technical college for livestock breeding had been established on the territory of a state farm. I was told that when its graduates completed their courses, people from collective farms and state farms came from all over to try to recruit them. Fights even started over who would get these graduates. That's how much people wanted them. But what's the situation now? Alas, one man can't do everything, even if great power and influence is allotted to him. The most dangerous form of resistance is when they "yes you to death," nodding their heads and agreeing. This is a tactic that has been assimilated by many in Soviet society, and it is widely used.

I am now retired, living in what they call my declining years. My age allows me to reminisce, to recall what was done in the past, to go over various events in my memory, and to evaluate them as I see fit, although this evaluation is of no use to anyone. Human beings have to keep busy with something. Old people sometimes engage in such self-analysis, though it doesn't always bring joy. It may even cause annoyance when you begin to page back through the book of your life. Such is the lot of the elderly. Nevertheless, I will say again that, in comparing the American system and our own in agricultural education, I would assert that their system is more progressive. Capitalists know how to approach matters from a rational point of view. The remorseless law of profit is in operation there. But in our country not every government official has a highly principled understanding of the cause; often he displays philistine indifference, looking out solely for his own comfort. Socialism suffers as a result. How many times I've been poked in the eye with arguments like this: "Look how many years have gone by under Soviet rule, and still you can't fill the bellies of the people with bread, and there are times when no meat is available. Meanwhile in the capitalist countries they have abundance." This is still a highly relevant subject for discussion. When I meet with people, I listen to everything they feel pleased about and displeased about. This problem has not been solved in our country. Even though our country as a whole has become much richer, our efficiency is still not high.

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1. Khrushchev went to New York before flying to Los Angeles. The itinerary for the U.S. visit as a whole (September 15–27, 1959) was as follows: Moscow–Washington, D.C.–New York–Los Angeles–San Francisco–Des Moines–Pittsburgh–Washington, D.C.–Camp David–Washington, D.C.–Moscow. [SK]

2. W. Averell Harriman (1891–1986) was U.S. ambassador to the USSR from 1943 to 1946. See Biographies.

3. Mayor Wagner gave this luncheon (to be more precise, late breakfast) at the Hotel Commodore, because at the Waldorf-Astoria, the usual site for official receptions, a congress of the National Association of Stomatologists was in progress.

4. It was held on September 17 in the ballroom at the Waldorf-Astoria .

5. Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller is/was the grandson of John D. Rockefeller Sr., who founded the Standard Oil Company, and the son of the prominent politician John D. Rockefeller II Jr. At this time he was governor of the state of New York, while his brothers specialized in other spheres: John D. Rockefeller III controlled charitable organizations, Winthrop's business activities focused on agriculture, Laurence's on industry, and David's on banking. Together they managed the family capital within the framework of the company Rockefeller Brothers Incorporated. The conversation took place at the suite on the 35th floor of the building where Khrushchev was staying.

6. The Empire State Building is 443 meters (1,454 feet) tall and has 102 stories. It was built in 1930–31. [SS]

7. This was Colonel G. Crown, at that time owner of the Empire State Building. He sold the building in 1961. [MN/SS]

8. Between 1933 and 1940 Harriman was an adviser to President Roosevelt; then he was Roosevelt's special representative in Britain and the USSR with ambassadorial rank, in charge of the lend-lease agencies in London. After the war he occupied a variety of diplomatic and administrative posts. See Biographies. At the time of Khrushchev's U.S. visit, he was engaged in business.

9. These deposits, located at Chiatura, have been worked since 1869 exclusively for export and were the source of 77 percent of Russia's manganese. The mines were controlled by the Harriman banking house, which in 1925 obtained a concession from the Soviet government for the further extraction of manganese.

10. The value of these nickel mines, located around Lake Kuetsjarvi, was set at $20 million, and the USSR paid Canada various amounts quarterly for a number of years. Harriman was not the

only stockholder in this company. So were John Foster Dulles and a number of other prominent public figures in American life. Stalin gave special orders to Finance Minister Zverev to pay compensation to Harriman, but not to Dulles.

11. Pechenga is on the shore of the Barents Sea, to the northwest of Murmansk, near the postwar Soviet-Norwegian (now Russian-Norwegian) border. [SS]

12. A Russian monastery was built in 1533 at the mouth of the Petsamojoki River, which descends into the Petsamovuono Fjord (Pechenga Bay).

13. The meeting arranged by Harriman included some individuals of great prominence in the business world of the United States. Some are named and described in the following passage from the book *Litso k litsu s Amerikoi* (Face to Face with America) (Moscow, 1959). "Among those present were such Wall Street luminaries as: John D. Rockefeller III, master of the Rockefeller oil empire; W. Rogers Herod, president of General Electric; John J. McCloy, head of one of the biggest banks in the country [the Chase Manhattan Bank]; Frank Pace, formerly secretary of defense and now head of General Dynamics, the country's largest armaments firm; David Sarnoff, chairman of the board of RCA (Radio Corporation of America) and a specialist in 'psychological warfare'; the [New York] banker Herbert H. Lehman; and other top dogs of American capitalism." [SK] Jonathan Klein of General Electric (GE) Corporate Communications informs me that the 1959 annual report of the company confirms that W. Rogers Herod was present at the meeting; however, he was not president of GE but vice president and head of its international division. [SS]

14. Garst was one of the owners of the joint stock company Garst & Thomas, a subsidiary of the seed producing firm Pioneer, which specialized in growing seeds of hybrid varieties of corn and in breeding thoroughbred pigs and poultry. See Biographies. [MN] Khrushchev and Mikoyan met with Garst on October 7, 1955, at the government dacha of Livadia (near the former tsar's palace of Livadia), not far from Yalta in the Crimea. [SK]

15. Khrushchev is referring to the North Caucasian custom of a young man "abducting" the young woman whom he wants to marry. It is usually an abduction only in form, as it is carried out with the bride's consent though without that of her parents. [SK/SS]

16. Adlai E. Stevenson (1900–1965) was an assistant to the secretary of the navy from 1941 to 1944, then special assistant to the secretary of state, a member of various diplomatic delegations, and governor of the state of Illinois. In 1961 he was appointed permanent representative of the United States at the United Nations and U.S. representative in the U.N. Security Council. He was nominated as Democratic Party candidate for president in 1952 and 1956. See Biographies.

17. David Garst, son of Roswell Garst, is an agricultural consultant. [SK]

18. The Russian idiom is roughly the equivalent of "There was a whole slew of them." [GS]

19. The *arba* (the word is of Turkish origin) is a two-wheeled cart with high sides typically used in Ukraine, southern Russia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia. [GS/SK]

20. Correspondent of *The New York Times* and author of books on the USSR and World War II.

21. In the Russian text, N. S. Khrushchev says literally, "not kvas with radishes" *(redka).* Kvas is virtually the Russian national drink, a lightly fermented beverage usually made by boiling rye bread in water, then adding yeast. Kvas is widely available in Russia, as soft drinks like Coke and Pepsi are in the United States. Soup was a staple of the peasant household—especially cabbage soup and/or beet soup, before potatoes came to Russia on a large scale (in the eighteenth century). However, a cold soup of kvas, with pieces of large turniplike vegetable called "black radish" *(redka)*, was also a fairly common dish for the impoverished majority of peasants in old Russia. In better-off families a dab of sour cream, an expensive delicacy at that time, might be added. [SK/GS]

22. The official name of this institution in Odessa was the Lysenko All-Union Agricultural Research Institute for Selection and Genetics (Vsesoyuzny Selektsionno-Genetichesky Institut imeni T. D. Lysenko). Although the institute was named in honor of the prominent plant breeder and pseudo-scientist Trofim Lysenko, he was not actually working there at this time. [SK/SS]

23. Mikhail Aleksandrovich Olshansky (1908–88) was a plant breeder and agronomist. He was minister of agriculture from 1960 to 1962. He was a member of the Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences and its president from 1962 to 1964. [MN/SK]

24. On Aleksandr Vasilyevich Gitalov, see Biographies.

25. Savva Timofeyevich Morozov (1862–1905) was a wealthy Russian merchant and textiles magnate who gave aid to the Bolsheviks through Maxim Gorky. See note 49 to the chapter "Visit to France." [GS/A8]

26. The Congress was held between April 30 and May 19 (between May 13 and June 1 New Style) at the Fraternity Church on Southgate Road in London.

27. This was Iowa State University in Ames, Iowa. [SK]

28. The full name of this institution was the Moscow Timiryazev Agricultural Academy (Moskovskaya selskokhozyaistvennaya akademiya imeni K. A. Timiryazeva). It was established in 1865 as the Petrovskaya Academy of Agriculture and Forestry.

Kliment Arkadyevich Timiryazev (1843–1920), a founder of the Russian school of plant physiology, taught at the institution later renamed in his honor as well as at Moscow University. [SK/SS]

[29] Khrushchev often uses this familiar Russian saying, which is actually a quotation from a fable by Ivan Krylov, the "Russian Aesop" (1769–1844). One of Krylov's more than 200 enormously popular fables is "The Cat and the Cook" *(Kot i Povar)*. The cook scolds and curses the cat for having stolen a chicken, but takes no action against the offending animal. "Vaska the cat listens—and keeps on eating." Vaska (a pejorative diminutive from the first name Vasily) is widely used as a name for a cat in Russia. [SK/GS]

WASHINGTON AND CAMP DAVID

Not far from Washington there is some sort of institute or experimental farm for poultry breeding. It was suggested that I go there, and I accepted the invitation. There I was shown chickens, geese, ducks, and above all turkeys. Turkey meat is especially valued in the United States. On holidays every American considers it obligatory to have a roast turkey on the table. I inspected their poultry farming installation with interest.[1]

Now I want to record my recollections of the talks with President Eisenhower on political questions and other questions of interest to our two countries. These questions are still relevant today. I will begin with a conversation we had in the White House. The secretary of state then was [Christian] Herter.[2] Dulles had already died. I also remember [Dean] Acheson.[3] Both of them are associated in my memory with a kind of evil spirit caught up in hatred for the USSR and frozen into inflexibility. I would also like to say that this was political thick-headedness. Of course I don't know if an expression like that is permissible, but that is precisely the impression that has remained with me concerning Acheson. I have fewer memories of Herter. As for Dulles, I single him out particularly as an ideologue of hatred toward the socialist worldview. He lived his whole life full of that hatred. But you can't deny that he had an understanding of the international situation. He had an accurate knowledge of the times he was living in, and he understood his adversary—the socialist camp—perfectly well. Being an intelligent enemy, he was someone we had to take into account. And it was he who formulated the methods of struggle against us. He did everything in his power against the socialist countries: he fought hard himself, and he organized others to fight.

Dulles deserves to be seen in a dual way. I considered him our ideological enemy number one, and although there was no reason to respect him, he had to be constantly kept in mind. There's one thing I will not deny about him and never did: in his day he led the struggle against us to the brink of war, but his mind knew how to distinguish the line that was dangerous to cross [so as to not go over the brink]. He did not want war. Situations full of explosive material arose many times. One more step, and the explosion would have gone off. Frequently that step depended on Dulles and the explosion did not happen. That is something I appreciated about him. I could not respect him, but I did appreciate him. He was both an adversary and an extremely interesting partner in negotiations, one who required that you keep your mind well trained: this was a situation in which you either found arguments to fight back against this partner-adversary or you surrendered.

So then, Eisenhower invited us for a talk at the White House. As I recall, I went there with Gromyko. We exchanged views on the subject of economic and trade relations. Eisenhower raised the question of our repaying the debt from the lend-lease program. I have already spoken about that, and I will remind readers once again: lend-lease was economic aid loaned to us in the form of goods delivered during the war by Britain and the United States. There was a very large amount of economic aid. Stalin frequently said that without lend-lease we could not have won the war, and I agree with him. The USSR did not repay the lend-lease debt in full: that is, a certain percentage of the value of the goods delivered to us was not paid for. I think Stalin was right not to pay. He set a certain condition at that time: we would pay the amount being requested if we obtained credit amounting to 3 billion dollars. I don't remember for how many years. That would have given us the possibility of restoring our industry more quickly, and then we could have repaid the lend-lease debt as well as paying for the new credit. It seems to me that in the first days after the war, the United States did promise us that. I am telling what I heard from Stalin.[4]

There were no official reports or discussions at the Politburo or the Council of Ministers on this subject. The Council of Ministers in general at that time was only a figurehead institution. Nothing whatsoever of a problematic nature was discussed by it; the members of the Council of Ministers merely accepted what was presented to them. The five-year plans and one-year plans were also accepted that way. Sometimes this happened in quite a unique manner. I remember, for example, an information report about the last five-year plan during Stalin's life, the Fifth Five-Year Plan, a report that probably took only two or three minutes. Stalin tossed the text of the five-year plan on the table and said: "Did you read it or not?" Everyone looked at him but remained silent. "I propose that it be accepted." And the plan was accepted without a report and without discussion. This was like a joke I had heard in my childhood from the miners: the priest turns from the altar and steps into the pulpit; he points to a large thick bible: "Have you read this book?" The congregation is silent. "Well, since you have, I don't need to read it to you." Something along those lines.

Our position on lend-lease was well known to the United States: we wanted to obtain credit, and after that we could repay the loan. The Americans were insisting that we pay at once without credit. After Stalin's death they stated that if we paid the amount they were asking for lend-lease, they could then begin preliminary discussions about trade with us.[5]

When we arrived at the White House, chairs had already been placed in the president's office. It was not an official session in which two delegations take opposite sides at a table. No, it was just an ordinary conversation. Eisenhower raised the question of our paying what we owed, and Mr. Dillon[6] informed us of the amount they felt was due from us.

Dillon's attitude toward us was very hostile; he simply could not tolerate us. He was a typical front man for the big capitalist monopolies, who held the keys to economic relations with the USSR and dictated conditions. It was not hard for him to do that because other members of the administration at that time held positions that were no less aggressive than Dillon's. We heard him out and then said: "Mr. President, we agree to pay what we owe under lend-lease on the condition, as we have said frequently in the past, that you give us credits amounting to 3 billion dollars. (I don't remember what the time period was [for repayment of those credits] or what the interest rates were.) If you won't give us credit, we won't pay."

The argument we presented—and I made this point many times at press conferences—was that not only had we repaid the cost of lend-lease; we had paid more than was due. I also pointed out that it was not only we who had received lend-lease aid. Britain and other countries had also. But the United States was not demanding anything of them. If you took any country that fought against Hitler, could its contribution be compared at all to the contribution made by the Soviet Union? How many lives had we lost? And how many did other countries lose? There was no comparison! Not to mention the terrible material losses suffered by the Soviet Union in the war. All of Ukraine, the northern Caucasus, Belorussia, and several provinces of the Russian Federation had been devastated, and Leningrad and other places had suffered horrendous losses. All together this was a colossal sum. If you could convert the blood that was shed into monetary terms (although that would be rather amoral) and took into account our other losses as well, what comparison could there be between that and lend-lease?

I said: “Mr. President, I ask you to understand me correctly. After all, we have paid with our *blood.* You delivered material goods to us. We expressed our gratitude to you for that, and we repeat that now. But what can be more valuable than human life? We paid with that many times more than all the other participants in the war against Nazi Germany, so really we are even with you; we have even paid more than our debt. And if we are to speak honestly, we really have no debt to you, because you gave us that material of your own accord: you delivered the material and equipment, the various weapons systems, artillery, airplanes, and so forth, but we used all those things to fight the Germans. We didn’t accumulate any capital on the basis of the lend-lease material. Our blood is the payment for the material we received, which facilitated our ability to fight. If we had not received that material, we obviously could not have put up the necessary resistance. Then the United States would have had to pay with its blood to win the war. But you, having shed much less blood, got off with merely having to supply your aluminum, Spam, airplanes, tanks, and so forth.

“We don’t deny the importance of your aid, and in our view it played a decisive role in our defensive and offensive operations—after we had temporarily been deprived of heavily populated industrial areas as a result of Hitler’s aggression. That is, we were engaged in a joint effort. Besides that, you kept postponing [the landing in Normandy]. You postponed it until very late in the day. You and the British made the landing at a time when the main danger had passed and it had become clear that the USSR by itself could cope with Hitler. I do not deny the contribution the United States and Britain made to the victory, as some other people do now, and in doing that they put us in a foolish position. We acknowledge the contributions you made. But they do not compare in the least with what we paid in the lives of Soviet citizens. You yourselves chose the time for the [Normandy] landing and the establishment of a second front in Western Europe. The second front was established when our troops had already advanced far beyond the borders of our territory—a turn of events that neither the United States nor Britain wanted. Churchill, in dictating the conditions for the capitalist side in the war against Germany, wanted to break Germany’s back using our hands, and we did break its back, with your help, but your help was mainly in the form of war materiel. Mr. President, we ask you to understand us correctly. And all this is easily understandable by anyone who thinks sensibly and is not blinded by class hatred of the Soviet Union."

Of course this was not a question of arithmetic, counting up and estimating the losses, but a question of politics. I was sure that Eisenhower understood everything, but he could not acknowledge that we were right, and Dillon was turned loose as a kind of attack dog. He did not conceal his unfriendly attitude, and in fact his whole being gave off an unfriendly glow, if not one of open hostility. He was forced to restrain himself because we were guests of the president, although it's true that he didn't always succeed in restraining himself. We had a good sense of who our counterparts were on the American side, and none of this surprised us. I immediately replied to their remarks and asked questions of my own. To a certain extent this even gave me pleasure. I thought to myself: "Here you are raging furiously against the socialist countries, first of all against the Soviet Union, and we're showing you the sign of the fig: go whistle for it, you won't get a thing out of us! And there's nothing you can do about it now because we are also powerful."

We wanted them to understand the new importance we had in the world, and they were forced to acknowledge it. Those who were gnashing their teeth were not able to show it openly. That was the atmosphere in which our conversation proceeded. As it turned out, the real question was not lend-lease, but the possibility of peaceful coexistence.

I had presented our position, arguments that were not new to the ears of the president or to the government of the United States, because we had already presented these publicly at Geneva at the four-power summit meeting [in July 1955]. So then, here I was going back over what I had already gone over before. When I spoke about peaceful coexistence, I stressed that it had to be based on improvement of relations between the USSR and the United States. I did not particularly refer to the other socialist countries. It really went without saying. After all, I was representing the Soviet Union, and the United States did not particularly take into account the power of the other socialist countries, nor does it take them into account now. For them the main power opposing their policies is the Soviet Union.

As soon as Dillon heard me mention peaceful coexistence, he flashed his eyes at me and asked a naïve question: "What exactly is peaceful coexistence?"

I restrained my anger and answered: "Mr. Dillon, you are asking for an explanation regarding peaceful coexistence. If you still don't understand it, although we have talked about it many times, today that is simply cause for regret. An undersecretary of state who doesn't understand what peaceful coexistence is between the socialist and capitalist systems will be taught by time and life itself the correct understanding of the meaning of these words. And I suggest that today it would be superfluous to try to explain the meaning of peaceful coexistence to you."

That's the kind of dialogue that went on. Anyone who has taken a direct part in political life can imagine the situation concretely. Eisenhower did not take an active part in the argument, but just made occasional remarks. Dillon was the main opponent. Herter also put in a few remarks, but the undersecretary of state was the main opponent. I don't remember the exact order of events now: whether the meeting at the White House took place before our trip around the country or after it, but evidently Eisenhower knew in advance that almost anything could happen in that conversation. And when we got into specific questions about relations between the United States and the USSR, both sides agreed, in order not to dampen the mood, to postpone an exchange of opinions on these questions until the final stage of my visit.

I will add only that the U.S. government's conception of our repayment of this debt was basically self-seeking, an expression of greed.

By that time the debt amounted to a billion or even less than a billion, because we had returned part of the equipment we had received through lend-lease. They accepted repayment of the debt in their own peculiar way. They demanded that we return the freighters we had received under the lend-lease program. They were called Liberty ships. During the war they were turned out on the assembly line quickly, and they played their role. Some of the ships that had been given to us were destroyed in military operations, but some had survived. After we returned the remaining freighters, they took them out into the open ocean and sank them. There you have our ally of yesterday. Just the day before, we had been shedding our blood jointly against a common enemy, and now they were demanding money from us. As for those freighters, of which we had a great need, even after the war, they took them and sank them in the sea. They considered it superfluous to spend resources on bringing them home, where they would be turned into scrap metal.

What significance did our lend-lease debt really have when the U.S. monopoly corporations had made so much money from the war? Europe, the Soviet Union, and several other countries or regions had been left in poverty, but the American monopolies increased their capital many times over, and they made their money from the blood of Russian soldiers, and from the tears of women, children, and the elderly in the USSR and other countries who had suffered under occupation by the Nazi armies. That was the essence of our dispute with the United States. The dispute was not really over lend-lease but about the nature of our alleged indebtedness.

If we had not been a socialist country, they would never have loosened their tongues to ask for repayment. But we had demonstrated not only that we could survive and defeat the most powerful army in the world but also that we were getting back on our feet and moving forward. This frightened them, and they began to seek ways to put the brakes on our development. They could not unleash a war against us: the U.S. government would not have been able to convince the American people to go to war against us after the contribution the Soviet people had made to the victory over Nazi Germany. Thus, our enemy sought to slow down the development of the Soviet Union and to try to stifle us, if not by military means then by economic ones. A competition was under way between capitalism and socialism. Once again the old question that Lenin had asked reappeared: "Who will prevail?"[7] This contest and debate are continuing even today, and will continue until socialism wins acceptance throughout our planet. That is to say, capitalism is still alive thus far and our struggle will continue, now dying down, now flaring up again, as the winds of change sweep around the world.

Our itinerary provided that at the final stage of the U.S. visit the president and I would meet at Camp David for another round of talks. That day came. The president invited me to the White House. Gromyko went there with me. He accompanied me everywhere, was never one step away, and Herter was always there, right next to the president. Herter flew to Camp David separately, but the president and I took our places together in the presidential helicopter. Eisenhower had asked me: "How would it be with you if we flew to Camp David in a helicopter? The roads are thick with traffic, and we would lose a lot of time. But in a helicopter we can lift off from a landing site right next to the White House, and in a few minutes we'll be at our destination. At the same time, you'll have a bird's-eye view of Washington." I agreed. I wanted to see the city and its surroundings from the air. It's as though you're looking down at a model on a tabletop. You don't have that pleasure when you're riding in a car.

That's what we did. We got in the helicopter, and there were several guards with us. We went up in the air. It was a good machine, designed by [Igor] Sikorsky,[8] a designer and inventor who had worked in the Russian aircraft industry [before the revolution] and who had ended up in the United States. He made a great many contributions to the American aircraft industry. The cabin was mostly surrounded by glass. The glass was solid and clear. It was as though we were out in the open, with a splendid view. Of course it was a view in one direction only, but even that was enough. As we flew over Washington—for a relatively short time—Eisenhower told me about its various districts. He obviously knew the locality well, having flown over it many times.

As we flew over a green area, he said: "There, Mr. Khrushchev, is where I play golf. I love that game. What do you think of it?"

I answered: "I haven't the slightest idea about that game. We don't have it in our country."

"Oh, it's a very interesting sport and good for people's health."

The helicopter began to descend and landed in a wooded area. The president told me: "This is the Camp David neighborhood" [in the Catoctin Mountains of Maryland]. We went the rest of the way by car, reaching some buildings that looked like wooden barracks. Structures like this are put up in our country when large construction projects are under way. Barracks-style dormitories for the construction workers are built mainly of boards. It was only recently that we abandoned this tradition. I brought up the question, and everyone supported me. I said we shouldn't put up barracks anymore, that we were wasting manpower and materials. After all, when the construction sites were completed we used to burn down these "monuments"—the barracks where workers had lived and had been devoured by bedbugs. Now we build real homes for the workers, four-story and five-story buildings, right from the start.

The buildings at Camp David did look like rough wooden barracks from the outside. On the inside, however, they were finished in quite a different way: the interiors were very nice, though not luxurious. The rooms were furnished in the practical American way, and the layout was good and sensible. The rooms were quite spacious, with all the comforts of home. I was given separate quarters, as were Gromyko and our interpreters. Everyone's accommodations were excellent, complete with all the conveniences. Then Eisenhower suggested that we get acquainted with the neighborhood. Somewhat later, when the American businessman Eric Johnston, who had been close to Franklin Roosevelt, came to the USSR,[9] I learned the history of how these buildings had been put up. There was a change of administrations in America, and Johnston remained as a confidant of the presidents regardless of whether they were Democrats or Republicans. He performed the functions of an unofficial diplomat and came to the Soviet Union several times. I personally met with him twice. He was a man who held liberal positions in the American understanding of the term. He was in favor of peaceful coexistence. He understood the necessity for it, which Dillon and others did not understand. It was Johnston who told me the history of how Camp David was built.

This is what he told me: "During World War II, I went to see Roosevelt one day. The president was sitting there completely exhausted. I was concerned about this, and I said to him: 'Mr. President, you're wearing yourself out. You should arrange to get some rest somehow so that you don't become exhausted.' Roosevelt replied: 'What can I do? I can't leave Washington. There's a constant need for me to consult with people, and I may have to give certain orders.' That's when I gave him this advice: 'Arrange things so that you don't have to leave Washington but you have a chance to break away temporarily and breathe some fresh air.' That was when, on Roosevelt's orders, these buildings were put up. This was where Roosevelt came for rest and recuperation."[10]

Johnston also told me an anecdote he heard from Roosevelt: A farmer needed a hired hand, so he put an ad in the paper stating the conditions of employment. A man showed up and offered his services, and the farmer decided to try him out. He gave him a shovel and told him to dig a trench. The hired hand soon reported: "I've done the chore. Give me another." The farmer ordered him to chop some wood. Soon the hired hand was back: "The chore is done. Give me another." The farmer told him to go through a pile of potatoes, putting the small ones on one side and the large ones on the other. A long time went by, and the farmer figured that the work should have been done by then, but the hired hand still didn't show up. He went to see how things were going and found the worker lying there, passed out. The farmer threw a pail of water over him. The man shook himself and said to the boss: "I can't do this work. Give me work where I don't have to think. When I chopped wood and dug a trench I didn't have to think. But sorting through the potatoes, I had to think about which one was big and which one was little. That kind of work knocked me out cold." Roosevelt added: "So you see, to each his own!"

After Roosevelt all subsequent presidents have made use of this residence outside Washington. Quite recently I read that some foreign visitor met with Nixon at Camp David. The name "Camp David" is especially close to Nixon personally because the name was chosen in honor of Eisenhower's grandson [David Eisenhower], who became Nixon's son-in-law by marrying one of Nixon's daughters [Julie Nixon]. When Gromyko and I arrived at Camp David, we saw right away that it was a suitable place: you could hold meetings and engage in discussions there without any outside interference. Eisenhower immediately told me what he thought would be the most convenient way for us to organize our time there.

He asked: “Would you like to see some movies?”

I told him: “Of course, if they’re good ones.”

“Exactly what kind do you like?” he asked with a smile on his face. When he smiled, his face had a very pleasant expression. He went on: “I personally like cowboy movies, although they are quite empty as far as content goes, but there are a lot of good stunts in them, including with horses. What do you think of such films?”

I said: “When Stalin was still alive, we often had movies shown to us that had been captured from the Germans, and among them were many cowboy movies. After we watched them, Stalin would always curse them because of their subject matter, but on the next day, when we came to the screening room, he would order another cowboy movie.”

Eisenhower was overjoyed: “I’m also very fond of such films. All right then, let’s watch some cowboy movies, as well as others that people might suggest to us, and later we’ll have talks. I invited the U.S. Navy Band here.”

I said: “Well, that’s fine. It will be nice to listen and to see these young people.”

He said: “Yes, while we’re eating we’ll listen to the music of the navy band.”

The reception given us was fairly simple and unpretentious. At official dinners and similar occasions, a certain type of clothing was required, but here that was not the case. We wore our ordinary suits. In general no great formalities were observed. In the mornings we arose earlier than the president; maybe he was up earlier than we were, but he simply didn’t come out of his room. Andrei Andreyevich [Gromyko] and I would meet, because we wanted to exchange views about the questions that had been taken up the previous day and that might arise on the present day, and also what questions we ought to bring up and in what form. We went for a walk on a footpath by ourselves. There was no one else around. Evidently there were guards in the vicinity, but they had been instructed well. They kept to their places, so that we never saw them, and they didn’t become an eyesore or a nuisance. People might ask why Khrushchev and Gromyko had to go for walks in the morning. Couldn’t they have talked in the rooms assigned to them? Ha! Our reasons are well known to anyone in government! We were sure that listening devices had been installed. An exchange of opinions in our rooms would have meant informing those who had put the listening devices in place. We didn’t want to give away what we were thinking about or considering in regard to one or another question, and that’s why we thought it better to talk things over out in the open. There too we tried to guess where listening devices had been set up and where, in our opinion, there were likely to be none. American intelligence is well equipped with technical devices. We kept that in mind and took precautionary measures.

One day when we were at Camp David, the president suggested: "What would you think if I invited you to my farm? It's not far from here, and we can fly there in the helicopter."

I replied: "With pleasure. Is it your own farm?"

"Yes, my own."[11] And so we flew there. We were in the air for some time, and then we landed. As I recall, Eisenhower's family, including his oldest son [John], was living there at the time. The president introduced me to the farm manager: "This is a general who fought with me. After the war, I offered him the position of manager at my farm." He was a man of middle age. I can't say anything more about him. Our acquaintanceship was only a passing one. The manager showed us the property, and our host [Eisenhower] showed me his home and introduced me to his family. In the morning he shared with me why he didn't take his whole family to the White House: "A president is in office only temporarily, and I didn't want my whole family to get used to the comforts that a president enjoys, so that later, when my term as president ends and I return to my own residence, they won't feel any discomfort. Here, of course, we don't have as much luxury."

I agreed with him: "Yes, that makes sense."

His home really was neither luxurious nor very large, although it was obviously the home of a wealthy person. Of course the comforts of his home reflected the substantial income of a rich man, but not a multi-millionaire. Later we took a look at the farm operations. Here the farm manager again performed his functions. We went to the part of the farm set aside for livestock and had a look at the animals. I don't remember how many head of cattle there were, but it was not on a scale such as we have at our collective farms and state farms. The number of cattle didn't make any special impression. They were beef cattle, very solid and well fed, with short legs. Later I became better acquainted with this breed—not dairy cattle, but specifically beef cattle. According to information I was given, the amount of beef that came from these cattle was approximately 60 or 65 percent, roughly the same as with hogs. You get about 70 percent meat from hogs, if I remember correctly the reference data that I once had access to. With a smile on his face Eisenhower presented me with a heifer from his farm as a gift, and I thanked him.

Then he took me out into his fields. We didn't walk through all the fields: he waved his hand to show where the boundaries of his property ran.

Mainly we looked at the crops. There was a kind of grain crop that I had not known of previously: it was a low-growing plant similar to wheat but somehow different. The president explained: "I grow this crop, but I don't harvest the grain; I just cut it all down just before winter. I plant the crop to attract game birds. Partridges, quail, and some other birds come here. When my neighbor's fields have all been harvested, my field still has a crop of grain on it, and this creates good conditions for hunting. This field is set aside for the convenience of hunters, and footpaths have been put in. So I can go hunting here without leaving my farm."

This kind of hunting, I would say, is more than lordly, more than the kind the gentry had. If you want to familiarize yourself with the hunting methods of our landowning nobility before the revolution, read Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace.* I have read the relevant chapters several times, and each time after I read them I feel my temperature rising: that's how vividly and distinctly he describes the hunting. That's how fired up you get, especially if you have a passion for hunting. But this section of the president's farm set aside for hunting didn't inspire the same kind of excitement in me: it was more like a shooting range where people shoot at clay pigeons flying in the air. But here instead of clay pigeons they'd be shooting at game birds attracted by the unharvested grain; meanwhile the hunter knew in advance how far away the birds were and where they were flying. In short, all the conveniences were there, with no need to put out any effort and with a guarantee of success.

I decided to thank the president for the heifer he gave me. Once when he was praising birch wood, I made this proposal: "If you don't object, we'll send you some saplings for planting. I'll ask our forestry specialists to select the best birch saplings, and they'll come here and plant them for you according to your instructions. Let that be an expression of my gratitude to you and a memento of our meeting here on your farm." He thanked me in turn, and I could see that he was pleased. That is what we did later; we sent the saplings. But meanwhile, having drunk some tea, we flew back to Camp David and continued our talks. Now I will present the content of those talks in general form.

Our conversations at Camp David were rather freewheeling; we walked around the grounds and exchanged views. It must be said that Eisenhower in private conversation and during my personal contacts with him proved to be a very good-hearted man and a good conversationalist. During one of our walks, Eisenhower said to me: "I would like to ask you about something, Mr. Khrushchev. Sometimes I encounter difficulties like this: the military men come to me and say, ‘We need so-and-so many billion dollars for such-and-such a project.’ I look at them and say: ‘We don’t have the money.’ But my generals put the pressure on me. ‘Mr. President, if you don’t give us the money and we don’t develop this weapon, we warn you that the USSR is already working on this problem or in general has succeeded in producing such a weapon (they say different things at different times), so that our armed forces are falling behind the Soviets.’”

I asked Eisenhower: “What do you say in reply?”

“I give them what they’re asking for; I have to.”

I said to him: “Mr. President, I encounter the same kind of difficulties. The minister of defense comes to see me in my capacity as chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and says: ‘We need so many million rubles.’ I also spread my hands and say it’s impossible; we don’t have the money. The USSR has great needs; huge sums are required to develop the economy and produce consumer goods; we can’t give you that much.’ Then he says in reply: ‘If you don’t give us the money, I warn you that the U.S. war department has already received budgetary allocations and is carrying out this identical research work. Conditions may arise in which our weapons become drastically inferior to the U.S. weapons.’ What can one do in such a case? I have to agree [to give the money].”

As is customary in such circumstances, we kept smiles on our faces while we talked about all these problems.

At that point Eisenhower proposed: “Let’s agree that in the future neither you nor I will give any more money to such projects. Why should we butt foreheads?”

I said to him: “That is our dream. We have always wanted this kind of thing, and if we can agree on this question, all the nations and peoples will breathe more easily.”

We talked with him, watched movies, and ate together. Then we repeatedly returned to the same issues, but things did not move from dead center. I believe that Eisenhower was sincere when he said that he wanted to come to an agreement. And I was sincere in my reply to him. But the positions of our two countries stood in such extreme opposition to each other that the conditions were simply unfavorable for coming to an agreement. After all, our side held to the proletarian, working-class position of building socialism, but the United States was the mightiest capitalist power and was pursuing other goals, having assumed the role of policeman of the world. In the end I said to Eisenhower: “Let’s come to agreement on the following basis: we will consider our chief goal to be mutual disarmament, and the chief principle in our relations to be noninterference in the affairs of other countries." This was a freewheeling conversation, not an official negotiation session, but it was very important. Nevertheless, our relations soon worsened, and the tension between us reached a white-hot pitch.

What other questions did we discuss? We continued to talk about lend-lease, until both sides had exhausted the subject. Each side had presented its point of view in detail, but no rapprochement occurred. Dillon, as I have said, expressed an unfriendly attitude, because he understood that if we were given credits or loans, they would strengthen our economy and would contribute to our industrial development. That was not in keeping with the plans of the American monopolies. Eisenhower made some remarks from which it was clear that he and Dillon had the same position, the official position of the U.S. government. But the lend-lease dispute was not the main question before us, and we did not return to it directly at Camp David.

The main question was a disarmament agreement. I saw that Eisenhower was seriously concerned about this subject and felt that he was not just putting on, that he really wanted to come to an agreement, so that a war would not break out. It was up to the two superpowers to reach agreement before all else. He expressed himself as follows: "I am a military man, I have been in military service all my life, and I fought in the war, but I fear war very much and would like to do everything possible to avoid it. Above all, we need to come to an agreement with you. That is the main thing. If we don't want a war, then we have to come to agreement with the Soviet Union!"

I replied: "Mr. President, nothing would make me happier than an agreement with you to rule out any war between our countries and consequently a world war."

But how could we reach agreement concretely? This question preoccupied us greatly. Other questions remained secondary: how to improve our relations, develop trade, and establish economic, scientific, cultural, and other ties.

We knew their position and they knew ours. And I couldn't see that anything would change, that any shifts of position would take place. Therefore I had no hope that we might come to agreement on the main question, even though both sides understood that war should be ruled out, and more specifically that thermonuclear weapons should be banned. The American side insisted that international monitoring and inspection should be established. But at that time there was no way we could agree to that kind of monitoring and inspection. I emphasize that we could not at that time. That's why we wanted to come to an agreement on an end to nuclear-weapons testing, which we considered possible without international inspection and monitoring. After all, any nuclear explosion can be detected nowadays because of the advanced technological devices available. This kind of monitoring can be carried out without installing any devices on the territory of the opposing country. It can be done simply by monitoring from your own territory or from the territory of your allies.

The Americans had surrounded us with military bases and were always watching us and listening to us, so that in fact they had already established the kind of monitoring they were talking about. Still, they insisted they wanted to send inspectors onto our territory, although such inspectors did not have to be from the United States [that is, they could be from another country acting as a third party]. However, we could not accept international monitoring and inspection. Now that I am retired, I have begun to rethink this question. My opinion now is that such monitoring and inspection is possible without harming our defenses because it would be done on a mutual basis. Back then, we were lagging behind substantially in the matter of accumulating nuclear weapons, and we didn't have the necessary number of missiles to deliver those weapons. We couldn't reach the United States with our planes either, and that left us weaker. Of course we were able to attack the allies of the United States in Europe and Asia. We could have blown them to smithereens.[12] I am referring to the allies of the United States in Europe and Asia where there were U.S. bases. But the economic potential of the United States itself was beyond the range of our [nuclear] weapons. Naturally, monitoring and inspection on the ground would not be to our advantage: it would give the United States the opportunity to count up what we had, using simple arithmetic, and conclude that we were weaker. And it would occur to them that this was the most advantageous time to put an end to us by means of war. Tomorrow would be too late for them. We understood this, and we could not agree to have inspections on our territory.

The Americans also insisted on an expanded exchange of tourists, and they also proposed an exchange program in the sciences, so that their scientists could come to our country and work at our scientific research institutions and Soviet scientists could do the same at U.S. scientific institutions. They also suggested that there be an extensive student exchange and that our factory managers go to their country for additional training. This was quite a positive thing, and we could derive many benefits from it. It would do us a lot of good to borrow from their experience in management and in the organization of production. They had further proposals, aimed at opening the borders, to increase the exchange of people between our two countries; also the establishment of arrangements under which American literature would go on sale in our country and our literature would be sold in the United States, all on a mutual basis. In principle, we could have accepted any of their proposals other than monitoring and inspection, but inwardly we were not prepared for that. We had not yet freed ourselves from the legacy of the Stalin era, when every foreigner was seen as an enemy who had not yet been exposed, one who had come to our country only for the purpose of recruiting Soviet citizens or spying.

That's how we had been trained, and we had not yet freed ourselves from this Stalinist baggage. Stalin considered all this the waging of the class struggle by means other than war and thought that it was the most intense form of the class struggle. Stalin suffered from lack of confidence in his own people, underestimating the inner power of resistance of Soviet people [to outside influence]. He assumed that at the very first meeting with a foreigner our citizens would capitulate and allow themselves to be won over by material goods or by other types of influence that could be exerted. This is really amazing, but unfortunately that's the way it was. This was a psychological illness Stalin suffered from. It was not by accident that he kept telling us that we could not stand up to the enemy. He kept saying: "Once I die you're all going to perish. The enemy will mow you down like so many partridges." When the Americans insistently urged that each side, the USSR and the United States, should conduct aerial reconnaissance over the other's territory, we could not agree with that either, for the reasons that I have already mentioned. At that time the United States was stronger than we were in nuclear weapons. We had missiles, but not in sufficient number as of that time. We could conduct aerial reconnaissance over Western Europe only, that is, over the territory of U.S. allies, but from our territory we could not make flights over the United States. We didn't have that capability. The possibilities open to each side would prove to be unequal, and we could not agree to that.

For our part, we made some specific new proposals to Eisenhower: to specify certain border areas of the USSR and of the NATO countries, where each side could conduct aerial reconnaissance as well as inspection on the ground. We proposed a fairly extensive territory along our western borders, above all on our own soil and in East Germany, where our troops were stationed, and we asked for a corresponding arrangement on the part of the Western countries. We took other initiatives as well, but we were unable to come to agreement on any of them. Certain specific proposals had been formulated that we had sent to the president of the United States in advance. I don't remember now exactly which questions became the stumbling blocks.

We tried to take those questions up again, but nothing came of it. Our positions were too far apart at that time.

Let me say this about the question of peace on earth. That is the question of question. It was, and it remains that. We ended the war with the total defeat of Nazi Germany, but we did not sign a peace treaty with it. Its status remained one of an occupied country, occupied by us and by the Western powers. Later they had allowed the West Germans to establish their own state—the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). But the occupying troops remained on both West German and East German soil, although their status changed; that is, they were no longer occupation forces but the troops of friendly countries. Two military blocs arose: in the West, the North Atlantic Treaty organization (NATO); in the socialist countries, the Warsaw Pact. But as before, there was no peace treaty with Germany. Thus our troops and theirs remained facing each other and still do.

We also had different interpretations regarding West Berlin. In our view, since it was on the territory of the German Democratic Republic (GDR; that is, East Germany), it should remain separate from the FRG, a separate political body. The Western powers insisted that West Berlin should belong to the FRG (West Germany). Matters ended up with East Germany's sovereignty being violated. Without prior arrangement West Germany was provided the opportunity of holding government sessions in West Berlin. This was a way of asserting de facto that it was part of West Germany. Here combustible material was building up that at any moment could burst into flames. Therefore we proposed: "Let's sign a peace treaty, making West Berlin a 'free city.'" To put it briefly, we made various proposals, but all with the condition that there should actually exist two separate German states, each of which would be recognized internationally and accepted into the United Nations, as well as establishing diplomatic relations with each other.

The United States did not agree to this and still does not agree. From the other direction we too will not agree to what they want: they want unification of Germany, but in a form in which the GDR would be swallowed up by West Germany. They want a united Germany on a capitalist basis, a Germany that without question would become an ally of the Western powers. That position is absolutely unacceptable to us. We think it is an incorrect approach. We could agree to that only if it was forced on us. For our part, since we consider ourselves fairly strong and do not wish to agree to voluntary self-destruction, we could not agree with the position the West was insistently urging upon us. Therefore any real possibility of agreement on this question during my stay in the United States did not arise.

The USSR was interested in trade. There was a U.S. congressional resolution (which still exists today; it has not been retracted or annulled) banning trade or the establishment of any kind of business relations with the USSR. There is a list of products and items that are forbidden. In effect all major items are banned except for canned meat or something like that, which they would be happy to sell wherever they can to earn some money.[13] I have already recounted how this question was viewed by the president at the White House when Dillon was present, my chief opponent on questions of trade. In our meeting at Mr. Harriman's house, also nothing came of this question, although we appreciated his efforts and viewed him as more realistic than the others. Harriman is a big capitalist. He knows our system well and favors peaceful coexistence. He wanted to encourage the development of commercial contacts and economic and scientific ties between our two countries, but the conversations we had with the capitalists who gathered at his home showed that, for the time being, this was unrealistic; they were not yet ready. It was not by chance that his guests would ask us ironically: "What can you sell us, Mr. Khrushchev, what kind of goods? From us you can buy quite a number of different products of interest to you, but what do you have to sell us?" Of course this was a difficult question for us. Formerly we had sold them manganese, but then they began buying manganese from Turkey. With the help of American capital, Turkey expanded its mining of manganese. Manganese deposits also began to be exploited in other countries, so that U.S. industry was entirely able to meet its needs without us. Our manganese lost the value that it previously had. One of Harriman's guests asked: "Is there a lot of demand for your crabs?" It was a mocking question because a special resolution had been passed forbidding the import of Soviet crabs into the United States because supposedly they were the product of "slave labor" in the USSR, and so they were boycotting our crabs. Try to argue that one! In our country, supposedly, we have "slave labor." Meanwhile, in the capitalist countries all items of value are supposedly produced in some other way [that is, by free labor]. Is that so? Are things so completely different there? . . .[14]

So then, we couldn't even sell them crabs and vodka. Incidentally, even if we could sell those products, we wouldn't earn much, although if the Americans would agree to it, trade between our countries could begin. The opportunities are there. The USSR needs to acquire various types of equipment, items of interest to us to successfully speed up our industrial development. And since we have gold mines, we could pay for the equipment with gold, but they refuse to sell it to us even for gold.

Thus, when we began to sort through the specific matters of interest to both sides, matters requiring some sort of resolution, we ran into obstacles that we couldn't overcome. These obstacles prevented any rapprochement, but we couldn't clear them away. And I suddenly sensed that Eisenhower had gone limp. He had the look of a man who has fallen through an ice hole; he was soaking wet, and water was dripping from his brow. Evidently I didn't look any better. On the other hand maybe I did look a little better, because I hadn't nursed any illusions ahead of time. We had had no hope, on this very first trip, of removing all the obstacles on the road toward economic rapprochement and the establishment of trade with the capitalist countries. We wanted to introduce ourselves and have a look at the United States and to demonstrate that we were strong-willed and would not just give in; we would not make just any old one-sided concession that America might demand. Of course we felt aggrieved by the situation. We wanted to settle the questions in dispute between us, but we saw that the conditions for this had not yet matured.

We also raised the question (and it was one we always raised) of the withdrawal of troops from foreign territories and the elimination of foreign military bases. And we proposed that military alliances be dissolved, eliminating both NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Here again the Americans were not ready or willing. Even when we proposed this, we felt that the conditions were not yet ripe for it either. It was a propaganda move on our part. We had made such proposals before, even before my trip to America. At that time we had good relations with China. I met with Mao Zedong and we exchanged views. He already knew about this proposal from the press and from information we had provided, and he expressed his doubts: "It is hardly worthwhile to move in that direction now. If they accept this proposal, you will have to withdraw your troops from the GDR; then it will not be able to ensure its independence; it will collapse, and we will lose it." At that time Mao still said "we." That is, the interests of all the socialist countries were the same, including those of the Soviet Union and China, and they all held the same views.

I explained to him that the agreement would be mutual: the Americans, French, and British would also withdraw their troops from West Germany. But Mao thought that the results would not be of equal value, that there was an absence of equivalence in the proposal. It may be that there was some sound thinking in his mind then. But I objected: "We are doing this for propaganda purposes, because we are certain that the United States will not accept this now. And by the time their understanding develops fully, the GDR will already be something different, with greater capabilities, and it will be able to provide for the security of the socialist system [within its borders] using its own internal forces and resources. If an invasion came from the West, we would come to the GDR's assistance. This is especially because in the future their capabilities and resources will be greater. That's why this proposal doesn't weaken us; on the contrary, it strengthens us from the point of view of our propaganda offensive against the capitalist world, our campaign for peaceful coexistence with the widest possible mobilization of public opinion—which is a very big base of support for what we are advocating."

To return to the subject of Camp David, our conversations gradually ran their course. We were approaching the end of our visit, and we had achieved nothing in actuality. What kind of communiqué could there be to sum up the visit? I sensed that Eisenhower felt discouraged over this also, but there was nothing I could do to help him.[15] Lunchtime came, and we had decided after lunch to return to Washington. Eisenhower suggested: "Let's go from Camp David to Washington by car, so that you can see that part of the country." I agreed. It was interesting for me to see how crowded the roads were. I had read a lot about that, but wanted to see it for myself. The meal was a ceremonious occasion, but the atmosphere at the table was like being in a house where someone is deathly ill. The same kind of feeling prevailed on both sides, but the president seemed to feel it to an even greater extent. It was like a funeral dinner, not a wedding banquet. We had simply made contact [and that was all]. Really it was neither a wedding nor a funeral, as the saying goes. Apparently the president had gone out in front of his colleagues, was a little bit ahead of his time, when he decided to invite us, and now he felt that his hopes had not been justified, because no agreement had been reached. I repeat that there could have been agreement, but it was necessary to take realistic and rational steps toward that end. If you made an agreement without any concessions from your side, that would mean you were trying to force the other side to capitulate. When the United States invited us, it took an initiative after many long years of ideological warfare that we had been engaged in. By itself the invitation should not have given them any hope that they could force us to capitulate. On the contrary, our positions had been strengthened. Our country was unassailable, and we were standing as solid as granite.

So anyhow, we had lunch. Then we got in a car to make the trip together with Eisenhower. I don't remember how many times we exchanged remarks as we were driving, but we spoke sparingly. There was no flow of conversation. Questions were asked about the natural surroundings, and we talked about other small things that might have impressed us along the way. As my host, Eisenhower explained everything to me [that we saw along the way], but that was just an expression of obligatory courtesy, as though forcing himself to say things which at another time might remain unsaid. We arrived in Washington. Eisenhower took me to the place where I was staying [Blair House] and then went off to the White House. That meant it was all over, right?

Toward the end of my stay in the United States, it was reported to me that a group of American capitalists wanted to hold a dinner in my honor and asked for my consent.[16]

After the earlier meeting in New York I had no particular enthusiasm for such an event, because that earlier meeting had been organized to include quite an extensive group. A large number of people had attended, but no real exchange of opinions had occurred. Here again an official reception by businessmen was in the offing, but it would be a small group. I was told that it would be worth going, nevertheless, because some influential people were expected to attend. The invitation specified some fifteen or twenty people. I gave my consent, and the dinner was arranged not far from our embassy. It was held in the evening, as is customary in their country, with candles, soft light, semi-darkness. We sat at a dinner table. There was food and drink in moderate quantities. However, that wasn't really important. Businessmen know how to drink, but they don't overdo it; they know how to conduct themselves in company.

Every possible kind of question was asked of me. I replied to those that deserved an answer, and I replied jokingly to questions that were meant as jokes. One old man, who was quite decrepit, but who was very wealthy and influential, as I was told, kept asking how much gold we produced and why we didn't trade with America for gold. He thought they would sell us goods in exchange for gold.[17] Of course we did mine gold, but we kept it in reserve "for a rainy day," because it was always possible that bad times might come. Gold would always be tempting to the capitalist world. Also, we did not really mine that much gold, just enough to satisfy our needs for items that we could pay for only with gold. Our needs were much greater [than what we could pay for with gold]. That's why trade on the basis of mutuality was required. Only that could create the possibility of an extensive exchange of goods, as well as ideas and cultural values. I gave my answer along those lines. People seemed to be satisfied with my reply. In fact they found my reply witty and not only laughed, but roared with laughter. What was it that I said to produce this result? I said: "Mr. So-and-So (I don't remember his name), I will answer your question about gold. Are you familiar with the statement made at one time by our leader Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, that we should hold onto our gold for the time being? At a certain stage of development of human society [Lenin said] gold will lose its value, and therefore gold should be kept in reserve, to make public toilets out of. That's what we're keeping our gold for, and when the time comes and communist society has been established, gold will lose its value as a means of exchange, and then, to carry out Lenin's testament, we will use gold to decorate the public toilets under communist society. That's why we're holding on to our gold."

The capitalists present gave free rein to their lung power; they reacted to my remarks with noisy good humor. I don't remember how the man who asked the question reacted. He then began to ask new questions: about our country, its political structure, and made some absurd remarks. I replied accordingly, allowing myself to use irony. The audience understood it and took it well. One of the capitalists came over to me later and whispered in my ear: "Mr. Khrushchev, don't worry. We were rather embarrassed ourselves by his foolish questions. He's very old. But we all understand that your answers were correct, and we approve of them." It was pleasant for me to hear that. Unfortunately I cannot cite any particular subjects that might have given us hope for the development of business contacts between our two countries. Nevertheless, it was a useful meeting, if only because I was able to listen directly to what they had to say and they could hear what I had to say firsthand, and thus they obtained a more exact and specific grasp of our political positions. Personal contacts and personal acquaintance always produce positive results.

I remember what was said about the importance of personal contacts by an American named [Marshall] MacDuffie.[18] He was in Kiev right after the war, representing an organization that was helping countries that had suffered from the Nazi invasion [the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, UNRRA]. The head of this organization was [Fiorello] LaGuardia,[19] the mayor of New York, who was also a friend of Franklin Roosevelt. LaGuardia was of Italian origin.[20]

MacDuffie had a good attitude toward us, and he tried to accommodate us to the extent that he could. What we wanted from him didn't jibe with the instructions he had received concerning the range of goods he was allowed to supply to us. The United States was offering us leftovers from the war: canned meat and other consumer-type products. We were trying to obtain machinery, and we needed large pipe, with a diameter of 500 millimeters, to build the first major gas pipeline in the USSR from western

Ukraine to Kiev. We asked for modern machinery to dig the trenches for laying the pipe, and that we did receive. Machines that covered the pipe with insulation were an especially valuable item. Our specialists were seeing such machines for the first time; before that they didn't know the machines existed. These machines helped lay the groundwork later for all our pipeline work. [We copied these machines and began production of them in the Soviet Union.]

After the organization I have mentioned was shut down [UNRRA's European operations ended on June 30, 1947], MacDuffie came to the Soviet Union, and I received him [on November 14, 1954]. He said: "Mr. Khrushchev, if only you could come to our country and show everyone that you are the same kind of person we are. Americans think the Soviet people are somehow different, or that they aren't human at all. Direct communication would have great importance for bringing us closer together. The fact that you fought together with the Americans against Hitler and that you were the main force that defeated Hitler's military machine and that you paid with your blood in behalf of all who were fighting against Hitler—that's been forgotten. As the saying goes, the honeymoon is over."

Yes, the Cold War was raging, after being unleashed by Churchill.[21] The indoctrination machine run by monopoly capital, which controls the means of influencing people's minds, had carried things to a point where we were no longer considered human. And MacDuffie expressed his views about that. If we take into consideration what he said about his fellow Americans, then it was unquestionably beneficial for us to meet with the group of businessmen in Washington. My questions and my answers, and the character of this meeting, were described by journalists. Later a collective work recounting my trip through the United States was published in the USSR.[22] I think this book was fairly objective and useful. I sometimes meet people now who are familiar with the book, and they say they read it with great pleasure and have kept it as a memento of that time.

I also took the liberty of traveling around Washington in order to get to know the city. I even took walks on foot, going short distances from my residence. The city is wealthy, clean, beautiful, and green. It is like one of our provincial towns but more wealthy. It is not New York; and it does not have that constant noise of a big city. I liked very much the way Washington was laid out, and I liked its architecture. It has fewer skyscrapers; its buildings are solid and of good quality. During one of my walks one day (and the journalists were always on duty and therefore accompanied me, recording every step for posterity), I went to the Lincoln Memorial.[23] I entered the structure, removed my hat, and made a bow to show my respect for the man who had taken up arms against the slave owners. I wanted to offer the respect that was due to this former rail-splitter from a former miner of former Russia. The American journalists played this all up afterward, giving it a good tone.

In keeping with our itinerary Eisenhower gave a reception in my honor.[24] Was it a reception or a dinner? No, most likely it was a dinner. We sat at a table with dishes in front of us. And when we went from the reception room to the dining room to take our seats someone whispered in my ear that I should take the president's wife by the hand and go in with her. The president of the United States did the same thing with Nina Petrovna. We were treated to dishes that were plentiful and very nourishing. The Americans cook tasty dishes. When they brought in the steaks, they turned out to be as large as the plates they were lying on. I took one look at them and turned to Eisenhower: "Mr. President, it's impossible to eat so much!" He burst into a smile: "Mr. Khrushchev, I assure you that you will even ask for seconds." And he was right. It was prepared very tastily. I ate the steak with pleasure and, to give the president some satisfaction, asked for seconds. He chuckled and said: "There, you see!"

At the table you don't negotiate; there is only small talk. People eat and propose toasts, and so the time goes by. Afterward, when we were asked to go into a separate room, [the smoking room] where coffee would be served, we broke up into smaller groups. I sat at a small table with the president and some admiral. Eisenhower recommended the man as his good friend. There were five of us at the little table, but I don't know who the others were. We exchanged opinions on random topics. The admiral, who made a constant display of politeness, said: "I would like to ask you to accept a gift from me, from my company." As I recall, it was two heifers and a steer of the same breed that Eisenhower presented to me [later].

I immediately said: "I gladly accept your valuable gift, and most of all I appreciate your attentiveness toward me."

Actually that's all that has remained in my memory about that dinner. Nothing else happened that was worthy of note. We had already exchanged opinions on all important questions elsewhere and among a different group of people.

Ambassador Menshikov, who knew the United States well, helped me with advice and reference material, providing me with background information whenever a meeting was in the offing. He knew the people there better than anyone else did, and it was his obligation to know such things. That's why he had the staff he did. That's what they were for. He fulfilled all the requirements of his appointed office and was useful to me. At his request I had a general meeting with the staff of the Soviet embassy [in Washington], brought them greetings from our native country, and wished them well.

The only thing I wish to add here is about Vice President Nixon, but it's in regard to our earlier encounter with him. This happened before my trip to the United States, in summer 1959, at an American exhibition of items from everyday life and culture. It was set up in Sokolniki Park in Moscow. Nixon came to the Soviet Union to open the exhibition. The exhibition was not a success, because, as it turned out, its organizers did not have a serious attitude toward it: its aim was purely propagandistic, because it consisted mainly of photographs and exhibits by certain American graphic artists and sculptors. Most of these exhibits were in the modernist style. It seemed to me that the exhibition as a whole did not make a good impression on most of those who visited it, but rather it repelled them. Undoubtedly it also had some admirers. In every society, at every stage of a society's development, various ideas arise: both progressive ideas and other kinds, including perversions. Possibly it was this latter aspect that pleased some of the visitors. Previously I had heard a lot about modern art. (Our people who traveled abroad in an official capacity had informed me about it.) So I decided to go have a look for myself, to see what these new cultural trends amounted to.

Even before the opening of the exhibition [in May 1959], when the Americans were just building their pavilion, I went by to see it. I was interested in how it was put together from components previously manufactured in the United States and then shipped to Moscow. I liked this: they had accomplished this practical task rationally and constructively. Nixon opened the exhibition. I don't remember which other members of our leadership attended. We looked around the pavilion. It was covered with diagrams and photographs, and all of this was done very colorfully, in order to make an impression. [As I have said,] the exhibition had a purely propagandistic character and did not satisfy the needs of our leading industrial, technical, and party cadres. Our attitude toward it was critical and challenging. For us, items of practical use took the first place, and objects providing aesthetic satisfaction came after.

I looked over the section of the pavilion devoted to artists. Not only did it not make a good impression on me; I found it repugnant. What I saw in the sculpture section simply astounded me. There was a sculpture of a woman. I don't have the necessary eloquence to describe what was portrayed there: it was some kind of deformed female body without proper proportion, simply an impossible monstrosity. The American journalists asked me how I liked it (and they knew my attitude toward this genre in the arts); it was as though they were trying to egg me on. So I answered: "How would the mother of this sculptor regard a son who has depicted woman in such a form? This person is probably some sort of degenerate. I think it's obvious that it's not normal. Because a person who looks at nature normally could not portray the female form in this manner."

Other exhibits also made a bad impression on me. From my point of view there was nothing there that could be put to practical use. There was virtually no new technology. But we were literally chasing after any kind of innovation, and we expected that the Americans would show us something. After all, they could have put many interesting things on display. At the exhibition there was an American kitchen on display. I stopped in to look at it as I was passing by. Later our conversation [with Vice President Nixon] served as a subject for the publications of the journalists for a long time. When U.S.-Soviet relations were discussed, the "kitchen debate" between Khrushchev and Nixon always came up. Our conversation dragged on for a long time. When I began to look at the items on display in the kitchen and at the kitchen appliances, I saw quite a few things of interest, but there were also some things that were obviously there for no good reason. For example, one of the items I singled out—a subject Nixon and I spent some time on—was an automatic squeezer for lemon juice. I asked a question, and that's how it all started: "Mr. Nixon, I think the organizers of this exhibition don't have a serious attitude toward the USSR and are showing us things that are not the most important. Here's an automatic device for squeezing juice. But for tea you only need a few drops. Does this kind of automatic device make a housewife's work easier or does it not? In my opinion, it does not: it takes less time and labor to simply cut the lemon with a knife."

Although I grew up among miners, lemons were available to us, and we bought them. We often drank tea with lemon. A lemon cost ten kopecks. The lemons came from Turkey, as I recall. We also drank tea with milk. That custom was apparently borrowed from the British who owned the mines. Our workers rubbed elbows with the lower level British personnel. So I knew something about lemons, and I continued: "You can do the job quicker by hand than with this complex apparatus that you have on display. What are you showing us that for? Do you want to lead us astray with a display of unrealistic objects?" He argued back and did so very heatedly. I answered in the same spirit because in an argument I also get my blood up *(vkhozhu v azart)*. Our argument blazed away, becoming long and drawn out. Of course the journalists accompanying us noticed this. They had their tape recorders with them and recorded it all. For a long time after that the journalists played up our argument in the bourgeois press.

In the end I asked this question: “Mr. Nixon, are the American kitchen appliances and devices that you have on display here already in use in your country? Do housewives there use such things?”

You have to give him credit; he told the truth: “No, these are the first models, prototypes.”

Laughter resounded all around. And I said: “Then it’s all clear. You’re demonstrating your innovations, but you haven’t introduced them into everyday life in your own country. What did you think—that we weren’t capable of figuring things out and would be delighted by any kind of nonsense?”

It was a sharp and bitter dispute, seemingly about the kitchen, but in reality about the two systems, socialism and capitalism. The Americans wanted to show how well organized everyday life was in their country; they wanted to stun the imaginations of the Russians. And they succeeded in part. There were a great many new things at the exhibition, including good ones that deserved to be transferred to our socialist conditions. But there were also items that obviously had no realistic basis, devices that they themselves did not use. In general Nixon conducted himself as the representative of a major capitalist country. A high level of technological thought, inventiveness, scientific discoveries, everything new that moves culture forward was on display, but only in photographs. The only real-life item was the kitchen, along with a few other things.

Before the opening of the exhibition, Nixon went to a peasants’ market. He behaved arrogantly. He offered money to some worker he saw there. The worker demonstratively refused the money and told Nixon off in no uncertain terms.[25]

In our country Nixon was seen as a man of reactionary views hostile to the Soviet Union. Ideologically he was an apprentice of the reactionary McCarthy.[26]

After I was already retired on a pension, Nixon visited the Soviet Union again, this time as a private individual, together with his wife. They traveled around our country and on the way back came to Moscow. Nixon tried to find out where I was living and wanted to visit me. He came to my Moscow apartment on the assumption that I was in the city, but he was told I wasn’t there.[27] I found out about this after he had left the USSR, and I regret that we didn’t meet. I was touched by his attentiveness, especially in view of the fact that previously our relations had been quite strained. Most often when we met we exchanged cutting remarks. But here he had made a display of human concern toward me, and I regretted that I didn't have the opportunity to shake his hand.

Time was running out for my stay in the United States. We made preparations to depart, and at the appointed hour we went to the air base [Andrews Air Force Base]. The same kind of ceremony was held as when we had landed: the president[28] accompanied us, we were surrounded by an honor guard, and farewell speeches were given. In short, all the procedures that are standard for every country were done according to protocol. But this was all done at a very high level and with great ceremony. The soldiers wore elegant uniforms, the air base was decked out artistically, and a platform was ready for the speakers. Everything was shining brightly and decorated with flowers. My eye was struck by the brightness of the red carpets. And the ceremony was arranged magnificently. We went up the ramp the same way we had when we disembarked from the plane, with the help of a temporary section that was added.

I have already mentioned that during my trip around the United States I was offered the use of a Boeing-707, the president's plane [Air Force One], a very good, powerful plane with remarkable conveniences and a separate salon, isolated from other sections of the plane. But our TU-114 was just as well equipped. It had a turboprop engine, whereas the Boeing had a turbojet engine. The noise in the section of the [American] plane where I had been seated had been less [than in our plane]. Our plane was geared for long-distance flights, and "sleeping quarters" were provided, so that I could sleep at night. In Washington the Americans looked over our TU-114, and we were able to shine in the eyes of the Americans; we knew how to build our own planes, which met all the needs for long-distance flights and provided comforts that were not bad at all. It made a big impression on the Americans.

It's true that just before our plane flew off there occurred an incident of a provocative nature. Literally only minutes remained, counting down to the time of our flight's departure when suddenly the chief of our guards informed me that some unknown person had warned over the phone that a bomb had been planted in Khrushchev's airplane, and with that the person hung up. Our security chief assured me that we should go ahead and fly! He was absolutely convinced that this was a provocation. Everything had been inspected carefully during the loading of the plane. Even in people's personal belongings or luggage, no inappropriate object could have made it on board the plane, especially not a bomb. No unauthorized persons had been allowed to get near the plane, and there had been people on duty around the clock [guarding the plane]. I said: “All right, let’s fly.” As everyone knows, we completed the flight over the vast expanse of the ocean safely and landed in Moscow. That’s the kind of nasty little thing the Americans tossed at us. They wanted to test our nerves and see if we would give in to panic. But the dirty trick didn’t work, and those who organized the provocation were unable to derive any satisfaction from it.

In that same year, in October 1959, I returned from China to Vladivostok and inspected the bay there that is called the Golden Horn.[29] [In Vladivostok] a big, boisterous, spontaneous public meeting occurred. I was asked to tell about my trip to the United States. During the Russian civil war the Americans had landed troops at the Bay of the Golden Horn, and the older people remembered it well. Some of them had fought in the ranks of the guerrillas, or “partisans,” against the interventionists.[30] I told about my trip. There was a very stormy positive reaction on the part of the people. Thunderous applause echoed amid cries of “Hurrah!” and I understood it all correctly. I didn’t take credit for this personally. Each of us represents our country at some point in one or another post that we occupy in life. The labor of the Soviet people had raised impoverished Russia to great heights, which forced others to recognize our greatness and had obliged the U.S. government to invite our delegation to come visit. America had begun to seek out possibilities for improving relations with the Soviet Union. That’s what people were applauding for.

People will say, well, it didn’t work out! That’s not exactly true. Not everything works out all at once. But we broke the ice that had frozen our relations. Further work is now required, by the people and by our diplomats, to clear away the remaining fragments of the ice that has been broken, to make some clear pathways, and find avenues for improving our relations. That process did begin and is continuing now. We need to know how to evaluate it with great sensitivity, so as not to make the state of affairs worse, but at the same time not to make unnecessary concessions. Because if relations are based on concessions and the subordination of others to one’s policies, one’s opponent will quickly guess what one is up to. A shameful policy like that would lead to failure. However, we represented our people and nation with pride. We were absolutely convinced of the rightness of our policies and defended them worthily. And now when I recall what went on then, I am proud of that time and of the policies we pursued, as well as the successes we won on the diplomatic front.

1. This episode actually took place at the beginning of the visit. On the morning of September 16, 1959, just after his arrival in the United States, Khrushchev, together with U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson, visited the Department of Agriculture's Beltsville Agricultural Research Center at Beltsville, Maryland, near Washington. [SK]

2. Christian A. Herter (1895–1966) began his diplomatic career during World War I. In 1922 he visited the Soviet Union as a member of a mission of the American Aid Administration. After World War II he played a leading role in implementing the Marshall Plan. From 1953 to 1957 he was governor of the state of Massachusetts, from 1957 to 1959 deputy secretary of state, and from 1959 to 1961 secretary of state. Thereafter he was chairman of the Atlantic Council and the U.S. special representative to General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

3. Dean G. Acheson (1893–1971) was an assistant to the secretary of state during World War II. He headed the U.S. delegation at the Bretton Woods conference of the United Nations in 1944 and was U.S. representative in the Council of the U.N. Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. As deputy secretary of state from 1945 to 1947, he contributed to the Baruch Plan for control over atomic energy, the Truman Doctrine concerning aid to Greece and Turkey, and the Marshall Plan. As secretary of state from 1949 to 1953, he was one of the organizers of the North Atlantic Treaty and the Mutual Security Program.

4. In an earlier chapter Khrushchev spoke of a lend-lease debt of "$6 billion"; then in another chapter he said the lend-lease debt was $3 billion. The reference here to Stalin's desire to obtain a $3-billion credit from the United States after the war may explain the confusion. A $3-billion lend-lease debt plus a new debt (the hoped-for $3-billion credit) would have added up to $6 billion. [SK]

5. The issue of lend-lease was complicated by Johnson's law of 1934, which prohibited private loans or credits to countries that did not repay old debts to the U.S. Therefore the lend-lease law of March 11, 1941, made possible such loans from the federal budget. The setting of compensation was deferred for consideration by the next president. Out of the $46 billion spent on material supplied under lend-lease up to October 1, 1945, the share of the USSR was $10.8 billion. The American government demanded interest payments of $1.3 billion, later reducing the figure to $0.8 billion. The Soviet government agreed to pay $0.3 billion.

6. C. Douglas Dillon was undersecretary of state for economic affairs in 1958–59. [GS]

7. The phrase in Russian is *Kto kogo?*—literally, "Who will defeat whom?" [GS]

8. Igor I. Sikorsky (1889–1972) was one of the founders of aircraft construction in Russia. In 1908 he created his first autogyro (helicopter) and in 1910 his first airplane, the S-2. In 1912–14 he began work on the first multi-engine aircraft Grand and Russkii Vityaz [Russian Knight] (with two engines) and on the bomber Ilya Muromets (with four engines). In 1919 he emigrated to the United States, established an aircraft firm there in 1923, and constructed another fifteen types of airplane. In 1939 he switched to building helicopters; his best models were the series from S-51 to S-65. He was the first to embark on the creation of floating cranes, amphibian helicopters, and turbo-helicopters. [MN/SK]

9. Eric Johnston was president of the Motion Picture Association of America from 1945 to 1963. Khrushchev received him at Pitsunda in Abkhazia on October 6, 1958. They met again and had a long talk during Khrushchev's visit to the United States. Johnston gave Khrushchev a gift of a pair of tiny white and black Chihuahua dogs, one male and one female. [SK/SS]

10. Under Roosevelt this residence in the Catoctin Mountains was called Shangri La. The original Shangri La was a fictional place in the Himalayas where people never grow old. It was invented by the English author James Hilton for his novel *Lost Horizon* (1933), on which a popular movie was based. [MN/SS]

11. Eisenhower's property, which he had owned since 1950, was located near Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Khrushchev and Eisenhower were there from September 25 to 27, 1959.

12. A more literal rendering of the Russian might be, "We could have turned them into dust and feathers *(pukh i prakh)*." [GS]

13. In March 1948 the U.S. Trade Department introduced discriminatory limitations on trade with the USSR. In July 1948 the U.S. Congress denounced the Soviet-American trade agreement of August 4, 1937. A new Soviet-American trade agreement was signed in Washington on October 18, 1972. [SS]

14. Khrushchev is apparently hinting here at the Marxist concept of "wage slavery" under capitalism—that workers are forced to slave away at any job they can get to avoid poverty and starvation under a "free market" economy. [GS]

15. A joint communiqué was released. It spoke of a planned "exchange of people and ideas" and of a forthcoming return visit by Eisenhower to the USSR (without an exact date).

16. This dinner was at the Sheraton Hotel on September 24, 1959, the day before Khrushchev went to Camp David, not after. [SK]

17. According to the book *Litso k litsu s Amerikoi* (Face To Face with America [Moscow, 1959]), an account of Khrushchev's U.S. visit produced by a team of Soviet reporters, the person who brought

up the subject of gold was F. Courtney, president of the Coty perfume company, which was originally based in France. [SK] However, according to Maria La Gamba, Corporate Communications Coordinator for Coty, Inc., the president of the company at the time of Khrushchev's visit to the United States was Thomas Cooney. [SS] A Soviet reporter may have got his name garbled. [GS]

18. Marshall MacDuffie (1909–67) was chief of an United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) mission in Belorussia and Ukraine in the first half of 1946, residing in Kiev. He visited the USSR again in the fall of 1954, from mid-October to late December, traveling through eight of the fifteen Soviet republics. His notes about this trip came to more than 2,100 typed pages. His shorter published account is *The Red Carpet: 10,000 Miles Through Russia on a Visa from Khrushchev* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1955). [SK/GS]

19. Fiorello G. LaGuardia (1882–1947) was a lawyer and a veteran of World War I. He was one of the authors of the 1932 law that limited judicial interference in trade-union activity. He was mayor of New York from 1933 to 1945, then general director of UNRRA.

20. LaGuardia was a second-generation Italian-American. His father emigrated from Italy to the United States and served in the U.S. Army as a bandmaster. [GS]

21. The opening gun in the Cold War, as Khrushchev mentioned earlier, was Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech at Fulton, Missouri, in early 1946. [GS]

22. This refers to the book *Litso k litsu s Amerikoi* (Face to Face with America [Moscow, 1959]). [GS]

23. This actually occurred at the beginning of Khrushchev's U.S. visit, on the afternoon of September 16. [SK]

24. This actually was on the first day of the visit, September 15, just after his arrival in the United States. [SK]

25. See the detailed account of Nixon's 1959 visit to Moscow in Sergei N. Khrushchev, *Nikita Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower,* 319–26. [SK]

26. Joseph R. McCarthy (1908–57), was first elected in 1946 as Republican senator from Wisconsin. In 1950 and after, he gained great notoriety as an anti—communist witch hunter, his name being linked thereafter with the terms "McCarthyism" and "the McCarthy era"—the late 1940s–early 1950s era of "Red scare" in the United States. Reelected to the Senate in 1952, he became chairman of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, but soon began to be discredited, and was censured by the Senate in December 1954, after which his political influence faded. [GS/SS]

27. Khrushchev was then at his residence in the country to the west of Moscow, at Petrovo-Dalneye. [SK]

28. Actually, it was Vice President Nixon. [SK]

29. Immediately after his return to the USSR from the United States, Khrushchev headed a delegation to China for the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China (October 1, 1949). For Khrushchev's account of that visit to China, see the chapter "Mao Zedong" below. [GS]

30. Some background information is required to explain what Khrushchev is referring to in connection with the rally in Vladivostok—that is, the contrast between Soviet military power in 1959 and the painful memory of U.S. intervention in the Russian Far East (1917–22) and the local guerrilla war by partisans in opposition to U.S. and other foreign intervention in the Russian civil war, which in the Far East lasted until 1922.

On November 24, 1917 (November 11, Old Style)—that is, about two weeks after the establishment of a Soviet government in Petrograd—U.S. intervention began with the entry of the cruiser *Brooklyn* into the harbor of Vladivostok, the Golden Horn Bay. President Woodrow Wilson stated his concern to protect millions of dollars worth of railroad equipment brought to Vladivostok, at the eastern end of the Trans-Siberian railway, by U.S. companies and the U.S. government to aid Russia in the war against Germany. In April 1918, Japanese troops, 70,000 strong, along with British and American forces in smaller numbers, occupied Vladivostok and suppressed the government that had been established by workers' councils (Soviets) in that city. (It is common knowledge, of course, that in World War I, which continued until November 1918, Japan was an ally of the United States, Britain, France, and Italy, who were fighting the Central Powers, the alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey.)

On August 16, 1918, to counteract Japanese influence as well as oppose the Soviet revolution, an American expeditionary force (variously reported as numbering from 8,000 to 12,000 men) landed at Vladivostok, and the headquarters of Gen. William B. Graves, commander of that force, was established in that city. See Graves's 1931 book, *America's Siberian Adventure;* see also, Betty M. Unterberger *America's Siberian Expedition* (1956); and Richard Goldhurst, *The Midnight War: American Intervention in Russia, 1918–20* (1978).

In Russia's Far East during the civil war (which ended by 1921 in most of Russia) the struggle waged by Red partisans against U.S., Japanese, and other intervention—and against foreign-backed, local White forces—reached a culmination in 1920, when the pro- Soviet forces established an independent Far Eastern Republic, based at first in the Lake Baikal region. It was not until October 1922 that these forces won the withdrawal of all foreign troops (mainly the Japanese), defeated the remaining White armies in the region, and retook Vladivostok, making it the capital of the Far Eastern Republic, which then merged with the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. [GS]

THE VISIT TO FRANCE

Now I will tell about my trip to France and my meetings with Monsieur de Gaulle.[1] This trip took place after my 1959 visit to the United States. It was early in 1960, in the winter, but I don't remember now exactly which month.[2] "The month is in the heavens, and the year is in the calendar," as the Zaporozhian Cossacks said in their letter to the sultan of Turkey."[3] I'm referring to a well-known historical document—the letter the Zaporozhian Cossacks wrote to the sultan of Turkey. Of course historians have different views on the matter. Some say there is no original of this letter; others say that it does exist in the archives. Nevertheless I'm proud of the Zaporozhian Cossacks. Their letter was a collective effort. Each one contributed his bit and thought up his own way of putting things, in response to the menace emanating from across the sea.[4] Probably everyone knows the marvelous painting by [Ilya] Repin showing the Cossacks writing this letter.[5]

Well, to get back to the subject, we received an invitation from de Gaulle. I admit I didn't expect it. We had our own conception of General de Gaulle. I knew his name well. It used to show up in our press back when, as I recall, he was still a colonel. He was credited with some new idea concerning the use of mobile tank forces. The press tended to dismiss him as a reactionary, and consequently Soviet citizens were not particularly inclined in his favor. When World War II broke out and France surrendered, signing an armistice with Germany, its new government was soon reestablished in the town of Vichy and began to collaborate with the Germans. At that time de Gaulle fled from France. In England he began to set up a leadership in exile, which was involved in organizing the Resistance movement against the fascist occupation. It was a courageous struggle. He made a worthy showing then as a true patriot and an irreconcilable enemy of Nazism, and he never laid down his arms until the victorious conclusion, the defeat of the enemy by the Allied forces.

Scholars who have studied the history of the Resistance movement often draw comparisons between the role of de Gaulle and the role of the French Communist Party. In my opinion, the working class was the main force resisting the enemy in France. The Communists were the main organizers of local armed groups that carried on the struggle against the Nazi occupation forces. It was also the French Communist Party that suffered the heaviest losses. Jacques Duclos[6] and others of that party were the organizers of the

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This part of the memoirs was dictated in 1970. [SK]

Resistance movement. De Gaulle of course enjoyed special authority both among French military men and within the capitalist class. His was a voice that carried far and made a strong impression. Thus it was that people of different kinds united for the sake of a common goal—to repel the enemy and sweep French soil clean of the occupiers, all for the sake of victory. After the war de Gaulle headed the French government, and we gave him the credit he deserved.

Generally speaking, our attitude toward de Gaulle was ambiguous. After all, before the war we had regarded him as a negative figure, although he was an innovator as a military man and was seeking out new tactics for operations using tank forces. I don't know to what extent his ideas became a reality, whether the exact kind of tank forces he favored were created in France. In my opinion the resistance that the French army put up against the Germans was insignificant. I won't go into the reasons for that now or analyze what might have caused it. That's a task for military historians, and as the saying goes, that's their department. On the other hand, we all remember that subsequently the French did take part in the war against the fascists. Another thing to de Gaulle's credit is that French pilots fought in the Soviet Union against our common enemy, flying our planes and under our supreme command.[7]

I think that if de Gaulle had ordered his pilots not to fight on our territory, they would have followed his orders. But of course most of the French were fighting in the West, dealing their blows against Hitler's Germany along with the British and Americans.

I don't remember exactly how the French pilots happened to come to our country or what route they traveled, but I definitely don't think that could have happened without the direct consent of de Gaulle. And so this "air regiment" was established.[8] These French pilots fought bravely alongside our pilots. That is also characteristic of de Gaulle. At the critical moment for France he sought contact with us for the sake of smashing Nazi Germany and liberating his homeland. When de Gaulle came to Moscow [December 2–10, 1944], I happened to be there, too, at the very same time. Stalin summoned me and told me about the arrival of this guest. That was the first time I ever saw de Gaulle.

When Stalin told me that de Gaulle had arrived, there was a proud ring to the way he said it. And I understood him. Here was de Gaulle, who was considered an anti-Communist and who, as we wrote in our press, represented reactionary military circles in France, suddenly arriving in the Soviet Union! Stalin held a dinner at his apartment, where he introduced me to de Gaulle.

There were not many people present. Stalin told Molotov that de Gaulle was proposing to sign a treaty with us. All such questions were discussed then by Stalin and Molotov [exclusively]. I don't remember the particular clauses contained in that treaty, but the main thing it dealt with was the renewal of relations between our countries.[9] Back before World War I there had been very warm relations between Russia and France. Then during the 1930s a good treaty was signed between France and us [a nonaggression pact in 1932 and a mutual assistance treaty in 1935–36]. In 1939 everything was reversed.[10] Now our relations were being reestablished, but on a new basis. France was no longer the same as it had been, nor were we.

We interpreted the desire for the signing of a new treaty as the recognition [by de Gaulle] of our strength and of the potential of the socialist system. Of course this was not an inward acceptance [that is, it was acceptance only on the surface]; it was not agreement with our Communist ideas, but the de facto recognition that the socialist system had demonstrated its stability and viability, had strongly resisted the German army's invasion, and was decisively defeating the Germans. Without the Soviet Union the Allies could not have defeated the enemy in that short a time. They would have needed a much longer time and would have had to shed much more blood. The Western Allies followed along in the wake of our army, as the saying goes. Not literally, but it was we who chewed up the military units of the German Wehrmacht. Germany kept diverting more and more of its forces to fight us. Hitler was forced to weaken his defenses along the Atlantic coast. When the United States made its landing [that is, the Anglo-American landing at Normandy in June 1944], Hitler was already on his last legs. After that landing the United States took part in the final operations leading to Germany's defeat and was able to demand the unconditional surrender of Germany mainly because the German army had been bled white by the Soviet army.

De Gaulle demonstrated an understanding of our role, more so than the Americans and especially more than Churchill. After the dinner [on December 9, 1944] Stalin invited him to watch a movie. In those days he was always inviting people to watch movies. De Gaulle thanked him but declined, saying that he was busy that evening. He wanted to work on the document that was going to be signed. The room [in the Kremlin] where Stalin watched movies was relatively small. As always, fruit was brought to us in that room, and as an exceptional treat [to mark the occasion] champagne was also served. Stalin had also invited the French pilots from the Normandy-Neman "air regiment."[11] Stalin played host to the pilots and talked with them very politely. He himself had had a lot to drink; he was even swaying on his feet. We felt very uncomfortable and glanced at each other. I'm referring to Molotov and myself, who were present. I don't remember who else was there. We were concerned that Stalin would end up with a bad reputation from the way he was behaving. He hugged the Frenchmen, drank some more himself, and urged them to drink. The French could easily have concluded that he was a drunkard. We didn't want them to think that, although such a conclusion would have been absolutely correct. We felt very pained in a moral sense, but there was nothing we could do. In general no one could stop Stalin from doing whatever he wanted, and no one even tried. To do so would mean to become his personal enemy.

Molotov left the screening room to meet with the French foreign minister [Georges Bidault][12]; the foreign minister had also come there [with de Gaulle, to the Kremlin]. Molotov and the prime minister went off by themselves in order to work out agreement on the document, the details of which I don't remember. Some conflicts had arisen over one clause in the document. Our side didn't agree with de Gaulle's formulation, and de Gaulle didn't agree with ours. In the end one side made a concession to the other, or else some elastic phrase that would cover both points of view was found to replace the conflicting formulations, and the treaty was signed. I don't remember exactly where it was signed—whether it was right there in the screening room or somewhere else, but the circumstances were not particularly ceremonial. De Gaulle bore himself in a proud and dignified manner. He never bent his back or bowed his head, but walked around like a man who had swallowed a yardstick. His outward appearance gave the impression of a man who was not communicative, one who was even rather severe. Those are the impressions that remain with me from my first meeting with de Gaulle. After he left, Stalin remarked that he had asked de Gaulle about Maurice Thorez,[13] the French Communist leader who at that time was present in Moscow. Stalin informed de Gaulle that Thorez was getting ready to leave for Paris and asked him: "When he arrives in Paris are you going to arrest him?" I don't remember what de Gaulle's answer was.

Stalin didn't attribute any particular importance to the treaty he signed with de Gaulle, although he was pleased that the French had sought contact with the Soviet Union. Every one of us took pride in that fact. As for Stalin, he had his own understanding of this diplomatic move. It was as though he was looking farther ahead, as if to say, this treaty represents merely a transitional phase. Thorez will arrive in France and develop the work of the Communist Party in an all-out campaign. That party's authority was very high. Besides, at that time it possessed a large number of weapons and represented a genuine military force. The Communist Party had great influence among the people. It had earned that influence justifiably as the main organizing force of the French Resistance movement. That party unsparingly laid down the lives of its sons and daughters in the battle against Germany. The situation gave us grounds for more than just hope. Stalin was absolutely sure that the Communists would become a decisive force in the politics of France; possibly a government headed by that party's leaders would come to power.

Perhaps that would have happened if not for the presence of American troops in France. The same kind of situation developed in Italy. The Italian Communist Party also had a great deal of authority. Togliatti[14] was even getting ready to start an uprising and to establish his own government. Stalin restrained him and convinced him that an uprising would be suppressed by the American occupation forces in Italy. The same thing would have happened that happened in Greece. There the Communists were also very numerous and dominated the political scene. The people recognized their leadership and followed them. But the British suppressed their uprising, and the working class did not triumph.[15]

So then, Comrade Thorez was going to France. We watched with tense expectation to see how de Gaulle would treat him, whether de Gaulle would put him in prison. We were surprised when de Gaulle appointed Thorez to be one of his deputies. That showed that de Gaulle knew how to evaluate a situation and correctly judge the times he was living in. I would even say it was a wise decision, especially for him, an anti-Communist. Knowing the authority of the Communist Party among the people and recognizing Thorez as the leader of that party, he judged the internal situation of France correctly. This meant that de Gaulle was not just a military man, or a martinet, as we sometimes said, that is an inflexible man who charged ahead regardless of obstacles. No, he demonstrated flexibility of mind and proved himself to be a subtle politician by bringing Thorez into the government to work with him, and consequently the entire Communist Party became part of the government. Thorez understood that de Gaulle had felt compelled to invite him to join the government, but he accepted the invitation. Later, when de Gaulle had built up more strength, and felt he could get along without the Communists, he immediately forced Thorez and his comrades to resign.[16] At that time I had no opinion of my own about de Gaulle's actions. I knew him mainly through the eyes of our press, and to a large degree I accepted whatever assessment Stalin made of him.

Later, at some stage in the development of the governmental system of France, de Gaulle and his party received a minority of votes. After that he withdrew from the political game[17] and went off to live in seclusion on his estate, with the status of a retired general and a retired politician.[18] We must give de Gaulle credit because he continued to regard the Soviet Union and the Soviet army with respect. How was this expressed concretely? After Stalin's death [Sergei] Vinogradov[19] became our ambassador to France. He proved to be a flexible diplomat and established good contacts with de Gaulle. De Gaulle used to invite him to his estate and had conversations with him of a political nature. If there was a need to be informed and find out de Gaulle's views on one or another question, Vinogradov felt free to visit him, and de Gaulle never refused him. On the contrary, he himself invited Vinogradov, sometimes even for a hunting trip. This confirms the fact that even when retired, General de Gaulle took into account the reality of world politics and therefore, far from breaking off ties with the Soviet Union, maintained such ties the whole time through our ambassador.

De Gaulle personally was a very forthright and direct man. He was not afraid to speak candidly. He asserted that there existed in France only two parties capable of leading the country, his own party[20] and the Communists. All other forces, in his view, amounted to nothing. He held that only these two forces were capable of taking the leadership of the country upon themselves at a critical moment and leading the country out of the crisis. Yes, it's true that he considered his own party especially vital for France and had a very high opinion of his own personal role. As for the Communist Party, he regarded it as an opponent, but one that he had to take into account, because it was capable of arousing the people and persuading the people to follow its lead. The Communist Party had a clear goal; it knew what path to follow and how to bring the country out of an impasse. This further testifies to the fact that de Gaulle was a man who thought realistically, and one who we, in turn, always had to take into account as a politician.

That is a brief prehistory of the official meeting of the representatives of the USSR and de Gaulle in 1960, at a time when there was a new disposition of forces in the international arena. The point is that during the postwar process of restoration of the economy and of the parliamentary system a great many factions and groupings arose in France. The French government was one of the most unstable in Europe. Sometimes the government changed several times in one year. At one time it was headed by Guy Mollet,[21] leader of a left-wing tendency in the Socialist Party. The press made a big to-do about his "leftism."

It was just at that time [when Guy Mollet was in office] that France, Britain, and Israel went to war against Egypt [in October 1956]. But that was a shameful failure for them. I don't remember now how Guy Mollet made out, but this military adventure cost Eden his job as head of the British government; he was replaced by Macmillan. By then France had been thoroughly incorporated into the aggressive NATO bloc and played a fairly prominent role in support of NATO's anti-Soviet position. This compelled us to annul the treaty we had signed with France under Stalin.[22] The treaty was annulled in 1955, after France agreed to the remilitarization of West Germany. To the extent that the French people remembered how many times the German army had occupied France and taken Paris, we wanted to take advantage of their feelings and confront the French with a dilemma. When France had been allied with the Soviet Union it had achieved victory. That was why de Gaulle had signed a treaty with us in 1944. He had taken historical circumstances into account. France was a country that needed an ally, and the best ally there could be in the old days was Russia, and now the Soviet Union. I think de Gaulle understood things that way when he signed the [1944] treaty with Stalin.

Now we confronted France with the question: How we were to understand French policy in NATO? By raising this question, we wanted to influence the French politicians, so that they would assess the situation soberly, raising the curtain to peek into the future. Germany was again building up economic strength, becoming the most powerful capitalist country in Europe. It could turn against France, whose foreign policy was creating a mirage for its citizens. On the one hand, relations with the USSR were based on friendship; on the other, French policy was directed against the Soviet Union, flowing in the same channel with the most aggressive forces in NATO and serving as a central component of that [anti-Soviet] policy. That is, we were warning the French that if things continued like this, we saw no sense in having the 1944 treaty remain in effect. We did not want to provide a cover for the French government in the form of our treaty of friendship, and therefore we no longer considered ourselves bound by the treaty. We were tearing it to pieces.

This had an effect on the minds of some people in France. I am not talking about the Communist Party, which already had a correct evaluation of the situation. Some left-wing capitalist leaders were shaken, but those who decided the policies of the country refused to budge. They had crossed off that treaty long before and were in agreement with the reactionary forces who pursued an aggressive policy against the Soviet Union. In my memoirs I cannot, of course, avoid making some inaccurate statements, because I don't have reference books or diplomatic archives or even newspapers to look things up. In dictating my memoirs, I am relying exclusively on my memory. To be sure, my memory thus far continues to serve me well despite my age. There may be inaccuracies, but the fundamentals are correct. I am trying as objectively as possible to set forth all these events as I understood them at the time and as I now evaluate the events of those days.

The agreed-upon day of departure arrived, and the Soviet delegation, headed by me, left Moscow for Paris. I will not talk here about our sendoff. It was the usual, conventional thing that has become a stereotype among us. As I recall, the French ambassador to the USSR, Monsieur [Maurice] Dejean,[23] flew with me to Paris. I knew him well and had great respect for him and his spouse. We arrived in Paris at the appointed hour [on March 23, 1960]. We had to stick to the schedule exactly, because all the necessary preparations had been made to meet our delegation at a prearranged time, and President de Gaulle was supposed to arrive at a particular time.

The Paris airport [Orly] is very well equipped; its runways have excellent concrete surfaces. The West must be given credit, for it knows how to use concrete better than we do. There were no bumps or rough spots. Everything was laid smoothly, as though the concrete had just been poured. Unfortunately things are not like that in our country. No matter how much I was personally involved in this business, no matter how much I criticized our construction-industry officials, within a year after concrete was poured potholes could be seen and our runways had resumed their old, battered appearance. In my opinion, there are no secrets here. It's a matter of discipline in production, observing the proper proportions, and adhering strictly to the specified technological process in preparing the mixture and pouring it. The whole secret lies in a high level of culture in the work process. I am commenting on this now and always did comment on it when I was visiting abroad. The difference struck you right in the eye, and unfortunately the comparison was not in our favor.

As our plane was taxiing up to its final position, I could see through the window that an honor guard had been drawn up and a red carpet rolled out. Leaving the plane, we saw a group of people around President de Gaulle, who stood out distinctly. You could easily spot him in a crowd. Next to him was his wife. This was because my wife, Nina Petrovna [Khrushcheva-Kukharchuk], was accompanying me. We greeted one another, and the president took me over to the honor guard to receive a salute. Then the honor guard marched past us. A ceremony took place, not out in the open, but in a special large room for the welcoming of guests. I don't remember now what was said in the speeches. Then we got in the presidential car and headed for the city.

Paris made quite a good impression on me. I had read a lot about Paris, but it's always better to see a place than to just hear about it. Our car was accompanied by a police escort. I don't remember whether many people came out on the streets of the city, but on the other hand it has stayed in my memory that the Communist Party lent a hand in organizing meetings for us with the French people. Those who came out in the streets did so for political reasons, because they sympathized with the Communist movement and our socialist state and valued our role in defeating Hitler's Germany. Even out-and-out liberals had a sympathetic attitude toward the policies of the Soviet Union. These sympathies also brought them out onto the streets, and they took part in welcoming us.

Some sort of "notable" palace was assigned to us for our stay in Paris. I beg to be forgiven but I can't remember the name of the palace.[24] It was a luxurious building. The president's honor guard welcomed us at the entrance, and our car slowed down to keep pace with the horses of the guard. The guards' uniforms probably dated from the Napoleonic era and were very elegant. It seemed to me that the members of the guard had been specially selected for their height, age, and the color of their hair. The Russian tsars did likewise when they selected their guards. This sort of thing seems to have come off best in France and Austria, countries that set the tone for courtly fashion. The gates swung open and we were allowed in, while the guards remained by the gates; the crowd also remained outside the gates.

The president [de Gaulle] showed us the rooms in which we would be staying and gave us a farewell bow after arranging where we would meet next. The program had been worked out in advance by the foreign ministries of France and the USSR. It had been arranged that our delegation would remain for ten days, including various trips to become acquainted with other cities in that country. The French had insisted on our visiting the city of Algiers and the Sahara oilfields together with the president, but we refused. Even in Paris they continued to put pressure on me, but I didn't agree to that because any trip by us to Algiers would have taken on a special political significance. The French had been fighting the Algerian people for so many years! Such a trip by me could have been interpreted incorrectly.

France considered Algeria one of its provinces. That was not something we could agree with, and the French knew that we sympathized with the liberation movement of the Arabs. I had expressed myself to that effect many times before meeting with de Gaulle, including on one occasion when a French delegation headed by Guy Mollet had come to Moscow [May

16–19, 1956]. I warned them that in Algeria France was going to be defeated if it did not find an intelligent way of withdrawing and granting independence to the Algerian people. That's why we did not agree to de Gaulle's proposal, considering that any assistance to the colonialists would place a black mark on our foreign policy. We thanked them for their attentiveness, but said that we could not take up the proposal to go to Algiers, although we did not openly say why we rejected it. Besides, de Gaulle would not have to strain himself to understand our motives.

I can't remember now the order in which we visited the various cities and provinces of France. But we were quite pleased with our reception everywhere.[25] I did not encounter any signs of hostility. Sometimes we would arrive in a city where a local holiday was being celebrated. This happened for example in Arles. The people of Arles were voting for a beauty queen. We too were invited to attend the festivities. Almost all the people were wearing national costumes. Then the beauty queen who had been selected was introduced to Nina Petrovna [my wife] and me, and she really was a beautiful young woman. If they had given us the photograph, we would have showed it to people, saying: "Here's a Russian beauty." She was the kind of young woman who would have found recognition in our country: she was well filled out, with rosy cheeks, and simply glowed with good health. And she was dressed in a beautiful French national costume. She gave Nina Petrovna a doll as a gift. It was the same everywhere: no matter where we went a warm welcome awaited us.

A trusted representative of President de Gaulle, one of his comrades-in-arms from the Resistance, accompanied us on our travels.[26] He was a rather dry person (evidently that was simply a feature of his personality), but he was very attentive toward us, and the very best impression of him has remained with me. At one point, when we arrived in a new city, a minister who held a prominent position in de Gaulle's government came to join our delegation. He had previously been the French ambassador to the USSR and, as I recall, was a historian by profession.[27] He was a very interesting conversationalist and easy to talk with: he had an excellent command of Russian, and he himself, to use an old Russian expression, was an "*artel* man"—that is, he was very sociable.[28] After we had eaten and were drinking coffee with cognac or liqueur, he loved to start singing Russian songs, and he knew them well. Naturally we joined in to the extent that we could—not to exaggerate our abilities. After all, in general, everyone sings for his or her own pleasure [not to please others]. But we found it pleasant that this Frenchman showed this kind of initiative. Such a highly respected man, who for a number of years had been ambassador to the Soviet Union, yet he constantly made a great display of attentiveness, came to the city we were visiting and immediately created an unconstrained, simple, and comradely atmosphere. This former ambassador's wife also accompanied him (apparently because my wife, Nina Petrovna, was present). We knew her well. She was an old acquaintance from Moscow. A very pleasant woman.

According to the itinerary that had been worked out, we were supposed to be greeted by the prefect of each department of France that we visited. In that country a prefect is actually an appointee rather than an elected official. The prefect represents the central government. He is appointed by the president and therefore has administrative powers. The police are under his command. To our understanding he was a kind of superintendent of police, which troubled me somewhat. How could this be? Were we going to be received by a police official and then be living under the wing of the French police? Wasn't this a kind of infringement on our dignity, a kind of discrimination? We consulted with Comrade Thorez [head of the French Communist Party], and he explained: "No, what are you saying! It's the opposite. This is considered a special display of attention on the part of the president. The prefect is a representative of the president and therefore he receives guests. So this is an expression of special attention."

According to the schedule, we were supposed to visit Bordeaux. The mayor of that city was [Jacques] Chaban-Delmas, who is now the prime minister of France.[29] Back then he was an energetic young man who spoke with enthusiasm about the rebuilding of the city and showed us entire neighborhoods that they intended to tear down in order to build new housing, hospitals, and schools. In short, they had far-reaching plans. I listened to him, but didn't go into the subject very deeply, mainly because it was an internal question of theirs, a question for the city and its mayor. I must confess that I didn't understand why he wanted to tear down a huge number of buildings. Maybe that's because we in the USSR felt a great need for housing and took a very protective attitude toward every building that might still serve as housing until the necessary number of new structures could be built. In fact we had not been able to satisfy the most essential needs for housing on the part of our population, above all in Moscow. And in other cities the situation was not much better. People were suffering; they were living like insects in any nook or cranny they could find, with several people to one room and several families to one apartment. For the French that was completely unimaginable. Unfortunately those are the conditions in which our people lived.

Chaban-Delmas was building on a grand scale. The capitalists have their own laws and their own ways of thinking. I don't know where they relocated people to while that was going on, and I wasn't about to ask. To ask questions like that would have suggested that I had doubts to a certain extent about the plans the leader of this city had laid out before me. They told me he was a de Gaulle supporter, and he made no secret of that himself. He proudly pointed out how close he was to de Gaulle and said that he supported de Gaulle's policies wholeheartedly.

We were also scheduled to visit the city of Dijon. Its mayor was Canon [Félix] Kir—quite a unique figure, one of the organizers of the anti-Nazi Resistance.[30] He had been condemned to death twice, but was not executed. This man had a friendly attitude toward the Soviet Union and greatly appreciated the contribution made by the USSR in defeating Hitler, and he hated fascism. When our delegation arrived in Dijon we were given a royal welcome. We went to the building assigned for our stay in the city, and people gathered in a huge crowd outside the building, shouting out greetings. I asked for a translation. It turned out that just before my arrival the higher authorities of the French Catholic Church, not wishing Canon Kir to welcome me, temporarily called him away from Dijon.[31] Rumors were even passed on to me that he was being held in a monastery until I left Dijon. Thus the crowd that had gathered outside our residence was shouting: "Mr. Khrushchev, free Canon Kir!" They wanted me to intervene and somehow exert influence on the appropriate person. But no one knew where Kir was. Even if we knew, nothing would have come of it because it was an internal matter of the country we were visiting, although our sympathies were entirely on the side of Canon Kir. The thinking of the Church authorities apparently was that in his speeches expressing friendship he might go beyond the bounds of what was desired from the point of view of those circles that wanted to welcome us with dignity, but nothing more. As a warm-hearted and straightforward man Kir might not have remained purely conventional.

I regretted that I didn't have the chance to meet with him. It probably would have been a very warm meeting. The deputy mayor took Kir's place.[32] The hospitality he displayed was beyond reproach, incidentally, and in our talks he was completely friendly and well disposed toward us. Generally speaking, the whole of France seemed to display special sympathy toward us, and a wide range of people expressed such an attitude. In Dijon at the height of the banquet organized in honor of our delegation, a young fellow appeared, wearing a peasant costume, the kind of thing a shepherd's boy would wear in our country. He brought me a small ram. Its wool was white and it had a red ribbon around its neck. I accepted it. A lot of jokes were made in this connection, and the ram was passed from hand to hand. Cameras clicked and movie cameras whirred as the presentation of this unusual gift was recorded for posterity. The opinion was expressed that the ram should be roasted as a special treat. We began thinking this over, trying to decide what to do, and decided: let the ram live. That would be symbolic, because a ram is a creature of peace—as long as you don't bother it. A cheerful and relaxed atmosphere developed. It was a truly warm atmosphere, like being in your own home, and it won us over and aroused a favorable disposition in us. Here the president of France had invited representatives of the Soviet Union and thus apparently wanted improvement of relations between our countries, and the people were taking an approving attitude toward this action by the president and giving his guests a warm greeting.

De Gaulle advised me to visit a province near the border with Spain.[33] There were underground deposits of natural gas in the area, and it may be that there were oilfields as well. He also suggested I take a look at the experimental agricultural fields there, knowing that I was interested in all kinds of inventions. He said: "It will be a pleasure for you. You will be interested in the innovations that you find there." We flew to that province and, among other things, inspected a construction site where a chemical plant for processing natural gas or refining petroleum was going up. I'm not a specialist in that field, and therefore it was hard for me to make sense of the details, but the construction site made a powerful impression. The drilling towers were not surprising, because the problem is not the number of drilling towers you have but the type of drilling machinery and the speed at which a shaft can be sunk. Then we went to the experimental agricultural fields. De Gaulle had also visited that place and knew about the research going on at that experimental farm. What was so unique about it? That's where for the first time I saw water being distributed for irrigation purposes, but not through irrigation canals, or *aryki,* as they have been called in Central Asia for centuries; instead the water was being supplied on a high level of modern technology. Reinforced-concrete troughs had been placed on support structures. It was necessary only to level the troughs in keeping with the topography of the locality, adjusting the level of the support structures to create the necessary degree of slope, and then to cement the seams or joints, where one trough abutted to the next. In this process unnecessary leakage or loss of water was eliminated. In addition, the ground underneath the troughs could be cultivated. And there would be no weeds.

I liked all this very much, and I decided that a reinforced-concrete plant should be built in our country to produce the appropriate troughs and support structures. After I returned from France I gave rave reviews to this irrigation system. We sent our irrigation specialists back there; they looked everything over; and they too praised the system. We decided to adopt this new method, which could be used to good effect in Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and other areas. Later we began to use this method, especially in Uzbekistan. I went there many times and was always delighted with the results. I have forgotten the name of the director of the trust in Uzbekistan then. He was an Armenian and was in charge of that operation in Uzbekistan. He was a truly loyal Soviet citizen and a good organizer. I had great respect for him. I think he's still doing good work today, to the benefit of our country.

I don't remember what exactly the French were growing on the irrigated fields, but that is not of great importance. They also showed us other agricultural systems, including sprinkler systems [also known as "overhead irrigation" or "artificial rain irrigation"]. Apparently there were a number of experimental fields there, using various engineering devices for irrigation. We were also shown a pumping station. If you compare the technical level and design with our pumping stations, theirs was much better than ours. And so I was grateful to the president for this trip.

Marseilles was also included in our schedule, a city with revolutionary traditions and great fame in a revolutionary sense. But we didn't have any contacts with the workers or the Communist organizations during our stay in France, nor could we have had. We knew the political views of President de Gaulle, and so for us to get involved in anything like that might have been viewed unfavorably, and we didn't want to do it. We didn't want to interfere in the internal affairs of another country.

In Marseilles [on March 27] we were also given a big reception out on the streets, with good and friendly welcoming events. Then we went to the harbor and, riding in a patrol boat, continued our inspection of this large, old city, a very interesting city. The natural surroundings that we encountered near Marseilles bore a great resemblance to those of Odessa: the same low-growing, thorny plants, and so on. Also in a social sense Marseilles and Odessa are very close to each other, regular sister cities. For a long time the two cities had had commercial relations. It is no accident that some Ukrainian peasant huts out on the steppes were covered with tiles of a type that is called Marseilles. The origin of the name was explained to me as follows. French ships that went to pick up Ukrainian grain were loaded with tiles as a form of ballast, so that the ships would ride sufficiently low in the water and not tip over in a storm at sea. The tile was unloaded in Odessa to be sold there, and the ships returned to France with their loads of wheat. Just as there existed commercial relations between the two port cities in prerevolutionary times, so too good relations are maintained today between Marseilles and Odessa.

In Marseilles we were housed in a palace reserved for guests. The prefect received us very courteously. When we stepped into the bedroom he made a joke: "Mr. Khrushchev, here is your bed, and on this bed at one time there slept—Napoleon III."

I joked back: "It won't be any softer for me because of that."

My host understood perfectly well that his reference to the French emperor would not make any special impression on me, but he thought that I would appreciate the historical uniqueness of this building as a place where prominent personages visiting Marseilles had once stayed. So that the bed being offered to me was also historic. Later, at dinner, we joked some more on this subject. The former ambassador to the Soviet Union [Joxe] also joined us there, and I was glad to meet with him again. And of course [Ambassador] Dejean was also there.

It turned out that the prefect had a very sweet wife, an Englishwoman. Among other things she said she loved Russian vodka. We had brought some souvenirs with us, including vodka. We drank one bottle, and I saw that some of those present had a need for more. So I turned to my bodyguards: "Don't you have some? Help me out!"

"Yessir!" they said. And immediately some authentic Russian vodka made its appearance.

Our hostess broke into a smile, and those present drank that bottle down. I must say, incidentally, that our hostess bore herself with dignity and was in no way under the influence. Evidently she knew how to drink, her health allowed her to do so, and she knew her limits. Thus, I don't want to give the impression that I'm speaking freely about our host's wife. No, she was a good wife and a good mother. It was simply that she was cheerful by nature. I don't know whether the British are like that in general, but she was hospitable, open, constantly showing initiative, radiating goodwill, and showing a lot of energy as the hostess of our table. Her husband was also quite hospitable. People might say, "Look here's Khrushchev, a Communist, the head of the Soviet government, and he's talking this way about a French police official!" Yes, but what can you do? Even under a police uniform you may find a truly human heart. And it was pleasant for me to have dealings with this man and feel his warmth and attentiveness.

Toward the end of the evening, having drunk a good deal, we began singing Russian songs. Then we sang the "Marseillaise." After all, that was something you couldn't avoid. How could you be in Marseilles and not sing the "Marseillaise"? We reminisced about the history of the French Revolution. It was especially pleasant for me to sing the "Marseillaise" because in my youth we were literally brought up on that song, a hymn summoning us to revolution, the national anthem of France. As we sang it, each of us obviously was thinking his own thoughts. The French could sing it as their national anthem, but for us it was a revolutionary song. Then I asked the former ambassador: "Do you know what kind of songs we used to sing in my youth?" I told him the theme of one of the songs, but I expressed my doubts about it: "I would sing it, but I don't know how our host would regard it, because it talks about a police official."[34]

[To clarify matters, I said:] "It's not about a French police official; it's about one under the Russian tsars, but still. . . ."

He replied: "Let's try singing it together. I'll join in." And so we began to sing: [to the tune of the "Marseillaise"—*Allons enfants de la patrie. . . .*]

Vot kak Trepov-general	Here came Trepov the genera-a-al,
Vsekh zhandarmov sobiral.	Gathered up his gendarmes all.
Vsekh zhandarmov sobiral	Gathered up his gendarmes a-a-all,
I takoi prikaz daval:	And this order he did bawl:
"Ey, vy siniye mundiry,	"Hey, you uniforms of blu-u-ue,
Obyshchite vse kvartiry!"	Search every place, that's what you do!"
Obyskali kvartir trista,	They searched three hundred pla-a-aces,
Ne nashli-i sotsialista.	But of Commies they found no traces.
V trista pervuyu zashli-i-i	Came to apartment three-oh-one-un-un,
I studenta tam nashli.	Found a student, son of a gun!
U studenta pod poloyu	Found a bottle in his ja-a-cket.
Puzyryok nashli s vodoyu.	But there was only water in it.

This had been a song of the people. Among the youth in my day it enjoyed great popularity. We also sang it when we gathered with Stalin in our inner circle, but not everyone knew the words, even such a man as Voroshilov, who had been in the thick of revolutionary activity. Our French host of course did not understand the words, but the former ambassador to the Soviet Union understood them well, and therefore he said: "With that we will stop singing, because our host might not understand us correctly." But he was laughing. He knew how to conduct himself, and he also knew how to win people over and defuse tension in the atmosphere. People might ask: “But where were the political discussions?” There were none. You have to know where you are and who you’re dealing with. How could there be any political discussions with a representative of the president who had directed all of his activity toward suppressing the Communist movement? Why even try to start such a discussion? What good would it do? We conducted ourselves appropriately, discussing only subjects that were devoid of any substance.

When we arrived in Verdun [on March 29, 1960], we visited the graves of the soldiers who had died there during World War I.[35] Russian troops were fighting on French soil at that time and were buried together with the French who had lost their lives in the struggle against the Germany of the Kaiser. At the cemetery a structure had been erected as a kind of speakers’ platform, and below it there stretched out a flat field with crosses, crosses, crosses. . . . I don’t even know how many thousands of them there were. We paid the tribute that was due: hymns were sung, both French and Soviet, and a fairly large crowd of workers gathered for a demonstration. The workers came in buses from a nearby city, carrying their red banners, and they greeted me fraternally both as a former proletarian myself and as the head of the Soviet government and a representative of the Communist Party. As we were leaving the cemetery, the representative of the president who was accompanying us said: “I am very grateful to the Communists for timing their arrival at the cemetery to coincide with your visit and for not undertaking some separate action, so that the memory of those who fell in battle would not be clouded.” Yes, it’s true, they behaved like true Frenchmen, demonstrating the unity of the people. I was pleased: they had acted intelligently! I was also told something about this representative of the president—that before the war he had been with the Communists, but after the war he became a Gaullist.

I had virtually no communication with peasants [in France], only some fleeting encounters. For example, the following incident occurred. One day we were driving past some vineyards owned by peasants. Not far from the road a peasant was working. When he saw our cars going by he began to wave at us. In his hands he held up a bottle and a glass, and he ran toward the road to meet us. . . .

I remember another incident as well. We wanted to lay a wreath at the tomb of the unknown soldier in a graveyard for those who had fallen in the battle against Nazi Germany. The interior minister, a relatively young man, came to pick me up. He and I got into a car together and set off for our destination.

Along the way he spoke Russian, but I was especially surprised when he began to sing a Russian song.

I asked him: "Where do you know our Russian songs from?"

He answered: "I know many Russian songs and I love them. I was in a concentration camp together with Russians and became friends with them and listened to what they sang. That's where I learned your language and your songs."

This government minister was a Gaullist, but he spoke very warmly about the Russian prisoners he had been in a concentration camp with. I think that, having been in one of Hitler's prison camps, he understood that friendship with the Soviet Union would make it possible to rule out any repetition of the defeat of France. And it was not so much treaties as good relations between individuals [of both countries] that would serve as a true guarantee of security.

The Franco-Soviet Friendship Society arranged a public meeting in Paris at which I was supposed to speak. A vast sea of people showed up. The huge auditorium was filled to overflowing. Comrades who looked out the window at the city square below said that it, too, was jammed full of people and that loudspeakers had been set up out there. The rally proceeded in an atmosphere of exceptional warmth. People expressed the most sincere feelings of friendship for the Soviet Union and advocated the further development and strengthening of contacts between our two countries. France valued the contribution made by our people to the defeat of Nazi Germany, as a result of which France had regained its independence. Every French person understood this, not just the Communists, not just the workers. It was understood by people of any and every political viewpoint. Of course when we said that building a better life was a question of revolutionary transformation, the elimination of the capitalist system, and the establishment of a socialist system, most French people did not agree with that. And they demonstrated the fact more than once in elections [for president and National Assembly] and referendums held in France. But we were united by an understanding of the correctness of a policy aimed at ensuring peace. Even some capitalists acknowledged the necessity for strengthening friendly ties with the Soviet Union.

The scheduled program for our visit to France was very extensive, and I went along with the program with pleasure, enjoying the places I visited, and the meetings I had, and the acquaintanceships that sprang up with various people. France is a true museum of the arts and of history. You really have something to look at and be amazed by, things to be thrilled and excited by. But alas, as Kozma Prutkov said, "You cannot encompass the unencompassable."[36]

I could only look at a certain portion of the interesting things selected from an endless number of interesting and curious buildings, fine paintings and sculptures, palaces and landscapes. At one time, back when I had graduated from the workers' school [around 1924], I made my first visit to Petrograd to the Winter Palace and went through it in cursory fashion. But that took me an entire day. At the exit I literally sank down on a bench to rest. That's when I was young and strong, but even then I was exhausted. The Louvre was even more vast and rich in treasures, and it was impossible to see everything in one visit. I was also shown the Champs d'Elysée and Versailles. The buildings there are extraordinarily beautiful and the layout of the gardens very impressive. The minister of culture explained things to us. He was a writer. His name, as I recall, was Malraux.[37] I was told about his complicated biography. He had been active once as a Communist, but later became no less active as a Gaullist. He too was extremely polite, and I think, sincerely so. For his part, he did everything for our delegation to create the best possible impression of France and tried to show us everything deserving of attention.

It was interesting to become acquainted with a method of growing fruit trees on trellises. All the branches were bound to the trellises, so that the trees did not grow very high, and the fruit was easily picked, with no great effort. You didn't have to knock the fruit down or shake the tree. Such fruit doesn't get damaged or bruised and will last for a long time after it's picked. More fruit is obtained for each hectare where such fruit trees are planted. The life span of such trees is shorter, but that is compensated for. I think this is a very good horticultural method. Later I became acquainted with literature on this method of planting trees. Our specialists also look favorably on this method of planting, but unfortunately, I have never encountered it in the USSR, except in isolated cases involving amateur horticulturalists.

We were given an opportunity at press conferences, public meetings, and rallies to present our point of view on questions of an international nature, as well as on domestic arrangements, that is, internal matters. We did not hide our views; we did not disguise them; we expressed our point of view loud and clear in regard to capitalism as a social system that must give way to a more progressive system, socialism. We said that capitalist society had outlived its time. In answer to questions we said that the internal arrangements of each country and changes in the existing system depend on the desires of the people of that country. For our part we did not interfere in the internal affairs of others. The revolution was not a commodity for export, but neither was the counterrevolution. The fact that our sympathies were on the side of those ideas on the basis of which we had built our own state—that was a different question. I said that we always needed to wish one another well, and I wished for the French people what I wished for myself, that is, that their society should flourish. This was well received, although not by everyone. Many of course held capitalist views, but they made a display of politeness and no arguments or disputes arose.

When I met with Comrade Thorez [head of the French Communist Party], he approved of our conduct, the sharp speeches we had given, in which we had not tried to smooth over the rough edges but stated forthrightly and directly our class sympathies. He said: "You have helped us greatly in the effort to promote socialist ideas." The expression on his face testified to this. His pleasant, simple, and heartfelt smile and the gleam in his eyes showed that he was not just putting on. This was a major political figure sitting in front of me, a man who knew how to defend his ideas and fight for them, one who would not be reconciled to falsity [except when he defended the Moscow trials], and who expressed his feelings directly. The complete unity between us was pleasing to me. He thanked us for our forthrightness and directness in our speeches. There are different kinds of forthrightness. For example you can be forthright in a biting, caustic, abrasive way. But we understood that we were guests of de Gaulle, even though he was our polar opposite in his social views, and therefore we did not butt in or get involved in French internal affairs.

After completing our planned journey around the country, we returned to Paris. The president proposed that Nina Petrovna and I come to his residence outside the city.[38] This invitation also expressed a special respect for our country. It was similar to the honor we had been paid by the president of the United States at Camp David. In the palace outside the city it was really true that no one could interfere with our conversations. You felt free. You had the chance to exchange opinions at breakfast, lunch, and supper. The four of us had our meals together—de Gaulle, his wife, Nina Petrovna, and I. I don't know if it's really true (as we were warned) that the president's wife was a confirmed Catholic who couldn't stand Communists. If so, that would mean that when she invited us she was committing inner violence against herself. But we didn't feel anything like that. She was a cultured woman who knew how to control herself. Not in any way did she reveal negative feelings toward us as Communists and atheists. She looked after us very courteously both as the lady of the house and the hostess at the table. Almost all the rest of the time we spent in conversations with de Gaulle, one on one. Gromyko and Vinogradov [the Soviet ambassador to France] also came to participate in these talks, and Nina Petrovna was left entirely to the care of de Gaulle's wife.

I don't remember where the official negotiations began, whether it was in Paris or in the residence outside the city. But that was of no importance to the questions that needed to be decided. Therefore I will only speak about the essence of the matter, about how we presented our positions and how de Gaulle reacted (or as we most often called him, Monsieur le General). The German question was the main one. If I had begun to lay out our position in detail for de Gaulle, I think it would not have been interesting for him, because he understood it perfectly well. But we did not understand de Gaulle well. He was a political figure who during the German occupation had headed the Resistance movement, but now he had become an ally of West Germany. Their alliance was directed against the USSR and all the socialist countries. This was a de Gaulle whom we could not understand! He was an anti-Communist—we had never had any doubts about that. But now on questions of international relations, nuances had appeared in his position that we could not explain. Certain particular features of his personal political views existed that he did not disclose publicly.

During the negotiations everyone sat at a large round table. The foreign ministers and other officials of both sides were present. At first we presented our position (that is the kind of formality that exists), and then we raised the main questions on which we wanted to find a common language with the French in order to make decisions contributing to the common good. What kind of questions were they? First, the signing of a peace treaty with Germany. That was the question of questions! It was the key to all others. If we could cut through that knotty problem, international tension would immediately be reduced. In the face of an important question, a person summons up all his strength and strains every nerve, especially if matters of life and death are involved. If such a question is resolved, immediately the muscles relax, a person breathes more freely, and his heart starts to beat normally. It's the same in political life. Disarmament, trade, cultural and scientific exchange—all the things that go to make up normal interaction between countries—that is the main goal one tries to achieve in the natural development of relations between countries, and a positive resolution is achieved only in cases where the possibility of a military conflict has been ruled out. The essence of the German question was precisely to rule out the possibility of a future military clash. This was a tough nut, not so easy to crack or break open or even bite open with your teeth.

De Gaulle negotiated very calmly and without haste. He even surprised us somewhat with his calmness.

He said: “Mr. Khrushchev, why is it obligatory for you to conclude a peace treaty right now? The necessary conditions have not yet matured, and therefore it is difficult to come to an agreement now. And what will change if the question is postponed? That is why I do not consider this the main question today.”

We could not agree with his position. But he argued so sincerely and so convincingly that, looking at him, I thought to myself: “He’s trying to kid us along, isn’t he?” But no, he was speaking seriously. Later I realized he was serious. He had his own understanding of events.

He said: “Right now you have East Germany, and it is a member of the Warsaw Pact. And we have West Germany, which belongs to NATO. Let things remain that way. As for West Berlin, it has a special status.” We interpreted the terms of the Potsdam Agreement in the same way, but we saw that in practice the Western powers were not treating West Berlin as a separate political entity, but were trying to make it possible for the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) to make West Berlin a part of itself. De Gaulle was in accord with the Potsdam Agreement and did not get into an argument with us on that question; it seemed he agreed with our interpretation. The other Western powers recognized the special status of West Berlin only verbally, when they found that was to their advantage, but in real life they ignored its special status, pursuing an economic and administrative policy of their own and treating West Berlin as a part of West Germany.

We repeated our arguments on this subject. We had stated them many times previously, in documents, at public meetings, in debates, and at press conferences. We argued that West Germany was gaining strength. Economically it had already achieved great power and was the strongest European country belonging to NATO. Its economy was the mightiest and its army the most numerous. On the basis of scientific and technological advancements its weapons were becoming more and more deadly. I cited other arguments as well, which did not require any special effort for de Gaulle to understand. As a military man, a politician, and a statesman he understood all this perfectly well.

When we began to talk about the possibility of a war breaking out and France being drawn into it as an ally of NATO, he calmly and rather firmly replied: “Mr. Khrushchev, let me be so bold as to assure you that France would never fight together with Germany against the Soviet Union. As long as Germany (that's how he expressed it, "Germany") belongs to NATO, it will not by any means have the possibility of starting a war against the USSR and the GDR. If Germany declared war on the GDR, it would be for thinly disguised military purposes, and through that disguise the skeleton of aggressive intentions would be plainly visible." And he added reassuringly: "We understand you. We are also opposed to the unification of Germany now. Mr. Khrushchev, surely you know that France had its own special position during the Potsdam negotiations. But we were not listened to. Mr. Stalin did not support us, although even at that time we were proposing more radical solutions." It seems that France, back then, was in favor of fragmenting the German state even more than was done under the occupation [that is, the division of Germany into four occupation zones]. De Gaulle at that time proposed a new governmental structure for Germany, so that it would no longer be a single unified state. This proposal envisaged the absence of a single government or a unified military or foreign policy. In addition, France laid claim to several regions along the German border that would become part of France. But I could not take a pencil today and sketch out which territories France was claiming. During the war Churchill also spoke in favor of the dismemberment of Germany. But I will not try to reconstruct that point of view now, because that would require research into archival material or at least the citing of newspaper reports.

"Yes, I remember that you held a special position on the German question," I answered him calmly. "You say that Stalin did not support you. But I understand the position Stalin took. We had different views in regard to Germany at that time, and we had a different assessment of the postwar situation and the direction of development that a future German state would take. Evidently it was on the basis of those considerations that Stalin refused to support your proposals." Neither the president nor I went into any further detail about these conflicting views. But I want to present my understanding of Stalin's views on the German question on the eve of Germany's defeat. During the time of the Potsdam Conference those views did not change.

What considerations guided Stalin on the German question? He was convinced (and I also held this view) that after the defeat of the Germans and the ruin and destruction of their country, the German working class, the peasantry, and the society as a whole would want to escape from the political and social situation in which Germany had found itself before the war. We assumed that a social revolution would take place there, that the domination of capitalism would be ended, and that a workers' state would arise, which would be guided by Marxist-Leninist doctrine, in short, that a dictatorship of the proletariat would be established. That was our dream. We thought that would be the simplest solution to the German question. As a result Germany would cease to be a militaristic state and would cease to threaten Europe with wars, such as it had unleashed several times. It seemed to us that that kind of rebirth of the country was inevitable. Proceeding from this understanding of matters, we thought that after the defeat of Nazism the most favorable conditions would be created for unifying the working class with the poorest peasantry in the struggle for a revolutionary state in which there would no longer be private property, and a transition would be made to the building of socialism.

A similar situation, in our opinion, was taking shape in those days in France and Italy. There too, as we hoped, the Communists would soon be victorious. Here a simple analogy presented itself. After World War I Russia made a workers' revolution. Likewise, after the disaster that Europe had been plunged into by Hitler and Mussolini, after World War II, France and Italy also ought to come over to the socialist camp. As for Germany, we had no doubts about it. We were absolutely certain that it would become a socialist country. Not to mention other countries that would also follow the lead of these powers [that is, Germany, Italy, and France]. Therefore it was natural that after the defeat of Germany, in order to assure ourselves of the sympathy of the German people toward Soviet policy, Stalin spoke in favor of a united Germany. He imagined that a united Germany would be socialist and would become an ally of the USSR. That is the conception Stalin held, as did all of us in his inner circle.

But after the Potsdam Conference, events did not develop in our favor. All the power of the United States was mobilized to prevent a revolutionary explosion of the masses in the countries of Western Europe. The United States put its great wealth to work, seeking to feed hungry people and keep them reined in, to begin restoring industry so as to provide employment for people and keep the economy in those countries on a capitalist basis. And that is what happened. France and Germany and Italy—that is, the most developed capitalist countries [of Europe], with powerful industry, a strong working class, and a mighty Communist movement—began to experience difficult times.

Things did not work out the way we had assumed they would. Capitalism demonstrated its viability and stopped the process that was under way. We were discouraged. Those were our views at that time. Guided by those considerations, Stalin pursued a policy that came into conflict with the desires of de Gaulle, who was representing France back then. But I was not about to try to explain all this to de Gaulle now. I only said that Stalin had his own considerations. It was not expedient or useful to get into a discussion now about this question in its previous form. De Gaulle understood this and made only one small excursion into the past in opposition to our point of view. He recalled Potsdam, when the arrow on the scale was tipping in favor of the Allies, and he cited the statements made by the political leaders and journalists who reflected the views of their various government leaders in regard to a future Germany.

At that point, feeling that we were right about the current situation [in 1960], we began to put pressure on him, speaking bluntly, so that even if he didn't accept our point of view, an awareness of an alarming situation would begin to penetrate his mind.

In actual fact West Germany was a threat to Europe. If a new war were unleashed, that would be a catastrophe. The party of Adenauer was a carrier of this infection, this military psychosis. In order to ward off the danger, different foundations needed to be established in Germany; therefore the Soviet Union and France should display greater mutual understanding and exert greater efforts jointly not to allow such a war to happen. The Germans, seeking a weak point, would undoubtedly turn their attention toward France first of all, and not toward the USSR. And therefore France, no less than the Soviet Union, but even more so, should be interested in strengthening friendly relations to counteract the aggressiveness of the German state. History has shown that many things can be repeated. Even the ideas of Hitler could be revived in some form. In the soil of chauvinism, aggressive attitudes grow quickly. It is a breeding ground for the policies of revanchism. That was precisely the basis on which Hitler had gained strength. His slogan had been to restore the greatness of Germany and to assert its supremacy in Europe and the world. He unleashed the war precisely because he thought he could achieve world domination and become the ruler of the world, that Germany could dictate its terms to all others.

That is what I tried to "drill into" de Gaulle's head. He behaved sensibly, understood our arguments, and thought they were worthy of attention, but after all, he belonged to a different class. He was an opponent of revolution, had been and remained an opponent of socialism, and was an anti-Communist. His class nature drew him into the other camp. And he performed a balancing act, trying not to weaken his camp but, on the other hand, not to allow the antisocialist forces to get into a confrontation with us and unleash a war. There was one point he repeated several times: "Mr. Khrushchev, I understand you. Let's come to an agreement: let things remain as they are. Let the GDR belong to the Warsaw Pact and let the FRG belong to NATO. Let's leave everything as it is. Let's not violate the borders of the countries that belong to NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Let's not disrupt the status quo. France will never go to war against the GDR. We have no need of it. But you should also understand our position: we do not want to weaken ourselves. Consequently, the USSR should recognize the necessity of West Germany belonging to NATO."

He did not want to disrupt the equilibrium between the two blocs, which were both geographical and socio-political. To disrupt this equilibrium, in his opinion, could end in a catastrophe. We again insisted on our point of view. But de Gaulle, who conducted the conversation on such a sharp question very skillfully, in a calm, even phlegmatic manner, again expounded to us the necessity of maintaining the status quo. And instead of getting into a further argument he said: "What would you gain from the signing of a peace treaty? You wouldn't get anything more. Therefore you should be satisfied with things as they are. You already have a great deal, and you represent a tremendous force, which we have to take into account and will take into account. Why are you trying to achieve the signing of a peace treaty for the sake of your GDR?" In his view the GDR belonged to us, and he didn't understand why the official signing of a peace treaty was necessary. He regarded us simply as the owners of East Germany. But we wanted something different. We approached the matter from a Communist point of view. We wanted a peace treaty to establish normal relations between all governments. The GDR would achieve full sovereignty and the possibility of establishing diplomatic, cultural, and economic relations with all countries, as it saw fit and to pursue its own interests.

De Gaulle pretended that he didn't understand and described our relations with East Germany rather crudely. Of course he knew that the signing of a peace treaty would change the entire atmosphere in NATO. He knew his allies and understood that they would not agree to that, and therefore he did not want to put France in the position of being an opposition force in relation to NATO. Of course later on he actually did behave that way, when he took France out of NATO and removed his troops from under the authority of the NATO supreme command. But that was later [on July 1, 1966]. During our negotiations he didn't even hint that the policies of the United States were being imposed on France and all the other NATO countries. He also touched on the idea of a united Europe. He proposed that Europe should be united, with its eastern border extending to the Ural Mountains. I didn't understand this formulation, and even today I find it difficult to grasp. What does it mean to have Europe extend all the way to the Urals if it is a divided Europe? In it there are states with different socio-political systems belonging to different military groupings. Moreover, there was an unpleasant analogy that put us on our guard. Hitler had also said he was going to reach the Urals. I thought to myself: "Here you go. One of you was defeated, but now another brings up the same idea."

How would Europe be united? What would such a united Europe look like? We, for example, wanted all of Europe, from the Urals to the western oceans, to become socialist; we wanted all the European countries to abolish capitalism. The Western political leaders had a similar idea; only it would be the opposite, based on capitalism. That's why I didn't want to get into a debate, so I didn't ask any questions to try to pin down the president's thinking. Especially because at the table, when there were only the four of us, de Gaulle and his wife and Nina Petrovna and I, during a conversation he turned to me and said through his interpreter, "Mon ami!" (That is, "My friend!") When he said this, he looked at me in a special way. (I would not say that he smiled. Because in general he very rarely smiled.) I responded in the same way: "My friend, Mr. President!" This was a good sign. De Gaulle wanted to show that although we held opposing political convictions, our efforts were united in trying to assure the peace. Thus he saw me as his friend and a friend of France. I responded to him accordingly.

What else was there in our conversations that is worth mentioning? I remember various highlights. At a reception given in our honor by the French government a great many guests gathered. Of course it's always that way when prominent foreign guests are being entertained. De Gaulle was energetically introducing me to representatives of African countries that belonged to the French Community. In reality they were colonies. No matter where he went he was immediately visible from afar; you couldn't lose sight of him, he was such a tall man. You look up, and there he is bringing another black man over to introduce you: "This is the representative of such-and-such a province of France." Naturally these people were always smiling and were polite to me, but especially polite to the president. He left the two of us alone and went to get someone else. He came up to me later with a middle-aged woman of dark complexion, from Algeria, a member of some French legislative chamber, and introduced her to me. She began to babble away, praising France, praising de Gaulle, praising the French government, and trying to argue that the Arabs of Algeria were enjoying a splendid life as part of the French Community.[39] It was unpleasant for me to listen to her, but I didn't want to get into an argument, especially in those surroundings. It would have been a demonstrative action on my part. I only asked her a question: "Madame, apparently not everyone thinks as you do. If I met with other of your compatriots, I would probably hear something different, isn't that true?"

"Well, of course not everyone would agree with me, but the majority would."

I asked: "Who is it, then, that is fighting against the French regime in Algeria? The war has been going on now for quite a few years. The facts themselves contradict your statements. Obviously you yourself are personally satisfied. That happens. Certain individuals may be perfectly satisfied. But I doubt that you are expressing the thoughts of all your people."

At that point de Gaulle brought other guests up to meet me. He introduced me to someone from Senegal, a tall and handsome man. His skin was so black it had a bluish tint. And he also supported the French Community; he held that Senegal should belong to and be a part of the French republic; and he also said that they were living quite well. That is, de Gaulle wanted to show me that the French colonies and their representatives were not oppressed but, to the contrary, enjoyed all the rights enjoyed by French citizens, that they were happy and wanted to continue to exist as part of France. In the given situation he was introducing to me his underlings, people who belonged to government bodies, people who had been chosen, fed, housebroken, trained, and educated by the French, and possibly they were wealthy people as well. That's why they were satisfied with their colonial rulers, and de Gaulle was introducing them to me as representatives of the will of the African peoples, who praised France. To put it briefly, it reminded me of the great Ukrainian poet and thinker Taras Shevchenko, who wrote sarcastically about the Russian empire: "From the Moldavian to the Finn, in every language silence reigns, for everyone is prospering."[40] This is very cleverly put with bitter irony. In the given situation I could have repeated these lines to de Gaulle. But as a guest my role was to listen, draw my own conclusions, and not get into debates.

I don't remember what the circumstances were when de Gaulle and I began talking about Sékou Touré, the president of Guinea.[41] I said that I was acquainted with him and I commented on him favorably. De Gaulle knew that I was acquainted with him, because Sékou Touré visited the Soviet Union more than once after Guinea had gained its independence [in September 1958]. At that time the French had pulled out of Guinea. All ties between the two countries were broken, and Guinea found itself in a critical situation. Because of a lack of trained personnel, life in Guinea was paralyzed, and even the banks were closed. Then at Sékou Touré's request we extended a hand of friendship and sent our specialists. As I recall, we sent them grain and some other things. I remembered those events right then, but I didn't say anything to de Gaulle about them. I was not about to, although we were completely on the side of the Guinean people and were doing everything in our power to strengthen the independence they had won.

The government of de Gaulle had held a referendum in the colonies [in September 1958], allowing them to choose whether they wanted complete independence or preferred to remain part of France. You have to give de Gaulle credit: not everyone would have undertaken this. But de Gaulle was sure that all the colonies would vote for France. And he was not wrong. All of them did vote that way with the exception of Guinea. Its people said "No!" and voted to leave the French Community and be independent. We were very interested to see whether France really would agree to allow Guinea to leave the French Community, whether France would actually withdraw its troops, and not interfere in Guinea's internal affairs. But de Gaulle was a man of his word! Later in the case of Algeria he again proved the same thing. Guinea won its independence. I think it was the only country that gained its independence from France without any particular conflict. De Gaulle told me that he personally knew Sékou Touré. And when he said that, his voice had a touch of sadness and regret. He said: "Yes, these people were educated in France, and now Guinea has withdrawn from France." Real grief could be heard in his words. But he didn't make any other remarks that might somehow have been insulting or belittling to Sékou Touré.

At the reception a great many different people had gathered: both politicians and financiers. De Gaulle brought only representatives of African countries over to introduce to me, but the French came up to me on their own. This included some of the biggest capitalists in France. But as usual, one did not talk business at a reception like this, but merely exchanged generalities. One person came up to me, then another, and soon there was quite a crowd milling around, but proper forms of communication were observed. Everyone invited to the reception could choose the person they wanted to talk with. Thus better conditions for communication are established than sitting at a table when you cannot change your place.

During our stay in France the itinerary included a visit to a Renault[42] auto plant. The director of the plant made a favorable impression on me. He was quite considerate toward our delegation. We also liked the factory, which produced good cars. The plant director expressed the idea of establishing cooperation with an automobile plant in our country, and I supported him.

We were agreeable to that kind of cooperation, but nothing came of it then. It is not so easy to establish cooperation when differing socio-economic systems are involved. A favorable attitude toward us in a political sense was also expressed at the Renault plant. Apparently there were many Communists among the workers there. I don't remember whether we gave speeches there, but the overall impression that has remained in my memory is quite a cheerful one.

Then a reception was held in honor of my visit by Ambassador Vinogradov and his wife. The two of them met all the guests, and for a time I stood next to them both, since the guests were invited to celebrate my visit to France. All sorts of famous people came, including those who were considered the nobility. The aristocracy of France today does not always have the prefix *de* in front of its family name. Such a prefix indicated the family's membership in the estate of the nobility (for example, de Gaulle). After the Great French Revolution the importance of such family names faded, and Lord Capital moved to the forefront. Thus people who owned large amounts of capital became the new nobility. The more capital you had, the more notable a person you were.

When I saw that a handsome-looking man was coming up the stairs, I was struck by his resemblance to the figures depicted in signs outside barbershops or hairdressing establishments. He had a black mustache, his hair was done elegantly, and his profile in general was the kind you might see in an advertisement. The ambassador said that this was one of the biggest capitalists in France, Monsieur Rothschild,[43] and he introduced us to each other. Rothschild is a name with a lot of resonance. Back when I was an ordinary worker I knew this name from the newspapers. It may be that the name figured in our newspapers in connections with some strikes at factories owned by his family, but after the revolution as well we were quite familiar with this name as a representative of banking capital in France. I said to him: "I'm glad to meet you. Now I'll have an exact idea of what Monsieur Rothschild looks like. Until now I've only heard about you, but now I have the honor to shake your hand as the guest of our ambassador." He mumbled something in reply and immediately went on his way because the crush of guests all around was so great.

As I recall, we had no business ties with Rothschild at that time, although our ambassador said that Rothschild was paying attention to us and possibly wanted to establish contacts. And if Rothschild came to the reception, he wanted to make a demonstrative show of the fact that he was by no means boycotting us. But I would not say that he wanted to show some respect to me in person. Of course he personally would have no reason for any special respect toward a representative of the Soviet government, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and first secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. I was a Communist, and he was a capitalist. In that respect the thinking of both of us was quite realistic, and he had come because he had received an invitation to meet the guests of the president of his country. Of course in doing so he expressed a certain acknowledgment of our government.

Naturally also present at this reception were Comrades [Maurice] Thorez, [Jacques] Duclos, and Jeannette Vermeersch[44]—wife of Thorez, and a prominent political figure in France. Formerly a worker herself, she was not only the wife of the leader of the French Communist Party but also a representative of the French working class in the national assembly. I exchanged a friendly handshake and embrace with them, but did not talk with them long; I had to leave time to talk with the other guests, and besides we had met with the Communist leaders already at our embassy and had set a time for further meetings after discussing all questions of interest to us both as political activists and as friends linked by fraternal bonds.

At the reception I also met an acquaintance of mine, a big capitalist of France, Monsieur [Jacques] Boussac,[45] owner of factories employing thousands. He owned textile factories and knitting mills and other facilities that produced clothing, fabrics, and fancy goods. The products of his factories were remarkable. He himself was well on in years, even a little bit senile. There are cases in which capitalists sincerely have friendly feelings toward the Soviet Union. That's how things were with Boussac. He had good feelings toward us, and he expressed them openly, and that quickly brought us together. He was especially attracted by our campaign for peaceful coexistence. Apparently that was the only thing. There couldn't be anything else because he couldn't possibly sympathize with our social system. Well, but what of it? Even that is a good thing! The fight for peaceful coexistence is one of the forms of strengthening friendly ties between countries. All nations and all people should take part in the struggle for peace, regardless of whether they belong to one or another social stratum and regardless of their political convictions. Our contacts with Monsieur Boussac are a model of such friendly relations. I was told that he was Czech by nationality, but he had emigrated from Czech territory long before and had become Frenchified. He invited our delegation to an exhibition at one of his factories, and we accepted the invitation with pleasure.

Boussac openly "courted" our delegation and me personally as its head. I think that he was nursing some hopes of selling his products in the

USSR. That's something that would be profitable for any factory owner, and Boussac was no exception. He personally showed us his products. They were astonishing: fine quality fabrics, every possible kind of fancy textiles, women's lingerie, and so forth—all produced very elegantly, beautifully, and conscientiously. This was something we needed to learn from. Among those visiting the show were [Aleksei] Kosygin and (if I recall correctly) [Yekaterina] Furtseva.[46] Kosygin, as a major specialist in light industry, took a special interest in Boussac's products.

"Everything that interests you in my factories," said this gentleman, "I'm entirely ready to show you. The gates are open. I can even show you my design bureau, where we are at work right now, preparing to replace our current items with even more fashionable ones."

Members of the embassy staff whispered to me that the factory owner had never before allowed anyone into his super-secret design department. A capitalist of course is looking to succeed and therefore is afraid of competition. But he invited our representatives into his design department. After inspecting it, I asked Kosygin again to acquaint himself with Boussac's products in more detail. Even under Stalin, Kosygin had been in charge of this kind of production and at one time had transferred to Moscow from Leningrad, where he had been a factory director.[47] As a government minister, later on, he had been entirely occupied with the production of shoes and similar items. Ukraine was the main supplier of leather, and we had some disputes on this basis. It was as though I headed the group of suppliers and he headed the consumers. It seems to me that after my return to Moscow Kosygin traveled to France again to acquaint himself with this type of production. I wanted very much to transfer something useful to our industry, especially since Boussac was offering his assistance. I said: "Since he is offering assistance in introducing techniques for manufacturing high-quality goods, we need to take advantage of that."

Of course that had to be paid for. After all, he was a capitalist and was not going to give away his technology for nothing. And of course we could not simply take advantage of his politeness; any benefits should be mutual. We would repay him in the same coin. We would give him the possibility of earning money by delivering a certain quantity of his products to the USSR. And sure enough, with his help we subsequently accomplished something in this sphere, although we continued to lag behind both in quality and in the organization of production of knitted goods. We lag behind in everything that attracts the buyer and puts him or her in a good mood, things that add beauty and decoration to a person's life and living space, things that have become economic necessities. Abroad they make everything that the housewife could possibly dream of: excellent linen and underwear, dresses, and fabrics to decorate the table and the boudoir. Boussac made all those things, and they were all of exceptionally high quality.

While we were looking over the exhibition of his products, he himself showed us some particular exhibits, so that we would get to know about these items in more detail. And we spent a lot of time there, which I don't regret. I remember a section of the exhibit where photographs were on display telling about the daily life of the workers. They had a vacation facility that was run by the factory, and the workers could go there at reduced rates. There were also child-care centers and kindergartens for the children of the workers. The children looked quite appealing: they were dressed neatly and well; and the buildings were surrounded by greenery and were excellently equipped. I thought to myself: "Here he is, a factory owner, and he's providing such good conditions for his workers!" Of course Boussac never thought to try to convince me that capitalism cares about all the workers and creates such good conditions for them. He knew how much attention and resources we had devoted to organizing vacation facilities, health resorts, kindergartens, child-care centers, clinics, and so forth. No capitalist in the world could compete with us in that realm, but I didn't say that to Boussac, not wishing to start an argument about capitalism versus socialism. For me personally this question had been decided long before. But I don't think I could win that kind of an argument, to make a Communist out of a capitalist, and so I didn't get into the subject. Nevertheless, what he showed us was something we could study and make use of in our country.

Here's how I got to know Boussac. He sent me a telegram one day with the request that I receive him, indicating the time when he might arrive in the Soviet Union. Through our foreign ministry we sent a reply that I would be happy to receive Monsieur Boussac. He arrived. Our conversation was quite general in nature and lasted a long time. But when it ended, he thanked me and left without having raised any specific questions, which surprised me. Why had he come? We only talked about the struggle for peace and the German question, although on the whole he knew our position, since we had presented it in the press fairly thoroughly. As it became clear, he had great respect for our foreign policy, especially our campaign for peace. This attracted his sympathies toward our political leaders, including myself. It was not Soviet domestic policy that attracted him; what he liked was our foreign policy. He was the publisher of the newspaper *L'Aurore,*[48] which by our standards was extremely reactionary. That newspaper did not spare itself in attacking us first of all. This ended up being a peculiar situation: the newspaper that was published with Boussac's money did not seem to coordinate with him in the political direction it took. That is, it did not go together with the spirit I perceived from Boussac's conversations with me.

But I didn't say anything to him about that. A capitalist is a capitalist. The best thing to do is to try to imagine realistically what questions are of greatest interest to such a person. His views coincided with ours only on the question of the campaign for peace. Apparently he had asked for a personal meeting with me, to talk with me directly, because he wanted to draw some conclusions about our long-term intentions and to hear about them from me personally, not rely on reading newspapers and reading speeches. We parted on friendly terms, back then, and he immediately left the country. After all, the problem of the cost of a flight from France to the USSR and back did not exist for him. He had thousands of workers who produced the necessary surplus value to provide for any trips he might want to make. Later, on my seventieth birthday [in April 1964], he sent me several bottles of cognac and calvados from his own private wine cellar. Calvados is a very strong brandy derived from apple juice. The text of his birthday greeting stated: "I am sending you several bottles from my personal wine cellar as an indication of my respect for you, and I congratulate you on your seventieth birthday." I eagerly tried the cognac he sent, which was of seventy-year vintage, and in passing I recalled the meetings I had had with this interesting man.

Boussac was something like a distant analogy to Savva Morozov.[49] When Savva Morozov learned that his friend Maxim Gorky had ties with the Bolshevik Party, not only did he refuse to break off their friendship, but when the need arose Morozov helped the Bolsheviks with money conveyed through Gorky. Such unique individuals are encountered occasionally. Boussac was not like Morozov in a literal sense, but he was similar. Although he had dealings with me as the head of the Soviet government, he had nothing to do with the French Communists, nor did he provide them with any funds. His newspaper waged a sharp struggle against the Communists and continues to do so today. Possibly there was another aspect to this matter. Perhaps he expected to establish solid commercial ties and earn a profit as a result of the good relations he had with the head of the Soviet government. Well, and what of it? We looked at things in a similar way. We understood each other correctly and based ourselves on these accurate mutual assessments. Each of us thought that the relations we had established would be useful.

Let me return to the reception at our embassy. There, as well as at the reception given by the French in honor of our delegation, I met political figures who were shades from the past. Our ambassador introduced me to Daladier,[50] who had been prime minister of France before the war. He was already an old man, one of those who bore responsibility for the fact that in 1939 France did not come to agreement with the Soviet Union, so that we were unable to unite our forces in opposition to Nazi Germany. In France ex-prime ministers retain their titles after they've returned to private life, and therefore the ambassador said, "The prime minister of France," and then pronounced his name, so that I would not be confused. After my visit to France, I met Daladier again and had a talk with him. He traveled to China as a tourist and on his return journey asked to meet with me, applying at the Soviet Foreign Ministry. I had an exchange of opinions about this with the foreign ministry, and we decided that I would receive him in the Kremlin. Let me add that I never received a foreign guest of any kind without consulting and coming to agreement with the Central Committee Presidium of the CPSU, so actually it was we in the Soviet leadership who had an exchange of opinions and decided that I would receive him at the Kremlin.

I was also interested in the meeting with Daladier: I wanted to have another look at the man who together with Neville Chamberlain[51] had made the key decision on whether there would be a world war or not. I was not about to touch on that question, not about to start a debate on whose responsibility it was for that bloody war. He began talking about a different matter, but also a very serious one: "I am returning from China. I went there and saw that you have done a great deal for China. I saw factories and other structures that were built on the basis of credit you provided and under the direction of your engineers and technicians. Thus, the USSR has provided a very large amount of aid in rebuilding the industry of China. Don't you think that at some later point this could turn out to be a danger to the USSR?" He spoke very calmly. Perhaps that was his way of talking in general. Or perhaps it was because of his age.

I said to him: "No, we see no such danger. China is our friend and brother."

"Aren't you concerned about the yellow peril? You can hear voices throughout the world talking about that. Isn't the yellow peril a threat to you also?"

I was surprised at his putting the question this way, and I sharply rejected his arguments: "We have a different way of looking at people. We don't divide them up according to the color of their skin into yellow, white, red, black, and brown. We look at what class they belong to. China is a socialist state, and the Chinese are our class brothers. Guided by ideas that we hold in common, we are interested in friendship with China, and that's why we give it support in developing modern industry."

Daladier did not get into a debate with me, but simply expressed his views. The meeting did not last long, and there were no questions of concern to us to have a lengthy discussion about. But what he said I thought was memorable.

Today he is in his grave, but if he were alive, he would probably laugh at the answer I gave him then. For him, a bourgeois politician, no other proof would be needed beyond our present-day relations with China. He would say that he had warned me and I had rejected his warning about the "yellow peril" from a Marxist, working-class point of view. But he would have asked, "Now who is right?" and he would have said he was right. Because after all, relations between the USSR and China had become so bad you couldn't imagine much worse; we had already reached the point of military clashes.

Although Daladier would have thought he was right, I as a Communist contend that I gave the correct answer. I could not have said anything different, even if I had my doubts about the correctness of Mao Zedong's policies, my doubts of course not being based on the idea of a "yellow peril." I had doubts that Mao held a correct political position, and I regretted that he behaved arrogantly toward the Soviet Union.

I had expressed myself about that as early as my return from my first trip to China in 1954, soon after Stalin's death. Even then, despite the exceptional friendliness that Mao displayed outwardly, his arrogance showed through. There were certain nationalistic glimmerings. He had made his first remarks about the superiority of the Chinese nation over others (not at all a Marxist approach). In conversations with me about the course of Chinese history, about those who had conquered or invaded it and about the people's resistance to them, he remarked that the Chinese people in general had never submitted to assimilation. By taking this tone and speaking this way, he seemed to be making it known to someone of another nationality that he was looking down on him. This left an unpleasant aftertaste. Later, when Mao reached the point of open arrogance toward the Soviet Union, he simply declared that our borders were unjust and invalid, that these borders had been imposed upon China by the Russian tsars, but these accusations were unfounded; they could not be justified historically or on the basis of simple facts.[52]

Does this mean that Daladier was right? A danger does exist now for the Soviet Union. The policies that Mao is pursuing are also fraught with danger for the Chinese people themselves. None of us live forever on this earth. The time will come inevitably when Mao also departs from the political arena. I think that Lin Biao,[53] who even while Mao is still alive has been appointed as his successor, will understand that the policy now being pursued by China in relation to the fraternal socialist countries is incorrect and does not correspond by any means to the interests of the Communist movement. I don't think there's any need to reminisce further about Daladier—especially since Mao is still alive and I'm alive, but Daladier is no longer with us.[54]

At the reception at our embassy in Paris I met another old acquaintance, another former prime minister of France, Monsieur [Edgar] Faure. He had represented his country at the four-power summit meeting in Geneva [in 1955]. Back then, with his permission, I had begun to jokingly call him Edgar Ivanovich.[55] He introduced me to his wife, a sweet and lovely woman. And he himself was a very sociable and pleasant companion. Later, when he had retired, Faure came to the USSR, and I met with him a number of times. His wife was an editor on some women's magazine and also came to the USSR. And I met with her as well. Although Faure and I belong to different political tendencies, no sharp clashes ever arose between us.

In Paris I also met with Guy Mollet, Mendès-France, and other prominent political figures. I was grateful to Mendès-France[56] for the fact that during the Geneva negotiations on Laos he had found the political courage to raise the question of Vietnam. Of course the Vietnamese people had displayed both courage and tenacity; they had shown stubborn persistence and had eventually defeated the French occupiers. Nevertheless it is greatly to the personal credit of Mendès-France that when he came to power, replacing Guy Mollet, he proposed at Geneva that Vietnam be divided into south and north and a border be established between them. This proposal was accepted, not without objections, including by us and by Ho Chi Minh. Our Soviet representative also took part in that Geneva conference. We not only supported the policy of North Vietnam then and support it now but we have also helped it by providing arms and in any other way we could. But back then [in 1954] a war ended that had been going on for many years.[57]

General de Gaulle had frequently expressed the thought that Europe should live by its own resources and free itself from the tutelage of the United States. He stated openly that he found it burdensome—this situation that had arisen in the world in general and especially for France—and in conversation with me he let it be known that for our part we could assist in freeing the countries of Europe from American tutelage. De Gaulle also felt burdened by the situation that had developed in NATO. I must confess that I couldn't figure out at first what he wanted. Because of his class position he of course ought to be supporting U.S. policy heart and soul, and it was hard for me to imagine that France might later withdraw from the military section of NATO. De Gaulle did not comment directly on that subject. He spoke by hints and indirection, but it has remained in my memory that even then he had some such intentions in mind. One thing was immediately evident: he did not want to be a pawn in the "larger policy" pursued by the United States and aimed at surrounding and isolating the Soviet Union. He did not want to be some sort of blind instrument in someone else's foreign policy, which was not always made in coordination with the interests of France. In this respect he displayed both firmness of mind and strength of will.

Our ambassador Vinogradov simply worshipped de Gaulle, and in private I jokingly called him a Gaullist. Our ambassador greatly appreciated the general, his intelligence, and his way of conducting himself, and he did not think de Gaulle was pursuing any aggressive aims in regard to the Soviet Union. It was more that Vinogradov sensed this than that he could persuade me of it. After my personal meetings and conversations with de Gaulle my opinion began to converge with that of Vinogradov. I began to regard de Gaulle as a partner. Neither he nor I touched on questions of the internal life of the Soviet Union or France, precisely because such matters were the internal affair of each country. De Gaulle understood this well, and therefore he did not even make a hint concerning our domestic arrangements, even though I understood that he was opposed to our social system. I also understood who I was dealing with. But I will not conceal the fact that he made a strong impression on me.

Stalin did not have a high opinion of the abilities of military men in political matters. His favorite expression, *soldafon* (meaning "crude, rough soldier"), implied thick-headedness, limited perspective, and lack of understanding of the social conditions in which one lives. This opinion he extended not only to our generals but to generals of all countries, including de Gaulle, whose proud and independent behavior, and the special position he occupied in his own milieu and that contributed to his own peculiar kind of isolation, did not incline Stalin toward changing his opinion. After all, back then, de Gaulle did not hold a leading position in the politics of France. Stalin did not have any special respect for him. Personal acquaintance with de Gaulle now convinced me that this general knew his way around in politics very well, and on international questions he took a clearly defined position, defending the interests of France. He was by no means inclined to submit to outside influence. In general, someone else's opinion could not be imposed on him, especially in regard to policies that did not correspond to the interests of France. On all questions that I had occasion to discuss with him, he expressed his own opinion, without requiring any commentary from the foreign minister or the prime minister,[58] although the latter was invited to our discussions. The invitation was really pro forma—for the sake of providing representation. But de Gaulle, who had a fully worked-out opinion on all questions, personally presented his views. The other French political leaders always agreed with him.

I considered de Gaulle's domestic policy reactionary. He was not only a servant of the capitalists, but an ideologist of capitalism in France. When he became president the French Communist Party declared war against his excessive personal power, because what emerged [in the French Fifth Republic] was no longer a true government as such: it was embodied in the person of de Gaulle. His administration understood its position and aspired to great power. Any collective role in governing France disappeared. The president became the main force in operation. To put it crudely, he might have said, "La France—c'est moi."[59] To put it another way, he represented that force in France that decided all policies. He was a loyal defender of the capitalist system, a defender of the foundations of bourgeois rule. He introduced legislation that reduced to nothing the democratic constitution adopted after the defeat of Germany,[60] and he created better conditions for nonproletarian elements at the expense of the working people. This was expressed in the very first elections [under the Fifth Republic] when the number of Communist representatives in Parliament was sharply reduced.

De Gaulle came to power at a troubled time. An unstable situation had persisted in France for a number of years; ultra-right elements were close to seizing power; they had begun to commit terrorist acts and were getting ready for a coup d'état. Total suppression of the Communist Party was being contemplated. We had the impression at that time that de Gaulle also was exerting his efforts in that direction, but that is not what happened. The president held a referendum for the population, changed the constitution, and strengthened his own power, but he did not try to crush the Communist Party, and under the new system it still had deputies in the Parliament. To be sure, de Gaulle opened the floodgates for the reactionary forces. But he understood that the Communists had deep roots among the people, especially in the working class. Therefore he had to call a halt to any direct attack on them. There was something that restrained him. Probably he did not want to create disturbances that might even develop into civil war.

Despite his intransigence toward Communist ideas, de Gaulle displayed soberness of mind. In his view France was a democratic country, and the working class had won the right to have its own party and representatives in parliament. It's true that he narrowed the space, closing the door so that only a small opening was left, but nevertheless the voice of representatives of the working class continued to be heard in the parliament. A working-class press was also preserved. The Communists continued to struggle openly against de Gaulle's excessive personal power, which is how they formulated their position at that time. In spite of the reactionary basis of the new electoral laws introduced by de Gaulle, in the regularly held elections for Parliament their representatives were voted in every time.

In the French Parliament there are two houses. Representatives of the Communist Party are present in both of them. For more information on this question, anyone who wishes to can look in a reference book. So we had two feelings toward de Gaulle. We appreciated his international policy and his correct understanding of the significance of the Soviet Union. I am not saying that he approved of our policies. No, he understood them correctly, although he did not support us in all matters, not by far; he did not agree with us in all respects. But he did not represent some sort of aggressive force aimed against the USSR; he also favored peace and security. We respected him for that. The domestic policy he pursued was reactionary. The Communist Party fought against it and fights against it now, when de Gaulle is no longer in power. But the direct descendants of de Gaulle, open Gaullists, continue in power, and the policies they pursue are the same that de Gaulle laid out in his day. We regard that as their internal affair. In France there is a working class that fights for its rights, and it will continue that struggle until final victory. We are confident that sooner or later the victory will go to the working class and the Communist Party, which is the political organizer of the working class.

I was acquainted with many leaders of the French Communist Party. Not only was I acquainted with them but I also befriended them. I knew Thorez best of all. I vacationed with him in the Caucasus many times and met him in Moscow as well. He and I never had any disagreements. I also greatly respected Comrade Duclos. There were also no disagreements with him on political matters, in our understanding of questions of international policy and of the Communist movement. I also had respect for Waldeck Rochet,[61] who recently reached the age of 65 [in 1970]. For reasons related to my present situation I personally did not send him any official expression of best wishes on his birthday. To make up for that I am dictating such a statement right now, and I send him my greetings with pleasure. I wish him boldness and success in the work of rallying the ranks of the working class and achieving the aims that the Communist Party has before it. I also had good relations with Cachin[62] and with other leaders of the French Communists.

Today I don't have the opportunity to maintain the kind of contacts I did before, and because my vision has grown weaker I don't read the press as much now as before, so that I'm not able to form opinions about many things as I used to.

So then, de Gaulle stood out for his sober-mindedness and displayed a correct understanding of the position France found itself in after many years of war in Algeria. After coming to power, he directed his efforts against the extremists, the putschists and racists who had organized military units and had begun a campaign of terror [a reference to the Secret Army Organization, or OAS, of French militarists, which had an especially strong base in the French military in Algeria]. De Gaulle organized a referendum for the Algerian population to express whether it wanted to remain with France or preferred to become independent. The people of Algeria voted for independence, and de Gaulle (who must be given credit for his soberness of mind and strength of character) agreed to that. But the Arabs did not have independence handed to them on a plate; they fought for it and won it with arms in hand and paid for their freedom with their blood. De Gaulle rightly thought that any further confrontation and conflict would bring nothing good for either France or Algeria, but only ruin and exhaustion. The Communist Party of France always stood in favor of granting independence to Algeria and ending the war; and they did not hold that position in words only. They approved the turnabout in the situation. Later, de Gaulle went on the offensive against those forces that favored a continuation of a colonialist policy. Despite repeated attempts on his life, he displayed courage and refused to back down.

Only de Gaulle could have carried that out. Guy Mollet, a representative of the French Socialist Party, had been in power earlier. His party had had a majority of representatives in Parliament, and if Guy Mollet had really sought the possibility of granting independence to Algeria, that would have happened. But he remained at heart a colonialist, despite the fact that at one time he had even belonged to the left wing of the Socialist Party. When he visited the Soviet Union as part of a government delegation [in May 1956],[63] I talked with him a great deal, and he argued with me that it was necessary to keep Algeria as a possession of France. Of all those in the "upper echelons" in France only de Gaulle understood that the age of colonialism had passed. Let me add that we were troubled by the question of whether he would keep his word and withdraw French troops [from Algeria]. Yes, he did. He kept his word and withdrew all the troops. I spoke with journalists on that subject many times and told them that in my view, other than de Gaulle and the

Communists, no one in France could have ended the war and given Algeria independence. After all, the granting of independence was a factual recognition of France's defeat in the war. The war had gone on for many years, and no agreements had been reached in negotiations. We were sincerely happy for Algeria. And we were no less happy for the French Communist Party, which had spent great resources and shed a great deal of blood in the name of justice. De Gaulle, by his decision, won the sympathies of all right-thinking people.

Let me mention in passing that during the Caribbean crisis, when a critical moment arrived and Kennedy was prepared to use military power against Cuba to force us to remove our nuclear-missile installations there, he apparently relied on support from de Gaulle, who seems to have said that France was standing with the United States. Of course if a war had started between the USSR and the United States, I assume that France would have been forced to fight on the side of the United States. Major American military units were stationed on French territory and in West Germany. So how could you get away from that? This fact testifies to the duality at the heart of de Gaulle's position. His leanings were toward capitalism, and he, with his soul of a general, could not accept anything that violated or threatened the foundations of capitalism. When I was retired, de Gaulle visited the Soviet Union in reciprocation for my earlier visit. Later various representatives of the USSR and various kinds of delegations frequently visited France. Good relations were established, and our two countries cooperated in developing industry and in the realms of science, culture, invention, and so on, that is, in matters of interest to both countries. In my opinion, de Gaulle laid the foundation for all this.

It's true that today the balance of forces in the world has changed, and sharply so. There is no comparison at all with the situation that existed ten or even five years ago. Our economy grows every year, and our potential increases, including our military potential, and that's to a greater degree than in the capitalist countries, with the exception of the United States. But if the brakes that are impeding the buildup of the NATO military machine—if those brakes grow weaker—and a war breaks out, Western Europe will suffer most of all. A concentrated blow will be dealt to West Germany, France, and Britain. Even when I was in the leadership, we had accumulated so many missiles and nuclear warheads that we decided even then: "That's enough!" Of course obsolete missiles can be replaced with modernized ones, but their number was fully sufficient. I think that all the leaders of the capitalist countries understand this now. Even a man like Adenauer understood it. He said publicly: "Do you think Germany does not see that if a third world war breaks out, it is the country that will be destroyed first of all? How could we be advocates of war?" That was his point of view. If you analyze the actions and political trends among those who are in the leadership in West Germany, you can't say that such sound thinking prevails in all of their minds. Once again they're asking for trouble, sticking their necks out, and it's not excluded that at any moment they could light the fuse to the powder keg.

When we returned to Paris from our trip around France, the Central Committee of the French Communist Party proposed that we visit the apartment where Lenin had once lived. A museum has been established there now. We were accompanied by Thorez, Vermeersch, and some other comrades. The concern shown for the memory of our great leader Lenin impressed us strongly. He belongs to the working class of the whole world, and to all of progressive humanity, but he is our countryman, the leader of our revolution, the first to proclaim that in Russia the conditions for a social revolution had matured. That was a bold statement for that time, one could even say, a daring statement. Many mocked him and laughed at him. But Lenin proved to all the skeptics and those of little faith even inside the Bolshevik Party that a victorious revolution was possible. Around the building where his former Paris apartment is located, a lot of people gathered back then. When Comrade Thorez and I went out on the balcony, we saw that the entire street was jammed full of people. We gave some speeches. Workers who were there with their families welcomed our delegation with great sympathy as representatives of the Soviet people. It was a triumphal public rally.

The Soviet leadership expressed its satisfaction with our report about the visit to France, approving it entirely and completely. I personally continue to be pleased to have made de Gaulle's acquaintance and to have begun to understand him better, to grasp his conception of the development of the international situation. In the state of affairs we were living in at that time his position on the German question seemed the best. At any rate it took our interests into account. France did not want Germany to be strengthened, nor did de Gaulle want NATO to be weakened, but at the same time he recognized the equal validity of the Warsaw Pact and stood in favor of the status quo: let things be the way they had taken shape after the war, both the borders and the military blocs.

That did not mean the problem was solved and it did not rule out accidents that might lead to a military clash, but it was the best of a bad lot. Later de Gaulle went even further and withdrew his troops from under the command of NATO, which weakened the aggressive forces in military respects—those forces that were aimed against the socialist countries. De Gaulle wanted a united Europe that would stretch from the Atlantic to the Urals. Such a Europe would have contained differing socio-political systems, but he wanted to ensure peace in that part of the globe by such means. He envisaged such a possibility, but he set the condition that the United States not intervene in European affairs. For us that was both acceptable and advantageous. De Gaulle's policy seemed sensible.

Of course his allies in NATO did not support him, and he did not achieve a solution to the problem along the lines he advocated. The Gaullists of today are guided fundamentally by the same policies. To what extent this line will deepen and extend itself further only the future will show. Such a process will depend on both of the opposing sides. As for me, I hope that relations will develop on a sound and mutually advantageous basis. Granted that we have differing social systems, we still have a common interest in the cause of peace.

1. General Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970) was the leader of the Free French forces during World War II and headed the French government immediately after that war. As prime minister in 1958, he inaugurated a new constitution for the country, and was president of France from 1959 to 1969. See Biographies.

2. The trip took place between March 23 and April 3, 1960. It was originally scheduled to begin on March 15, but Khrushchev's departure was delayed because he had influenza. [MN/SS]

3. There is a play on words in this joking statement about not knowing the exact month. The Russian word for "month" *(mesyats)* also means "moon." By saying "the moon is in the heavens" the implication is: "If you want to know what 'moon' (or month) it is, look it up—or look up at it." [GS]

4. Turkey of course was the "menace" across the Black Sea from the mouth of the Dnieper River, on which the Zaporozhian Cossacks lived. The Turks supported and were allied with the Tatars of the Crimea, descendants of the thirteenth-century Mongol conquerors of Russia and Ukraine. The Tatars and Turks often raided Ukrainian and Russian territory. One purpose of the Cossacks' military organization was to defend against such raids and, in turn, to attack or conquer Tatar and Turkish territory. Zaporozhye meant "beyond the rapids," or "beyond the cataract." For boats going upstream, the Dnieper was not navigable beyond that point without a portage. [GS] According to legend, the Cossacks accused the sultan of aggression, but the main thing about the letter was its extremely insulting tone, with the use of crude and vulgar words that the sultan must certainly have found highly offensive. [SK]

5. This painting was completed in 1891. [MN] The Russian painter Ilya Repin (1844–1930) was especially famous for his paintings on national historical subjects, such as *The Volga Boatmen* [barge haulers] and *Ivan the Terrible at the Death of His Son.* [GS]

6. Jacques Duclos (1896–1975) led the group of Communist deputies in the French National Assembly. See Biographies.

7. A group of pilots from the Free French movement, with de Gaulle's authorization and Stalin's agreement, traveled to the USSR in November 1942, by way of Syria, Iraq, and Iran; from Iran they flew to Baku, ending up at Ivanovo near Moscow. There they had training to learn to fly Soviet Yak fighters; maintenance and repair of the planes was provided by Soviet technical crews. The group was initially called the Normandy Squadron (in French, Escadrille Normandie); it was purely coincidental that the squadron was named after the province in northwestern France where later (in June 1944) the massive Anglo-American landing took place, creating a "second front" in Western Europe. The Normandy, or Normandie, Squadron pilots flew their first combat missions on the Soviet-German battlefront in March 1943, participating in numerous operations, including the battle of Kursk. From 1943 to 1945 the French pilots flew more than 5,000 combat missions, shooting down 273 German planes. The unit, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Pouyade (1911–79), was subordinated to the Soviet Air Force's 303d Air Division headed by General G. Zakharov. For the French unit's outstanding role in the forcing of the Neman River in July 1944, the word "Neman" was added to its name. The forcing of the Neman, which formed the border between

Lithuania and East Prussia, brought Soviet troops onto German territory.

During 1943 and 1944 the French pilots received reinforcements, and their unit was upgraded from a "squadron" to an "air regiment" (in Russian, *aviapolk*—roughly the equivalent of an "air wing" in U.S. military terminology), but its traditional name persisted, and it is most frequently referred to in English as the Normandy, or Normandie, Squadron. See, for example, Alexander Werth, *Russia at War* (New York, 1964), 619–20. The unit reportedly began with only about a dozen pilots but expanded to 60 or more. At least 42 French pilots lost their lives serving in this unit. At the end of the war, 40 French pilots still active with the "air regiment" flew back to France in Yak-3 fighter planes, gifts of the Soviet government. Six decades later, the name Normandy-Neman (in French, Normandie-Niemen) continued in use, designating a unit of the French air force based at Reims. There is also a film about the French pilots who fought on the Soviet front *(Normandie-Niemen;* director, Jean Dreville, 1959). [GS]

8. In Soviet military terminology, an "air regiment" (*aviapolk*) consisted of three squadrons of fighter planes, with nine planes in each squadron. [SK]

9. Diplomatic relations had been established between France and the USSR on October 28, 1924. They were broken off by the Vichy regime on June 30, 1941. Diplomatic relations were restored in the summer of 1943 with the French Committee of National Liberation, and on October 23, 1944, with the provisional government of France.

10. The Soviet-French nonaggression pact was signed on November 29, 1932. The mutual assistance treaty was signed on May 2, 1935, and came into force on March 27, 1936.

11. See note 7 above.

12. Georges-Augustin Bidault (1899–1983) was a French journalist, Resistance leader, and politician. He was foreign minister and defense minister at various times during the period 1944–52. He was president of the provisional government in 1946 and prime minister in 1946 and in 1949–50. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

13. Maurice Thorez (1900–1964) lived in Moscow from 1940 to 1944. See Biographies.

14. Palmiro Togliatti (1893–1964) lived in the USSR from 1940 to 1944. At the end of the war he returned to Italy and was a member of Italian governments up to 1946. See Biographies.

15. The People's Liberation Army of Greece had fought the German occupation since 1941. In December 1944 British troops, invited in by the national unity government, began military operations against it, leading by 1946 to civil war. The Democratic Army of Greece, led by the Communists, fought on until September 1949.

16. The Communist ministers were ousted from the French government on May 5, 1947.

17. This occurred after the defeat on April 27, 1969, of the referendum on reform of the Senate and of the territorial-administrative division of the country.

18. During the crisis that divided France in 1958–59 over the Algerian war, de Gaulle returned to power and became president of the French Fifth Republic. [GS]

19. Sergei Aleksandrovich Vinogradov (1907–70) was Soviet ambassador to France from 1953 to 1965. See Biographies.

20. This was the Assembly of the French People (le Rassemblement du Peuple Français), which he established in 1947. It was officially disbanded in 1955 and replaced in 1958 by the Union of Democrats in Defense of the Republic.

21. Guy Mollet (1905–75) was general secretary of the French Socialist Party. He was prime minister in 1956–57. See Biographies.

22. In 1954 France signed the Paris Agreements on creation of the West European Union, which provided for the remilitarization of West Germany. In May 1955 the USSR Supreme Soviet annulled the Soviet-French alliance and mutual assistance treaty that was signed in Moscow in December 1944.

23. Maurice Dejean (1899–1982) had been a diplomat since 1926. He was French ambassador to the USSR from 1956 to 1964.

24. It was the palace of the French foreign ministry.

25. The itinerary for the tour of France was as follows: Bordeaux, March 23–25; Pau, in the lower Pyrenees, March 26; Marseilles, March 27; Dijon, March 28; Verdun, March 29; Reims, March 29; Lille, March 29; Rouen, March 30; and Paris, including Rambouillet, March 31–April 3. [SK]

26. On the trip around France, the Soviet delegation was accompanied by various official persons, a different person in each city. Khrushchev may be referring here to the general secretary of the Interior Ministry, Monsieur Marais, who was with the delegation at all times.

27. This is apparently a reference to Louis Joxe (1901–91), who was at this time minister of national education. He had been French ambassador to the USSR from 1952 to 1955. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

28. In old Russia an *artel* was a cooperative association of workmen or peasants, the members presumably being on close, warm terms with one another. [GS]

29. Jacques Chaban-Delmas (1915–2000) was mayor of Bordeaux from 1947 to 1995 and chairman of the French National Assembly from 1958 to 1969, from 1978 to 1981, and from 1986 to 1988. He was prime minister from 1969 to 1972. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

30. In addition to being mayor of Dijon and a former fighter in the Resistance, Canon Félix Kir (1876–1963) was a journalist, a deputy in the

National Assembly, and a member of the episcopal council of the regional eparchy.

31. According to a speech Khrushchev made on April 4, on his return to Moscow, Kir had been forbidden to meet with him on orders of the Vatican *(Pravda,* April 5, 1960). [SS]

32. The deputy mayor of Dijon who met with Khrushchev was Dr. Jean Veillet (1901–85). He succeeded Canon Félix Kir as mayor in 1968 and remained in office until 1971. [SS]

33. This was the French administrative unit, or *département,* called Basses-Pyrénées (Lower Pyrenees), whose capital, Pau, lies at the foot of the Pyrenees Mountains. [SK]

34. The reference is to General Fyodor Fyodorovich Trepov (1812–89), who was a tsarist official in Saint Petersburg, notorious for his cruelty. In a famous incident, Trepov was shot and wounded in 1878 by the Russian revolutionary Vera Zasulich, later one of the founders of Russian Marxism. [GS]

35. First Khrushchev and his party visited graves by the soldiers' memorial at Verdun. Then, accompanied by the mayor of Verdun, Senator François Schleiter, they proceeded to the Fort of Douaumont, the site of a battle in 1916 that lasted several months without interruption. There they visited a specially constructed building where the remains of the fallen are interred. [MN/SS]

36. Kozma Prutkov, the source of one of Khrushchev's favorite sayings: "You cannot encompass the unencompassable," was a fictional character, a satirical representation of the poet-bureaucrat, a tsarist official who wrote "proudly platitudinous" fables, aphorisms, and verse. Kozma Prutkov is "the incarnation of self-centered and arrogantly naïve complacency," as D. S. Mirsky observes in his *History of Russian Literature.*

Kozma Prutkov, who "flourished" from 1853 to 1863, was the creation of three Russian writers: Aleskei Konstantinovich Tolstoy (1817–75), who was a distant cousin of Leo Tolstoy; and two other cousins, Aleksei Mikhailovich Zhemchuzhnikov (1821–1908) and Vladimir Mikhailovich Zhemchuzhnikov (no dates available). According to his creators, Prutkov was born in 1803. A notice in *Moskovskiye Novosti (Moscow News)* for April 22–28, 2003, celebrates the 200th anniversary of this "inexhaustible fount of wisdom." [GS]

37. The writer André Malraux (1901–76) was minister of culture from 1959 to 1969. He had cooperated with the Communists in the 1930s and joined the Gaullists in 1943. See Biographies.

38. The residence was at Rambouillet; a chateau in that town dates from the 14th–16th centuries and is the official summer residence—or in this case, country residence—of the presidents of France. [SK/GS]

39. The French Community (Communauté Française) was established in 1958 by the constitution of the Fifth French Republic to replace the French Union. Its members consisted of the French Republic, which included metropolitan France (continental France, Corsica, Algeria, and the Sahara), the overseas territories (Comoro Islands, French Polynesia, the Territory of the Afars and the Issas, New Caledonia, Saint Pierre and Miquelon, the French Southern and Antarctic territories, and the Wallis and Futuna Islands), the overseas departments (French Guiana, Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Réunion), and six independent African republics (the Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, Malagasy Republic, and Senegal). The member states were self-governing but were represented through the institutions of the Community in matters of common interest: foreign policy, defense, economic and financial policy, policy on strategic raw materials, supervision of courts, higher education, and communications. In 1962 the metropolitan departments of Algeria and the Sahara became the sovereign state of Algeria and ceased to be part of the Community. After 1962, the Community operated primarily through bilateral agreements in the areas of military, economic, technical, and cultural affairs between the French Republic and other members. However, as the former French African possessions evolved their own political and economic structures, the French Community became largely defunct, although it was not formally abolished. [GS]

40. Taras Shevchenko (1814–61) was the Ukrainian national poet. See Biographies. These lines are from his 1845 poem *Kavkaz* (The Caucasus). See the collection of his verse *Kobzar* (Kharkov: Yarina, 1996), 324. [SS/SK]

41. Ahmed Sékou Touré (1922–84) became general secretary of the Democratic Party of Guinea in 1947. He was president of Guinea from 1958 to 1984. See Biographies.

42. The plant was at Flens, through which the Soviet delegation passed on the way from Rouen to Paris.

43. The head of the French branch of the Rothschild dynasty of financial magnates, owner of a bank and a holding company, and also of a number of mining-industrial firms.

44. Jeannette Thorez-Vermeersch (1910–2005) was Thorez's second wife. She joined the French Communist Party in 1933. She was a deputy in the National Assembly from 1945 to 1958 and a senator from 1959 to 1968. She became a member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party in 1947 and a candidate member of its Politburo in 1950; she was a member of the Politburo from 1953 to 1968. [MN/SS]

45. Jacques (also known as Marcel) Boussac (1889–1980) owned a textiles firm in the Lille/Roubaix area of northeastern France and a number of cotton spinning and weaving mills. He also owned

a majority shareholding in the newspaper *L'Aurore* (see note 48 below). In later years he often sent Khrushchev fruits, French wines, and other gifts, one of which—a greenish-beige woolen cloak—became a favorite garment of Khrushchev's. See Volume 1 of the memoirs, p. 730. [MN/SK/SS]

46. In March 1960 Furtseva was a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, but she was not part of the delegation to France. She had been a textile worker in the past, and that is probably why Khrushchev thought of her in this connection. [SK] Later in the year she was appointed minister of culture. See Biographies. [SS]

47. See Biographies.

48. *L'Aurore* was a Paris daily of "Atlantic" orientation. It was founded in 1944 by a former socialist and Popular Front deputy, Robert Lazurick, in collaboration with Jean Piot and Paul Bastid. Although Lazurick was appointed the newspaper's director, it was dependent on the financial backing of Boussac, who by 1951 had acquired 74.3 percent of the stock, and as a result developed a conservative orientation. In 1978 *L'Aurore* was bought out by Robert Hersant, who in 1985 merged it into his *Le Figaro.* The newspaper should not be confused with the earlier Paris daily of the same name founded by E. Vaughan in 1897, which ceased publication in 1914. [MN/SS]

49. Savva Timofeyevich Morozov (1862–1905) was a Russian textile manufacturer and member of a millionaire family. He was a grandson of a serf (Savva Vasilyevich Morozov; 1770–1862) who started a small textile business in 1797 and in 1820 bought his own freedom and that of his sons. By the time of the Russian revolution in 1917, the Morozov family fortune amounted to more than 100 million rubles, and the Morozov textile plants employed more than 50,000 workers.

Savva T. Morozov graduated from Moscow University in 1885, where he majored in chemistry. He became a patron of the arts, supporting the Moscow Art Theater (made especially famous by Stanislavsky and Chekhov), and befriended Maxim Gorky, who gained fame in the 1890s as a writer emerging from the "common people." Morozov sympathized with the revolutionaries. He married a young woman who had been a machine operator at one of his family's factories where a famous strike occurred in 1885.

At the beginning of the 1905 revolution, as a member of the Moscow City Duma, Morozov opposed the use of force against striking workers and supported the right of association and peaceable assembly. He also proposed a profit-sharing plan for the workers at the Morozov factories, which his family rejected.

At the same time, in March 1905, he took the initiative to convene an assembly of employers' organizations where an agreement was drafted to coordinate the actions of factory owners in opposition to the wave of strikes then going on. His contradictory positions resulted in personal disaster: his family removed him as director of the Morozov factories; he fell ill and, while in France in May 1905, committed suicide. [GS]

50. Edouard Daladier (1884–1970) was leader of the Republican Party of Radicals and Radical Socialists and French prime minister in 1933, 1934, and 1938–40. He was one of those who in September 1938 signed the Munich Agreement on the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and obstructed the conclusion of a military alliance with the USSR. See Biographies.

51. Neville Chamberlain (1869–1940), British prime minister from 1937 to 1940, also signed the Munich Agreement and impeded the policy of collective security before World War II. See Biographies.

52. Khrushchev discusses the border disputes with China at length below, in his chapters about Mao and China. [GS]

53. Lin Biao (1907–71) became deputy chairman of China's State Council in 1954 and minister of defense in 1959. He displaced Liu Shaoqi as Mao's heir apparent at the start of the so-called Cultural Revolution in 1966. He died in an air crash in Mongolia, apparently while trying to escape to the Soviet Union after a conflict with Mao. See Biographies.

54. Daladier died in 1970, Khrushchev in 1971, and Mao in 1976. [SK]

55. See Khrushchev's earlier comments about Faure in the chapter on the Geneva summit meeting of July 1955. [GS]

56. Pierre Mendès-France (1907–82) was French prime minister in 1954–55. In 1954 he signed the Paris Agreements on the formation of the West European Union and the Geneva Agreements on the termination of hostilities in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. See Biographies.

57. The Geneva conference of 1954 was held just at the time of the battle of Dienbienphu, in which the French were drastically defeated in a war of resistance by the Vietnamese against the recolonization of their country by France at the end of World War II. The fighting had continued since 1945. [GS]

58. At the time of Khrushchev's visit to France the prime minister was Michel Debré (1912–96). The foreign minister was Maurice Couve de Murville (1907–99), who later (in 1968–69) became prime minister. See Biographies. [SS]

59. "France is me." The original model for the expression is the celebrated statement by King Louis XIV: "L'etat—c'est moi" (The state is me). [SS]

60. The Constitution of the Fifth French Republic was adopted on October 5, 1958. The preceding constitution had been in force since December 24, 1946.

61. Waldeck Rochet (1905–83) was another leading member of the French Communist Party. He became

its deputy general secretary in 1961 and was its general secretary from 1964 to 1972. See Biographies.

[62] Marcel Cachin (1869–1958), also a leading member of the French Communist Party, was director of the party newspaper *L'Humanité*. See Biographies.

[63] Mollet was in fact head of the delegation. [SK]

THE FOUR-POWER SUMMIT MEETING IN PARIS (MAY 1960)

After my trip to America, the leaders of the four powers—the United States, France, Britain, and the Soviet Union—agreed on a summit meeting in Paris to discuss the possibility of ensuring peaceful coexistence and reaching a disarmament agreement. Those were the chief topics of the day. We made careful preparations for the conference. It was scheduled for May [16,] 1960. To be sure, we had no especially high hopes that we could arrive at a mutually acceptable solution. Nevertheless, we made serious preparations. We wanted to make use of literally everything we could to try and ease relations, and we set the goal of guaranteeing peaceful coexistence between states with differing socio-political systems.

In April it was reported to me that our border had been violated by an American U-2 plane.[1] We were already familiar with planes of that type; they had flown over our territory more than once.[2] We issued statements of protest, but the U.S. authorities rejected them. They claimed that their planes had made no such flights over Soviet territory. The latest plane had flown at a height that our fighters couldn't reach; our fighters flew two or three kilometers lower. No matter how hard we tried to force the motors of our fighter planes, we couldn't reach those "high flyers." It's as though they flew over laughing at our efforts, intending in this way to deal a blow to our morale. This heightened the tensions between our countries more than ever and, so to speak, drove us into a state of white-hot fury. What made us especially angry then was that this spy flight took place [on April 9, 1960] just when a meeting of the leaders of the four great powers was scheduled in Paris, when preparations for the summit were already under way, and when all the countries taking part should have been seeking to establish conditions that would lead to an agreement. It was hard to grasp what had happened [it was so shocking]. It was an unintelligent move, sheer stupidity, but it had happened.

Gromyko, in his capacity as foreign minister, was a person who observed all the formalities. As is customary in such cases, he presented the draft of a carefully worded protest statement that had been written by his ministry. We [of the Soviet leadership] read the document, and I made this proposal to the Presidium of the Central Committee: "Let's not send a document like this. Let's not make an official protest. What's the sense of it? After all, the Americans themselves know what they're doing. They're acting this way to emphasize our powerlessness, our lack of the necessary technology to counter these flights. As a result, we're forced to limit ourselves to diplomatic protests through the press or through TASS. But that only encourages their arrogance. What we have to do is shoot those planes down!" As I've already indicated, we were unable to shoot them down. Our fighters couldn't fly as high as they did. We could catch up with them in terms of speed, but we couldn't gain the necessary altitude. They flew at a height of 21,000 meters [65,000 feet], as I recall, while our planes could only rise as high as 18,000–19,000 meters [56,000–59,000 feet]—and only with great effort at that. We had some planes especially adapted for the sole purpose of pursuing those U-2s [with specially trained pilots].[3]

By now we were producing [SA-2] surface-to-air missiles on an assembly-line basis. Early on the morning of May 1 [1960] the phone rang (I remember that day well), and I picked it up. It was Defense Minister Malinovsky, who reported: "An American U-2 plane has come from Afghanistan, obviously having started in Pakistan, and is heading toward Sverdlovsk."

I replied: "You must do your very best. Give it everything you've got and bring that plane down! Take all necessary measures!"

"Yes, I've already given the orders. Everything possible will be done to bring it down," Rodion Yakovlevich [Malinovsky] answered.

I was curious: "Do we have our new antiaircraft weapons [missiles and fighter-interceptors] along the route the plane is taking?"

"Yes, we do. The U-2 plane is probably going to run into them. We have every possibility of shooting down the plane if our antiaircraft people aren't gawking at the crows." He used this term "gawking at the crows," because in April, when the previous incident of the exact same kind occurred, our antiaircraft troops had not been on the alert and had not opened fire in time.

The military parade for May Day had already begun at Red Square in Moscow. When it ended, a demonstration of Soviet working people followed. It was a beautiful sunny day. The demonstrators marched by with feelings of great exhilaration. Everyone's mood was very joyful. Suddenly Marshal [Sergei Semyonovich] Biryuzov[4] appeared. He was the commander of our country's antiaircraft defenses. I was informed of his arrival and gave orders that he should come up on top of the Lenin mausoleum [which the Soviet leaders and military commanders used as the reviewing stand during official parades]. Biryuzov reported to me, whispering in my ear, that the U-2 plane had been shot down, the pilot had been taken prisoner, and he was now being interrogated. I congratulated the marshal for this outstanding success, extended May Day greetings to him, and shook his hand warmly. Then he left. Biryuzov's brief appearance and the whispered conversation did not go unnoticed. Foreign diplomats told me later that they had immediately thought to themselves: "Something big has happened!" Biryuzov wasn't wearing a parade uniform, just an ordinary service jacket, which meant that he had just come from his duty station; he had come off duty to whisper something in my ear.

The demonstration ended, and I felt happy not only about it but also about this excellent surprise. For how many years had we been cudgeling our brains over what to do? For how many years had we grown irritated and angry? But things had never gone beyond that. When we made protests we saw that we only provided the Americans with satisfaction. They gloated over our impotence and continued to violate the sovereignty of the USSR, by flying over our territory. Their air force had now reached such a height of arrogance that it had sent a spy plane over the Sverdlovsk region. It came from Pakistan.[5] Its flight plan was laid out in such a way that it was supposed to land in Norway. We learned all this a little later from the American pilot, Gary Powers: the plane's route, the airfield from which it flew, and the purpose of the flight. We also captured a map on which the plane's route was marked out.

Biryuzov reported, later on, how it had all happened. We had several antiaircraft batteries [with SA-2 missiles] deployed along the route, spread out in a chessboard pattern. Following the route that it did, the U-2 plane simply could not have avoided those antiaircraft missile batteries; it was bound to run into one or another of them. Our Antiaircraft Defense Forces (Russian initials, PVO) had fired two missiles [rather than one], just to be sure. They reached the target [and exploded], the plane was hit and immediately broke apart, and the American pilot bailed out. The workers at a local state farm, seeing that he was a foreigner [not a Soviet pilot], seized him the minute he hit the ground. Then our military men arrived and took him into custody, searched him, and confiscated his flight instructions as well as a poisoned pin for committing suicide. At his later trial the pilot admitted that his plane had been based at an airfield in Turkey, from which he had flown to Pakistan. From Pakistan across Afghanistan into Soviet territory, he had flown toward Norway, where he was supposed to make his landing. In the event that something went wrong with the plane, the pilot was supposed to take his own life, and for that purpose he had been provided with a fast-acting poison. The poisoned pin was in a place easily accessible to the pilot, so that he had the possibility of making quick use of it. But it seems that life was more attractive to Gary Powers, and he declined to kill himself; the poisoned pin became our trophy.

We ordered that the fragments of the plane be delivered to Moscow for public display at Gorky Park. People came in huge crowds, not only to look at the fragments but also to touch them.[6] Gary Powers offered no resistance when he was arrested, and that was entirely logical, since he had declined to kill himself. Later he made a heartfelt confession and told us everything: how many years he had been employed in this work, how much he was paid, what his name was, and who his relatives were. We were highly indignant over what had happened. What made us especially angry was that he had been flying on such assignments for many years. Of course political people ought not to become overly indignant, because after all, that's how the battle goes; it was the same thing as a war, except that the enemy was using different means. This was a hostile act by the leaders of the U.S. government, and they made no attempt to conceal it. They didn't think we had the capability of intercepting these flights, of bringing down their planes, and thus acquiring irrefutable proof that the United States was using methods that were impermissible in peacetime.[7]

The day after this event took place, the Americans published a statement in their press that one of their planes had been lost without any information as to its whereabouts. They claimed that the plane had been based at an airfield in Turkey and had flown toward the Caucasus Mountains over Turkish territory and had failed to return. They were blatantly lying! We had what you might call a foretaste of the bitter disillusionment their intelligence people would suffer—the people who had made up this lying report. We had the proof in our pocket. But for the time being [we didn't say anything, and] our counterintelligence people continued to study the facts and interrogate Gary Powers. The uproar raised in the press was incredible. After May 1 a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet opened, and at that session we worked out our tactics. I proposed that we issue a statement that the sovereignty of the USSR had been violated; the purpose of the statement was to refute the Americans' report that their plane had been lost over Turkish territory and that it had not flown across our border. I considered the possibility of saying that we had shot down this plane, but without indicating in which region or that the pilot was still alive. This plan was adopted. What we had in mind was to confuse and mislead the U.S. government. If the Soviet leaders did not say exactly where the plane had been shot down and what the fate of the pilot was, the United States might think that Powers had died. Consequently in Washington they continued to insist the plane had been flying only over Turkish territory, although they admitted the possibility that it might have gone off course and crossed the Soviet-Turkish border. Over there it seems they were confident that their version of events would have the proper effect on public opinion, proper from their point of view.

Once the Americans had tied their own hands by repeating these falsehoods, we decided to come out in the open and, by giving a fuller report, expose their lies. I was assigned to make a statement at the session of the Supreme Soviet about the course of the investigation, indicating specifically at which airfield [in Turkey] planes of this type were based, at what time and to what airfield in Pakistan this plane had first flown, and then what route it had followed across our territory, and what assignment the pilot had been given—to cross the skies over the USSR and land at such-and-such an airfield in Norway. This became a big sensation in the press, an unpleasant blow for U.S. diplomacy. At the Supreme Soviet session my statement was greeted with both anger and exultation. The anger of course was directed against the United States, and great joy was expressed that our armed forces and weapons designers had provided the Soviet army with missiles capable of shooting down a plane that the Americans considered invulnerable.

All this was advantageous to us politically. It helped mobilize public opinion, rally the Soviet people, and win approval around the world for the policies of the USSR. For our government this proved to be a great joy. For how many years the Americans had flown over our country with impunity! But as the folk saying goes, you can go to the well once too often. That is, no matter how often the Americans had flown their spy planes over our country, the time had come when they would have to pay. This event immediately showed everyone who was pursuing what kind of policy. The aggressive line of the United States was clearly directed against the Soviet Union. And they had taken this step at a time when world public opinion was looking forward to what would happen in Paris at the four-power summit meeting. Everyone was hoping that at the summit meeting some sort of good agreement would be reached. And that such an agreement would ensure a more stable and peaceful world situation. Everyone had been expecting that measures would be worked out to prevent the possibility of a new world war breaking out. And yet at this very time the two-faced policy of the United States was exposed. On the one hand, it was reaching out to us and assuring everyone that it was pursuing peaceful and friendly goals, but on the other hand, it was stabbing us in the back. That's what imperialist policy is like. For us that was nothing new.

When we "nailed" them, the American press put forward the version that Eisenhower had not known about the flights. They began to heap all the blame on the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). From their articles it followed that what was involved here was merely the dirty tricks of Allen Dulles,[8] brother of the late secretary of state [John Foster Dulles, who died in 1959]. Supposedly the president had known nothing, and if it had been reported to him, he would not have allowed such a thing. Of course that was the most intelligent explanation, from their point of view, for this unintelligent action. This explanation gave the president a chance to whitewash his own role to some extent and to save face in connection with the forthcoming summit meeting in Paris.

When the fragments of the downed plane were put on display at Gorky Park, foreign journalists wrote a great deal about it. I read it all and I knew what direction their press reports tended to take. The American journalists themselves seem to have been disconcerted and shaken. They apparently expected that an agreement would be reached between the USSR and the United States, but suddenly this unexpected turn of events had occurred! It was hard for them to try to wriggle out of it, and so they expressed condemnation of the U-2 flight. To be sure there were not a great many who condemned it; nevertheless such people did exist. I decided to visit the exhibit [where the U-2 plane fragments were on display]. I had an urge to see what was left of the plane. Other official figures went there with me, including Biryuzov; they guided us through the exhibit. A diverse audience gathered around us. Foreign correspondents came running, and our own correspondents were present as well.[9]

After we had viewed the display the correspondents began asking me questions. I felt compelled to speak out plainly. The conversation with the journalists gave me satisfaction, because I had the desire to express my indignation again and to denounce this act of aggression. I spoke in front of a crowd that had gathered around the pavilion. In my remarks, I stuck to the same tactic that some of the American press had chosen—that is, to blame the aggressive circles in the United States, the military and Allen Dulles, but not to condemn the president. It would have been to our advantage if the president distanced himself from what had happened. That would have made it possible in the future to pursue a policy of strengthening and consolidating the contacts that had developed since my trip to the United States and my meeting there with Eisenhower. Unfortunately, the Americans decided to move in a different direction.

During that same month of May we learned that President Eisenhower had made a statement in which he reported that he had known about the flights and had approved them. Eisenhower explained that the Soviet Union was a closed society and that the United States was forced to gather intelligence this way out of concern for its security. Therefore the president as commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the United States considered such flights necessary. He said that the United States would continue to act this way in the future because it had the right to ensure its safety and even to disregard the sovereignty of other countries.

This was clearly an unintelligent statement, to say the least. A foolish statement, but it had been made. Thus the president himself ruled out the possibility of distancing himself from this provocative incident on the eve of the summit meeting in Paris. We now had no choice, and we spoke out sharply condemning what had happened, expressing our disagreement with this kind of policy and with the fact that there was an attempt in the United States to justify such flights. What would happen next? If the president himself was stating that he had violated our sovereignty, this was, strictly speaking, a call for war! We were literally bursting with indignation, and we used every public opportunity to denounce and expose the aggressive line [of the U.S. government]. Now we no longer spared the president himself, because he had stuck out his rear end, and we gave the Americans many a good kick, as much as we could and to the fullest extent.

World public opinion had very much wanted the summit meeting in Paris to happen, with the representatives of the four great powers taking part. And suddenly such a disappointing thing had happened. The USSR did not refuse to go to the meeting, because we did not want to take responsibility for its collapse. We did not want disappointment and disillusionment to turn into anger directed against our policies. Therefore we criticized the United States but continued to make preparations for the trip to Paris and worked on the questions that should be discussed there.

The time came near when we were to fly to Paris. We began deciding the composition of our delegation. It had been arranged earlier that the head of each government or its chief of state would lead its delegation. Our delegation of course included the foreign minister. As soon as we heard that Washington was including military men, that military men would accompany the American president, I proposed that Defense Minister Malinovsky go with us. If in the United States there were those who wanted to give a military tone to the summit meeting, we would reply in kind. We also prepared the appropriate documents. The purpose of the meeting was to ensure peaceful coexistence and to resolve disputed problems, above all the problem of Germany, and to address questions of disarmament. Actually these questions still remain unresolved today, although today they contain even greater dangers, because in the intervening time a vast amount of explosive material has built up. If a war were to break out today, it would be truly horrendous.

The day came for our departure [May 14, 1960]. We flew to Paris in an IL-18, which was a very good plane both in its outward appearance and its technical capabilities.[10]

This time our sense of ourselves was not what it had been when we arrived at the Geneva four-power summit meeting, flying in on a twin-engine IL-14. All the heads of government and chiefs of state had flown to Geneva in four-engine planes, which made a big impression on the man in the street. A twin-engine plane of course seems inferior to a four-engine one, but at that time we simply had no better planes. Later, when we flew to the United States, it was on a TU-114, a super giant for those days. It made a stunning impression both on the ordinary American and on the American aeronautical experts.

As we were flying over Europe toward Paris, I thought to myself: "We've had such meetings before, more than once, and there isn't much hope now that we'll achieve an agreement." The fact that we had shot down a U-2 plane just before the summit meeting was constantly present in my consciousness. A question occurred to me: "What are we expecting? Is the United States, the most powerful country in the world, really capable of coming to an agreement under such circumstances? Can we expect a rational agreement from this country if, on the eve of the summit, it planted an explosive charge like this?" I was convinced that we could end up looking weak. They had given us a bitter pill to swallow, but we were keeping up appearances, acting as though we didn't understand a thing, going to the summit meeting as though nothing had happened. The meeting certainly would be disrupted, but the other governments would undoubtedly try to dump the blame for that on our country.

An injury had been done to us, so why were we still going to the summit meeting? An idea ripened in my mind: to revise the direction that we initially had taken in the documents we had prepared, especially the declaration that we were going to present at the opening of the summit meeting. We had to present an ultimatum to the United States. They would have to apologize for the insult and injury done to our country. We would have to demand that the president [Eisenhower] take back his statement asserting the right of the United States to make spy flights over foreign territory, something that no sovereign state could permit. The Soviet Union also had an interest in gathering intelligence from the air, but our interest was not on the same level. Our country was surrounded by American bases in Europe, Asia, and Africa. But for us the United States remained unreachable. We had only a small number of missiles that could reach their territory then; in effect, U.S. territory remained inaccessible to us. That was why the U.S. government was making a demonstrative show of its military supremacy.[11]

They wanted to dictate their terms to us from positions of strength. If we simply sat down at the table as though nothing had happened and began negotiating in the usual way, that would mean we were recognizing their might-makes-right position and not protesting against it. That would be completely impossible, impermissible. Such behavior would do great harm to our authority in the eyes of world public opinion, especially among our friends, the Communist parties, and countries that were fighting for independence. They were waging their struggle under harsh circumstances. How could they rely on the Soviet Union at a moment of difficulty if we were allowing people to spit in our faces and acting as though nothing had happened? I don't know why, when we were preparing for the summit meeting, we didn't ask ourselves these questions earlier in this form, why we didn't take a firm stand to defend our honor. At that point, in the airplane, I expressed my concerns to Andrei Andreyevich Gromyko, and he agreed with me. Rodion Yakovlevich Malinovsky also thought that my arguments were correct; that we ought to revise our documents. Since we had typists and stenographers with us on the plane, I dictated some corrections, and Gromyko sat down with his staff people from the foreign ministry to revise our documents. We had to turn them around 180 degrees, so to speak. And we produced a new document, which had not yet been reviewed by our leadership as a whole. Unfortunately, the Soviet government had never before had to concern itself with such questions, and even now it was not dealing with them. It was only the party leadership that was deciding these questions, and that was totally incorrect. We quickly coded everything and transmitted it to Moscow. I don't remember now whether we transmitted it directly from the plane (we had the ability to do that) or after we had landed in Paris. We quickly received an answer giving full approval to our new position. Thus, we had begun our flight with documents oriented one way, but in Paris, the orientation was already different. I think this was an absolutely correct change in our position. We were not refusing to participate in the summit meeting—but we were setting the condition that the United States as represented by its president must apologize for its violation of the sovereignty of our great country, the Soviet Union. In addition to making his apology, the president would have to renounce his earlier statement and give assurances that spy flights over Soviet territory would not occur in the future.

When we arrived in Paris, I thought to myself: "What if we make our statement and the president refuses to apologize or to call off the spy flights?" When we were in Washington as guests of Eisenhower, we had invited him to come visit our country. He accepted the invitation. The invitation was still open, presumably. But under the circumstances that had now arisen, he could not make the trip. How could we welcome him on our territory now? How could we treat him as a guest and show him around? It would be intolerable. It would be humiliating and insulting. It would be demeaning to our country and its leadership! The idea occurred to me that we should include a point in our declaration that we were going to present at the first session of the summit meeting, that if no apologies were made, we were withdrawing our invitation.

Everyone agreed, and we quickly sent this additional point to Moscow for approval. We immediately got an affirmative reply. Thus, not only were all our documents ready, but we ourselves were, so to speak, stuffed full of arguments of an explosive character. No one had better dare touch us. It could set off a spark [that would ignite the explosion]. That was our state of mind at the time. What about the leaders of the other great powers? There exists a certain procedure for displaying diplomatic courtesy—to visit the chief of state of the country in which you have arrived. And so I met with de Gaulle before the beginning of the summit meeting. I was personally acquainted with him of course as a result of my visit earlier that year to France. As for Macmillan, I had known him since Geneva.[12] I met with Macmillan, too, before the opening of the official meeting. To both of them I expressed my dissatisfaction with the uncompromising position taken by the United States. De Gaulle and Macmillan tried to persuade me not to demand an apology. The United States was a great power, and its president could not make such a public statement, and no attempt should be made to try to force him to do that. I countered their argument with the statement that we were also not some tiny little country; we also considered ourselves a great power. Moreover, we did not agree with the idea that a great power had the right to commit insult and injury even to small countries.

From the very first words [at the summit meeting on May 16] it was as though a shouting match began. The tension kept increasing. Tremendous anger had built up inside us and demanded an outlet.

We wanted a stenographic record of the course of the summit meeting, and so we had brought with us to Paris the chief stenographer of the USSR Council of Ministers. I had great respect for her. She took down all my speeches, including the drafts in the process of preparation. I also invited the chief stenographer for the CPSU Central Committee. I remember their names: Nadezhda Petrovna Gavrilova and Nina Ivanovna [no last name given]. Most often I worked with Gavrilova. Now we warned her in advance that her work would be cut out for her at this summit meeting. Suddenly, just before the opening of the meeting, we received information from the organizers that a proposal was being made that the sessions should be conducted without any stenographic record. We were stunned by this, because, as I have said, we wanted to have a complete stenographic record of the negotiations.

We were told that only secretaries could attend. I then proposed that Nadezhda Petrovna [Gavrilova] be declared a secretary. We had the right to do that, although as a rule all the secretaries were men and were diplomats. A secretary of that sort had also come with us. But there are no laws on this matter. It was simply that in practice no women had even been seen functioning in this capacity. I said to Nadezhda Petrovna: “You are our secretary, and therefore you will be legally recognized as such at this international conference.” She was an intelligent woman and understood everything. But because she was a somewhat taciturn woman and not effusive, she replied to me with nothing more than a shy smile. In her facial expression and her behavior she always maintained an aura of strictness and seriousness.

When we entered the room where the sessions were to be held, Nadezhda Petrovna looked like a queen in her black dress. My assistants, who knew her biography, told me that her father had been a gypsy and her mother a Ukrainian. The striking features of a pretty gypsy woman remained in her face, and in her black dress she looked like Carmen. We said to her jokingly: “Nadezhda Petrovna, there’s no country that’s going to put a secretary on display that would be equal to you.”

We went into the meeting room, and the other delegations also began to come in. The British delegation came in first. We greeted one another, and just then the U.S. delegation came in. Their members immediately went to their seats and sat down, greeting us only with nods of the head. We understood that to mean: “We see you, but we’re not going to shake your hand. We’re in a state of conflict with you, and even one of psychological warfare.”

Even before the summit meeting began, I had asked President de Gaulle for permission to make a statement. We wanted to present the terms of our ultimatum, and depending on how the U.S. delegation responded, we would then decide whether or not to take part in the meeting. I read our declaration aloud. My interpreter, [Viktor] Sukhodryov,[13] translated everything accurately as the very well trained specialist he was, with his marvelous knowledge of English. I liked him very much. I have good recollections of working together with him. His is a typical Ukrainian surname, but I don't know whether he is Ukrainian or not, because when he spoke there was no indication of a Ukrainian accent and no Ukrainian words or phrases. Those who know English well, and all the journalists we encountered, commented that Khrushchev's interpreter had a perfect mastery of English.

And so I read our declaration. I specify that I read it because in such cases no improvisation is permissible. If you improvise, inappropriate words may slip out, a sentence or phrase might not be formulated quite right, but everything would be recorded, and it would be difficult to correct afterward. If an inappropriate word or statement were made, the possibility would arise that the text would be interpreted in a way different from our intention—an interpretation could be made that was more favorable to our adversaries. After reading the declaration I sat down. General confusion prevailed. Especially after the sentence in which it was stated that we were withdrawing our invitation if no apology was made by the United States, and that the president could not be our guest after what he had allowed to happen in relation to our country. Eisenhower rose from his seat, as did his delegation, and we all went our separate ways. I don't remember whether any announcement was made that we would reconvene again later. In short, our declaration played the role of a bomb that sent all those present flying to their rooms. The round table, which was supposed to be the center around which we united for negotiations, was blown apart.

De Gaulle showed some initiative in trying to continue the summit meeting. Through his foreign minister he passed on the information that the three Western delegations would gather without us, to discuss our declaration and decide their attitude toward it. We understood that the president of the United States would have to consult with the people accompanying him and with his allies, France and Britain, to decide on the common line they would take. We had the partial hope that de Gaulle would take an understanding attitude toward our declaration, which surely should have impressed him, in view of his own character. He too behaved very strictly in defending the honor of France and the French people, so that our declaration was not in conflict with his overall understanding of things. It was our expectation that he might say something publicly in support of our position, although we understood that in principle it would be virtually impossible for him to do that. But I think that inwardly he did have an understanding attitude toward our position.

I was in an aroused, aggressive, and fighting mood, although I knew the United States would not agree to the bitter pill we were handing them and trying to force them to swallow. I didn't think they would publicly admit they were wrong.

And so we had a free day on our hands, which we had not planned for. We were not prepared to try to work out some other schedule. However, in Paris there is plenty to look at if you have the time and the desire. Previously, Malinovsky had told me a lot about his military service as a Russian soldier in France during World War I.[14] I addressed him with a question: "Rodion Yakovlevich, the village where your regiment was stationed for rest and recreation during World War I—is that far away?"

"No, it's not far," he answered.

"Do you remember the locale well enough to get there without anyone else accompanying us?"

"Yes, I remember it well. I remember the people there as well as the village. I was thinking to myself I'd like to go there, to see old acquaintances, and exchange a few words."

I had the desire to go there with Malinovsky precisely because as a soldier he had fought against the Germans together with the French. Actually we had come to this summit meeting to discuss this very question of Germany. The consequences of the aggression that Germany had committed in 1941 had not yet been overcome, and we had no peace treaty with Germany. We hoped for sympathy from the French people in this connection.

Rodion Yakovlevich and I, with our escorts and guards, got in our cars and set off on our journey. Gromyko remained in Paris to keep in touch with the other delegations and wait for any telegrams from Moscow. We drove out of Paris along a good highway lined with linden trees. The weather was clear and sunny. Along the way we came to a tree that had fallen across the road, and we couldn't get around it. Road workers with axes and saws arrived to remove it. We got out of our cars and began working with them. I asked a Frenchman to lend me his ax, which he did willingly, while the others looked on smiling—and wondering whether the Russian premier could handle an ax. I never worked as a lumberjack, but I was used to physical labor ever since I was a child and I knew how to use an ax. I used one in the yard of my own home. What happened next was recorded by journalists and photographers with movie cameras and still cameras. But this was not an undesirable turn of events for us; in fact, it was to the advantage of the Soviet delegation. As I saw it, ordinary people would be the first to understand that here was a government made up of working people, and the head of the government himself, a former industrial worker, knew what physical labor was all about; even at his age he could still swing an ax. We cut the tree up, dragged the pieces off the road, got back in our car, and went on.

Malinovsky was our guide. We actually didn't ask anyone for directions and arrived at the village we were looking for. We went directly to the house where Malinovsky had been quartered along with a friend of his. No crowds gathered because we had arrived without advance notice. We got out of the car and the owner of the house, a man of about 45, came out to meet us. Malinovsky and I introduced ourselves, and Rodion Yakovlevich asked him whether his mother was still alive. She would probably remember that two Russian soldiers had slept on the hay in their barn. The man welcomed us very politely, invited us into the house, and his mother showed up—she had been the housewife there in that earlier time. We greeted her and were attentive toward her in every possible way. Malinovsky told her his name, to remind her, and mentioned the name of his friend. He was also curious whether her husband was still alive. She replied that he had died.

Previously Malinovsky had told me that the husband had been an old man even back then, but the housewife had been young and very pretty. Malinovsky's friend had courted the housewife, and she had fallen in love with him. That was good for those two soldiers, because the housewife treated them to milk, sour cream, and the tasty products of French cuisine. When he mentioned his friend's name, her tired old face was transformed. It lit up. The glum expression on her face disappeared and she livened up. She looked like an old woman, although according to Rodion Yakovlevich she was younger than him. Her son immediately disappeared and returned with some bottles of wine, set the table, and traditional French hors d'oeuvres appeared, our host displaying great warmth and hospitality. The son treated us to wine and was very attentive toward us. The old woman also had a drink. Malinovsky began to reminisce about the past. The lady of the house apparently did not want to indulge in reminiscences, and her behavior toward us was rather restrained. An expression of indifference appeared on her face, but her son displayed the typical cordiality of country people—though he didn't go into excessive raptures.[15]

Then we all went outside. Other residents of the village had already gathered. I remember many of them. They were middle-aged people. Of course there were also children present, as there might be in any village. Malinovsky began asking about some of his acquaintances [from that time long before].

He spoke in French to one man, who was no longer young: “Does the tavern in your town still exist? Do you still go to it?”

The Frenchman smiled: “Yes, the tavern’s still there, and we visit it, just as we used to in the old days, but that beautiful woman who you are probably remembering is no longer in this world; she’s been gone long since.”

Malinovsky also began to smile and said: “I don’t deny that I remember her.”

Then everyone began jabbering like a bunch of fools, recalling that young woman from the tavern, who apparently had been “pretty as a picture,” so to speak. It seems that the owner of the tavern employed her precisely for the purpose of attracting the young fellows, so they would drink more of his wine. He came out ahead on the deal. Malinovsky never spoke of taking any liberties with this beautiful young woman or of any liberties being taken on her part. Apparently the relationships had been good and pure. Of course he loved women, especially beautiful ones, which he told me about honestly when he recalled his time in Spain during the war between the Spanish Republic and Franco.

In the evening we returned to Paris. Gromyko reported that there would be no summit meeting. The chiefs of the three other great powers had exchanged views, and Eisenhower had decided that he would not apologize. The French and British would not have objected to an apology. And I think that for their part they probably tried to persuade the Americans to make concessions, but in vain.

When I had read our declaration, Eisenhower had turned to Secretary of State Herter for advice. The president said: “I think it would be possible to apologize, don’t you?” Herter answered: “No!” and grimaced so emphatically that he left no doubt where he stood. Thus, Eisenhower gave no assurances that the spy flights would not be repeated in the future. He showed in this way that he was still under the powerful influence of his secretary of state. During the meeting in Geneva, he had conscientiously read aloud the notes that John Foster Dulles slipped to him. Now Herter was dictating and again Eisenhower was going along. The president was endowed with intelligence and good sense, but he did the bidding of others, even though he understood that the position he was taking was wrong. He couldn’t stand up to them. As a result, he was not the one who shaped the international policy of the United States.

Even after it had been decided that the summit meeting would not take place, I went to visit Macmillan, because I felt I owed him the courtesy. He could neither defend the U.S. position nor condemn his ally and simply argued that we had demanded too much, that we should have kept in mind the president’s difficulty: he was not in a position to apologize publicly. Macmillan thought that we should have taken a more flexible position, to eliminate tension, and he expressed his regrets that we had publicly withdrawn the invitation for Eisenhower to visit the USSR. I argued that we had been right, and I think that Macmillan took an understanding attitude toward my remarks, which could be seen from the expression on his face. He said: "Mr. Khrushchev, Britain today does not occupy the position that it once did in world affairs. Formerly Britain was the queen of the seas. Britannia ruled the waves and in many respects decided the policies of Europe and even of the world, but now we have become a different kind of country. Today the most powerful states in the world are the United States and you. Therefore a great deal depends on you. . . ."

We politely took our leave of Macmillan. That was my last meeting with him. Then I made a visit to General de Gaulle. He took the same position as Macmillan, that is, a neutral position to a certain degree, and in the course of our conversation he used almost the same words and arguments that Macmillan had. But I felt that de Gaulle had more regrets about what had happened. Apparently he had invested greater hopes in the summit meeting than Macmillan had. That is the feeling I had. This is purely my individual interpretation of his remarks. Maybe I'm wrong, but that's the impression I had.

Taking leave of de Gaulle, I returned to our embassy, where our lodgings were. Maurice Thorez came to visit us, along with his wife Jeannette Vermeersch. The conversation was fraternal in tone; I told him about the latest developments. Thorez was sincerely pleased with our position and fully approved of it. I was concerned: "Will the French people understand it correctly? That is, French public opinion?" The French public had placed great hopes in the summit meeting. Everyone wanted peace. We had foreseen in advance that the West would try to dump all the blame on us for the collapse of the meeting. If the matter was viewed from a formal standpoint, it could be said that we had refused to participate by making such a sharply worded declaration. Our document had immediately been published. The ordinary person who was not experienced in politics would find it hard to sort out the subtleties of the situation, and we had given the died-in-the-wool intriguer politicians the opportunity to turn people's disappointment over the collapse of the summit meeting against the Soviet Union and the head of its government. This concerned me, and I asked Thorez about it. He replied that of course the reactionaries would make use of the situation, but the Communist Party membership and the public at large would sort the matter out correctly and would be on our side. Thorez began to smile when I told about the visit by Malinovsky and me to a French village. I sensed that he was impressed by all this.

Then I had a visit from Canon Félix Kir, mayor of Dijon. When I had been a guest of the president of France [earlier, in March 1960], Kir had not been able to meet with me, because the [church] authorities considered him a pro-Soviet person, and they temporarily placed him in conditions of isolation. Kir had been active in the Resistance movement against the Nazi occupation and had suffered persecution. If my memory is not betraying me, he was sentenced to death on two different occasions. It was interesting for me now to see how this man would view the collapse of the summit meeting. By then the French radio was already making a great hue and cry, trying to turn public opinion against the policies of the Soviet Union. Kir and I had our conversation outdoors. There was a comfortable little courtyard at our embassy, and as it turned out, we had a most cordial conversation. He told me he regretted having been unable to meet with me earlier. He entirely approved of our position, which I laid out for him during our conversation. Then I had a question for this man, who was quite energetic, although no longer young: "What means of transport are you using?" He didn't have a car of his own. I offered: "If you don't object, I'll provide you with my car, which will take you to whatever address you indicate."

He replied: "I am flattered, and I readily accept your offer."

Kir had many kind things to say about me, and it was pleasant to hear them at that tense moment when all the blame was being placed on our policies and the capitalist press was trying to isolate us. The fact that Canon Kir left the Soviet embassy in a car with our flag on it had great significance. I was also glad that he had displayed sober-mindedness and had agreed to take our car. We said goodbye very warmly, and I accompanied him beyond the gates of our embassy. Some other delegations also came to see us, as well as private individuals, but they were people of leftist tendency. No right-wingers would have honored us with their attention or favored us with a visit even if the summit meeting had ended well. But I had no need of the right-wingers. To the contrary, visitors from the right might have been interpreted badly by people on the left. Those who visited our embassy took an understanding attitude toward our policies and expressed the belief that we had taken a firm stand in the struggle for peace, for peaceful coexistence between the two different social systems, for the development of economic and cultural ties among all nations, regardless of the socio-political structures in one or another country.

The capitalist propaganda machine was at work with all its strength, trying, as I have said, to turn public opinion against the Soviet Union, blaming us for the collapse of the talks and for having "trampled on the hopes of the nations of the world." The time came for our departure flight. In such cases it's not recommended to wait around. We went to the airport in a convertible. I wanted to travel demonstratively in this way and see how people responded to us in various ways. Of course there were no organized demonstrations, neither friendly nor hostile, but some groups of people greeted us warmly and others shook their fists at us. There is nothing surprising in this. A clash had taken place between two opposing lines at a time when conditions had ripened for improved contacts. We had gathered together in order to work out a common position that would ensure peace, as desired by all the peoples of the world. And suddenly it had all fallen apart because of the ultimatum we had presented!

Not everyone understood the justice of our ultimatum. Some approached the question from a liberal standpoint, taking the view that although the Americans had displayed arrogance, we should have compromised our principles in order to save the summit meeting. I understand this position, but I couldn't agree with it in any way. There is a Russian folk saying: "If you let your claws get dull, you'll end up totally in the mud." If we had not shown courage and defended our honor, we would in effect have been agreeing with the United States that their planes had the right to fly over the closed territory of any country. What does "closed" mean? It means that a government has control over its borders. We greet our guests with kindness, but uninvited guests get what they deserve.

Many years have gone by, but even today I think the sharp rebuff we delivered was correct. I take pride in the fact that we gave a rebuff then to the most powerful country in the world, which refused to take the opinions of other countries into account. With that our honeymoon in relations with the United States came to an end. I had the impression that Eisenhower personally wanted an improvement in our relations, that he understood the harmfulness of the policy being pursued toward us and wanted a rapprochement. For our part, that was something we had always wanted. From the moment when the Soviet state was founded, Lenin did everything in his power to establish diplomatic relations with all countries. I recall his celebrated statement that we should try to construct normal relations with all countries existing on the planet. If we refused to acknowledge the existence of the capitalist world, the only thing we had left would be to fly to the moon. Reality has to be recognized. Diplomatic, economic, and cultural relations should be established with all countries.

This same kind of policy was continued after Lenin, especially after Stalin's death, when we had the opportunity to express our views freely, to remove the obstacles that had arisen as a result of Stalin's displays of hostility, to clear away everything that had hindered or complicated relations with the capitalist countries. We tried to remove the barriers that had arisen with Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan, and we wanted to improve the damaged relations with the major capitalist countries. On the other hand, the unsuccessful struggle against the USSR [waged by the capitalist countries for many years], the aggravation of tensions between the socialist and capitalist countries, and the blockade of the Soviet Union had not produced results. It seemed to us that the time had come for the capitalist countries to realize that they could not break us with the use of force. No one had the capacity to stifle or suppress a huge country like the Soviet Union, especially since it was no longer the only socialist country. A commonwealth of many socialist countries had emerged, and we had grown stronger.

In my statements when meeting with foreign journalists [this was apparently at a press conference in Paris on May 19], I pointed to the irrationality of the anti-Soviet policy and reminded them that when Roosevelt became president he established a good foundation. Before that, for quite a few years, the United States had refused to recognize the Soviet government, and it had no diplomatic relations with us.[16] But the policy the United States was now pursuing would end in failure, just as the policy of nonrecognition of the Soviet Union had ended in failure. The journalists used to answer me this way: “It was sixteen years before tsarist Russia recognized the United States after it won its independence in the revolutionary war against England.” My answer was that they should not pick a bad example. Tsarist Russia had not been able to realistically assess the changed conditions in the world. From the tsarist point of view, to have a government that was a republic [rather than a monarchy] was pure and simple sedition. That’s why they delayed for so long before recognizing the United States. Did the United States now really have to pursue the same kind of irrational approach in its policies and in evaluating the new conditions existing in the world? This policy would not achieve the desired goal. Moreover, it was harmful to the U.S. economy, which could gain more if it established normal economic relations with us and let them develop, along with cultural, scientific, and other ties.

Some people ask the question: “Perhaps we should not have accepted the invitation from Eisenhower previously” [to visit the United States in September 1959]. No, that would not have been sensible. Even given the fact that nothing special resulted from our visit, we didn’t lose anything; on the contrary, we gained. The Americans got to know the Soviet Union better. We had the opportunity to meet personally with many people and express our views through the American press. Among the journalists of the capitalist press there appeared people who understood the necessity for improved relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. Some might say that all these meetings, ceremonies, and so forth were just window dressing, just a sham. But for the capitalist world even this has significance. When our delegation was received with full honors, that was equivalent to an admission that the policy of trying to isolate the Soviet Union had failed, as well as the attempts to eliminate the Soviet Union. The moral victory we gained was colossal. And it was pleasant for me to hear when Eisenhower, during our visit at Camp David, addressed me on occasion with the words "my friend." Again people might say: "That's nothing but words." True. But what do you want? Do you think that—given two countries that stand at completely opposite poles—all they have to do is come together and immediately all the contradictions between them will disappear? That's impossible. Only people living in the realm of fantasy or people who have absolutely no understanding of the class struggle could imagine such a thing. What is involved is a prolonged process, and differences cannot be settled just by friendly talks at a round table.

We believe that the future lies with the working class and that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism will triumph throughout the world. It is necessary to fight for this by various means, but we have to understand Lenin's words that revolution cannot be exported, that the ideas of the revolution cannot be carried on bayonets into other countries. This must be the work of the working class in each separate country! This is what must be understood, and our policies must be constructed accordingly, based on the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence, which finds expression in reciprocal contacts and exchanges of opinion. This is useful for socialist countries. Much can be obtained from the capitalists. We still do many things worse than they do. They have more experience and knowledge. Even after several decades, after we have built up a huge army of educated people, we still have to take a good look at what is going on in the capitalist world, so as to transfer everything useful into our socialist context.

Now let me speak about something else, about how Eisenhower fulfilled the promise he gave to the American people when he stated that the United States would continue to make spy flights over Soviet territory. He declared boastfully that the United States had the right to violate borders. But in practice he drew the correct conclusion: the Soviet Union had shot down one U-2 plane; it could shoot down another, and therefore it was better not to commit such provocations.[17] Later the following incident occurred: American spy planes flew over the Arctic Ocean along our borders and penetrated our territorial waters. Our fighter planes shot down one of the violators and it sank.[18]

As always, in such cases, the Americans declared that they had been flying over neutral waters. They sent their spy planes to the area, continuing to fly over those waters, and brought their ships to that location, but they couldn't prove their plane had been shot down over international waters. We, on the other hand, had some material evidence: six of their crew had perished, but the rest were alive in Soviet captivity.

Until the moment when we shot down the U-2, American planes from West Germany frequently violated the borders of Czechoslovakia and East Germany. Now the commander of American forces in West Germany gave the order not to fly any closer than 50 kilometers from the border between East and West Germany. And no more incidents of that kind occurred.[19] Thus the benefit of the statement [of ultimatum at the summit meeting] was seen in the fact that our adversary recognized the boundary that he should not cross, because that would not go unpunished. And is that really a small thing? Besides that, we showed the whole world that we didn't come cringing with our hat in our hand, even in the face of such a powerful country as the United States. We didn't bow and scrape or grovel. Meanwhile the Western European countries were crawling on their bellies in the face of America's financial power. We, on the other hand, took a proud stand and said, "No!" We want friendship but we will not tolerate humiliation. We don't follow the policy suggested in the Gospels that if your enemy strikes you, you should turn the other cheek. To the contrary, we think that if someone strikes us, we have the right to tear off the head of whoever had the gall to do that.

The confrontation that took place between us was especially painful after a rapprochement seemed imminent. When Eisenhower invited me to visit the United States and be his guest, the peoples of the world felt some hope that a stable peace would result, and illusions about the coming of a time of complete harmony arose in world public opinion, which wanted a relaxation of tensions and the elimination of the danger of military conflict. Now suddenly everything had turned around completely! But we continued to follow our general line of peaceful coexistence and, as before, tried to establish our relations with other countries in such a way as to ultimately arrive at mutual understanding and to ensure peace throughout the world. Although passions had reached a high pitch [at the time of the failed summit meeting], we nevertheless exerted our efforts in the direction I have indicated. A new dialogue began after the downing of the American [RB-47] plane, which had been spying on our radar installations [on the Kola peninsula] along the shores of the Arctic Ocean. The United States was forced to make a formal request that we return the captured airmen. We immediately returned the bodies of those who had died, but we continued to hold the two prisoners. I don't remember now what conditions had to be met before we would return them, but no agreement resulted. The captured airmen remained in our country [until January 1961].

1. The full story of Soviet efforts to down the American U-2s is told in the book by Sergei N. Khrushchev, *Nikita Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 150–62, 365–91. (This account includes information not publicly reported in 1960—namely, that at the same time Soviet forces shot down the U-2 plane on May 1, 1960, they also shot down a Soviet pilot by mistake.) [SK]

2. From 1947 onward reconnaissance flights over the USSR were made by various types of American and British planes. In December 1954 work began in the United States on developing new reconnaissance aircraft with powerful photographic apparatus to operate at heights above 20,000 meters (62,000 feet). In fall 1955 the design (code name "Aquatone") for such a plane was prepared. On July 4–5, 1956, the Lockheed U-2 plane with a J-57 engine made its first flight from Wiesbaden (West Germany) across the Baltic to Moscow, Leningrad, and beyond. Against these planes it was planned to use Soviet SU-9 and MIG-21 interceptors or SA-1 and later SA-2 antiaircraft missiles. From the end of the 1950s onward, U-2 squadrons also operated, besides from Wiesbaden, from Injirlik (southern Turkey), Bodo (northern Norway), Peshawar (northern Pakistan), and an air base near Tokyo. In September 1959 the flights were halted in connection with Khrushchev's visit to Eisenhower; then they were resumed. From 1960 onward, British airmen also served as U-2 pilots at the Injirlik base. In all, twenty-three reconnaissance missions over the USSR were flown by U-2s. For a detailed history of the U-2, see Chris Pocock, *The U-2 Spyplane: Toward the Unknown—A New History of the Early Years* (Atglen, Pa.: Schiffer Publishing, 2000). [MN/SS]

3. See Sergei N. Khrushchev, *Creation of a Superpower,* 161–62. [SK]

4. Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergei Semyonovich Biryuzov (1904–64) was commander in chief of Antiaircraft Defense Forces from 1955 to 1962. See Biographies.

5. From the Badaber air base near Peshawar in northern Pakistan.

6. The exhibition was set up in the chess pavilion at Gorky Central Park of Culture and Rest. The items on display included the broken wings of the U-2, part of the fuselage, seven camera parts, flight instruments, a catapult chair, a remote-control explosive charge, oxygen containers (sufficient for eight days), a high-altitude suit, nylon summer overalls, a helmet, maps, a pistol with silencer and ammunition, American, French, West German, Turkish, and Soviet money, a phrase book in fourteen languages, and the poisoned pin (*Pravda,* May 12, 1960). [SS]

7. Powers was the first American pilot on a reconnaissance mission to be shot down and captured, but he was not the last. In all, more than forty American reconnaissance planes were shot down during the Cold War and more than two hundred crew members were killed. [SS]

8. Allen W. Dulles (1893–1969) was head of American political intelligence in Europe from 1942 to 1945. He began working for the CIA in 1947 and was its director from 1953 to 1961. See Biographies.

9. This happened on May 11, 1960. [SS]

10. The "IL" in the name of this turbojet plane is derived from the last name of its designer, Sergei Ilyushin. [SK]

11. In November 1959, Khrushchev publicly declared that within a year the USSR would have produced 250 missiles armed with thermonuclear warheads. According to his following declaration, by 1960 the USSR would have 50 each for Britain and France, 30 for West Germany, and an undisclosed number for a strike on the United States.

12. Macmillan had been at Geneva as Britain's foreign secretary. He also visited the Soviet Union in March 1959. [SK/GS]

13. Viktor Mikhailovich Sukhodryov (born 1933) served as personal interpreter to Khrushchev, and later also to Brezhnev, at many important international meetings. [MN/SS]

14. He served from February 1916 in the Russian Expeditionary Corps. [MN] In Volume I of the present edition Khrushchev gave a more detailed account of Malinovsky's World War I service in France. [GS]

15. The Russian expression here is *telyachiye vostorgi,* which literally means "the raptures of a calf," suggesting a young animal bounding around. [GS]

16. Roosevelt was first elected president in 1932; he recognized the Soviet Union and established diplomatic relations with it on November 16, 1933. [GS]

17. From August 1960 onward, reconnaissance photography of Soviet territory was carried out by the U.S. spy satellite Corona. [MN] "Corona" was the secret name for the satellite program, which was authorized by President Eisenhower in early 1958 and run jointly by the CIA and the U.S. Air Force. In public the satellite was called Discoverer, and its function was said to be scientific research.

Between 1960 and 1972 more than a hundred Corona satellites were launched and took more than 800,000 photographs. [SS]

18. An American RB-47 reconnaissance plane was reconnoitering near Cape Svyatoi Nos on the coast of the Kola peninsula, where many Soviet radar installations were located. It was shot down on July 1, 1960, and sank in the Barents Sea. Soviet forces rushed to the scene and were able to save two of the RB-47 crew; they recovered the bodies of some who had died, but at least six crewmen perished in the incident. See Sergei N. Khrushchev, *Creation of a Superpower,* 393–94. [SK] The two surviving airmen were confined at the Lubyanka headquarters of the KGB in Moscow for several months before being released. [SS]

19. In practice such incidents occurred again from 1961 onward, but instead of the U-2 the Americans now used various types of Phantom or SR-71.

THE VISIT TO THE UNITED NATIONS

In summer 1960, we had a discussion in the Soviet leadership about the delegation we would send to New York for the annual session of the United Nations General Assembly.[1] The decision was made that the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers [that is, Khrushchev] would head the delegation, although such a delegation was usually headed by the foreign minister. We began thinking about the questions that deserved attention—and that we would bring up at the General Assembly. We wanted to focus the attention of the entire world on such questions. Above all the discussion should contribute to the struggle for peace and the struggle for the liberation of nations still under oppressive colonial rule. I proposed that we call for a definite time limit to be set for the granting of independence to all existing colonies. The adoption of such a resolution would stimulate the liberation struggle, because it would carry the authority of a major international forum. The United Nations could thus exert moral pressure on governments, to make them speed up independence for their colonies. We wanted the peoples of Africa and Asia to have a special appreciation of our policies. A Leninist foreign policy pursues the goal of fighting against oppression, against the exploitation of man by man, and for national and social emancipation. I expected that our call for an end to colonial rule would find a big response in the hearts of those living in the colonies. After an exchange of views we concluded that bringing up this subject at the General Assembly would have great political significance and would raise our authority among the peoples of the colonies.

We needed to think this matter over from every angle, so that it could be presented with powerful logic in the report [which Khrushchev was to give at the UN General Assembly], so that people would be mobilized in advance, and so that the colonialists would not only be placed in an awkward position but also be forced to vote with us. We tried to guess what position the United States would take. They didn't have actual colonies, but with the power of capital they kept the underdeveloped countries suppressed and reduced them de facto to the position of colonies. Besides that, the United States, together with its colonialist allies, Great Britain and France, covered up for Portugal and Spain, which also had colonies in Africa and Asia. Institutes of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, which dealt with related subjects, as well as the Foreign Ministry of the USSR, helped prepare the content of my speech, but we didn't want it leaked to the press ahead of time. We didn't want to give our adversaries an opportunity to prepare their rebuttals, to counter our speech with cleverly worded arguments.

When the time came to form our delegation, we decided on its overall composition and announced that it would be headed by Khrushchev. Delegations from Ukraine and Belorussia would travel together with the delegation from the central government of the USSR. The socialist countries of Eastern Europe also announced that their delegations would be headed by the chairmen of their Councils of Ministers or by the first secretaries of the Central Committees of their ruling Communist parties. This made a big splash in the world press. In responding to this news, a number of other countries also announced that their chiefs of state or heads of government would lead their delegations to the General Assembly, at least for a certain length of time. India announced that Nehru would come, Yugoslavia sent Tito, and Britain sent Harold Macmillan. Many other delegations were also led by the heads of their governments.

After coming to an agreement with the leaderships of most of the socialist countries that were members of the Warsaw Pact, we all set off for New York together on a Soviet ship. On the appointed day all the other delegations arrived at the ship, with the exception of the Romanian delegation, which traveled to America on its own. A question came up: “Might not the NATO countries attempt some acts of sabotage against our ship?” Such a possibility existed. The expanses of the ocean are vast. A ship could sink, and later when there were no witnesses or survivors, just try to figure out what the causes were. Was it an accident? Was there some floating mine left over from World War II? After all, such incidents did occur. But there might also be an act of sabotage! Nevertheless, we decided to travel by ship. I remembered that on one occasion Molotov had sailed on a British passenger ship on his way to a UN General Assembly. He had flown to Britain and then had traveled from London to New York on an ocean liner.

Our ship, the *Baltika,* was originally of Dutch manufacture, a very comfortable ship, not large, but well appointed. There were excellent conveniences available for the passengers. The point of embarkation was in the Kaliningrad district.[2] We said goodbye to those who had accompanied us and took our places on the ship, which gave its farewell salute, and off we sailed. It was getting toward evening, but the sky remained light for a while, and during that time we had the opportunity to view the shores of our homeland.

Eight to ten days were required for us to reach New York. There was plenty of time to complete preparations for the speech I was to give, and to think about all the points on the agenda before the General Assembly. Conditions for work on shipboard were quite suitable, and the entire support staff that we needed was constantly there with us. We held a conference and discussed questions that had come up; the position of each of our allies was clarified, and the decision was made that at the General Assembly we would present a united front of the socialist countries.

The Baltic Sea did not give us a warm welcome. At dawn the next day there was heavy fog, the visibility was quite poor, and therefore we traveled with our foghorns sounding all along the way. When sailing through the shallow parts of the Baltic Sea, you have to be very careful to stay in the proper channel. The ship was equipped with automatic devices to prevent it from going off course, and there were buoys positioned all along, so that ships could hear their signals and the captain would be able to orient himself correctly in steering the vessel. Later the fog dispersed and the sun peeked out. We were approaching Denmark just then and its coast was visible. Sailing through the straits, we passed the coasts of Sweden and Norway as well. Finally we came out into the North Sea. Soviet Navy ships accompanied us only as far as the open ocean. We sailed through the English Channel under the protection of our destroyers, but when we reached the Atlantic, our destroyer escort turned back, and we continued on our way. Our commercial fleet had already placed ships along the route at prearranged locations to provide orientation as we traveled across the ocean. We encountered them regularly at set intervals. In the event of an accident they could have provided us with aid. Besides that, we were sailing along a route that was quite lively with traffic. It was a route fairly solidly filled with merchant-marine traffic. And so there were quite a few encounters with other ships.

This was the first time in my life out on the open ocean. What a vast amount of water. Quite a special feeling comes over you when you find yourself for the first time out on this boundless expanse. But this feeling was interrupted by certain “fellow travelers” who showed up. Even as we were approaching

Denmark, numerous foreign planes and helicopters came out to meet us. They flew over our ship at inadmissibly low altitudes, barely missing our ship's masts, and constantly taking photographs. For the Western journalists, our trip was a sensation. To satisfy the curiosity of their readers, they reported on the entire length of our ship's passage to New York. We immediately received press reports over the radio and thus kept close track of the coverage our trip was getting. These overflights of our ship continued until we were out on the open ocean. Until then, planes were constantly circling in the sky over our ship—private planes, commercial ones, small planes of the type of our PO-2s.[3] These were very handy planes; being highly maneuverable, they gave reporters and photographers the chance to take photos of our ship from every angle.

At last the shores of Europe began to recede and disappear in the distance. The shores of the British Isles were the last to disappear. The visibility was excellent despite the great distance. On a certain day during our trip, we began to feel the typical swaying and tossing of a ship at sea. At first it was hardly noticeable, and then it became stronger, making you unsteady as you walked.[4] The dining room table was the barometer of how this motion of the waves affected the passengers. When we went to breakfast, we noticed some people were missing; at lunch, if the ship's tossing had intensified, the number of people at the meal was much smaller. We were informed that such and such a comrade, or even an entire delegation, could not come to breakfast or lunch, and that we should not expect them. Things later reached the point where only isolated individuals came to the table. At first, ocean-going jokes and humorous remarks echoed at the table at lunchtime, and some people, honoring a tradition that exists in the navy, called for a shot glass, or jigger, of liquor *(charka)* at lunch. But gradually, fewer and fewer people came to the table, and even the *charka* ceased to have the power of attraction. Those who were still on their feet had rather gray complexions, and the mood was quite gloomy; people were not feeling well. Dr. Vladimir Grigoryevich Bezzubik[5] accompanied us. I had known him for many years and regarded him with great respect both as a doctor and as a person. He was supposed to help us, but when the ship began to toss, and when the tossing became fairly intense, it was precisely our doctor we lost before anyone else. He was lying flat on his back—"without his hind legs," as the Russian saying is. Thus we all learned what it means to be seasick. But we knew that the tossing of the ship would end and everyone would return to normal.

Our bodyguards found themselves in the same condition and couldn't stay on their feet. As it turned out, I have a sturdier constitution, and I didn't get seasick. For the whole length of our trip the action of the ocean waves had absolutely no effect on me. I slept normally. In fact I slept better than on dry land, because the tossing of the ship rocked me, helping me to sleep soundly. I walked on the deck in the fresh air and had a thorough airing-out. All this only made me stronger. I don't remember whether any of the delegates from the fraternal countries kept me company when the ship was tossing heavily. There was one instance when I remember sitting at the table with only one other person. This became the subject of all kinds of jokes, although those who were seasick were in no mood for witticisms. But in clement, sunny weather, it was very pleasant on the ship. Many people were reading books and magazines out of boredom, items they'd brought with them, or they were working on material in preparation for the UN session. Games exist on shipboard for the passenger; I hadn't known about them before. They aren't difficult and provide a pleasant way of passing the time. And so we occupied our leisure time with these games. Some people were playing a game in which they used special kinds of sticks to slide a disk (like an oversized hockey puck) over [a marked surface on] the ship's deck so that it would come to rest in a numbered square. The one who got the highest number of points [from the numbers in the squares where the disks stopped] was declared the winner. The sign-up sheet for this deck game was always full. Other people would look on as spectators, turning into fans supporting one side or the other. And so competition began in this sport, and I also took part in the game.[6]

While on shipboard we kept abreast of political developments. This was a time of intense struggle in the Congo. The left-wing forces were headed by Patrice Lumumba.[7] We were following the events. The support personnel who accompanied us were well trained and knew the circumstances in which the struggle in the Congo was unfolding. And so we were constantly oriented correctly in international affairs, which were taking their own course, and we immediately formulated our position, sending coded messages to Moscow to coordinate policy and be sure of agreement. Thus we took part in shaping Soviet opinion on current affairs.

All this time, events in the Congo were taking a very turbulent course. By all possible means we were supporting Lumumba and his party and all those who were rising up in struggle against the Belgian colonizers. The man who was acting as an agent for the Belgian monopolies and colonizers and as the organizer of the reactionary forces at that time in the Congo was [Moise] Tshombe.[8] A lot of time has passed since then, and I can't reconstruct all the details of that situation in my memory, but I remember we did everything we could to support the revolutionary forces in the Congo.

At the same time, this was a very tense period in U.S.-Soviet relations, caused by the collapse of the four-power meeting in Paris as a result of the incident deliberately staged by U.S. intelligence, the flight of the U-2 spy plane [piloted by Gary Powers]. In the press on both sides a heavy exchange of fire was under way. Then suddenly we announced that Khrushchev would be heading the Soviet delegation to New York. With this, as the saying goes, we were pouring fuel on the fire. The reaction of the U.S. press was quite violent. Some voices could be heard advocating a commonsense position. They wanted to tone down the anti-Soviet tirades. But there were not many such voices. The majority directed every possible kind of cursing and denunciation against the policies of the Soviet Union. Much was said about how Khrushchev should be "welcomed": there were calls for the organization of protest demonstrations and so forth. The U.S. government (or Governor Rockefeller) issued an order that the Soviet delegation would have to remain within the bounds of the part of New York City where the United Nations was located and that our delegation did not have the right to go beyond those bounds. Restrictions like that were imposed.

But that didn't hold us back. On the contrary, it was my view that U.S. imperialism was no longer all-powerful and could no longer impose its whims and caprices on international politics. Having made the decision to travel to the United States, we made use of international law, ignoring all threats and anti-Soviet hullabaloo. Outright provocation also took place. When we were still some distance from America—as I recall, it was in the morning—I received a report that a submarine had surfaced on the starboard side of the course our ship was following. I went out on deck. The distance wasn't great, and even without binoculars the enormous steel body of the submarine with waves washing over it was plainly visible. There was no doubt that the submarine belonged to the United States. We calmly continued on our course, taking no action toward the submarine. But what was the purpose of its surfacing? It was a demonstration of military power by aggressive forces who wanted to give a "cold shower" to the delegations from the socialists countries, to try to intimidate us. The submarine cruised parallel to our course for a while, then submerged. That was the end of the matter. For the rest of the way, up to our arrival in New York, we noticed no other manifestations of hostility on the open ocean.

While on board we regularly received summary reviews of the U.S. press. We knew that a great "caterwauling"—or a "concert by yawling cats," as we say in our country—was being made ready for us. Anti-Soviet forces were planning a demonstration timed for our arrival as we approached the docks of New York City. And sure enough, alongside the dock that we had rented, we were met by a demonstration of medium-sized boats. There were a lot of people on the decks of those boats dressed up in colorful costumes and carrying signs and banners. They were shouting something into bullhorns. Someone translated for me. They were exclamations of an insulting nature. These people wanted to humiliate our country and its representatives, but their shouting was going on at a fairly decent distance away from us, and there were cutters belonging to the American police cruising in the intervening space between our ship and the demonstrators. They were seeing to it that the demonstration could be carried on within visible distance but that no direct harm could be done to our ship. We could hear the voices and see the people or the faces, but that was all. We all poured out onto the deck, looked at these dressed-up puppets and dolls, and laughed. For us it was something like a carnival of fools.

Many journalists had gathered at the pier, and among them were Soviet representatives to the UN and the Soviet Ambassador to the United States, Menshikov.[9] As we were docking, an unpleasant scene met our eyes: the pier was old and half-ruined. As we descended the gangways, we could see that everything in the vicinity looked even more ramshackle and rundown. I think that some Americans made ironic jokes about the fact that the Russians rented such a rundown, desolate pier. But you didn't have to look far to find out who was responsible. I was. During the preliminary negotiations we received a report about the cost of renting a pier and a berth for our ship, and I decided to skimp, because a docking place cost a great deal. What I suggested was this: "What in the devil do we want to waste money for? What difference does it make where we dock? Just as long as we dock. Give our people the order to do some bargaining and rent a place that would be cheaper." And so there it was, our cheap place.

We disembarked. No demonstrations were visible. Probably the police were refusing admission to the area for anyone other than journalists accredited to the United Nations and our own people. We immediately went to the building that is our property in New York. Most of the staff and members of the Soviet Mission to the United Nations lived there. Our accommodations were good. The quarters were not at all luxurious, in fact quite modest, but they were comfortable. And we didn't ask for anything more. This apartment building is located in the center of the city and is surrounded by a mass of other buildings. Wherever you looked there was glass and concrete, and you could see only small stretches of sky between buildings when you looked up. Well, that was the standard urban landscape of New York City. My description would not be complete if I didn't mention the cars: there was a great deal of noise, and the air was polluted with exhaust fumes from the many cars that were constantly rushing by.

A very heated political atmosphere surrounded our delegation and me personally, and the press kept whipping it to a white-hot intensity. Therefore the U.S. government decided to make arrangements [surrounding us with police] to limit the possibility of aggressive actions against us. There were many police, working around the clock in shifts, and they were all on motorcycles, so that when the shift changed and one brigade of police replaced another late at night or early in the morning, you can imagine what an unbroken artillery cannonade resulted. The cylinders of the motorcycle engines had grown cold, and when the policemen on duty started up their motorcycles, a lot of backfiring from exhaust pipes began, as though artillery shells were exploding, and all this took place right under my window. No matter how much you wanted to fall asleep, and no matter how tired you might be, it was impossible to sleep there. I would be lying on the bed awake, waiting for sleep to return. But there was absolutely no quiet time, because some motorcycle police were arriving and others leaving constantly, making a terrible racket.[10] On top of that was the noise from the cars on the street. I don't remember what floor we were on, but everything was plainly audible. Only when I found myself in that situation, did I understand what life must be like for people living on the lower floors of New York's high-rise apartment buildings. This is one of the special features of that metropolitan colossus, New York City. Aside from that, I repeat, our living quarters were quite good.

There was not enough room, by far, for all of our staff. There were no extra rooms at the building of the Soviet Mission to the UN. But all the main members of our delegation did have accommodations there, in the building owned by the Soviet government. The representatives of Ukraine and Belorussia were located in a different building, a goodly distance away from us. Later I went over to have a look. That building had been rented just for the time of our visit and apparently was some sort of hotel. During my trip to New York that time, the magnificence of those stone and concrete structures did not make an especially big impression on me. Earlier when I was the guest of the U.S. president [in September 1959], I had also visited New York and been to the United Nations, and I remembered the procedure for the reception of especially important guests. At that time I had been led into the large meeting hall of the General Assembly, and a chair had been provided for me near the seat of the presiding officer who chaired the session. This was close to the speaker's stand and faced the audience. And so I was also familiar with that building. At each session of the United Nations a chairman, or presiding officer, for that session is elected, and the secretary-general of the United Nations is always seated next to him. When I had visited the United Nations earlier, the secretary-general had been Swedish, Dag Hammarskjold.[11] He was always present in the General Assembly hall, accompanied by a number of assistants. And so I was already familiar with the meeting hall that I was now being taken to.

As soon as we arrived, some behind-the-scenes activity began concerning formation of the governing bodies for this session [of the UN General Assembly]: the election of the president of the session and the members of commissions and subcommissions. According to the official statutes, these bodies were established only temporarily for the duration of the session. I don't remember now who we proposed as our candidate for president of the session. As I recall, it was someone from Poland. Of course we had no hopes that he would be elected. We did this simply to show our opposition, which we had the moral right to do, but we knew the United States and its allies wouldn't let our candidate be elected. During the elections we were always in the minority. The West proposed a representative from Ireland, and we of course voted against, even though we didn't know this particular individual. Later I was informed that he taught at some college or university. This candidate from Ireland received an absolute majority of the votes, and so he took his seat as president of the session.[12]

But all the different countries were represented in the commissions, including the socialist countries. Evidently an agreement had been reached in advance on the number of seats to be given to the socialist countries, to the Western capitalist powers, and to the newly emerging countries that had just gained their independence.

The U.S. delegation took its place in the very center of the large General Assembly Hall. Our delegation was to the right of the chairman, directly underneath some high balconies reserved for journalists and guests. Those balconies were up so high that you couldn't make out the faces of the people sitting in them. In front of us, the Spanish delegation was seated. The leader of that delegation was a thin, gray-haired man, no longer young, with a fairly decent-size bald spot and a wrinkled face.[13] His features were not flat but fairly prominent. If we had had normal relations with Spain at that time, I would have said: "No big deal. Seems like a perfectly decent person." But our relations with Spain right then were worse than ever. They were quite strained and even hostile, and therefore this man seemed repulsive to me. Just before our departure I had visited with Dolores Ibarruri.[14] I had great respect for her and still respect her today. She had made a request of me: "Comrade Khrushchev," she said, "it would be a good thing if in some speech you give, choosing the right moment, you could denounce the Franco regime[15] in Spain." Ever since then I had been thinking about her request, about how I could speak along these lines without being too rude. Some degree of rudeness would be inevitable, but it should be within limits admissible under parliamentary procedure.

I would be making this attack not against the Spanish delegation but against the political regime in Spain and in support of the working people of Spain. And so as I sat there with my nose virtually touching the bald spot on the back of the head of this representative of the Spanish state, I remembered Dolores [Ibarruri] and the task she had asked me to carry out.

As for the U.S. delegation, I remember well that it included some African Americans, among them a large, dignified, and attractive Black woman. Of course this was supposed to be a demonstration of how all people in the United States enjoyed equal rights.

This was the first time I had ever found myself in this kind of official parliamentary session. I am a man who was formed in the old days before the revolution, and in my day I read reports about sessions of the State Duma [the parliament established in tsarist Russia after the 1905 revolution], how stormy the sessions were at the Duma, up to and including removal of delegates from the meeting hall. Members of the Bolshevik group were removed from the meeting hall most frequently and sometimes were punished by being excluded from several sessions. Now I found myself for the first time in a place where representatives of different classes, of governments with differing social and political systems, were meeting together. Consequently, strong passions were being expressed from different points of view. These various representatives held opposing class viewpoints, and so the tension in the atmosphere could reach extreme limits. Each delegation conducted itself in its own special way in response to the speakers and the contents of their speeches, and they would respond by using all the various means that were accessible or permissible for them. On all questions the discussion was very stormy. The representatives of one country or another would express support for the proposals that they particularly liked. If it was a representative of a socialist country, we of course supported him and in general supported all proposals favorable to the socialist or nonaligned countries. These were not simply official speeches; it was a solid display of fervor, agitational speaking with great passion and fire. The representatives of the capitalist countries made a lot of noise, pounded on their desks, made comments from the floor, and sought to obstruct the speakers during those parts of their speeches that they considered unacceptable. We began to pay them back in the same coin. This was the first time in my life that I had been at such a session, but I quickly caught on to this form of protest. I began to join in, making a lot of noise, stamping my feet, and so forth.

Our turn had not yet come to present our proposals for consideration, and in the meantime we took part in the discussion of other questions, taking the floor to make comments or give speeches. I spoke on behalf of the Soviet Union. Many interesting and peculiar situations arose. A representative of the Philippines took the floor during the discussion of one question. It seemed to me that he was a young man, but it's very hard for Europeans to tell the age of people from Asia. For example, I fell into difficulties sometimes when I met with the Chinese. It would seem to me that the man I was talking with was very young; later it would turn out that he'd been in this world a long time.

The Filipino was giving a speech aimed at supporting U.S. policy and was exposing himself as an unmitigated stooge for American imperialism. I spoke against him sharply from the point of view of the socialist countries. I don't remember the arguments I used, but I do remember that I used the expression: "We'll show you yet; we'll show you *kuzkina mat'!*"[16]

What I meant was that we would "show them what's what" in matters of economics, culture, and the democratic and socio-political development of our countries. The Filipino was thrown for a loop. A little while later he took the floor again and said: "In speaking here, Mr. Khrushchev used a phrase that has been translated for me. I have looked through many dictionaries, but I still cannot tell what the meaning of this phrase is." Our delegation laughed. He was not the first to have difficulty translating the expression. Some Americans had also asked me once: "What exactly does that mean?" They had translated it literally as "Kuzma's mother."

Other comical situations occurred. We took a firm position, and when we wanted to express protest, we did so in a way that we considered necessary in order to make an impression. We calmly stated our point of view and emphasized our political independence in the sense that there was not even a hint of submission or fear in relation to the United States. They, however, were bearing down with all their strength on the smaller countries, simply lording it over them and holding them by the throat with their credits and loans and armed intervention in their affairs. During a break, that same Filipino came over to me in the corridor outside the assembly hall, shook my hand, and said: "You did not understand me correctly. I did not intend to say anything demeaning about the Soviet Union." Well, all right!

There is a certain procedure speakers have to follow when they wish to discuss one or another point on the agenda. A speakers' list is taken, and there may be a long wait before your turn comes, so that your passion subsides. Two or three minutes were allowed [for immediate rejoinders] as soon as a speaker had finished; there would be an announcement: "Such and such a delegate has the floor in order to reply to the speaker" [under a "point of personal privilege"—to object, for example, to a personal attack]. This was a convenient procedure that we made use of because it gave us the opportunity to immediately express a strong reaction on subjects discussed by our adversaries.

The question of the colonies was being discussed. I took the floor in order to reply to one speaker and decided to use that occasion to carry out the assignment from Comrade Ibarruri. I spoke quite sharply against the Franco regime, without mentioning Franco's name, but describing the regime as reactionary and bloodstained. I used other expressions as well that we often used in our press and in our speeches. It came out sounding very harsh. A representative of Spain immediately took the floor to reply, in fact, the one who had been sitting right under my nose. And after his speech our delegation and the delegates of other socialist countries made a lot of noise and stamped their feet, although some were smiling. Obviously they didn't take seriously this nonparliamentary method of discussion. Remembering reports I had read about the sessions of the State Duma in Russia, I decided to add a little more heat. I took off my shoe and pounded on the desk so that our protest would be louder.[17] This provoked a storm among the journalists and photographers. Our friends made a lot of jokes about it afterward. When Nehru met with me later, he remarked that maybe we shouldn't have behaved that way—or that I personally should not have. I understood Nehru. He was pursing a policy of neutrality, taking an intermediate position between the capitalist and socialist countries, and he wanted to play the role of some sort of connecting bridge, but his personal sympathies were predominantly in favor of our policy of peaceful coexistence and the struggle to preserve peace in the world.

The Spanish representative returned to his seat. The expression of emotions had been so turbulent, especially during the responses to speakers, that even after he sat down we continued to exchange caustic remarks. Although we didn't understand each other's languages, we used gestures to express our mutual dislike. A policeman working for the United Nations immediately came over. These police are under the authority of the UN secretary-general. He was a tall man, and pretty sturdy-looking, and of course he was an American. He came over and, like a big statue, took up a position between the two of us—just in case fists began to fly. Apparently there had been previous instances in which delegates had clashed and resorted to fisticuffs.

I don't remember what day it was during our visit to the United Nations, but we learned that the delegation from Cuba had arrived, headed by Fidel Castro. The Americans took an insulting attitude toward this delegation, and they did this the way they really know how to in America. The Cuban delegation was expelled from its hotel. Of course, it was supposedly the hotel owner who made this decision, as though it were simply a private matter, so that the government did not have to bear any responsibility, as though it had not interfered. I was told that Castro was raging and thundering, threatening that if shelter was not found for his delegation, that as a former guerrilla fighter he would put up a tent out on the open square near the UN building and live there. Then the owner of a hotel in Harlem offered accommodations for the Cuban delegation. We were furious when we heard about this swinish behavior toward the Cuban delegation. After consulting with the members of our delegation, I proposed that we make a trip to the new hotel and shake Fidel's hand and express our respect and sympathy. No, not sympathy but indignation. He was a man of strong will and hardly needed sympathy, but he understood that this was a response by the American reactionaries to the policy being pursued by the revolutionary Cuban government. He responded proudly, because for him it was not a humiliation but a result of the fight he was putting up to oppose discrimination against his country. I asked our representatives to get in touch with Castro by phone and let him know that Khrushchev wanted to make a visit to him immediately. That was a common practice. Many delegations were visiting one another. I was told that Fidel was grateful for our concern, but he himself wanted to come visit us. He evidently thought that since the Soviet Union was a great country and Cuba a small revolutionary island, he should come visit us first and only after that should the representative of the USSR make a return visit to him. Then I asked that he be informed that Khrushchev had already left, because we thought we should be the first to make a visit. This was to emphasize our solidarity with Cuba and our indignation at the discrimination with which Cuba was being treated. There was a second consideration. The Cuban delegation was now being housed in Harlem, a Black district, and the owner of the hotel was African American. The fact that the Cubans were living in Harlem was impressive to Black people, and a visit by Khrushchev to that predominantly

Black part of the city for a visit to the Cuban delegation would in general be a demonstrative display of our position.

I informed our bodyguards that we were going. Our guards immediately got in touch with the head of the police detachment assigned to us. Police on motorcycles accompanied us with an extraordinary amount of noise. There were quite a few of them. Our comrades told me that the head of the American police guarding us, a man I knew personally (because he had also been a guard when I was a guest of President Eisenhower [in September 1959]), was asking that I not go there, because unpleasant incidents could happen in that neighborhood, and he was talking against this visit in every possible way. That convinced me more than ever of the necessity to make this visit; otherwise the journalists would be calling in their reports all over America that Khrushchev was afraid of Blacks or that supposedly there was going to be a demonstration there and perhaps he would suffer some physical injury. Officially I had the right to make the trip, since Harlem was within the limits in which we were allowed free movement, and I asked that the head of the group of police be informed that I was exercising my rights and was going to make this trip, and if he did not want to go there, he did not have to. Of course, he did go. I was given a car and we set off for the hotel where Castro was staying. A huge crowd of people had gathered there, primarily journalists. I don't know what methods they used to find out about everything, but it was impossible to hide from them anywhere. They were present outside our residence, on constant duty, and they followed the police. When I arrived in Harlem the whole area was jammed full of cars. And since so many photographers, movie cameramen, and journalists had arrived, other people also were drawn there. A huge number of the local Black population also gathered. I will not talk here about the external appearance of that part of New York. It has been described perfectly well by others, and people who are interested in America have a clear picture of it.

When we arrived at the hotel, Castro and his comrades were waiting for us by the entrance. This was the first time I had ever seen him in person, and he made a powerful impression on me: a man of great height with a black beard and a pleasant, stern face, which was lit up by a kind of goodness. His face simply glowed with it and it sparkled in his eyes. We enclosed each other in an embrace. (I use the term "enclose" provisionally, keeping in mind my height in contrast to Castro's.) He bent over me as though covering my body with his. Although my dimensions were somewhat wider, his height overpowered everything. Besides, he was a solidly built man for his height. Then we immediately went up to his hotel rooms.

When I entered the hotel I became aware immediately that no one lived there but Blacks. It was an old, rundown building. The air was heavy and stale. Apparently the furniture and the bedclothes had not been aired out sufficiently, and perhaps they were not, as we say, of the first degree of freshness—or even the second. We went into his rooms and exchanged a few remarks. He expressed his pleasure at my visit, and I spoke words of solidarity and approval of his policies. Our meeting was brief; actually, that was all there was to it. I immediately returned to my residence. You can imagine what an uproar was raised in the American press! Not only the American press. The incident echoed widely throughout the world. The rudeness and discrimination toward the Cuban delegation was noted, as well as the demonstrative visit to Castro by the Soviet delegation. And of course our fraternal embrace.

On the next day we arrived at the United Nations before the opening of the session. Then the Cuban delegation arrived. It was seated a fairly good distance away from us. I suggested that we go over and say hello. We demonstratively walked across the entire meeting hall and greeted each other. Castro and I embraced again, showing that fraternal relations were being established between us and that we were treating Cuba as a friend. We emphasized our unity on questions of struggle against imperialism and colonialism and against aggression by the imperialist powers. This demonstrative action came off well. It too was echoed in the press in an appropriate way. The press reactions varied. The democratic press welcomed this and the capitalist press picked us apart.[18] But that too was an expression of the capitalists' attitude toward us and also worked in our favor.

My stay in New York was extended. It was a long time before our turn came for the speech we intended to give. Other questions were being discussed. According to established tradition, in the evenings the various delegations received one another. After the daily sessions, every evening was completely full. Without fail, some delegation would invite us, and then we would invite them in return. And this was useful. It provided an opportunity to establish wide-ranging contacts. It's more difficult to travel to other countries, but here everyone was in the same place, and that's why these mutual receptions were arranged. At one point the heir to the throne of Morocco, the crown prince Hassan,[19] asked that I receive him for a brief talk. He was a young man then. In general the receptions differed: some were just brief meetings and others were full-fledged banquets or dinners with invited guests. There were some dinners to which more than one delegation was invited. In fact, it could happen that many delegations were invited, according to the wishes of those making the invitation. These dinners went on for a long time. In the case of the heir to the Moroccan throne, I received him for a short visit. We talked a little and got to know each other. This visit was of interest as a preliminary form of establishing contact. Shortly after that, while undergoing surgery, the king of Morocco died without regaining consciousness, and now Hassan was the new king, King Hassan II. That was how contact was originally established, which later developed in a good direction.

The Indian delegation, as I have said, was represented by Prime Minister Nehru. Nehru invited our delegation separately for a reception. He and I sat at a small table together and had a conversation, surrounded by our delegations, but no one else interfered in the conversation. He asked me in detail about how we had decided to take a ship to New York and what kind of protection we had had. “Probably,” he said, “you were escorted by destroyers and submarines?”

I answered: “Just imagine. No, we were not.”

His face fell.

I explained that traveling with an escort would have been a special kind of demonstrative act that we didn’t want to make. And then what kind of escort could you really have to rule out all possibilities? In general, an escort like that is not very effective. Two destroyers did escort us, as I have said, to the outer edges of Europe, but when we reached the open ocean, the destroyers turned back after giving farewell signals, and we continued on our way in our passenger ship. I told him about our encounter with the submarine of unknown nationality, having no flag.

Nehru was surprised that we had decided to make such a trip. He said: “That was not without its dangers, keeping in mind the relations that have developed between you and the United States.”

Then he began asking me what our meeting with the U.S. delegation in Geneva had been like [in July 1955]. He was particularly interested in [Secretary of State John Foster] Dulles. Nehru asked: “How did you say hello to Dulles? Did you shake his hand?”

“Just imagine,” I said. “We not only said hello, but when Eisenhower gave a dinner in our honor he, Dulles, and I, actually sat together.”

He smiled in a special way, as only Nehru knew how, with a delicate restraint, and looked at me with a warm and kind expression and said: “This is a scene that I cannot imagine: Khrushchev and Dulles sitting side by side and talking.”

Of course the conversation with Dulles had been fairly brief: just some questions and answers, the tribute one pays to politeness. We seemed to be carrying on a conversation, but no real conversation took place. It was mostly about the dishes we were being served. "How do you like this dish? And that one? Which one do you prefer?" There was no other subject of discussion between us, nor could there have been. Nehru of course understood that we and the Yankees were people of opposite poles and that we were displaying, not friendship, but tolerance. Dulles actually was distinguished by a special degree of intolerance. He hated anything new. He hated the fact that many countries had just freed themselves from colonial oppression and had adopted their own political viewpoints. He hated not only socialism but also any fresh, new winds or tendencies toward democracy. He was especially intolerant toward the ideas of the Communist parties. That's why Nehru's face expressed lack of understanding of how such different people could not only meet but also sit next to one another at dinner.

With Nehru we freely discussed all topics of interest to us. We always had the very best relations with India. It's true that no other special impressions of that meeting with Nehru have remained in my memory. After all, the questions that arose between our countries were decided easily through normal diplomatic channels. But it was a pleasant meeting, and it demonstrated our friendly relations. India had taken the position of leader among the countries that had won their freedom from the colonial rulers. India's liberal policies were respected by all countries, even by the metropolitan colonial powers. It was a policy that found expression in tolerance toward differing social and political systems. Nehru followed the line of peaceful coexistence and favored economic and cultural contacts among all countries. And it was to our advantage to demonstrate our friendship with such a country. We wanted other countries, too, to adopt such policies, especially the countries of Africa, where a stormy process of liberation from foreign rule and the winning of independence had begun. It was also to the benefit of countries that had freed themselves from colonial oppression to befriend the Soviet Union. This provided them with the opportunity for normal economic and cultural relations. They could rely on the Soviet Union. It would always come to their aid, and these young governments had special need for such aid.

Just as we were arriving in New York, Nigeria won its independence. Nigeria sent its delegation to the UN General Assembly, and it was headed by Prime Minister [Abubakar Tafawa] Balewa. Later his life ended tragically. During a coup d'état in Nigeria he was seized and killed.[20] But as prime minister he arranged a reception for us. I was among those invited. I don't remember if I went alone or with Comrade Gromyko. Probably I went with Gromyko, because the Nigerians would hardly have failed to invite our foreign minister. But Andrei Andreyevich Gromyko and I did not sit together [during the dinner]. Prime Minister Balewa seated me opposite himself, next to a representative of Britain. Balewa was a corpulent man of enormous height. He was a black man but not with the color of skin that I had seen among the Senegalese, having a bluish tint—his was a somewhat lighter black. Perhaps he was not of full-blooded African descent, but in general that was of no great interest to me. Of course he had all the manners of a European. The reception he gave was no different from other receptions to which I was invited. He conducted himself in a polite and friendly manner.

I was somewhat surprised. I wondered why, after inviting our delegation, he seated us next to the British representative. As I have said, we didn't have diplomatic relations with Nigeria then, but we had great interest in that country, and we wanted to establish friendly relations with it. We understood the importance of this huge African country with its large population and rich natural resources. We also understood that the former colonial rulers were not going to let Nigeria slip from their grasp just like that. It had been given legal independence but it remained captive economically. The British colonialists wanted to keep Nigeria in their camp and to continue to exploit its wealth and at the same time prevent the development of a liberation movement that would break free of economic servitude and pass over to a struggle for building socialism. Balewa, however, was far from any such perspective. He was a wealthy man and belonged to the capitalist class. The policy he pursued was one of establishing a new independent government, but on capitalist foundations, and he was very attentive, exaggeratedly so, in his conduct toward Great Britain. Essentially, he had been granted independence by the British crown and remained a satellite of British capital right up until he was overthrown.

We were deeply convinced that all such people were temporary figures. They had grown up in the colonies and had been supported by the colonialists. In many of these countries the officers in the armies continued to be British. In effect Britain still controlled the armed forces on the ground and, in keeping with established tradition, maintained close contacts with the government of their former colony.

Making Balewa's acquaintance was like this: When we were invited to coffee [after the dinner, in another room], Balewa sat down with us. The British representative was also seated at the small table. Only the most general conversation went on between us, nor could it have been otherwise. Nevertheless we felt pleased to be there. The invitation to the Soviet delegation indicated that Balewa felt forced to demonstrate to his people that he had made contact with the Soviet representatives. This indicated that our policies were being recognized in Nigeria. That was the only thing that could have inspired Balewa to establish contact with us in New York.

I have been talking about contacts with delegations from the various capitalist countries, but so far I have said nothing about the European socialist countries. Of course with them we had the very closest contacts at that time. There were discussions of all questions among our various delegations, and there were no topics on which any of us had even a hint of disagreement. We presented a united front and even decided in advance what role each would take, what question each delegation would speak on or what question it would bring up. It's true that a small cloud had just appeared on the horizon, casting a shadow on our relations with Romania. The Romanian foreign minister (I don't remember his name now[21]) impressed me as an intelligent man who knew his way around on questions of international politics, and in general I had no complaints about him. And if I speak of a small cloud that cast a shadow, it's only because some representatives of the other socialist countries expressed dissatisfaction with his actions. He really was displaying an excessive amount of energy, making many replies to other speakers or comments from the floor. Usually if a socialist delegation wanted to make a reply to a previous speaker, they informed the other fraternal countries in advance. The Romanian representative did not. It was as though he was demonstrating his complete independence and autonomy in such matters, in the face of the other socialist delegations.

I didn't draw any special conclusions then, but assumed that this behavior had to do with the personality of this individual. Therefore, in general, I didn't think anything special was involved. I didn't think it necessary to bring pressure to bear on representatives of the Romanian government; I didn't want to create the impression of some sort of dependency on us. I was not at all troubled by this man's apparent wish to show that Romania was fully independent in its policies. But some others were upset, and unkind; disapproving remarks were made about him sometimes, such as: "What an upstart!" But the Romanians, in the way they brought up questions or made replies, did not to any extent go beyond the boundaries of a common understanding of all matters among the European socialist countries. Their questions and replies were fully in keeping with our common understanding, and there were no rough edges sticking out, so to speak, that might have negatively affected the policies we advocated in common. No, there was nothing like that as yet! I remained calm in my attitude toward this man's actions. I must confess I even liked the man. He was a young man, and he was showing what he was capable of. He was well informed on all subjects, reacted sharply, and made the necessary replies with good timing.

As I've already said, when the president of the General Assembly was elected, we opposed the representative from Ireland [Boland] Later on, however, this man displayed ability and objectivity in the way he conducted the sessions. We even invited him to visit us for dinner, after which we had an exchange of opinions. I liked the man. We had no special contacts with Ireland, but we sympathized with the Irish, who had fought against the British for the independence of their island. Our sympathies remained with them even after most of the island won its independence. But the people who came to power did not respond with sympathy for our politics. It was at the suggestion of Gromyko that we organized our meeting with the president of the General Assembly. Gromyko was taking such steps for reasons of diplomacy. Evidently he saw some long-term prospects in this, some possibilities for the future. Besides, it was also interesting for me to meet the representative from Ireland and get to know him better.

On the weekends the General Assembly didn't meet. Our mission to the United Nations had a splendid estate outside the city, what in Soviet parlance we would call a dacha. But I couldn't go there without permission from the U.S. authorities. I was advised that if we asked for permission, it would undoubtedly be granted. I thought about this and thought about it some more. I wondered whether it was worthwhile to make such a request. In the end I came to the conclusion that it would not dishonor us to ask. It was simply necessary to deal with the laws of the country in which we were staying. Besides, there was no alternative: either to sit locked up in our city residence or make a formal request for permission. Once we had received permission, we got ready for the trip outside the city. But what does that mean, to set off for the suburbs? We couldn't just get in a car and drive away. The American police escorted us. Quite an elaborate cavalcade resulted. This attracted attention and groups of people gathered along our route. They expressed their attitudes toward our delegation. In most cases this was not friendly; people stuck their tongues out at us, and some people carried signs hostile to the USSR and to me personally. The police and their vehicles accompanied us all the way to the suburban residence. It was a large building and had luxurious, parklike grounds, so that conditions for rest and relaxation were excellent. When we went for walks, we often heard whistling and the honking of car horns. Menshikov explained to me that this was a form of protest being expressed against us. That was how the Yankees expressed their displeasure about our presence in America. That was a result of the conflict that had arisen when we shot down the U-2 spy plane. The United States had committed an aggressive act against the Soviet Union, but the uninformed people in the streets reacted in their own way. They of course had been well worked over [by the media]. It's true that I did see isolated cases of friendly attitudes expressed toward us, even welcoming gestures, but that was rare.

Our fraternal representatives from Ukraine and Belorussia were also getting ready for their speeches. I attributed a great deal of importance to these speeches, and out of political considerations I asked the leaders of those delegations to speak in their native languages. I don't remember what subject they were taking up. Probably they were statements of a declarative nature that would not have any influence on the course of events. But the voice of our Soviet commonwealth would be heard, and that might have an echo among working people in the United States. I was especially counting on the effect of the speech by the Ukrainian representative. Many Ukrainians lived in the United States and Canada. Even today hundreds of thousands of them live there. I was convinced that the broadcasting of a speech in Ukrainian would be heard by many Americans of Ukrainian origin. There were fewer Belorussians [in America], but still a fair number of them. They too were potential listeners. In the tsarist era, the western provinces of Russia had been poor; there was an excess number of laborers, and working people sought to apply their efforts beyond the borders of their homeland, seeking to earn their daily bread, and so they emigrated.

The day for the speeches arrived. The Ukrainian delegate [Nikolai Podgorny][22] did as I suggested, but in the case of Belorussia things didn't work out. This greatly distressed me. The representatives of the Belorussian SSR justified themselves by saying: "We couldn't prepare a text in Belorussian. We don't even have a typewriter with a Belorussian keyboard."

I said: "If you can't do it, then we have no alternative, of course. But it will be damaging to our nationalities policy. In their propaganda, the enemies of the Soviet system will make use of this detail, claming that the Soviet republics have no rights, that everything there is being done just for show to impress people abroad, and that it's a complete fiction. They'll say the Russians are suppressing everyone else, and even at an international forum like a session of the UN, the Belorussian member didn't speak in his native language, but spoke in Russian."

I think the representative of Belorussia [Kirill Mazurov][23] understood this, but he personally was not prepared and didn't even know his own language that well. As for the speeches themselves, both were quite good in their content. They corresponded to the aims of our policy and were greeted favorably.

What do I mean by favorably? It's a conditional term. It didn't mean the same thing over there that it would in our country. In our country if someone spoke at a meeting, the audience would usually give a favorable reception regardless of the content of the speech. But there, things were done differently—some reacted tolerantly, others joyfully, and still others with hostility. This is a feature common to all bourgeois parliaments, and is especially true of a forum like the UN General Assembly. And so I'm talking about the reception for these speeches in general.

We often arranged to meet "internally" with the delegations of the USSR, the Ukrainian republic, and the Belorussian republic. We also held conferences with representatives of the other socialist countries. We maintained good contact, and we all pursued a coordinated policy. Incidentally, we were not sure sometimes whether our conversations were being monitored [by listening devices]. Therefore when we discussed crucial subjects we took special measures. Some of these topics were discussed outside the city during our walks. But we only went there on the weekends. Sometimes new questions came up every day. In that case we took special measures, using special technology to interfere with or jam any listening devices.

My stay in New York was prolonged. My perception was that events were losing some of their urgency, but I couldn't just get up and leave. We had prepared ourselves to raise the question of independence for the colonies. I was on the speakers' list to present a report on this subject. It would have been wrong to leave without making this speech. That would have meant an indication on our part that we didn't consider this a serious and important question. Such an action would have been taken badly by people in the colonies. Then at last came the day of the report. It lasted more than two hours. It had been well prepared. The text proved to be quite rich in content, and it made a positive impression. Of course, here again, different people responded differently. Some reacted enthusiastically, and during the course of the report I heard sounds of approval from some of the delegates. Others of course had a hostile response. This is entirely understandable. It was like participating in a parliamentary body in a capitalist country consisting of representatives from different classes. Any question under discussion can always serve the interests of one or another class. So of course every question can be taken in different ways. The colonialists listened to my report without any enthusiasm, but the representatives of the newly liberated nations or those who were still suffering under colonial rule sympathized with my speech.

We achieved our aim by raising this issue in the name of the Soviet Union. It was good to raise the issue! And our presentation made an impact. It was favorably received by the peoples of many countries. There was a rich and full discussion of my report, with some sharp debate. The time came for a resolution to be formulated. We had drafted one. I don't remember now the details of the procedure for coming to an agreement on the wording. Gromyko was a recognized master in such affairs. He had many years of experience, beginning with the founding of the UN itself. He was present at the founding session as deputy foreign minister of the USSR. The head of our delegation then had been Molotov. Yes, Gromyko knew all the ins and outs quite well. During the discussion of the resolution, the United States didn't speak against it, but the line it followed was to try to emasculate the resolution, to try to soften it. We had foreseen this and put the United States in a dilemma: either they could speak against our proposal—that is, make a bloc with the colonialists and place themselves in opposition to the colonial peoples on two large continents, in particular, Africa; or they could support us, in which case they would be harming the interests of their allies—Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, and Belgium.

We had a feeling beforehand that the United States would not vote against us in any demonstrative way, but would be forced to vote with us, while grudgingly gritting its teeth. From an exchange of opinions behind the scenes, it became clear that not only the United States would vote for the resolution but also Britain and France, because they had already taken the path of granting independence to their colonies. Spain and Portugal remained as opponents of our proposals. When Andrei Andreyevich Gromyko said that the United States, France, and Britain would not vote against our text, we of course took that as a victory. But from the point of view of making an impact, we would have achieved our goal even if they had decided to oppose us. The question of eliminating colonial rule would then have been posed more sharply. Thus life itself confirmed the correctness of Marxist-Leninist teachings on the nationality question.

We were very pleased with how things had gone. We had achieved our aims; the peoples who had won their independence and those who were still fighting for independence—all recognized our policy. They saw at once who was their friend and who was their enemy. The socialist countries were the first to raise their voices in the defense of the peoples in the colonies. The Soviet Union within its borders pursues a policy of equal rights among nationalities, and it fights for the same thing on an international scale. And so when the voting came, an absolute majority of countries voted in favor of adopting the declaration and a corresponding resolution.[24] We derived great political satisfaction from having posed this question forthrightly, and we won more sympathy than ever among the oppressed peoples.

We didn't have any contacts with the U.S. delegation at that session. Also speaking at that session was China, as the island of Taiwan was called. We of course were devoted heart and soul to the Chinese People's Republic. So when the representative of Taiwan spoke we did everything we could to express our contempt for him. We pounded our feet and created other obstructions. It was not only our delegation doing that; there were many others. We also made use of other ways of expressing our protest, although in such a huge assembly hall the effect was still not that powerful. At every session we proposed that the representative from Taiwan be denied the mandate and that it be transferred to the People's Republic of China, which had not yet been admitted to the United Nations. But we were not able to win a majority of votes, although I confess I had hoped that the balance of forces might have shifted and that a real possibility might have arisen to pass a resolution depriving Taiwan of its mandate. Unfortunately a number of small countries that had legally been granted their freedom were in fact still under the influence of their former masters and voted more than once with the bosses who had previously kept them in a position of semi-slavery.

During my stay in New York, a big scandal broke out in connection with Hammarskjold, who as I have said was Swedish by nationality. We knew him and at one time had a fairly good attitude toward him. We had supported his candidacy when he was proposed for the post of secretary-general of the United Nations, after that post had been held by the Norwegian Social Democrat Trygve Lie.[25] I don't know why our relations with Trygve Lie went sour. That was during Stalin's, not Khrushchev's, time.[26] When I was in Norway, people praised Trygve Lie when they spoke with me and told me that he had a favorable attitude toward the Soviet Union.[27] But that's the way circumstances shaped up. The position of UN secretary-general is a very difficult one to be in, with a huge amount of complicated work. Hammarskjold's candidacy had been proposed and we had agreed. But when the internal disputes in the Congo grew sharper, it was our view that Hammarskjold was giving insufficient support to the interests of the countries fighting against colonialism. A new idea occurred to us: that the interests of the three different groupings in the world—the capitalist countries, the socialist countries, and the "nonaligned" countries that had recently won their independence but had not yet decided what social system they would choose—that those three groupings in the world should be equally represented in the United

Nations. Instead of one secretary-general heading the UN staff and apparatus, we should have three people: one from the capitalists, another from the socialist camp, and a third from the newly independent countries. I personally proposed this idea and ardently defended it. But many people argued against me that it would not be possible, that all business would be indefinitely delayed, that everything would be paralyzed, and that it would be impossible to get action on any matter. Nevertheless I argued for my position.

My colleagues in the leadership, including Gromyko, supported my proposal. After all, what does it mean that everything would be paralyzed? Why should we fear a tripartite leadership? After all, something of the sort already exists in the United Nations: the Security Council, which consists of fifteen representatives, five countries having a permanent presence, while representatives of other countries change. The main questions are decided precisely by these five countries, but if one votes against, the proposal is considered not to have been accepted. [That is, the five permanent members of the UN Security Council have veto power.] This kind of procedure could be introduced for current, ongoing questions as well. Such day-to-day questions also have great importance. The UN Secretariat is in charge of UN troops. In fact they were present in some countries, including the Congo.[28]

The UN Secretariat also did things such as issuing orders, appointing people to commanding posts, and deciding day-to-day policies. That's why I felt we should have a three-member body that would manage all the affairs of the Secretariat, taking into account the interests of each grouping in the world. Of course questions would be decided more slowly. But sometimes that's a good thing, corresponding to the specific interests of some countries. We had no hope of placing anyone from the Communist countries in the post of UN secretary-general or even a representative of a non-Communist group from the socialist countries. That would not have been allowed. That is, our opponents were pursuing definite political aims by selecting their own candidate for this post. So why shouldn't we have our representative, who could oppose or counterbalance theirs? If there was a three-member board, no decision could be taken without the agreement of our representative, especially no decision aimed against the interests of the socialist countries. The same thing would be true for the nonaligned countries and for the capitalist powers.

A very heavy exchange of fire took place during the elections.[29] As a result our relations with Hammarskjold were ruined for good. Things between us remained as bad as they could be right up to the end of his time in service. That's how sharp the dispute became at the session. Unfortunately when we tested the ground we saw that our idea would not be accepted. The imperialist powers were against it, and they won over many countries that took the position that they were not aligned with any bloc. Sweden, for example, formally was nonaligned [but in fact favored the capitalist powers]. Our proposal did not find the necessary support, and we were obliged to reorient ourselves.

[In September 1961] Hammarskjold flew off to the Congo, where fighting was going on between supporters of Lumumba and those of Tschombe, a figure representing the interests of Belgian monopoly circles. Hammarskjold was temporarily replaced by U Thant.[30] Hammarskjold went to the Congo to familiarize himself with the situation on the ground. Our intelligence people reported to me that his plane was hit by heavy antiaircraft fire by Lumumba's troops. Hammarskjold died. After Hammarskjold died in the plane crash [on September 11, 1961],[31] the candidacy of U Thant was put forward during the process of electing a new secretary-general. I don't know who first proposed him. I was acquainted with U Thant. He was a representative from Burma, and we had good relations with Burma at that time, and even today our relations are friendly. We assumed that the representative from Burma would pursue a more flexible policy, and that at any rate he would not agree to a policy that was harmful to the socialist countries and the nonaligned countries. And, as became clear subsequently, we were not mistaken.

During the election process, a tense situation arose again, and so everyone agreed to elect U Thant temporarily in order to return to this question later. U Thant served as acting secretary-general and showed that he was a man of principle. He didn't simply do the bidding of the United States, but pursued a policy that took into account the interests of all countries. We then changed our approach. At first when we were working out our position [in 1962], Gromyko proposed that we vote for U Thant only as *acting* secretary-general. But I said: "Let's vote for him without any reservations and propose him as a full-fledged secretary-general, just as others have been elected before him." Gromyko looked at me with surprise, and I explained to him: "Right now we won't find a better candidate than U Thant, and if we propose a different idea, it will again be defeated, and therefore there's no point proposing someone else. Let's agree on U Thant." And we voted for him. U Thant of course was very pleased. He took our support as an acknowledgment of the correctness of his policies. We had no complaints about him. What do I mean when I say complaints from our side? If we approach the question from a purely class point of view, U Thant's activities of course would not satisfy our needs. But if we keep in mind the character of this international institution, in which, so to speak, seven good dwarfs and seven evil dwarfs were at work, and then there were also the nonaligned countries, it was simply impossible for a policy to be pursued that would satisfy absolutely everyone. A great deal of flexibility was needed, and a very penetrating mind. The thing was, not to complicate questions, not to strain relations, but to know how to smooth things over, while maintaining a definite position. I think that U Thant coped well with his task. He came into conflict more than once with the United States. The United Nations is supposed to solve problems affecting the interests of all countries. Carefully selected people are needed here, people who enjoy universal confidence. I'm not talking about absolute approval. One may have confidence in a UN secretary-general without approving all his actions. That would be impossible. U Thant, in my opinion, was just the right candidate and he coped with his duties admirably.

As for the United Nations in general, my attitude toward that institution is as follows. I have a positive evaluation of its activities, although, as history has shown, the way many questions have been solved by the United Nations was not absolutely satisfactory for us or even contradicted our interests. For example, the question of China. But the UN is a useful institution. It was founded on the initiative of Franklin Roosevelt, which was something we supported in the period when Stalin was still deciding Soviet policy. After World War II our country received the recognition it deserved. Everyone was convinced that we were not "a giant with feet of clay," as some had claimed [in the 1930s, on the eve of World War II]. That was an expression that Hitler particularly liked, and he was convinced that all he had to do was move his German troops in and strike a blow at this giant and it would go limp and collapse. Today the whole world knows how that ended up. Unfortunately, not all politicians have absorbed this lesson as they should. Some people continue to nourish the hope that they could win a third world war against the USSR. To be sure, with every passing day such idiots, to put it crudely, are becoming fewer and fewer. Even the most aggressive of the aggressors, who hate our system, have been forced to publicly admit that it is impossible now to go to war and erase from the face of the earth this country, which is guided by Marxist-Leninist doctrine and has created a new society. Whether you like it or not, whether you want to accept peaceful coexistence or not, life itself demands it. There is no other way out. Either peaceful coexistence or a terribly bloody war with no hopeful prospects. Our class enemies have been forced grudgingly to reconcile themselves to the existence of the socialist countries.

International problems flow together like so many small streams into one enormous collecting tank or pool—the United Nations. I consider this institution indispensable. The people who thought of it were guided by correct ideas. There are of course opponents of this body. For example, the Chinese People's Republic takes that position. I assume it takes that position because it has not been recognized. Of course it is absurd that China is not a member of the Security Council and that the renegade splinter regime of Chang Kaishek, which pursues a pro-American policy, has taken the place that belongs to the Chinese People's Republic. But this is a temporary phenomenon. Sooner or later the People's Republic of China will be part of the United Nations. I hope that at that time it will return to the sensible positions its leaders once held.

Many different questions are decided at the United Nations. The main thing is that the UN provides an opportunity for discussion of all the issues that arise and for an international exchange of opinions to take place. This has its positive aspect, even though the right decisions are not always made. I've already said what I mean by a correct decision under the circumstances when people of opposing political views are gathered together and are pursuing quite different aims. However, there is a question that is of interest to all countries and peoples regardless of their social and political structure or governmental system: preserving the peace. Strictly speaking, it was for this precise reason that the United Nations was founded, although on this question, too, there are differing points of view. Everyone wants peace, but not everyone has the same concept of peace. Some people want the kind of peace that will satisfy their political needs, one that will strengthen the capitalist system. For our part, we hold a different position. We think a time will come when the whole world will constitute a unified organic whole in which the peoples of all countries will adopt a social system based theoretically on Marxist-Leninist teachings. Then there will be no exploiters or exploited in any country, and unjust relations between people will be eliminated. And later an entirely new society will arise, one that has never been seen before, based on communist principles.

But all that is in the future, and we are living today. All questions that arise today are solved at the United Nations. Various kinds of problems come up, and each country has its own approach to their solution. However, the climate that is created automatically in the course of a discussion tends to cool down the hotheads and restrain the impatient. Thus conditions of equilibrium arise. The ship of the United Nations, having worldwide dimensions, continues to sail in the ocean of the international community. Some people may say that it had an unsuccessful predecessor—the League of Nations—which failed to carry out the role it was supposed to and was unable to stop the outbreak of World War II. But times were different then. There was only a single island of socialism—the Soviet Union—against which all other countries were united. Besides that, some countries didn't even belong to the League of Nations, such as the United States. Later Nazi Germany withdrew from the League of Nations. It felt it was strong enough to start a world war and win it. Our enemies also expelled us from the League of Nations because of the circumstances that took shape at that time.[32]

The conditions in which we are living now and the conditions in which the League of Nations existed are quite dissimilar. At that time the capitalist system was powerful, and the capitalists could unilaterally decide the question of war or peace. The Soviet Union was not particularly taken into account, being considered a "giant with feet of clay." Today the situation has changed. I remember what British Prime Minister Macmillan said to me in Geneva.[33] We were having a friendly conversation, and he said, with a touch of sadness in his voice: "Mr. Khrushchev, Britain today is no longer the country that once ruled the waves. We do not determine the course of world politics today. Now the most powerful states are the United States and the USSR." The same thing was repeated to me, although using different words, by that highly intelligent politician, General de Gaulle. I am referring to the foreign policy he pursued when he headed the French government. In regard to domestic policy, I of course do not consider de Gaulle to have been highly intelligent, because he was a capitalist leader and he loyally served his class, with all the consequences that flowed from that. But on the question of an accurate assessment of the place of the Soviet Union in the world, I must give him credit. He repeated almost word for word what Macmillan had said. President Kennedy of the United States later admitted the same thing, using phrases that were close to what Macmillan and de Gaulle had said. And of all the U.S. presidents I encountered, Kennedy was the most intelligent.

Let my fellow Communists understand me correctly on this point. Let them not reproach me with charges that Khrushchev is supposedly making flattering remarks about the late President Kennedy. When you grant someone the credit that is due to him, that does not diminish the person who is speaking, nor does it serve to exalt or glorify a social and political system hostile to us. Yes, Kennedy was a capitalist. He represented the interests of the capitalists and was loyal to his class to the last day of his life. But on questions of deciding international policy, he took a clearly defined position, seeking to preserve peace in the world. You have to keep in mind the age that we are living in and what the balance of forces is among the capitalist, socialist, and nonaligned countries. It is hard to say what will have decisive significance: peaceful elections or armed force. In previous times, the country that had more and better weapons, and knew how to use them better, was victorious.

Today it's possible to have more weapons but still lose the war. It's especially important not to miscalculate on this point.

John Kennedy understood correctly the disposition of forces in the world. He could do this arithmetic correctly. The figures were not large but they were decisive. The time is past when such political decisions, on whether or not there will be war, depend mainly on the United States and its allies. We live at a time when the socialist countries have increased their economic might, possess scientific and technical knowledge, and have the most modern means of waging war. Therefore our class enemies are forced to recognize the socialist countries, among whom the USSR plays first violin, being the most powerful state with the most modern weapons. Kennedy admitted this. He stated that the United States had the means of destroying us twice over, but that the USSR had the means of destroying America once. But still it could destroy it, so that a second time was not necessary. It would be absurd for intelligent people to go into raptures over the possibility of destroying someone a second time. There would be no consolation for either side, considering the huge numbers that would perish in such a conflict. What is the conclusion? There is only one rational conclusion: to maintain peaceful coexistence and provide the possibility for all peoples to organize their own lives as they see fit.

To recognize this does not mean that everything is going to just roll along down a smooth, well-lubricated track. No, the new processes in the world will unfold in the midst of disputes and confrontations, and possibly local military conflicts as well. Such conflicts are going on even now. Since World War II there has not been any prolonged breathing spell when the guns have been silent. Machine guns have been chattering and bombs dropping continually. These have been localized conflicts, but the aggressive forces involved in them have been obliged to keep an eye out, to be careful not to exceed certain limits, not to go over the brink into a third world war, in which everyone would be burned to bits. Is it possible that a local war could escalate into a worldwide conflagration? Yes, of course. Consequently the most intelligent thing is to forestall armed conflicts in general, and for that to happen, no intervention in the internal affairs of other countries can be allowed. Best of all would be to eliminate military blocs and for no power to maintain troops on foreign territory. The most realistic thing would be universal disarmament, shifting over to a situation in which no country would have an army or produce weapons. It would be sufficient to have internal police forces in each country to maintain order. Of course that is still a question of the far distant future. Today we live in the real world, and in the official relations we establish, we must base ourselves on realities.

That is why the United Nations is a very useful institution. It does not resolve conflicts, but it does moderate the passions of the hotheads. Such people begin to acquire a more accurate sense of existing international conditions. The representatives of different countries have an impact on one another. If I can put it in a colorful way, dividing lines begin to be erased. Not the dividing lines between differing socio-political systems, but the extraneous elements that tend to create the danger of war. Everyone is affected by the moderating spirit [at the UN], which has a calming effect. Hotheads are forced to evaluate the situation more soberly and restrain their ardor. That is my understanding of the significance of the United Nations. It is an institution that seeks to preserve peace. Does the UN provide guarantees that there will never be another world war? Such a conception would be most foolish, and anyone who thought that would be the biggest fool. No, it provides no guarantees! This institution acts as a restraint, but it cannot prevent war entirely. However, even that is sufficient, because when someone has been restrained it's also possible to stop him. Unfortunately, the [existence of the] United Nations does not, as yet, allow us to sleep peacefully. You can't say that because the UN exists, there will be no war. Life itself has shown that such reasoning is mistaken. I don't think anyone conceives of the UN this way [that is, as a guarantee against war]. Nevertheless we are obliged to recognize the usefulness of this institution. People come together there to discuss urgent problems. The United Nations is the best thing that has been conceived so far under present-day conditions.

It is another question altogether that New York City was chosen as the place where the UN and its staff, headquarters, and organization would be located. That was a mistake. And we are the ones who made that mistake. When the decision was being made about the location of the UN, Stalin had a decisive voice. There was an argument between the United States and Great Britain, between Roosevelt and Churchill, and Stalin as a third party made a choice. On which side of the scales would he place the weight of the USSR? He placed it on the U.S. side. Stalin wanted to be in Roosevelt's good books. That's how things turned out, but historically a mistake was made, although I don't blame Stalin alone for the mistake. All of us at that time were of the same opinion. After all, the United States had more bourgeois-democratic liberties than any of the other capitalist countries, and it didn't have colonies.[34] Besides, the United States was far away from the Soviet Union and from Western Europe, Asia, and Africa. Therefore we saw no better place to locate the headquarters of the United Nations. If we were to talk about the present, it would be better for everyone if the UN were located in Europe. But the opinion then was that Europe was full of explosive material. That's where both world wars had broken out. Today, however, the United States is playing the role of policeman of the world, and the conditions in America are not the best for the work of the United Nations. It would be much more beneficial if the UN were located in such a classical capitalist country as England, not to mention Switzerland.

When we had a dispute over the German question, particularly in regard to West Berlin, we made the following proposal: "Let's move the headquarters of the United Nations to West Berlin, and in that way West Berlin will acquire a special international status." But that proposal received no understanding or support from our Western counterparts, and even today it would find no understanding or support, because that would undermine the position of those who want to give West Berlin to West Germany. I don't know if the time will ever come when the countries of the world will recognize the need to move the United Nations to some other location. The African countries today have almost all won their emancipation from the old colonial rulers [and have become members of the United Nations], but the people who live in Africa have black skin, which means they have a hard time when they go to the United States, where they are still not fully recognized as human beings and racial discrimination persists. This kind of attitude by one human being toward another is impermissible in general, and when a government pursues such a policy in a country where the UN is located, that is doubly unacceptable! This is an intolerable situation. That's why I think that even today it would be necessary, despite the great expense, to move the UN headquarters away from the United States. I think that would be justified politically. Of course it's not a particularly urgent matter. It's hard to say whether this problem will be solved in the future. I don't want to engage in guesswork. History will show.

With that I ought to put an end to this section of my memoirs, but I have just recalled another incident that occurred during our trip to the United Nations. When we arrived in New York I was told about quite an unusual occurrence on our ship. What this came down to was that a Soviet sailor had left the ship and refused to return. He had gone to the U.S. authorities and asked for political asylum. The people who reported this news to me were angry and upset. I calmed them down and asked them not to give too much importance to the incident. I said: "Well, what of it? He's gone, and so he's gone. Let him get a taste of capitalist bread. Let him find out what it tastes like here in New York!" I knew of course that I would soon encounter Western journalists. They were always persistently following us around. I had to get ready to give them an answer.

Sure enough, at the very first encounter, I was asked this question: "Mr. Khrushchev, what is your view of the fact that a sailor from your ship has requested political asylum in the United States?"

I answered: "This has been reported to me. I regret that it has happened and feel sorry for this man. He is inexperienced and has no particular training or qualifications as a worker, and my sympathies go out to him. It will be very hard for him to adapt to conditions of life in America. He doesn't have a penny to his name. He has acted foolishly and unthinkingly. If he had told me that he wanted to stay here, I would have provided him with some financial assistance to help tide him over the initial period."

All the fiery heat and tension that had built up among the journalists suddenly dissipated. They had been expecting a completely different reaction on my part, assuming that I would denounce the man, paint him in dark colors, and so forth. They expected anything you could name—except what they actually heard from me. Thus the big sensation they had hoped for went nowhere, and the journalists were unable to make a lot of money out of this incident.

Here's another memorable occurrence. It touched me to the quick. Next to my residence in the corner building on a large street, there was always a crowd of reporters. I don't know how many of them there were, but no less than several dozen. Some of them even spent the night there; they never left the place. Photojournalists and movie cameramen recorded virtually every step I took. Under these conditions I couldn't walk around freely in New York. That was simply impossible. Therefore I used to go out on my balcony to get some fresh air, if you can call New York air "fresh." But I had no other air to breathe. It was also possible to limber up by walking through the rooms. I liked to watch the city traffic from the balcony. There was always a wide variety of impressions to absorb. That's how I took my breaks, by doing that several times a day. Then one day I received a note from a journalist. He signed his name, but I don't remember it now. What it said was this: "Mr. Khrushchev, you often go out on your balcony, which pleases me as a journalist. It gives us an opportunity to meet and talk, and I can get an interview with you.[35] However, I want to warn you: you apparently are not taking into account the peculiarities of New York. In New York anything can happen. For you to go out on your balcony is not without danger. Any sort of attack could be organized against you. You could be shot at from a car or from windows in buildings facing you. In short, as someone who wishes you well, I want to warn you and advise you to keep this in mind, so that you won't make yourself visible outside the building and thereby subject yourself to danger." I read this note just when I was standing out on the balcony, but because I received this warning note in the presence of journalists, I decided to keep standing there [rather than leave the balcony immediately]. Everything worked out all right, but I must admit today, when I recall that incident, I feel touched by the human concern shown by that reporter. I don't know what his political views might have been or what newspaper he worked for, but even now I have a warm memory of that man.

There was not much time left before our return trip from New York to Moscow. We decided to drop the idea of returning by sea and, instead, to fly home on one of our planes, a TU-114. Originally, when considering which means of transport to use, we had decided on taking a ship, because certain defects had been found in the TU-114. Of course we could have taken some other plane to London, and then boarded an international flight from London to New York. But we didn't want to rely on the services of others. As the time for our return to Moscow approached, I was told that the defects in the TU-114 had been corrected, that the equipment had been tested and found safe, and that the designer of the plane, Andrei Nikolayevich Tupolev, had no doubts about its reliability. And so we flew home on that plane.

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1. The annual session of the UN General Assembly is devoted to general political discussion. The session issues recommendations on the issues discussed in the form of resolutions. Khrushchev's trip took place between September 19 and October 13, 1960.

2. Formerly, Kaliningrad had been the East Prussian city of Königsberg. [GS]

3. The PO-2 was named after Polikarpov, its designer (Nikolai Nikolayevich Polikarpov [1892–1944]). Before Polikarpov's death in 1944 this small, light, one-engine biplane was famous under the name U-2 (meaning "training plane" *[uchebny samolyot]* No. 2; not to be confused with the American spy plane of the 1950s and 1960s). Production of the Soviet U-2 extended over a period of 25 years, beginning in 1928. In addition to its use for primary flight instruction, the U-2 (or PO-2) was adapted for many other practical applications—for example, the spraying of crops and performance of other tasks in agriculture and forestry, aerial photography, the transporting of individuals, including in medical emergencies, mail delivery, and the delivery of other small cargoes (for example, removing party and government documents from Kiev in 1941)—and in World War II it was even adapted for use in night bombing. Much information on this plane may be found in V. B. Shavrov, *Istoriia konstruktsii samolyotov v SSSR do 1938 g.* (History of Aircraft Designs in the USSR up to 1938) (Moscow, 1978), 362–68; and in N. Skritsky, *Samye znamenitye aviakonstruktory Rossii* (Russia's Most Famous Aircraft Designers) (Moscow, 2004), 102–9. [SK/GS]

4. September being hurricane season, the *Baltika* ran into heavy seas caused by a tropical storm farther south. [SK]

5. Vladimir Bezzubik was Khrushchev's personal physician. From the 1950s he was also the chief doctor of the Kremlin Hospital (under the Fourth Administration of the Ministry of Health, which served the political elite) on Kalinin Street (Vozdvizhenka Street). [SS]

6. This is, of course, the game of shuffleboard; see the photo of Khrushchev playing shuffleboard in the photo section of this volume. [GS]

7. Patrice Emery Lumumba (1925–61) was prime minister of the Republic of the Congo (Zaire) from June to September 1960. He was founder and leader of the National Movement of the Congo. He was first ousted from power and then killed by the secessionist forces of Moise Tshombe, who was acting in the interests of the Western mining companies and the former Belgian colonial rulers. See Biographies. [MN/GS]

8. The independence of the Republic of the Congo was proclaimed on June 30, 1960. On July 11, 1960, the colonialist stooge Moise Kapenda Tshombe proclaimed the independence of the Congolese province of Katanga, setting off a civil war that lasted for several years. See Biographies.

9. On Mikhail Menshikov, see Biographies.

10. I think that the police made this noise at night deliberately. [SK]

11. Dag Hammarskjold (1905–61) was a Swedish economist and diplomat. He was appointed secretary general of the United Nations in 1953. See Biographies. [SS]

12. Khrushchev is referring to Frederick Henry Boland (1904–85), who was a career diplomat with the Irish government. Although he may have had university connections parallel with his diplomatic career, teaching at a university does not seem to have been his primary profession. He was elected chancellor of Dublin University after he retired from diplomatic service in 1963. Boland was permanent representative to the United Nations from Ireland from 1956 to 1963. He had been Ireland's ambassador to London from 1950 to 1956. He joined Ireland's Department of Foreign Affairs in 1929 and represented Ireland at many international conferences, including meetings of the former League of Nations Council and Assembly. See Biographies. [GS]

13. The leader of the Spanish delegation was foreign minister Fernando Maria Castiella. [SK]

14. Dolores Ibarruri had been a prominent Communist Party leader in the Spanish Civil War and had been given the nickname "La Passionaria" because of her impassioned speaking style. See Biographies. [GS]

15. General Francisco Franco. See Biographies.

16. The expression literally means, "We'll show you Kuzka's mother"—Kuzka being a roughly affectionate form of the old-fashioned Russian man's name, Kuzma. This nonsense phrase is used to convey insult or threat, with some vulgar innuendo, "mother" being a common swear word in Russia's strongly male-oriented culture. An American equivalent of the phrase might be, "Just wait, we'll show you—and Billy Bob's momma too"; or to put it another way, "We'll show you what the motherin' hell is what."

A note in Volume 2 of the 1999 Russian edition mistakenly gave a "scientific" derivation for this expression. It stated: "A *kuzka* is a harmful insect, the grain beetle *Anisoplia austriaca.* The adult female lays her eggs, which grow into larvae in the soil in the winter. If the soil is turned up, the presence of these pests is revealed. The larva is called *kuzkina mat'*—meaning 'mother of the grain beetle.' The figurative meaning of the saying is roughly that 'things have to be churned up to show the truth.'" This erroneous etymology was the guesswork of an annotator who was not well at the time. [SK/GS]

17. Khrushchev's recollection is mistaken. It was during the speech by the representative of the Philippines (mentioned above), and not during the speech by the representative of Spain, that Khrushchev pounded his shoe on the long table in front of his seat in the General Assembly Hall. During the Spaniard's speech Khrushchev limited himself to pounding his fists, not his shoe. The fist-pounding episode, unlike the infamous shoe-pounding, was recorded by movie cameras. The two episodes ran together in Khrushchev's memory. For more about the "shoe-pounding incident," see the Appendixes to the present volume. [SK]

18. The expression in the Russian text means literally: "The press ground our bones into dust." [GS]

19. Hassan became king of Morocco in 1961. At the same time he was head of government from 1961 to 1963 and from 1965 to 1967. See Biographies.

20. Nigeria gained its independence on October 1, 1960, and was admitted to the UN on October 7. Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (1912–66), the first prime minister of the Federation of Nigeria as an independent state, was overthrown and killed in the military coup of January 1966 that brought to power the federal military government of army commander in chief Major General Johnson Aguiyi Ironsi. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

21. It was Avram Bunaciu. He was foreign minister of Romania from January 23, 1958, to March 20, 1961.

22. On Nikolai Podgorny, see Biographies.

23. On Kirill Mazurov, see Biographies.

24. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was adopted by the General Assembly on December 14, 1960. Actually no one voted against it, but nine countries abstained, including the United States, Britain, and South Africa.

25. Trygve Halvdan Lie (1896–1968) was a leading member of the Norwegian Labor Party. He was the first secretary general of the United Nations, occupying the position from February 1946 to November 1952. See Biographies.

26. Apparently Khrushchev was not aware that Trygve Lie had supported the U.S. invasion of Korea, presiding over the UN on the U.S. side in the Korean War, and that was why relations with the Soviet Union went sour. [GS]

27. In fact, in 1936, Trygve Lie, who was then a high official in the Norwegian government, sought to have Leon Trotsky deported from Norway to the Soviet Union to be tried in the Moscow trials. [GS] Lie was minister of justice from 1935 to 1939 (see Biographies). When Trotsky was exiled from the USSR, Lie gave him permission to settle in Norway on condition that he would abstain from political activity. When Trotsky violated the condition, Lie ordered him to leave the country. [SS]

28. The Congo refers to a large area of central Africa drained by the Congo River, which became a Belgian colony in the late nineteenth century. The people of the Congo gained their independence in 1960. The former Belgian Congo's name was later changed to Zaire (under the pro-U.S.

dictator Joseph Mobutu). After Mobutu's downfall, in 1997, the name was changed to Democratic Republic of the Congo. [GS]

29. No secretary general of the UN was elected in 1960. Khrushchev suggested to Hammarskjold that he resign, but Hammarskjold refused. [SK]

30. U Thant (1909–74) was acting secretary general of the UN in 1961–62 and secretary general of the UN from 1962 to 1971. See Biographies.

31. Dag Hammarskjold died in a plane crash while on a peace mission to the Congo in 1961. [SS]

32. This is a reference to the expulsion of the Soviet Union from the League of Nations on December 15, 1939, in connection with the Soviet Union's war against Finland.

33. It seems that Macmillan said this, not in Geneva, but in Paris, at the time of the failed summit meeting in May 1960, as Khrushchev described in the previous chapter. [GS]

34. The Soviet leaders at that time apparently did not consider the U.S. presence in Puerto Rico, the Panama Canal Zone, Guantanamo Bay, the Philippines, and so on, that of a "colonial" power. [GS]

35. The balcony was apparently just above the street, on the second floor of the building. [GS]

JOHN KENNEDY AND THE BERLIN WALL

The time came for the election of a new president in the United States, in autumn [November] 1960. Eisenhower had served his maximum two terms. When I was in the United States, he commented to me that his term in the White House would soon be ending. I asked him whether he thought it possible to remain for a third term and wondered whether there was an organization that might propose his candidacy. There had been such precedents. "No, no," he answered, "I'm fed up to the teeth with this job. I don't want to be president anymore. Besides, as a general rule that [seeking a third term] shouldn't be done. I want to end my political career." I think his answer was sincere. His authority was very high then in the United States, and if he had wanted to, he could have been elected to a third term, like Franklin Roosevelt. It's true that, as Eisenhower explained, World War II was still going on then [when Roosevelt was elected to a third term], and the people wanted Roosevelt to remain in his post. So he agreed to have his candidacy put forward a third time. Now, however, under a law passed after what happened with Roosevelt, a president is not allowed to have a third term.

Among the candidates nominated for president were: Eisenhower's protégé and vice president, Nixon; and from the Democratic Party, Kennedy and Stevenson.[1] The election campaign began. Eisenhower personally spoke in support of Nixon, and that was very weighty support. For the Soviet Union all the candidates were the same. They all stood in favor of capitalism. It was clear that any of them would continue the same policies that Eisenhower had followed. But of course there were shades of difference, and some of them were substantial. Eisenhower and Nixon were candidates of one and the same Republican Party, but there were differences between them, too. The former was more acceptable to us. As for John Kennedy, we didn't know much about him. It was said in the press, incidentally, that he had an excellent mind. During my visit to the United States the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had organized a reception in my honor. The chairman of that committee had been Fulbright.[2] He introduced me to the others present, and when it came Kennedy's turn, Fulbright mentioned his name: "This is Senator John Kennedy." I shook his hand and said: "It's being said that a great future lies ahead of you." I always tried to say a few appropriate words to anyone I was introduced to. Our acquaintanceship went no further at that time. However, we knew that Kennedy differed from other congressmen in his ability to react to events quickly and sharply, his high level of education, and his tactfulness.

Stevenson came to the Soviet Union, and I met with him, but I had especially warm meetings with him at Roswell Garst's farm.[3] Garst and Stevenson had told me at various times that they were friends. At the farm we were photographed together, standing with our arms around one another's shoulders as we posed for the reporters and photographers. Mr. Stevenson had a friendly attitude toward the Soviet Union and thought improvement in our relations was necessary.

Naturally, for us, his candidacy was the most acceptable, but the Democratic Party failed to nominate him—on the grounds that he had lost the election twice and they didn't want to risk losing it a third time. It would be hard for me to try and judge on behalf of the voters of the United States. Besides, I understand that the voting public there is very fickle. When working people vote for a candidate, they are giving him real power, but in doing this they vote for people who pursue policies that are not in agreement with the interests of the workers themselves. Judging from our own class positions, the president of the United States carries out policies in behalf of big capital, the monopolies. Clearly Stevenson would also pursue such policies. Still, the Democrats decided it would be better to place their bets on John Kennedy. He was a young man, and besides that, he was a millionaire. Stevenson, it seems, was not wealthy.

The race between the candidates grew heated. The Americans know how to wage intense presidential campaigns. It might have seemed that the contest between the Republicans and Democrats was over fundamental and vital issues, but the ruling capitalist circles know that when these candidates are put forward, regardless of which one is elected, the foundations of capitalism will not be shaken. When Nixon was nominated as the Republican candidate and Kennedy as the Democratic candidate, we had more hopes for improvement in relations between our countries if the latter were to enter the White House. We had no great expectations for Nixon. His aggressiveness toward the USSR, the anti-Communism that he preached, and his former ties with the reactionary and obscurantist Senator Joseph McCarthy promised nothing good. He was the candidate of the reactionary circles.

When I had been Eisenhower's guest, as I have said, Henry Cabot Lodge accompanied me on trips around the country, and good relations were established between us. Lodge came to Moscow before the election campaign. He arrived, as I recall, simply as a tourist. He had not been invited by the Soviet government, and he made his trip on a "freelance" basis. Lodge asked to be received by me, and we met as old friends. I had many pleasant things to say to him because he had done everything he could to make my stay in the United States more comfortable. Our conversation went further. He tried to demonstrate to me that if Nixon were elected, our relations would not change. He said that Nixon was not really the person he sometimes pretended to be in the speeches he made at election rallies. "Mr. Khrushchev, you should pay no attention to these campaign speeches. Once he's in the White House the situation will be different. I'm sure the position he'll take will be for maintaining and even improving relations between the USSR and the USA."

Lodge had an interest in discouraging our press from attacking Nixon, because it was none other than Lodge himself who had been nominated as Nixon's vice-presidential candidate. This twosome wanted to enter the White House together. I think Lodge came to the Soviet Union at the urging of both Nixon and Eisenhower. They wanted him to talk with me because he and I had a good relationship. In general they wanted our press not to praise either of the candidates. "Your intervention in support of one or another candidate is not something we need. On the contrary, it would be harmful. Our request is that you maintain strict neutrality. Don't interfere in our internal affairs during the presidential elections." That is the course we were planning to follow anyhow. In general that is a sensible line to take. Still, inwardly our orientation was more in favor of the candidacy of John Kennedy.

At the culminating stage of the election campaign, just before the voting, the U.S. authorities officially requested that we release and send home Gary Powers [the U-2 pilot shot down on May 1, 1960], as well as the other airmen [from the RB-47] who had been taken captive after their plane had been shot down over the Barents Sea [on July 1, 1960].[4] Powers had already been tried and sentenced. His relatives had attended the trial. Everything had been done properly from the legal point of view in dealing with him. As for the other two or three airmen, no agreement had been reached. Washington asked that we grant Powers an amnesty and simply turn the other airmen over to the U.S. government. That actually was our position, too. We didn't think it necessary to keep them in prison. But the timing of their release and return home had a certain political significance. When we received the appeal from Washington, I expressed my views, with which the other members of the Politburo agreed.[5] I said: "We shouldn't do this now, because the presidential candidates are trying to use this issue to their advantage, and voices can be heard on the radio saying that this or that candidate is better able to ensure good relations between the USA and the USSR." (In fact they said "with Khrushchev personally." The capitalist press always tries to single out a specific individual rather than emphasize the social position of this or that person, that is, the position they hold in their society.) "If we release the prisoners now, that will be to Nixon's advantage. Even the slightest shift that might tip the scales in his favor would not be good for us. Let's not take this step now, because I don't expect that our relations will improve if Nixon becomes president."[6]

We didn't release the prisoners then, and we were right not to, because in the end Kennedy won the election.[7] However, he won only by a slim margin, so that any fluctuation in the numbers could have worked to Nixon's advantage and he might very well have received the necessary number of votes. I said: "As soon as the new president is inaugurated, we will return their people [the captured airmen from the RB-47], but for the time being we will hope for a victory by Kennedy." And that's how things turned out. Later when I met with Kennedy at Vienna [on June 3–4, 1961], he and I talked and sometimes joked a little.

He was an intelligent man, and it was pleasant to converse with him. At one point I asked him: "Mr. Kennedy, do you know that we voted for you?"

He looked at me quizzically: "How so? How is that to be understood?"

I informed him about the appeal from Washington to Moscow just before the end of the election campaign, giving the exact date, and said that if we had returned Powers and the others at that point, it would have been considered an accomplishment of Nixon's.

He began to laugh and when he had collected himself he replied: "You've drawn the right conclusion. I agree that, just at that time, even the slightest shift in the balance could have been decisive. So I grant your point that you took part in the elections and voted in my favor."

This joking reflected reality. I should say that I have no regrets about the position we took. After Kennedy became president, hopes for an improvement in our relations increased.

Public opinion in the United States was being expressed more and more loudly in favor of improving our relations. Such voices were heard in Democratic Party circles and in business circles. Kennedy understood better than Eisenhower the necessity and the rationality of taking such steps, not only for commercial reasons, but mainly because the Cold War, which was still going on then, could develop into a hot war. And he didn't want that. Of course Eisenhower didn't want it either. He told me more than once that he was afraid of a world war. Kennedy didn't tell me he was afraid of a new world war, but he understood that such a war would be no picnic, that it would be a very bloody conflict and invariably would have an impact on the territory of the United States. In the first two world wars, in which the United States had participated, its soldiers operated on European and Asian territory. There been no damage to the productive capacity of the United States; on the contrary, its economic potential had increased, along with its military and economic power in general. The monopolists had profited from both wars, but in a future war they might lose a great deal, because it would be a war of nuclear missiles. Kennedy understood all this perfectly well. He knew how to analyze events and was not afraid to call things by their real names. That's why the first action he took in the realm of international affairs was to seek closer contacts with the USSR. He also wanted to come to an agreement about disarmament, so as to stop any further rise in tensions and to obtain assurances that no military conflicts would break out unintentionally, through accident or misunderstanding.

Kennedy informed us that he would like to meet with the head of the Soviet government. We held a similar view. When he entered the White House, we wanted to establish contact with him and try to reach an agreement on a rational basis.

We were also afraid of war. Only a fool would not be. I'm not afraid to say this. We were afraid of war, because it would bring ruin and destruction to our country and to our people, causing very heavy casualties. That doesn't mean you can buy yourself out of war at any price, to the detriment of your country's prestige. I think that any intelligent person can understand the difference. When I was head of the government, there were many cases in which the USSR very jealously defended its prestige, dealing a rebuff to the aggressive forces and achieving moral victories without war.

Kennedy was a flexible man. The foreign policy of the United States was something that he personally decided. He brought a number of young, intelligent, and educated advisers into the White House. They too were flexible on questions of international policy, and the advice they gave him was along those lines. Since Kennedy himself was deciding the line of policy, the assistants he chose for all posts were those who understood his goals and whose abilities impressed him. Meanwhile, the American press was speaking in favor of a personal meeting between Kennedy and Khrushchev. Finally [on June 2, 1961] we received an official proposal to meet on neutral territory. That is, neither in the USSR nor in the United States. We couldn't hold a summit meeting in Paris, because the attempt to hold a four-power summit meeting there had failed so recently. We had some preliminary talks about where to hold the new meeting. Vienna, Geneva, and Helsinki were put forward as possibilities. Kennedy proposed Vienna. We thought that Helsinki would be better—and when I say "we," I include myself personally—because it was our assumption that Finland would take a more understanding attitude toward our policies. But we were not afraid of Austria either. Its government had adhered closely to the obligations it had assumed to pursue a policy of neutrality. In general, Vienna was a city that symbolized peace. And so we agreed to meet in Vienna. We received a confidential communiqué that the president would be accompanied by certain officials and by members of his family. His wife and mother were going to come with him.

I decided to bring [my wife] Nina Petrovna with me, since the president was bringing his wife and mother. My hope was that the women could have some talks among themselves. I personally would not have advocated this. I must confess that such asceticism was probably a holdover from the Stalin era. I never saw women at official receptions held by Stalin. The only exception he made was in the case of Molotov's wife [Polina Zhemchuzhina]. In the government box at the theater, Voroshilov's wife would sometimes show up, though rarely. The company there was almost always exclusively male. Mikoyan, who had a reputation among us as a man who knew more about international protocol and etiquette, told us that the presence of my wife would be received favorably abroad and that we ought to follow international protocol in this respect.

As we formed our official group, we invited our foreign minister [Gromyko] and other foreign ministry officials who would be needed to prepare reports and give advice. They could help us orient ourselves correctly on one or another question that might arise during the talks on military, economic, and diplomatic matters pertaining to situations that needed improvement. The dispute over lend-lease had been hashed over at fairly great length, and therefore we hoped that now it could be resolved. Nevertheless, we prepared ourselves for a further exchange of opinions on that question.

An official welcome was arranged in Vienna, appropriate to the rank of the arriving officials. The Viennese gave us a very good welcome.[8] We observed no hostile thrusts or sallies. Cordiality and attentiveness were displayed throughout our visit. The Viennese said they were very pleased that their city had been chosen as the place for the two leaders to meet. We were treated warmly, because in 1955 we had concluded a peace treaty and withdrawn our troops from Austria. Our troops had been there for ten years, and their withdrawal was attributed to me personally. Of course that had been done by our government, but I don't deny my personal initiative in the matter. Not many people know about the internal struggle that went on among us over the question of concluding a peace treaty with Austria.[9]

I am pleased that the correct decision was made and that we signed that treaty. I knew the Austrian prime minister [actually, chancellor][10] and deputy prime minister [actually, vice chancellor][11] personally. I was also acquainted with the foreign minister, [Bruno] Kreisky.[12] I had good relations with this man in general. He had an understanding attitude toward the need for friendship between our countries. Of course, as a Social Democrat, he did not sympathize with our social system, and like all Social Democrats in the West, he basically held a pro-capitalist position. Nevertheless, among the reactionaries he was considered a liberal.

I arrived in Vienna accompanied by Foreign Minister Gromyko, and President Kennedy was accompanied by Secretary of State Dean Rusk.[13] We first made the customary visits to the president[14] and prime minister of Austria. Our delegations were given very good lodgings. Then the time was set for the first meeting. I don't remember now how many meetings there were, two or more. Our bilateral talks began. We exchanged opinions on the same questions on which we had been unable to arrive at agreement with Eisenhower—that is, Germany, West Berlin, disarmament, trade, and mutually advantageous economic ties. Those were the questions we touched on, and which would presumably normalize relations between our countries if they were resolved favorably. The fate of Germany remained the most sharply disputed question, although disarmament was no less important. Disarmament will always be the question of questions, but it was impossible to resolve that question without an agreement on Germany. West Berlin was also a serious snag, like a malignant growth on a healthy body. To keep the body healthy, the growth has to be removed. That's why we pressed for a solution first of all to the problem of Berlin. Without deciding the fate of Berlin we could not decide the fate of Germany or the question of a peace treaty. All this was interconnected.

Our exchange of views began. Kennedy took the same positions that Eisenhower had. The policies pursued by the representative of the Republican Party, Eisenhower, and the policies of Kennedy, representing the Democratic Party, were one and the same. There was only a slight change in terms of personality. The method by which the same policies were pursued also changed a little. But the essence, the foundation on which these policies was based, was the same. The primary concern was for the interests of big capital, and the aggressive aims of U.S. capital persisted. That is the main thing. They had no regard for any other country. [Their motto could have been:] "Do whatever my left leg tells you—that is, do whatever strikes Uncle Sam's fancy." What counterarguments did we have? The same ones, of course, that we had made during the talks with Eisenhower, but time was working in our favor. With every passing year our economic strength increased, as did the power of our weapons. We were constantly making progress in our space program while enlarging and improving our arsenal of nuclear missiles. We had a wider variety of them, from tactical to strategic missiles. This gave our arguments more weight and increased the resonance of our voices, although we did restrain ourselves—lest our counterparts make the observation that we ourselves were beginning to speak from positions of strength. We didn't want to slip inadvertently into the kind of position taken by Dulles, the kind of thing we had to fight against previously. For the time being the United States was dueling with us on the basis of trying to apply pressure. They had grown weaker, and we had grown stronger, like a child in a fairy tale who grows into a mighty warrior not from day to day, but from hour to hour.[15]

We placed our emphasis mainly on a solution to the German problem. What did Kennedy propose that was new in this regard? Nothing new. The only difference was that he approached the matter more flexibly. Kennedy accepted the formula of peaceful coexistence, and that changed the situation. During a conversation with Eisenhower about wiping out our debt in regard to lend-lease, the assistant secretary of state, Dillon, asked in reply to my question about peaceful coexistence: "And what exactly does that mean?" Kennedy of course didn't ask such stupid questions. On the contrary, he himself acknowledged that peaceful coexistence must be ensured, and he stated as much in his public speeches. This was a step forward. It provided a basis for reasonable discussion. Once there was agreement on peaceful coexistence, it was necessary to resolve all matters that would help ensure peaceful coexistence. One of the realities that had to be accepted was the existence of two Germanys: the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. Without the recognition of the two existing German states, as well as the special status of West Berlin, there could be no talk of normalization of our relations. A resolution of those problems would mean that the way was made clear for peaceful coexistence and a normalization of contacts in all areas.

Kennedy understood all this, but inwardly he was not ready for such changes, nor was public opinion in the United States ready for them, and so he refused to agree with our arguments. To put it crudely, there was a painful corn on the toe of the United States, located in Europe, which we could step on at any time, depending on our needs, to put pressure on them. That sore spot was the tenuous connection the Western powers—that is, our former allies—had through the territory of East Germany with West Berlin. Stalin had put pressure on this sore spot more than once. When he tried to blockade West Berlin [in 1948],[16] he suffered a defeat and was forced to lift the blockade. An additional agreement to supplement the Potsdam agreement had been signed with the Western powers, and that made our position in West Berlin worse.[17] After Stalin's death the same situation obtained. East Germany was our ally, and therefore we did everything we could to further its interests. And our interests coincided in general. We had a unified approach to the problem. We were equally interested, as were the other socialist countries, especially those belonging to the Warsaw Pact, in solving the problem. But Kennedy did not agree with us on the question of West Berlin. We made the official proposal that a peace treaty be signed with Germany and stated that if the West did not agree, we would be forced to sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany. In that case the stipulations of the Potsdam agreement would no longer apply to its territory, but the terms of the peace treaty that the USSR would sign with East Germany, along with any other countries that wanted to sign, would go into effect.

Kennedy had a very pained reaction. He realized that we could do what we said. I saw that Kennedy was taking our arguments literally. He took them to mean that once we had signed a peace treaty, we would solve the problem of West Berlin by occupying it. Naturally we had no such intentions. We wanted it to be given the official status of a "free city"; otherwise a military conflict might occur. Of course, in the event of such a conflict we could resolve the matter in our favor very quickly, because the Western powers did not have large armed forces in West Berlin. But whether they were large or small, once shooting started, it could develop into a war. Therefore we didn't pursue that aim. We didn't want a military conflict. Our specific aim was to transfer to East Germany all the functions pertaining to access by the Western powers through East German territory to the city of West Berlin. As a sovereign government, East Germany itself should deal with this matter, and naturally it could pose the question more sharply, as was the inherent right of any sovereign government. The Western powers would be forced to take the East German government into account, even though they didn't recognize it and they still don't recognize it today. And in such a situation some sort of military conflict with unpredictable consequences could always arise.

Kennedy resisted and argued that the West could not agree to what we were proposing, that the Potsdam agreement had specified the existence of a single Germany, and that a peace treaty could be signed only on the condition that a unified Germany had been established. The West had constantly made such arguments. But now the situation had obviously changed. Willy Brandt, the prime minister of West Germany,[18] has been forced [in 1971] to acknowledge de facto that two Germanys exist. But back then [in 1961] our discussions on the German question continued in a highly strained atmosphere. We resolutely defended our right to sign a peace treaty, with all the consequences flowing from that act, and we stated our position that we regarded West Berlin as part of East German territory and we considered the presence of Western troops there illegal. Kennedy argued the opposite.

What did he say about peaceful coexistence? This is very interesting: he recognized the need for us to develop our relations, with the aim of ensuring peaceful coexistence, ruling out war and military conflicts, but he understood this in his own special way. According to his understanding, we should come to an agreement and make this official in writing in the form of a treaty stating that both sides stood on the basis of peaceful coexistence. But he interpreted this as freezing the existing socio-political system in every country and not allowing any changes. This position was absolutely unacceptable to us, and I told him so. We were agreeable to strictly adhering to the conditions of peaceful coexistence, that there should be no resort to force on disputed questions or interference in the internal affairs of other countries. However, other countries should also not interfere in the internal affairs of our country. The question of the political system in each country should be decided by the people of that country themselves, and even if the social system was changed by the decision of the people themselves, there should be no outside interference. That was our understanding of the matter. "No," Kennedy replied, "there should be intervention, because agents of another country could be sent in." That is, he tried to impose on us his conception of peaceful coexistence as an arrangement ensuring not only the existing borders but also the internal arrangements within each country, a permanent status quo. The first half of the formulation, guaranteeing the security of borders, we could accept. We also considered interference in the internal affairs of other countries unthinkable and impossible.

I made a brief excursion into the history of the United States. I said: "At one time the United States was a colony of Britain, but the people rose up and fought a war in which they were victorious. Thus the United States became an independent country. History confirms that internal questions exist that the people themselves must resolve, and noninterference in such internal developments must be guaranteed."

The people of Russia had also made a revolution, and that too was an internal matter. "According to you," I said, "other countries have a right to intervene, and that's what they did. The United States, Britain, and France encroached upon and intervened against the young Soviet state, but how all that ended, you know very well. Tsar Nicholas I in practice pursued the same policy that you are now advocating. He helped the Austrian monarchy suppress the Hungarian revolution [in 1848–49].[19] That was a shameful intervention in the internal affairs of another country, but in that case, one emperor was helping another to preserve a reactionary regime. You also know perfectly well how that ended. History demonstrated the bankruptcy of such a policy. Later on, the Austro-Hungarian empire [as well as the tsarist Russian empire] collapsed. Today, generally speaking, everything has changed drastically. Yet you want us to return to the times when agreements were made among monarchs to ensure the stability of their thrones and to combine their efforts for the sake of suppressing the people in rebellion, if the people of any particular country dare to display a desire for a change in the internal situation of that country. We will never agree to such a policy and will fight against it by every available means."[20]

Kennedy was an intelligent man, but he was defending the interests of his class. I was somewhat surprised, and during our talks I expressed myself in a rather ironical manner, making fun of the position he was taking as old-fashioned and outdated. Finally he admitted that to achieve a relaxation of tensions, peace had to be maintained between the USSR and the United States. But that was only one rung on the ladder, and the lowest one on the ladder of peaceful coexistence. If Kennedy were to accept the full profundity of the formula of peaceful coexistence and would go to its root, the kind of proposal he made would have been excluded—because he was proposing not only that the borders between countries be fixed in their current positions but also that the status quo be maintained in regard to internal socio-political systems. But what about the countries whose status was that of colonies? Did he think we should help the colonialist rulers maintain that status quo? Such a proposal was reactionary, and we attempted to expose its reactionary nature, to demonstrate its bankruptcy. Our sympathies were with the forces seeking to change the existing order, but without interfering in the internal affairs of those countries, simply expressing our sympathies with their people.

In regard to lend-lease we also had an exchange of views, but the same old views remained. I repeated what I had said to Eisenhower earlier: “You helped us, and we are grateful to you for that. But you and we were waging a war together against a common enemy, and we paid with our blood for the war materiel you provided. Human life is dearer than any of the materials we received from you. That’s why we think we have long since repaid with interest the cost of the lend-lease materials you delivered.” Kennedy reiterated the U.S. position.

Our meetings were held during the day, and in the evenings the Austrian government honored us with lavish receptions. We visited the opera. Then we were shown a circus performance featuring [dancing] horses [probably the Lipizzaner stallions], a very splendid spectacle. Vienna took pride in the fact that the use of horses in circus performances originated there. All circuses now use performing horses, but a huge number of riders take part in the highly theatrical presentations in Vienna. We were also taken around to see the sights, of which Vienna has no shortage.

At a reception Kennedy introduced me to his wife and mother. His mother made a good impression on me: a pleasant woman! As for his wife, Jacqueline, she was a young woman who I had read about in the newspapers a great deal. The journalists always described her as a striking beauty, who enchanted men with her loveliness, but she made no such impression on me. Yes, she was young and energetic and pleasant, but without any special glamour to my eyes. I mention this only because they always wrote the opposite about her in the press. Obviously she was quick of tongue, or as the Ukrainians say, she had a sharp tongue in her head, and she was a resourceful conversationalist. Don’t mix it up with her; she’ll cut you down to size. I met her at the theater on one occasion during the intermission and we went to the snack room. But what kind of conversation could we have had in that situation? We merely exchanged commonplaces. Even in this case she displayed a sharp tongue. As the head of the Soviet delegation, it was of no concern to me what she was like. That was her husband’s business. If he liked her, more power to him and her. As for his mother, we also wished her well, but we reminded ourselves that she was a millionaire, and so we should never forget who we were dealing with. We could smile and shake hands politely, but we were people from opposite ends of the spectrum.

During the conversations between Kennedy and me, only the interpreters were in the room with us—along with Rusk and Gromyko. Our conversations took the form of debates. I don't remember that Kennedy turned to Rusk with any questions or that Rusk made any comments. There was none of that. That's why I had the impression that Kennedy himself knew his way around quite well on international questions and was well prepared for the talks. Before our meeting, he had obviously studied all the questions we were likely to exchange views on, and he had absolutely full command of the material. This was not by any means what I had observed in the case of Eisenhower. This spoke in Kennedy's favor, of course, and in my eyes he grew in stature. Here was a counterpart to whom I could relate with enormous respect, even though we held completely different positions and in fact were adversaries. I valued his qualities. If the president himself knew his way around on the details of foreign policy, this meant that he was the one deciding policy. And since the president had expressed an understanding attitude on peaceful coexistence, it meant that we could have some degree of certainty that he would not make hasty decisions that could lead to a military conflict. With every meeting we had he grew in stature in my eyes.

We continually probed the possibility of finding some sort of agreement on the most disputed questions in order to ensure mutual security. Our conversations were drawing to a close, but it was evident that we could not reach any specific agreements, because the understanding each of us had of the situation was too sharply opposed to the other. Neither side could find terms that were acceptable for agreements. What was acceptable to one side proved to be unacceptable to the other. Actually that was the basis of the Cold War and the state of tension [in world affairs]. Each side wanted to preserve peace, but each interpreted the preservation of peace in its own way, in a way that contradicted the interests of the opposing side. That was the kind of position the West took. Even today the West takes the same position, with the only difference that today it cannot deny the increased military might of the Soviet Union. For that reason the opposing side has been forced to adapt its policies to us. Back then our meeting was conditioned by the fact that the United States had lost its assurance that it could achieve its aims by operating from positions of strength, as it had done in the time of Truman and Dulles. The balance of forces had changed, and therefore Kennedy was forced to seek opportunities for coming to an agreement on a new basis, but of course it had to be an agreement suitable to the United States. For our part, we wanted to come to an agreement on a basis that would be suitable to us as well as to the United States, but they didn't think about us. Therefore no real possibility arose for us to come to any kind of agreement.

I was grateful to the Austrian government, and to its prime minister and president, for doing everything they could to ensure that our meetings would not come under a cloud of negative influences. The people of Vienna took a very friendly attitude toward us, and I don't recall any incident that might have cast a pall on my stay in Vienna. The government of Austria really did carry out its obligations to observe neutrality. The very warmest feelings remain with me in regard to the policies of the Austrian government. The president [actually, chancellor] at that time was a Social Democrat. For his part, too, he did nothing that might becloud our visit. I don't know if Raab was still alive. He had been [chancellor] when the peace treaty with Austria was signed, but his successor followed the same line.

Our last meeting with Kennedy took place at a reception or at a theater. Kennedy was very gloomy. He was not just preoccupied but actually glum. When I looked at the expression on his face, I sympathized with him and felt sorry for him. I wanted us to part on a more cheerful note, but there was nothing I could do to help him. Politics is implacable, and our differing class positions did not allow us to come to an agreement, regardless of any efforts on my part. As a politician I understood this, but as a human being I sympathized with Kennedy. He was disappointed, and his internal enemies in the United States, especially the aggressively minded elements, would gain satisfaction [from his lack of success]. They would say: "There, you have it. You hoped you could achieve some sort of agreement by meeting with Khrushchev, but now you see for yourself that we were right to base our policy on positions of strength. We have no choice, because force is the only language the Communists understand. You wanted to discuss with them in the language of agreements, and in reply you got a punch in the nose, and you returned home discredited. You proclaimed to all that you were going to this meeting with the assurance that you could reach an agreement, but you've come back empty-handed. This shows that our policy was the right one and you were mistaken."[21]

That is roughly what I imagined the president was going through, and I sympathized with him, but I gave no outward sign of that. I also sympathized with him because no preliminary basis had been laid for something better, and once again we were being thrown back, possibly to a state of even greater tension and to a continuation of the Cold War. We were going to have to pay for that, because the arms race would start up again. More resources would have to be allocated to arms. First that would happen in the United States. That would force us to follow suit. We were familiar with such events. They added to the burden of the budget and reduced the economic potential available for civilian needs. That was the main thing that made me sympathize with the president. I understood the reasons for his distress. The failure of his foreign policy would be reflected in both of our budgets and consequently in the standard of living of our populations. But I kept the pressure on, in order to place the president in a hopeless position and force him to recognize the necessity of meeting us halfway; otherwise a military conflict would be possible. As for Kennedy, he didn't want to come to an agreement under pressure. My appeals for him to recognize the reality of our arguments were left hanging in midair. We both remained in the positions from which we had started.

Kennedy left first, seen off by the president of Austria and other officials. After he had gone, Foreign Minister Kreisky expressed the desire to meet with me, and I received him with pleasure. I knew that during the war Kreisky had been an émigré in Sweden together with Willy Brandt, who today [in 1971] is the prime minister of West Germany and at that time was the mayor of West Berlin. I was informed that they were friends; besides, both of them were Social Democrats. My meeting with Kreisky was useful. He told me his impressions from seeing Kennedy off: "The president was very glum, very downcast; he looked terribly upset and didn't seem to be himself. Apparently that's how the outcome of the talks affected him."

I answered: "Yes. He's easy to talk with, and even quite pleasant, but when the time comes to make a decision he displays no understanding. He doesn't understand the times we're living in and the new balance of forces. He's living according to the outdated concepts of his predecessors and is evidently not yet ready to make serious decisions. Our meeting was useful in the sense that we sounded each other out and now have a clearer grasp of one another's positions. But that's all, and of course that's not much."

I must confess that I told Kreisky the substance of my talks with Kennedy because I hoped that our position—as I now presented it in sharply worded terms, a position that Kennedy was well aware of—would be made known through Kreisky to Brandt. Perhaps this would cause them to reflect; perhaps they would finally realize that our intentions were irreversible, and perhaps in the end, rather than raise the temperature to the boiling point, they would agree to reasonable negotiations. Of course I knew that Kreisky sympathized with Kennedy more than with us. The policies of the U.S. president were closer to him than ours were, and therefore I regarded him as an unspoken agent of the policies being pursued by the capitalist world in relation to the USSR. But there was no question that he would report my words in detail to Brandt, and something might result from that. As the mayor of West Berlin, Brandt could exert some influence toward reaching an agreement, although on the questions in dispute he was also on the opposite side and did not accept our policy line. But our policy was the only correct one, and even today it remains that, both for West Germany and for West Berlin especially.

Some events sponsored by the Austrian government were then organized in my honor (a reception and a dinner); we were given the customary ceremonial sendoff, and we flew to Moscow. After that meeting we intentionally began to publicize—through our press, at official meetings, at diplomatic receptions, and by other means—the point that we intended very soon to carry through our intention of signing a peace treaty with East Germany. We waged this campaign quite energetically, seeking to put pressure on public opinion through the press and through official meetings. In short, we set into operation all the means that were available to us with the aim of impressing it clearly and strongly on our adversaries that if they did not behave reasonably and try to come to an agreement, we were going to go ahead with our plans. What measure did Kennedy decide to take after our meeting? He appointed General Lucius Clay[22] as his representative to West Germany. Clay had held that position immediately after the war. The United States was demonstrating by this means that it was getting ready to respond to our threat of signing a peace treaty with East Germany. By appointing to that post a general well known to us, they intended to show that the United States was also ready for military conflict. The commander of Soviet troops in East Germany at that time was Yakubovsky.[23] I proposed to the Soviet government that in response to the American action we should make a chess move with our "knight," by appointing Konev to be the commander of our troops in East Germany.[24]

By making this appointment we wanted to show the Americans that we understood their move and were accepting the challenge. We appointed Yakubovsky (who in the future would become a marshal) as deputy to Marshal Konev. Our decision was made public, but among ourselves we agreed that the real commander in Berlin would continue to be Yakubovsky, as before, although Konev could also take any measures he deemed necessary. We were confident that everything would soon return to normal and Konev would return to Moscow.

Our chess moves and countermoves—with the United States moving its pawn [Clay] and us moving our knight [Konev]—did not of course lead to reduced tensions; rather, they again increased the tensions in our relations. President Kennedy made public a statement that a certain number of troops were being transferred to West Berlin to strengthen the garrison. We made no equivalent countermove, because we had a sufficient number of troops in East Germany without doing that. The garrison in West Berlin was weak, and we could have dealt with it quickly and suppressed any resistance by it if we had needed to. Of course a quick beginning could have been made, but no one knew how things would end up after that, and actually we didn't want a military conflict. All we wanted was to "lance the abscess," with a precise surgical operation. We didn't want a crude surgical intervention with a big butcher knife. And before all else, we wanted to anesthetize the area of the operation, to take all necessary measures so that the organism would not suffer any great pain and no harmful consequences would result from the operation. We wanted to carry out everything strictly on the diplomatic level without the use of arms. But Kennedy wasn't willing to do that. Apparently the military, which had a great deal of influence in Washington, was putting pressure on him. I think that the military exerts even greater pressure on the U.S. government now.

Konev left for Berlin. When he arrived there he announced that he was undertaking his duties. We recommended to Konev that he visit the commander of the American forces, especially because he was personally acquainted with Clay. The point was this: we needed to establish direct contacts. At the same time we had already agreed with Ulbricht[25] and the leaders of the other socialist countries on the official establishment of a border that would pass through Berlin and establish a clear separation between East Berlin and West Berlin. In this way East Germany would acquire the capability of controlling its own borders. Free passage from West Berlin into East Germany was a loophole used by all the intelligence agencies of the capitalist countries. They could penetrate to the areas where our troops were deployed, find out what weapons our troops had, and gather other intelligence information. Besides that, free access to West Berlin caused great losses to the economy of East Germany. An unstable situation was created overall. Many intellectuals and other individuals left East Germany for the West, and in West Germany at that time there was a big industrial boom. West Germany needed labor power; it recruited workers from Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia, Turkey, and other countries. Students who had been given a higher education in East Germany also left the country because at that time (and probably now as well) West Germany paid for the labor of intellectuals and skilled workers at a higher rate than did East Germany and the other socialist countries. The question of the progressive character of one or another social system is a political question and a question of people's ideas and convictions, but many people decided this question with their bellies. They didn't look at what they might receive in the future. All they saw was that today West German society was paying more than a person could earn in East Germany. Otherwise there would not have been a mass exodus; rather, it would have been politically discontented or hostile elements only who left East Germany. A difficult situation had developed, and Ulbricht asked us to help him by providing some workers.

Of course we could have helped, but only with menial laborers; when it came to skilled workers we ourselves didn't have enough. I told Comrade Ulbricht: "Germany imposed a war on us. The Soviet people shed their blood. We were the victors. Our workers are not about to come clean your toilets. That would simply be humiliating. A proposal like that would only exasperate our people. So we can't do that. You'll have to find a way out of the situation with your own resources." What could Ulbricht do? His gates were wide open. If he appealed to his people for greater discipline or took administrative measures, the Germans would just flee the country, especially the skilled workers, because they could easily find well-paid work in West Germany. A single nationality exists there, with a common language, and so there would be no difficulties.

For a long time I had had the idea of establishing some sort of control of the borders, closing all the gaps and loopholes. I asked our ambassador, [Mikhail] Pervukhin,[26] to send me a detailed map of Berlin indicating the boundaries of the different sectors. He sent one, but it turned out to be unclear. It occurred to me that he would have trouble finding the required type of map, and I asked him to apply directly to Ulbricht, in my name, telling him about my idea. I made the same request of Yakubovsky—but in his case I asked that he send a military-topographical map. When Ulbricht heard about my idea from Pervukhin, he was ecstatic and, beaming joyfully, proclaimed: "I am a hundred percent for it! This will really be a help!"

I warned Pervukhin and Ulbricht that for the time being we would keep the plan top secret. After we received the necessary maps, we discussed the plan in the Soviet leadership and unanimously made the decision to put this plan into effect as soon as possible. In coordination and agreement with Ulbricht we convened a secret session of the representatives of all the countries belonging to the Warsaw Pact.[27] Only the secretaries of party Central Committees and chairmen of Councils of Ministers of those countries attended. A brief report was given and this tactical operation was proposed: at a set hour barriers with swing booms and other border-control apparatus would be set up, and [Warsaw Pact] troops would approach the border, with German soldiers in front to establish controls and checkpoints, but behind them at a certain distance would be a line of our troops. The purpose of this was so that the West would see our soldiers behind the Germans. We chose the date of August 13 [1961]. The number was considered unlucky, but I told the doubters that for us this number would turn out to be lucky. Everything was kept strictly secret, and on the given day the troops established the border.[28] A huge uproar was made [by the Western media], and precisely at that moment the United States strengthened its garrison in West Berlin.

The appearance of this strictly controlled border immediately brought order to East Germany and raised the level of labor discipline. The factories and the agricultural collectives began to work better. Among other things the buying of cheaper East German food and consumer goods by "foreigners" [West Berliners] dropped off sharply. Ulbricht reported to us that the savings for East Germany added up to millions of marks. The West German population used to purchase many goods in East Germany and make use of East German municipal services, which were cheaper. The purchasing power of the West German mark was considerably higher than the East German one; thus the East German mark kept losing value. That is, the West Germans were extracting big economic advantages from the situation as well as political ones. And all of this was a heavy load on the shoulders of the workers and peasants of East Germany. Now the situation had changed. Without the signing of a peace treaty East Germany had nevertheless asserted its sovereign rights. As things turned out, it was as though a peace treaty had been signed, except of course for the moral aspect of the matter: officially the state of war persisted. We were all very pleased with our decision. I gained some personal satisfaction in particular. Without signing a peace treaty we had extracted from the West something that by rights was ours. This action gave East Germany every opportunity to develop its economy in a normal way, as every other country did.

In October of the same year [1961], we received information that the Americans were making preparations to destroy the wall [at Checkpoint Charley], in order to restore the situation that had existed before August 13 and reestablish free passage to and from either part of the city. We found out what their plan was: jeeps carrying infantry would be in the forefront; the infantry would have small arms only; behind the jeeps would be powerful bulldozers that would destroy the wall; behind the bulldozers would be tanks to provide cover. Konev and I worked out our tactics, deciding to let the jeeps with soldiers pass through the border-control points; let them go wherever they wanted. We had established our border controls to restrict the movement of civilians, but the terms of the Potsdam agreement still applied to the movement of military personnel: just as Western military personnel could visit the East Berlin sector, so too our military could freely visit West Berlin.

I myself had exercised this right at one time and had driven around West Berlin together with the Soviet commander of the city, but we never got out of our vehicle. We simply drove around in order to get a picture of conditions in West Berlin. Of course we made that trip before the Berlin Wall was set up, and we traveled incognito.

In our country the Twenty-Second Party Congress was under way.[29] Konev attended the congress as a delegate and reported to me that the Americans were going to move at a designated hour. We decided to keep our tanks out of sight, in the alleyways of East Berlin. After the infantry had crossed the border, as the bulldozers were starting to approach, our tanks would emerge from the alleys and move to confront the bulldozers, in order to prevent the wall from being destroyed. And that's what we did. Konev later reported that as soon as the jeeps with infantry had gone past, our tanks emerged and headed toward the bulldozers and the American tanks. The latter stopped their forward movement. As for the infantry, which had nothing to do, they turned their jeeps around and went back to West Berlin. Our tanks stopped their forward movement, and so did the American tanks. I no longer remember what happened with the bulldozers, but presumably they too remained in fixed positions. Each side stayed in position all night. In the morning, when the sessions of our party congress resumed, Konev again reported: the situation had not changed; our tank crews were still in their tanks. Sometimes they would get out of their tanks and chase one another around to warm up, because the night had been chilly. It was already autumn. The men in the American tanks were apparently feeling even colder.

I understood that some way out had to be found, and I said to Konev: "Let our tanks turn around and go back to the alleyways from which they emerged, so that they are no longer visible to the Americans. I am sure that in no more than twenty minutes (some time would be needed for reports to go to their superiors and to receive the appropriate orders), the Americans will remove their tanks, because right now it's awkward for them to remove their tanks while facing the barrels of our guns. They put themselves in this situation, and now they don't know how to back out. The fact that they haven't gone into action shows that they also want to find a way out. We will provide that for them. We will be the first to withdraw our tanks and they will follow our example."

That's what Konev did. Soon he reported: "Sure enough, as soon as our tanks withdrew, within twenty minutes the American tanks also turned around and disappeared from view." This was a de facto recognition of the closing of the border and the separation of Berlin into two parts: a Western capitalist part and an Eastern socialist one. All this was played up to a very great extent in the press. The Western newspapers raised a great hue and cry, publishing all sorts of protests and statements of condemnation, but the facts did not change; reality remained what it was.

Subsequently, as I recall, the borders were violated by some citizens of East Germany who tried to flee and in some cases succeeded. It was reported to me that a group of people in a truck had smashed their way through a gate with a swing boom and had reached West Berlin. To prevent the repetition of such events, so that violators could not break through by force (spies could also avoid having to stop at the checkpoints if there was a danger of their being arrested), the border had to be strengthened. I said: "This is not real control of the border. These violations are discrediting our people guarding the borders, making it look as though they don't know how to protect the borders." New measures were taken, but we still had doubts as to whether the East Germans could establish the necessary strict control. A situation could arise in which it would be necessary to use weapons, and it would be a painful situation if Germans were firing at Germans. We expressed our doubts, and the East Germans answered as follows: "You had a civil war in your country for many years, with Russians fighting against Russians. There were working people fighting not only on your side. Some workers fought on the side of the White armies; they had been misled by tsarist generals and officers. Still, you shot at them. Why do you think the Germans don't understand class war? When it comes to carrying out our soldierly duty and defending our socialist republic, our hands will not tremble." And that's what happened. Even today incidents occur, but the troops of East Germany are trained in Marxist-Leninist doctrine, understand the class essence of the situation, and take a firm stand in defending the borders of their socialist fatherland.

After some time had gone by, the West began to let it be known through confidential channels, and sometimes in official conversations, that the existing situation could not be changed, that the border should be recognized de facto, and that no further heating-up of tensions in our relations should be allowed. The Americans recalled Clay. As soon as that happened I proposed that Konev be recalled. To speak figuratively, we withdrew our "chess move with the knight," transferring him back to his Moscow homeland. The American troops who had been sent to reinforce the garrison were also withdrawn from West Berlin. Thus the status quo was restored. These were the first consequences of our unsatisfactory meeting with Kennedy in Vienna. It could be said that he suffered a defeat. The alternative for him would have been to start military operations against us. But that would have been totally irrational. As an intelligent man, he understood that the risk was too great. There was no particular sense in taking such a risk. Thus we confronted the West with an accomplished fact. Our former allies in the war against Nazi Germany were forced to swallow this bitter pill.

1. On Richard Nixon, John F. Kennedy, and Adlai Stevenson, see Biographies.

2. James W. Fulbright (1905–95) was a senator from 1945 to 1974. In the 1960s he chaired the Senate foreign relations committee. See Biographies.

3. See above, the chapter "From New York to Iowa." [GS]

4. See note 18 to the chapter above, "The Four-Power Summit Meeting in Paris." [GS]

5. Although Khrushchev refers here to the top leadership body of the Soviet Communist Party as "the Politburo," its official name at that point was the Presidium. [GS]

6. On February 10, 1962, Powers was exchanged for the Soviet intelligence agent KGB Colonel Rudolf Abel, who had been sentenced in the United States for espionage.

7. John F. Kennedy (1917–63) was a naval officer during World War II and a congressman from 1947 to 1961. He was elected the thirty-fifth president of the United States in 1960 and took office on January 20, 1961. See Biographies.

8. Khrushchev and Kennedy arrived in Vienna on June 3, 1961, and had their first meeting on June 4, 1961. [SS]

9. In the first chapter of this volume, entitled "Before and After the Peace Treaty with Austria," Khrushchev tells about disagreements with Molotov over the signing of the peace treaty. [GS]

10. The federal chancellor of Austria at this time was Alfons Gorbach from the Austrian People's Party. He had replaced Julius Raab on April 11, 1961, and remained in office until 1964. [MN/SS]

11. The federal vice chancellor at this time was Bruno Pittermann of the Social Democratic Party of Austria. He held the office from 1957 to 1966. [SS]

12. Bruno Kreisky (1911–90) was foreign minister of Austria from 1959 to 1966. Later he was federal chancellor (from 1970 to 1983). See Biographies. [SS]

13. Dean Rusk (1909–94) was secretary of state from 1961 to 1969. See Biographies.

14. The federal president of Austria at this time was Adolf Schärf from the Social Democratic Party of Austria. He held the office from 1957 until his death in 1965. [MN/SS]

15. There are many Russian fairy tales that feature such a fast-growing child. One example is "The Tale of the Tsar Saltan" *(Skazka o Tsare Sultane)* by Aleksandr Pushkin. It was published in an English translation by Dial Press (New York) in 1996. [SK/SS]

16. In 1948 the Soviet occupation forces blocked land communications between West Berlin and West Germany. The former wartime allies of the USSR organized an "air bridge" to maintain communications with West Berlin. Later in the year the blockade was lifted.

17. After World War II the four Allied powers created a single commandant's office and city council for Greater Berlin. By the beginning of 1948 these bodies no longer existed.

18. Willy Brandt was federal chancellor from 1969 to 1974. See Biographies.

19. Khrushchev is referring to the Hungarian revolution of 1848–49. The Russian army took part in its suppression between May and August 1849.

20. When Khrushchev speaks of "agreements . . . among monarchs to ensure the stability of their thrones," he is referring to the Holy Alliance. In the wake of the Napoleonic wars and the upheavals begun by the French revolution, the monarchical powers of Europe, particularly Russia, Austria, and Prussia, agreed to act in concert to suppress revolutionary and nationalist movements all over the Continent. The Alliance was called "Holy" because the rulers claimed to act in accordance with "Christian principles." Reactionary policies, guided especially by the Austrian diplomat Metternich, including strict censorship and police surveillance, were carried out in the name of the Holy Alliance. These policies, aimed at maintaining the status quo, dominated much of European life in the period 1815–48, but the revolutions of 1848 (and coincidentally the publication of the *Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels) showed that the Holy Alliance could not, after all, hold back a mounting tide of unrest and desire for change. [GS]

21. Where I have given the phrase, "You've come back empty-handed," the Russian text says, "You've returned to the broken washtub." This is a reference to the fisherman's wife in Pushkin's *Tale of the Golden Fish,* who after having many wishes granted by a magic fish, became too greedy and ended up back in her impoverished hut with the same broken washtub she started out with. [GS]

22. On General Lucius Clay (1897–1978), see Biographies.

23. Marshal of the Soviet Union Ivan Ignatyevich Yakubovsky (1912–76) was first deputy commander in chief and commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany from 1957 to 1965. See Biographies.

[24] There is a play on words here. The Russian word for chess knight is *kon* (which literally means "horse"); Konev's last name also comes from the Russian word *kon*. [GS] On Konev, see Biographies.

[25] Walter Ulbricht (1893–1973) was at this time first secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany).

[26] Mikhail Georgiyevich Pervukhin (1904–78) was Soviet ambassador to East Germany from 1958 to 1962. See Biographies.

[27] This secret session was convened in Moscow in the first days of August 1961. [SK]

[28] Although Khrushchev does not refer specifically to the Berlin Wall, it was apparently at this point that the wall was put up or its construction began. [GS]

[29] The dates of this congress were October 17–31, 1961. [GS]

THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

I would like to explain what the Caribbean crisis was.[1] Those events of 1962 arose out of the following circumstances. When Fidel Castro achieved victory and marched into Havana with his troops [in 1959], we in the USSR, to put it plainly, still didn't know what political direction the victors would take. We knew that in the movement headed by Castro some individual Communists were participating, but the Communist Party of Cuba as a whole was not in contact with Castro, and the secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party even resigned from that party before going into the hills and joining the guerrilla war led by Castro.[2] When the rebels took Havana [on New Year's Day, January 1, 1959], the only material about them was from the newspapers and radio. We listened to what was broadcast directly from Cuba and what others were saying about Cuba. The situation was very unclear.

At that time Fidel appointed a political figure who was then closely associated with him to be president of the republic of Cuba.[3] This man was completely unknown to us. Besides, Cuba [under Batista] had withheld official recognition of our government, and for a long time we had no direct diplomatic relations with Cuba.[4] Our people who specialized in Latin America began visiting Cuba. Previously they had known only a few Cuban activists, in particular, Fidel's brother, Raul Castro.[5] By coincidence one of our comrades had happened to sail on the same boat to Mexico with Raul. This comrade later told me they had become acquainted and had some discussions, and later in Mexico, Raul—right in front of this comrade's eyes—was stopped by police and arrested.[6] On the basis of information received through various channels, we knew that Raul Castro was a Communist. But we thought that he was keeping his views hidden from his brother, that supposedly Fidel didn't know anything about it. We heard that Guevara[7] was also a Communist, as were several other comrades in arms of Fidel. But that was all rumor, and no official relations between us had yet been established.

Events developed rapidly. We decided to send Mikoyan to the United States as a "guest of our ambassador" to establish unofficial ties with the American business world. Anastas Ivanovich [Mikoyan] had been there before the war, and he had maintained some personal ties. We believed that when Mikoyan made his appearance in Washington, people from business or commercial circles would be found who would want to establish contacts with us. At any rate we wanted to feel out which way the wind was blowing over there. The main thing we wanted was to clarify the prospects for the development of trade with the United States. While Mikoyan was in the United States, Fidel invited him to visit Cuba on his way back to the Soviet Union. Mikoyan made the trip, looked around, and had some talks.[8] But that was all. At that time, as I've said, we didn't even have diplomatic relations with Cuba, and for the time being Castro was adhering to a cautious policy in relation to us.

There was an anecdote typical of the situation in Cuba and the role of Fidel at that time. It went like this. The [leaders of the] Cuban revolutionary government ended up in heaven. Saint Peter came out and ordered them to line up. Then he said: "All Communists, take three steps forward!" Guevara stepped forward, Raul stepped forward, and someone else did, too, but the rest remained where they were. Then Saint Peter shouted to Fidel: "Hey you, the tall one, what's the matter? Aren't you listening?"

The point is: they thought Fidel was a Communist, but even in heaven he still didn't think of himself as a Communist and assumed that the order given by Saint Peter didn't apply to him. That was a typical reflection of the situation in Cuba at the time.

Diplomatic relations were soon established with Cuba[9] and the USSR sent a delegation there. The Cubans were forced to turn to us for help, because the Americans had stopped supplying them with petroleum, their chief source of energy. Life on the island virtually came to a standstill, and we had to quickly organize petroleum deliveries to Cuba. In those days that was a fairly difficult task. We didn't have enough tankers or other appropriate seagoing vessels; we had to quickly divert ships that were already in operation carrying other cargo, and we had to buy tankers or order some in order to provide Cuba with petroleum products. The Italians sold us many tankers at that time. A conflict between Italy and the United States even arose over this. The Americans accused Italy of not showing solidarity. This incident gives an indication of the relations between capitalist countries. If some earnings can be made, not much attention is paid to the question of solidarity among capitalists.

When diplomatic relations were established between Cuba and the USSR, we sent a professional diplomat to be our ambassador there—[Sergei] Kudryavtsev. In addition we had a "journalist" there from TASS—[Aleksandr] Alekseyev, who was a special [KGB] agent.[10] Fidel, and especially Raul, immediately saw that Alekseyev was no ordinary journalist, but a representative of a Soviet government department [that is, he was an officer with the Soviet foreign intelligence service, part of the KGB]. They established confidential relations with him. When they needed something, they would most often turn directly to Alekseyev, rather than to the ambassador. Alekseyev would immediately communicate with the Center [that is, with the Soviet government through confidential KGB channels] and inform us of Cuba's needs. As for Kudryavtsev, he did not behave very sensibly. The situation in Cuba was becoming white-hot; some "shooting incidents" had already occurred, and he demanded that a special guard be provided for him. The Cuban leaders—former guerrilla fighters—were surprised and annoyed by this. They were far more likely targets for enemies of the revolution; yet they went around without bodyguards. Our Communist aristocrat ambassador, however, was requesting special conditions for himself, to completely exclude the possibility that he might experience some unpleasantness.

When we saw that this was leading toward a worsening of our relations with Cuba, we recalled that ambassador. A man like that was not suitable for revolutionary Cuba. We confirmed Alekseyev as the new ambassador,[11] a man the Cuban comrades were already used to, one they knew well and trusted. In their eyes he was "one of their own." He proved to be a good choice. And as time went on, things got better and better! Castro began to behave like an out-and-out Communist. He didn't yet use the term himself, but he began to bring Communists into the work of governing the country.

At that time the president [Manuel Urrutia], who had been appointed at a mass rally immediately after the taking of Havana, fled to the United States.[12] The reason for this was that nationalization of private companies had begun, along with confiscation of the property of some wealthy Americans. Then limits began to be placed on large landholdings. There were huge latifundia in that country. Now suddenly many who had fought side by side with Castro, who had welcomed him as the man who led the struggle for independence [from U.S. domination] and for the ouster of Batista, turned against the revolution, because many who had fought with Castro did not want any further social changes on the island. The venal regime of Batista had turned their stomachs, and they had gone into action against it, but the idea of changing the social system in Cuba had never entered their minds. They had wanted someone new to be "their man." As long as he did their bidding, they really didn't care whether he was Batista, Castro, or somebody else.

That is exactly how the Americans viewed Castro at first. They assumed that the capitalist foundations in Cuba were indestructible. But when Castro proclaimed that Cuba would take the road of building socialism, it was already too late, and there were no longer any organized forces that could fight for the interests of the United States in Cuba. Only one solution remained for them at that point—invasion from the outside.

Meanwhile the Cubans were asking us for arms. We gave them tanks and artillery and sent our instructors. We also sent antiaircraft guns and several fighter planes. As a result, Cuba was fairly well armed. The chief shortcoming of the Cuban army was lack of necessary combat experience. They didn't know how to use tanks at all. The experience of guerrilla warfare had familiarized them only with small arms: rifles, submachine guns, grenades, and pistols.

It was only from reports by the foreign radio stations that we learned that an invasion of Cuba had begun.[13] We didn't know who was invading or with what forces. We didn't know if these were counterrevolutionary Cuban conspirators or the Americans themselves. We were sure that the invasion was being done with American participation, at any event, regardless of the trademark stamped on it. Fidel swiftly mobilized his forces and dealt with the situation rather easily, smashing the counterrevolutionaries. The Americans placed too much confidence in the Cuban counterrevolutionaries, assuming that with the help of American arms they would be able to put an end to Castro, but they miscalculated.

After Fidel's victory we increased our aid to Cuba. We gave the Cubans all the arms they could absorb. The question was then not so much the quantity and quality of the arms as the need for trained personnel capable of handling the latest, most advanced weapons.

Before the invading forces had yet been defeated, Castro made a declaration [on April 16, 1961, repeated on May 1] that Cuba was taking the socialist road. We didn't fully understand that. After all, it would not contribute to consolidating wider circles at that moment against the forces of invasion and would drive people away from Castro who were personally opposed to socialism. Some individual voices could be heard at the time saying that Castro had made that declaration because apparently he himself was not very sure that he would be victorious over the invading counterrevolutionaries and he wanted, if he were to perish, to go out "with the music playing" [that is, in a blaze of glory]. Of course from the point of view of personal bravery his actions were correct. But from the point of view of tactics, he shouldn't have done it. Nevertheless, he was victorious, smashed the counterrevolutionaries, and took many of them prisoner.

We welcomed this victory but were sure that this was only the beginning, that the Americans would not be content with the situation. The Americans had relied on the Cuban émigrés, but the émigrés had been defeated. The Americans would not renounce a second attempt at aggression, but this would be a repetition on a new basis. They would learn the lessons of their defeat and reorganize.

Meanwhile, in Europe the Berlin crisis had broken out.[14] Our relations with the United States became strained to the utmost. But President Kennedy took some steps from his side to come to agreement with us somehow. Of course he wanted to come to an agreement on the basis of the American point of view. He thought, as he told me in Vienna [in June 1961], that the status quo should be the basis for our relations. We also favored recognition of the status quo (by "we" I mean our government and the Central Committee of our party). The problem was that we had different ideas of what was meant by status quo.

I, for example, considered the term "status quo" to apply only to the inviolability of borders—that is, ruling out intervention by one country into the affairs of another. President Kennedy extended the concept of status quo to include the internal arrangements in each country. I told him that that was absolutely inconceivable: "You want us to make an agreement with you to ensure the rule of exploiters everywhere? The political system is an internal matter for each country. You yourselves, the United States, gained your freedom from colonial rule as the result of a stubborn struggle against England. And now you want us to take the side of reaction in cases like the one in which you fought against England for your independence? That would be unthinkable."

Historical examples already existed showing the bankruptcy of such an approach. At one time in Europe the Holy Alliance[15] had been formed, but it was unable to prevent anything [i.e., the continued outbreak of revolutions] and ultimately it fell apart.

We were concerned most of all at that time about Berlin, but we were also concerned about Cuba. Those were the two main points [in the world] where we felt a confrontation was possible. In Berlin a direct conflict was possible. It must be said that in that case the Americans, in carrying out the commitments they had agreed to, conducted themselves quite loyally. But they demanded that we too refrain from violating our [Potsdam] commitments. That was because they were more vulnerable than we were: their links with West

Berlin had to be maintained through territory held by Soviet troops, territory on which a new German state, the German Democratic Republic, had been established and was developing on socialist foundations.

We did everything in our power not to let war break out, but at the same time to free West Berlin from the military influence and control of the Western countries, so that they would no longer maintain their garrisons there. Our aim was to make Berlin a free city. We spoke about that in our public speeches and through diplomatic channels, suggesting that the appropriate negotiations be held. But the West rejected our proposal. Still, we did everything in our power to try to force them to accept that proposal.

We especially fought (and today we continue that fight) against West Germany's claim to West Berlin, its desire to make West Berlin part of West Germany. That contradicts the Potsdam agreement and the entire conception of the postwar situation that had grown up, and we did everything to prevent that. That is, if a conflict arose, we would have been its "instigators" to a greater extent. We became "instigators" because we wanted to remove the unhealthy tumor that had grown up there. It still exists today and threatens to spread and develop into a military confrontation. The West opposed us and would not come to an agreement with us on this question.

That was one hot spot. The other one was Cuba. When the Cuban counterrevolutionaries organized their attack on Cuba and landed [at the Bay of Pigs], it was clear to any thinking person that it had been done with U.S. blessings. Things could not have been otherwise. The landing was possible only because of support provided with U.S. military resources. We expected that direct support from the U.S. armed forces would occur then, but it didn't happen. Nevertheless, an action had been taken that could have deprived the Cuban people of all their revolutionary gains; it could have meant the loss of the possibility of building socialism in Cuba.

Although the counterrevolutionaries were defeated in the landing [at the Bay of Pigs], you would have had to be completely unrealistic to think that everything had ended with that. That was only the beginning, even though it was an unsuccessful beginning. An unsuccessful effort arouses the desire to do it right a second time. Accordingly the [U.S.] press began to work on public opinion and prepare it to expect new action by the counterrevolutionaries. But this time the invasion would not be like the first attempt, which Fidel Castro had easily defeated. The United States would absorb the lesson it had been given. If a new action were taken, it would be organized with larger forces and better preparation. Even if the United States didn't take part directly, and if again only counterrevolutionaries came crawling in to do the dirty work, U.S. troops would invariably also come in, though wearing Cuban uniforms, and they would be well-organized, well-armed, and in large numbers. While people were trying to figure out that it was not Cuban counterrevolutionaries but U.S. armed forces that were doing this, the deed would already have been done.

Several variants were possible. They could use counterrevolutionaries again, but with better organization and a different balance of forces. Or the United States might directly intervene. The situation was especially difficult because Cuba was separated from us by 11,000 kilometers [about 8,000 miles], but the United States was only a few dozen miles from Cuba [about 90 miles]. And if the big American base that existed in Cuba [at Guantanamo] is kept in mind, it could be said that the United States was already present on the island. The United States could organize an invasion from that base. They could always make an announcement like this: “Look, the Cubans have attacked our military base and violated the treaty [under which the United States maintains the base at Guantanamo]. We had to defend ourselves, and in the process of self-defense we are now punishing those who attacked us.”

We knew that the Americans would not reconcile themselves and invariably would find the opportunity and justification for a new aggression. In their view, might makes right. They would make their move, and then people could figure out who was right and who was to blame, when Cuba no longer existed, Fidel no longer existed, and some new Batista was sitting in Havana and speaking to the whole world in the name of the Cuban people. It would be clear to anyone with the slightest experience that all this was lies and slander. But the deed would have been done, and there would be no one to act as judge. The main thing is that as long as imperialism continues to exist in general, there is no one to act as a judge against it. I definitely say there would be no one to judge, because even the United Nations could not judge. Where is the United Nations that can act as an impartial judge? We already knew from many examples how [leniently] the United States was judged at the United Nations and what the results were from any such judgment. There remains [another possibility—] purely moral condemnation [by world public opinion]. But when questions are being decided by force of arms, morality is thrown aside.

Something had to be done to protect Cuba. But what? Could some armed force be used on our part? Or could we use some statement in the form of a diplomatic note or a warning published by TASS? That wouldn’t have much effect on the American aggressors. It wouldn’t make the slightest impression on them if they saw no real force behind the warning and no possibility of real action. Sometimes such statements are actually harmful. This is well described in the ancient story about the shepherd boy who kept crying wolf when there was no wolf. Then when the wolf actually appeared, he cried out, but nobody paid any attention, and the wolf did his thing.[16]

Nowadays this is the "classical" Chinese way of operating. After thousands of "stern warnings"[17] that they have given the Americans, the result is, as the saying goes, that Vaska, the American cat, listens but keeps on eating.[18] This approach has been dangerous in the past and it remains dangerous now. We foresaw this danger and decided that such statements should be made only in moderation. If you issue a warning, you have to think first about what you can actually do if your warning goes unheeded. If your warning is regarded as empty, what you are teaching your adversary is that you are a loudmouth; you make empty statements that will not be followed by any concrete action, and therefore there's no need to pay attention to your warnings. Consequently we had to undertake something real. I must admit that I was very much preoccupied with this problem.

The loss of revolutionary Cuba, which had been the first Latin American country previously plundered by the United States to take the revolutionary path, would undermine the will for revolution among the peoples of other countries. If the contrary were true, if revolutionary Cuba were preserved, taking the road of socialist construction, and if it developed successfully in that direction and raised the living standards of the Cuban people to such an extent that it became a beacon of hope, a great light shining for all the insulted and injured, all those who had been plundered and deprived among the peoples of Latin America, that would turn out to be in the interests of Marxist-Leninist doctrine. That would correspond to the aspirations of the peoples of the USSR to free the world from capitalist slavery and reorganize social life on Marxist-Leninist, socialist, communist foundations. But how could that be done in view of our country's geographical position, our great distance from Cuba, and Cuba's closeness to the United States, plus the presence of a U.S. military base on Cuban territory? It was a highly problematic situation. The United States had always regarded Cuba as its territory, although it never officially had been made a state [of the United States]. The Cuban dictator Batista was a front man for the United States and carried out its will. He robbed his own people and made it possible for the U.S. imperialists to rob them, too. The United States was convinced that its hold on Cuba was unshakable. In their view, governments might change in Cuba, but the real power, the power of the American monopolies, would always remain the same.

In a friendly conversation with Fidel, I once said to him: "You actually won because this was the first time such a thing had happened in any Latin

American country." Usually in those countries one dictator gives way to another, who comes to power by any means necessary, including military means. In such cases the Unites States remains neutral and takes a position of nonintervention. Everyone knows what that kind of nonintervention is based on. The U.S. imperialists had already used up one name. They had allowed Batista to plunder his own people and make his own fortune while the imperialists, too, were robbing Cuba. Then the dictator left the stage, because he had outlived his usefulness and his rule was no longer tolerable. Usually in such cases someone chases out the dictator, raising the people in revolt and coming to power, but the United States suffers no ill results. Batista was there before, and now someone else would be in office in Cuba. Castro, for example. The main thing would be that the U.S. position in Cuba not be disturbed. That was how they thought.

If they had granted the possibility that with Batista's ouster, and the defeat of his forces by Fidel Castro, they would lose their hold on Cuba, be deprived of the capital investments they had there, and that Cuba would take the road of socialist revolution, it would not have required much in the way of military resources on the part of the United States to help Batista and prevent his defeat. They had that possibility. First of all, Batista himself had armed forces that were better equipped than those of Fidel. He also had tanks, aircraft, and artillery. So what if the people didn't support him? The United States could always have found a sufficient number of people to hire and send to Cuba to serve as alleged Cuban tank operators, airplane pilots, and even ordinary infantry, to have supported Batista and prevented his overthrow. And the United States would have done that. But they thought that what was involved was simply a change of names, that the socio-political situation established was unshakable, just as in other Latin American countries, where American capital is dominant and where the governments serve the United States directly or indirectly and cover up for the plunder of their countries by the American monopolies.

When I said all this to Fidel Castro, he protested: "No! No! We defeated them."

I said: "Well, let's not get into a debate on the subject. Each of us can stick to his own opinion."

Actually you don't have to look very far for examples, such as U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic[19] and in Panama.[20] Very favorable conditions for the progressive forces had arisen in those countries. But the Americans landed their troops unceremoniously when the local leaders could no longer deal with the situation, and they even found various legal justifications for their actions. I won't even mention Brazil, and I could also refer to Venezuela and Guatemala.[21] There are a great many such examples. That's why we had to expect that the aggressive forces in the United States would draw conclusions from the lesson they had been given [with the defeat of the Bay of Pigs invasion]. A moral blow had been struck against them, if not truly a military one. Fidel had tweaked their noses by defeating the counterrevolutionaries who landed in Cuba. This damaged the United States militarily as well, because everyone guessed that the United States had armed those forces.

I was sure that a new invasion was inevitable, that it was only a matter of time, and that in the very near future the Americans would make another attempt. Why should they lose a lot of time? They needed to act while the shouting was still going on, while public opinion was still aroused, and before the excitement stirred up by the counterrevolutionary invasion had subsided.

In [May] 1962 I headed a Soviet delegation to Bulgaria in response to an invitation by the Bulgarian government and the Central Committee of its Communist Party. Good, friendly conversations were held there in meetings with the Bulgarian people. How else could a visit to Bulgaria turn out? In general I don't even know what could be warmer and more sincere than our meetings in Bulgaria. A long history links us with Bulgaria. It began in the days when the Turks still held that country. Our friendship is well described by Turgenev in his novel *On the Eve.*[22] Remember the hero of that novel, Insarov? He was a Bulgarian, who lived and studied in Russia, and then went back to fight for his country. It's a very well written novel. Anyone who follows public life in Eastern Europe and is familiar with our relations with the Bulgarians can see and feel this for themselves. And those of us who were in Bulgaria and met with the Bulgarian people, especially in the villages, know this personally. We had open and candid talks with the Bulgarian leader, [Todor] Zhivkov,[23] and other leaders of the Bulgarian Politburo and government, without any subterfuge or unspoken thoughts. Each of us laid out our positions, and the mutual exchange of views merged into a single common understanding of things. I think that the same kind of situation exists even today [in relations between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria].

I was traveling in Bulgaria, but my mind was constantly preoccupied with the thought: "What will happen to Cuba? We're going to lose Cuba!" That would have been a big blow to Marxist-Leninist doctrine and would have thrown us far back in Latin America, lowering our prestige there. How would people look at us after that? The Soviet Union is such a powerful country, but it could do nothing more than make empty statements of protest and bring the question up to be debated at the United Nations, as had often been done. All the protests that have been made in such situations are virtually disregarded by the United States and other imperialist powers. Of course a duel goes on in the press and over the radio, but time eventually erases it all from memory, and what the aggressor has achieved remains in force. That was completely clear to me.

We had to think of something. But what? It was a highly complicated matter, trying to find something you could use as an effective counter to the United States. Naturally the following solution suggested itself: the United States had surrounded the Soviet Union with its military bases and placed its missiles all around our country. We knew that the United States had missile bases in Turkey and Italy, not to mention West Germany! We granted the possibility that they also existed in other countries. They had surrounded us with military bases; the planes at those bases were within effective range of our vital industrial and governmental centers, and those planes were armed with atomic bombs. Couldn't we counter with the very same thing? But of course that was not so simple!

As chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and first secretary of the party's Central Committee, my obligation was to try to solve this problem without getting into a war. It doesn't take a lot of intelligence to start a war. It takes a lot more to put an end to a war. Fools can easily start wars, and wise men are left not knowing what to do. There was also another difficulty. It was very easy to give in to the shouts and cries coming from the United States and to start engaging in a verbal duel, which isn't worth much when it comes to the class struggle.

When Dulles announced his policy of "rollback," that is, gradually tearing away one country after another from the socialist camp or countries that had friendly relations with us, his aim was to bring those countries under U.S. influence. But since capitalist ideology is not especially attractive nowadays to most of the peoples of the world, Dulles was counting most of all on force, that is, military force. And I thought to myself: "What if we were to come to an agreement with the government of Cuba and install missiles with atomic warheads there, but to do it in a concealed way, so that it would be kept a secret from the United States?" We would have to have a talk with Fidel Castro and discuss the tactics and aims that we were pursuing. When everything had been talked over we could begin the operation. I came to the conclusion that if we did everything secretly and the Americans found out about it only after the missiles were in place and ready to be launched, they would have to stop and think before making the risky decision to wipe out our missiles by military force.

Our missiles might be destroyed by the United States, but not all of them. It would be enough if one quarter or even one tenth of the missiles we installed were still in place and could be used to hit New York with one or two nuclear warheads. Not much would be left if that happened. The atom bomb that the United States dropped on Hiroshima had an explosive force equivalent to 20,000 tons of TNT. But our warhead had an explosive force equivalent to *one million* tons. It had not been tested on anyone's territory, but we knew from our nuclear-testing program that the destruction would be colossal. I'm not saying that everyone in the target area would be killed. No, not everyone, but it's hard to say how many would have survived. In short, scientists and military men who knew about atomic weapons could very well imagine the results. It seemed to me that might restrain the United States from military action against Cuba. If things worked out that way, it wouldn't be bad. To some degree a "balance of fear"—a formula used in the West—might be reached.

They had surrounded us with military bases and kept our country under the constant threat of possible nuclear attack. But now the Americans themselves would experience what such a situation feels like. As for us, we had already grown used to it. During the preceding half century three major wars had been fought on our territory: World War I, the civil war, and World War II, but the United States had experienced no war on its territory for a long time. The United States had taken part in many wars and had grown rich from them, shedding the blood of only a minimal number of its own people while accumulating billions and robbing the whole world.

I walked around and thought about it, and all this gradually took shape in my mind. I didn't express my thoughts to anyone, because at that point this was my own personal opinion, the fruit of my own inner torment. There was no one I could share my thoughts with then. While in Bulgaria, I couldn't even share these thoughts with Zhivkov, because I hadn't discussed the matter with my own comrades. After all, how could I have an exchange of views like that even with the friendliest country and friendliest leadership without having talked things over among ourselves and without being assured of the consent of my comrades in the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet government?

When I returned to the Soviet Union I continued to think about this question. Then we convened a session [of the Central Committee Presidium], and at that session I said I wanted to present my views on the question of Cuba. I stated what I had been thinking. I said that otherwise Cuba would be crushed and we could not hope that a second invasion would be organized as poorly as the first one. Fidel Castro would not be able to come out victorious again, because the lessons would have been learned from the landing that Fidel had defeated. A larger number of men and more powerful weapons would be thrown in the second time, and they would not just strike at one location. The island of Cuba stretches out for a little more than 1,000 kilometers [about 600 miles], and at some points it is only about 50 kilometers [30 miles] across. Therefore Cuba is extremely vulnerable to attack from the sea. The United States, which has an enormous air force and navy, would have no trouble organizing a landing at almost any point, thus forcing Cuba to spread its defense forces thin, rendering them essentially ineffective. For the U.S. army to defeat the Cuban army would entail no great difficulties.

The comrades listened to me. All at once, as I was concluding my presentation, I said: “Let’s not decide this now. I have only expressed to you what I have been thinking. You are not ready to make a decision on such a question. You need to think it all over. And I will also think further, so that a week from now we will gather again and discuss this once more. We need to weigh everything very carefully. I consider it my duty to warn you that this action could bring with it many unknown and unforeseeable consequences. We of course want to do everything we can to protect Cuba and keep it from being crushed. But we might be drawn into a war. We also have to keep that in mind. If, for example, Cuba were to be wiped out as a socialist country, but the Soviet Union still remained, the people of Cuba would, after some time, regain their strength and again become free and socialist. Of course if Cuba were to be defeated now, this historical opportunity would be postponed for a long time, not only for Cuba but also for other Latin American countries. But it would be even worse if the Soviet Union were to be defeated, if it were destroyed, and then had to be rebuilt all over again. That would do much greater harm to the international Communist movement than the loss of Cuba alone.

“We have to do things in such a way as to preserve our country and not allow a world war to break out, but also not to let Cuba be crushed by U.S. troops. Our aim must be the preservation of the existing situation. But we must also contribute to the further development and strengthening of socialist construction in Cuba. Cuba must become a torch blazing in the night, a magnet of attraction for all the oppressed peoples of Latin America fighting against exploitation by the American monopolies. The warmth-giving light of socialism from Cuba will accelerate the process of struggle in countries fighting for independence.”

A week went by. I put this question on the agenda again. I asked: “Well, comrades, have you thought about it?”

“Yes, we’ve thought about it.”

“Well, what do you have to say?”

Comrade Kuusinen[24] was the first to take the floor. He said: “Comrade Khrushchev, this is what I think. If you make a motion to this effect now and you think that such a decision should be adopted, then I believe in you, and I will vote with you. Let's do what has to be done."

It was flattering for me, on the one hand, to hear this, but on the other hand, it was a bit hard to take. His reply placed all the responsibility on me. But I had a lot of respect for Kuusinen. I knew he was an honorable and sincere man, and therefore I accepted his words in a positive light. Comrade Mikoyan spoke with some reservations. On a question like this there were bound to be reservations, of course. But the point he made amounted to this: we would be taking a dangerous step. I had already made that point from the beginning. I had even stated that this step, to put it crudely, verged on adventurism. It would be adventurism if, in trying to save Cuba, we involved ourselves in a thermonuclear war, with all the unprecedented difficulties that would entail. We had to use all our resources to avoid that, whereas to deliberately call for such a war would truly be adventurism.

I, of course, was opposed to war. But if you live your whole life being held down by fear, you become paralyzed. And the fear was that any action we might take in our own defense or in defense of our friends might cause a thermonuclear war. But if we allowed ourselves to be paralyzed with fear, a war was sure to come about in that case. Your enemy can sense it immediately if you're afraid of the threat of war. If you begin to yield your positions gradually to avoid war, giving the enemy the chance to achieve his aims bit by bit, that would amount to the same thing. By showing your fear and constantly yielding and making concessions, you would stimulate the enemy's appetite, so that he would abandon all caution and no longer have any sense that there was a brink beyond which a world war would become inevitable.

That was how the problem looked to me in the past, and it still does today. Our position necessarily has to be that we do not want war and that we do everything not to allow a war to happen—but we cannot be afraid of war. If an unfavorable situation develops, you have to retreat. But if your retreat is the beginning of the end of your capacity for resistance, then it's better to risk everything.[25] Try your best to crush your enemy and if war is imposed on you, do everything you can to survive in that war and achieve victory. That is exactly how all of us understood the situation. Even today I think about that a lot. It's already been so many years that I've been retired, in the position of a pensioner who does no work. I have no special tasks; no special problems arise for me in the present or the future, and therefore I spend my life analyzing what has gone on in the past. And the path I traveled was a good one. Not only am I not ashamed of it; I am proud of it. The Caribbean crisis was a bright ornament that brilliantly set off our foreign policy, and in that I include my policy as a member of the collective that decided policy and achieved a brilliant success in behalf of Cuba without firing a single shot.

How would the crisis develop further once we had made the decision that it would be expedient to deploy missiles with nuclear warheads on Cuban territory and thus place before the United States the accomplished fact that if it tried to invade Cuba, Cuba would have the capability of dealing a crushing blow in reply? That would not of course have meant that the United States was defeated. But it would suffer very great destruction. From this we drew the conclusion that the prospect would restrain the powers that be in the United States from invading Cuba. We all came to this conclusion after my proposal had been discussed two or three times. I proposed that this decision not be pushed at a forced pace, that it needed to be crystallized in the consciousness of each of us, with a full understanding of its consequences, so that each of us knew that it might bring us into war with the United States. The decision was made unanimously.

Comrade Malinovsky[26] was entrusted with the details of working out the operation, and only a small number of people were brought in to take part in this work. We calculated our resources and came to the conclusion that we could deploy missiles whose warheads [as I have said] would each have an explosive force equivalent to a million tons of TNT. The range of most of these missiles was, as I recall, 2,000 kilometers [about 1,200 miles], while four or five missiles had a range of 4,000 kilometers [2,500 miles]. Locations were chosen for the launching sites. We tried to calculate approximately which targets might be hit from which point. That is, the details were worked out for using the missiles to cause maximum damage to the enemy. This was a powerful and dangerous weapon, very much so! But that was not all.

Our view was that if we were going to install missiles, we should also protect and defend them. For that we would need infantry. Therefore we decided to send infantry to Cuba as well, something on the order of several thousand troops.[27] In addition, antiaircraft defenses would be needed. Then we decided that tanks and artillery would also be needed to defend the missiles in case of an enemy landing. We decided to send surface-to-air missiles, which were good antiaircraft missiles for those days. We had antiaircraft missiles of various types and calibers. Our first models had already become obsolete, and we decided to send the very latest models that had been put into production and were becoming part of the arsenal of the Soviet armed forces.[28]

Naturally we sent the appropriate command staff together with these weapons, as well as service personnel. We couldn't involve Cubans in this work, because they had no training in launching missiles. A long time would have been required for such training. In addition, at first, we wanted to maintain absolute secrecy. It was our view that the more people involved, the greater possibility that information might be leaked. As a result several tens of thousands of our troops were recruited for this operation. A command staff to direct them had to be organized. As minister of defense, Malinovsky proposed that Army General [Issa] Pliyev[29] be confirmed as the head of this group. He was Ossetian by nationality. We summoned General Pliyev, and I had a talk with him. He was a man already well on in years and not well, but he knew his business. He had fought in the Great Patriotic War and, as I recall, had also taken part in the civil war. I knew him more or less from his role in World War II as commander of a cavalry corps. He was an intelligent man. Pliyev said that if he was confirmed in this post, he would consider it an honor to go to Cuba and carry out this assignment.

After we had made exact calculations of what to send to Cuba, an order was given for people to think about how many ships would be needed to transfer all this equipment in the shortest possible time. This task was assigned to people in the supply services for the Army and Navy at the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of the Navy. Their assignment was to ensure that this operation would be carried out. Then we decided to send a military delegation to Cuba. Its main task would be to inform Fidel about our intentions and obtain his consent. Once his consent had been given, our people would have to inspect appropriate localities, choose positions for the installation of the missiles, and study possible places of deployment for the remaining forces. In other words, the machinery went into action; the wheels began to turn.

We were concerned most of all that our operation not be discovered ahead of time by aerial reconnaissance. The Americans were constantly flying over Cuba. They could spy on Cuba not only by direct flights over its territory but also by flying parallel to its shores over international waters, taking pictures of the entire length of the island. After all, Cuba is long and narrow, and therefore you can fly that way and photograph it. The Americans were pursuing an arrogant policy. They unceremoniously invaded the territories of their neighbors, and not only their neighbors. They flew wherever they considered it to be advantageous for the defense of the United States, ignoring the sovereignty of other countries. We wondered to what extent secrecy could be maintained under such circumstances. We worked out a plan to prevent premature disclosure of our intentions by aerial reconnaissance. The man we sent to Cuba to discuss these questions was Marshal of the Soviet Union [Sergei] Biryuzov.[30]

I had first made Biryuzov's acquaintance outside Stalingrad when, after Paulus was surrounded [in November–December 1942], we received reinforcements in the form of the Second Guards Army to organize the necessary resistance against the forces Hitler sent to try to rescue Paulus. We deployed this army facing south, and we were right to do so. Hitler moved an army group toward us from the southwest under the command of Manstein. The Second Guards Army had actually been our main force in that sector of the front lines. It took the main blow of the enemy and dealt a crushing counterblow to Manstein. Hitler was forced to turn Manstein back, thus dooming Paulus to destruction. That was where I first made Biryuzov's acquaintance. He was chief of staff of the Second Guards Army. Later he became chief of staff of the Southern Front, where I was a member of the Military Council and Malinovsky was commander of the Front. In short, I knew Biryuzov and valued him highly.

After we agreed on the need to install missiles with thermonuclear warheads on Cuba and obtained the consent of Fidel Castro, we sent a group of military officers to continue the talks with Fidel and, as I have said, to study the locality to determine where we could best position the missile sites. We wanted to set up the missiles surreptitiously to avoid detection by the United States through its secret agents or aerial reconnaissance. This was a very important consideration. That is, as I have said, we wanted to keep it a secret from the United States that we were building up missiles in Cuba. It was necessary that the United States not be able to forestall our move or "beat us to the punch" by making a landing—whether under the American flag or under the flag of the Cuban counterrevolutionaries; that would have been a mere formality and not significant. What we were interested in was the essence of the matter: that Cuba should remain with its revolutionary gains, so that it could remain as the standard-bearer for the socialist countries on the American continent and carry on with its development under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. That was our desire.

And so we sent Biryuzov with an appropriate group of staff officers from our missile forces, so that they could evaluate where best to position the missiles. They arrived back and reported to us that in their opinion the deployment of the missiles could be kept secret. The not very high quality of these scouts was later revealed. They naively thought that palm trees would be enough to camouflage our missile installations. The thing was that we were going to install the missiles on the surface. To make silos for them and thus mask them more effectively, and above all, to increase their survivability, so that a bomb exploding near the missile installation would not destroy the missile—of course we couldn't think of such a thing. That would have required a great deal of time, and we had no time. We decided to carry out the work in two stages. First, we would set up the missiles on the surface. That was a simple matter, because all the equipment was already made. All we had to do was ship the missiles and the launching facilities, and they could all be set up in Cuba literally in a matter of days. Our missile teams could do that by themselves.

Our emissaries brought back such encouraging news that we made the decision to go through with our plans. The main work was entrusted to our minister of the merchant marine. He coped with this task brilliantly. We had to mobilize a fleet of cargo ships, and it could only consist of our own, Soviet ships. We of course had obligations both internally and under contract with other countries, commercial agreements to transport various cargoes. Ships had to be assigned that could ensure the timely delivery of the missiles. Certain dates were set (I don't remember exactly what they were now, but they were the earliest possible time frames). We then had to make agreements with foreign ship owners to lease some of their ships to carry our ordinary freight. On the whole this was a difficult and complicated task, and it was carried out brilliantly. We all gave well-deserved praise to our minister of the merchant marine.[31]

Our cargoes were conveyed to Cuba. The ships traveled without naval escort. Everything had been made to fit on these ships. When the missiles were loaded on shipboard, the teams that accompanied them also boarded the ships, but in civilian clothing. No one was sent to Cuba wearing a military uniform. Earlier we had sent troops [also in civilian clothing] whose job in Cuba would be to protect the missiles once they were installed. Those troops met the arriving cargoes and unloaded them at specially selected ports where no unauthorized personnel were permitted. Only the eyes of Soviet personnel were supposed to see what was going on. We had made an agreement to this effect earlier with Castro, because we were afraid that there were many unreliable elements among the Cubans. If we had used ordinary ports, where a lot of people gathered, American spies would undoubtedly have been able to observe the arrival of these cargoes. The very first ships that arrived would immediately be spotted, and the Americans would quickly figure out what cargoes had come. We didn't want that to happen, and so everything was done by our own people. Also, it was exclusively our Soviet personnel who set up the missiles at their locations. The same was true for the troops protecting the areas where the missiles were installed [that is, they were exclusively Soviet troops]. In short, we wanted to ensure ourselves to the maximum against any information leaks, so that nothing would become known to American intelligence.

In my opinion, we coped satisfactorily with the tasks we set ourselves in the first stage. The United States didn't know that we had transported missiles to Cuba.[32] Later it became hard to conceal the facts. Ship after ship was coming in a regular stream, and these ships were not going to ordinary ports but were being unloaded at unknown locations. Naturally, U.S. intelligence was capable of "catching on" if there were abnormal events involving the transporting and unloading of cargoes. If some sort of secrecy was being observed, that meant that some special secret military cargo was involved. The Americans began intensive work to discover what those cargoes were. Once the missiles were in place, there was no longer any special difficulty in finding out what the cargoes were. When we received aerial photographs published in the American press, we realized that it was now plain for all to see that surface-to-surface missiles had been installed, that is, missiles that could strike at the United States from Cuba. The Americans correctly interpreted the meaning of the photographs. Those accursed palm trees hadn't concealed anything, and our "scouts" had shamefully disgraced themselves.

Besides that, a fairly large number of troops had arrived in Cuba. Although these troops stayed away from populated areas, they were present on the island, and the general area around them was populated. After all, Cuba is not a desert or a jungle; it has been well inhabited for a long time. Apparently the presence of our troops was no secret to the population of Cuba, and that too led to the unmasking of our operations. The main thing, however, was the steady stream of ships arriving. In addition to the missiles we sent a fairly large number of tanks, surface-to-air missiles, and IL-28 planes as reinforcements for the missile technology. These were outdated bombers. We had stopped production of them long before and were gradually removing them from our arsenal. We considered them no longer useful. But we thought that in Cuban conditions, for purely defensive purposes, they could play a role. They could be used for coastal defense. These planes could attain fairly high speeds, something like 900 kilometers per hour, and could carry large loads of bombs. In short, they were good planes by and large.[33] But we didn't send a lot of them to Cuba, several of them at most.

We also sent several missile boats [patrol boats armed with cruise missiles], and these were also powerful weapons. In addition, we sent cruise missiles for use in coastal defense. In effect they were coastal artillery, but more powerful, with better aim. They could hit a target with one shot. These were missiles of the shore-to-ship class. Appropriate military teams also arrived with them. Naturally, this resulted in a large buildup of our forces in Cuba. Sending the atomic warheads was very difficult. They were not shipped with the missiles, because special conditions were required for the transporting of atomic warheads, as our nuclear specialists told us. We sent them as the last phase of the operation. Our intentions had already been disclosed, and we were afraid that the U.S. navy might make a display of daring—that is, it might try to stop our ships and search them. We even thought of sending submarine escorts with the ships that carried the atomic warheads, but in the end we decided against that. Our thinking was that since the ships were sailing under our flag, that flag alone should guarantee their inviolability. Actually the Americans had always respected such inviolability. But on the day when the tension of the crisis reached its highest pitch, becoming almost unbearable, I expected at any moment that they would seize our ships. But they didn't.

Sometimes people say that we should first have set up antiaircraft missiles to protect Cuban airspace before bringing in our ballistic missiles. This makes no sense. How many surface-to-air missiles would have been needed to protect an island more than 1,000 kilometers [600 miles] long, stretched out like a sausage? We didn't have sufficient forces for that. Also, once you've fired all your SA-2 missiles, everything is then left unprotected. Surface-to-air missiles are good for antiaircraft use, but they have a very small range. These batteries could be approached from the sea and fired on (not to mention from the air). Installing them first would not have produced good results.

When the Americans guessed our intentions and found out that we were installing missiles in Cuba, an unbelievable uproar broke out in the U.S. press. The pro-Republican press was the first to raise the hue and cry, and Republican Party leaders began speaking out, and then the Democrats joined in. They began demanding decisive action on the part of their government not to allow nuclear missiles to be established in Cuba, to prevent the Russians from threatening the United States from Cuba. Other arguments were made as well. I won't repeat them here because to do that I would have to look up the newspapers or other printed material from that time, and that possibility is not available to me. But the heat of debate was very intense back then. They tried to intimidate us by saying that the United States would not tolerate this and would be forced to intervene, to use force, taking advantage of its military superiority relative to Cuba.

It must be kept in mind that we were very vulnerable in Cuba in military respects, especially then. Our navy was not what it is today. We had hardly any nuclear-powered submarines, and in general the distance of 11,000 kilometers [7,000 miles] is one that requires serious consideration. We also received reports that it was hard for our submarines to come in close to Cuba. There were a lot of small islands and underwater reefs, making it difficult for submarines to pass through. The spaces where they could pass through were fairly narrow, so that the Americans could easily organize control over their movements, since they had a powerful surface fleet as well as a submarine fleet. It is not such a simple matter to engage in a battle against the United States along the shores of Cuba. And to tell the truth, we never had that intention. Any such goal was foreign to our policy. The reason we installed missiles with nuclear warheads, as I have said, was not to attack the United States but exclusively to defend Cuba. We wanted the United States not to attack Cuba, and that was all.

The political leaders in the United States of course would argue that we had extremely aggressive intentions directly aimed at the United States. The main thing was that driving us out of Cuba was to their advantage. They left unnoticed what they had been doing for a long time in relation to the Soviet Union, surrounding us with military bases, arming them with missiles, and building airfields [from which bombers armed with nuclear weapons could be flown]. The imperialists of the United States considered all that in the nature of things, that it was their right to defend themselves against the Soviet Union even though they were separated from us by thousands of kilometers. But Cuba, they said, was right under their noses. And they wanted to deny Cuba the right to defend itself. Such is their morality.

The imperialist bourgeoisie and the imperialist camp in general only take morality into account, and only abide by ethical principles, when morality is reinforced by strength, the ability to fight back. If that strength is lacking, they pay no attention to morality. The Americans didn't base themselves on morality and didn't seek ethical grounds in trying to justify their actions. That's how they behaved then, and they continue to do so today, but in their entire history they never went through anything like they did then. They were terribly upset and frightened. Therefore they used every means to eliminate our missiles and remove the threat that those missiles represented. And of course it was a fairly serious threat.

The Americans warned us unofficially, through channels that we had then with President Kennedy and those acting in his behalf, that they knew we were setting up missiles in Cuba. Naturally we denied everything. Some might say that this was perfidy on our part. Unfortunately, this type of diplomacy persists in our times, and we didn't invent anything new in this respect. We merely made use of the same methods our opponents used toward us. After all, they didn't warn us that they were going to place missiles in Turkey or that they had missiles already in Italy and other NATO countries. They were spying on us and sending their spy planes over our territory, but they constantly denied it.

Even when we shot down one of their planes, even under those circumstances, at first they denied that their planes were flying over our territory.

Only when we presented material evidence, in the form of the pilot Gary Powers, and backed them up against a wall to the point where they had nothing more to say—only then were they forced to admit what they were doing. Even in their admission they committed unbelievable stupidities and got their own policies more tangled up. In the minds of people who could think sensibly, even those of a pro-capitalist persuasion, it was inconceivable that in peacetime, when there were normal diplomatic relations, one country could blatantly declare that it had the right to openly conduct spy flights over the territory of another country because that served the first country's interests. This was precisely the kind of foolish statement made by U.S. president Eisenhower when we announced that we had captured the pilot of the downed American spy plane.

[To return to the Caribbean crisis,] a great duel began to be waged, with the press acting as intermediary. The U.S. press and our press published all sorts of statements and other material. The crisis coincided with the UN General Assembly meeting [in October 1962]. Comrade Gromyko, who was in the United States, was invited by Secretary of State Rusk, and a conversation was held between them accordingly. There was nothing unusual about that. When Gromyko was at sessions of the General Assembly, he always met with Rusk to have talks, and previously he had met with Rusk's predecessors. Later Gromyko reported to me: "The conversation was polite, but Rusk asked: 'Our military people are bringing us evidence proving that you are setting up missiles in Cuba. Bear in mind that we cannot tolerate that. An internal situation is developing that our president cannot ignore. A dangerous situation is taking shape, and therefore we would like you to leave Cuba.'"

This was not an angry warning; to some extent it was an appeal for us not to create such a highly charged situation. Then there was a dinner. At the dinner people had a fair amount to drink. During the dinner Dean Rusk's conversation continued to turn on this question. He used such expressions as that they would go to any lengths and would stop at nothing; that they simply had no alternative; and they asked us to take everything into account, to evaluate the situation accordingly, and take measures on our side so as not to allow a fatal confrontation to take place, one that could take place if it turned out that missiles actually had been installed in Cuba, which they were convinced was so. Well, this heated exchange was not out of the ordinary. Both participants in the conversation knew what was under discussion, but each defended his point of view and sought moral and legal justification for his actions.

We had more legal and moral justification than did Rusk. There was no doubt of that. After all, at that time American missiles with nuclear warheads had been in Turkey and in Italy for many years. Rusk understood this, but there was a difference from his point of view, although he didn't say so openly. He hinted at it: "After all, you have grown used to being surrounded by our missiles, and we have only just now encountered this problem, and that's why it has been such a shock to us. And for the time being we are not able to overcome this shock." Gromyko of course denied everything. That's what he was a diplomat for.

Gromyko reported all this to us. But we continued to transport and set up our weapons, continued to do what we were doing. Then the Americans began to make a show of force. They concentrated their troops in areas near Cuba—along its borders, so to speak, they openly mobilized their reserves, in fairly substantial numbers at that. They began to concentrate their aircraft around the shores of Cuba and assembled their naval forces in the area. They began to build up various military forces, threatening us all the while through the press. But we continued to do what we were doing. We continued on the basis of the following considerations: "First, it was one thing for them to threaten and another thing for them to go to war. Second, from the point of view of moral and legal right, they had no grounds to accuse us. We were doing nothing more than the United States itself had done. It was a matter of equal rights and equal opportunity."

There was intense heat coming from the foreign press, and we replied accordingly, but not so hysterically. A hysterical tone was especially characteristic of the American press, and its NATO allies supported it. We kept our public opinion informed rather extensively, although we also took into account that the prospect of a military confrontation, of course, would cause alarm in our population.

The most acute phase of the crisis lasted six to seven days. In order to reduce the tension somewhat, I made the following proposal to the members of the Soviet leadership: "Let's go to the Bolshoi Theater, comrades. The world situation today is full of tension, and yet we are going to show up at the theater. Our people and the foreigners will see this, and that will have a calming effect. If Khrushchev and the other leaders are going to the theater at a time like this, then it must be possible to sleep peacefully." We were actually very concerned just then. It doesn't require great intelligence to start a war. We didn't want a war, we didn't want to suffer casualties ourselves, and we didn't want to cause loss and injury to America. But what if a war started? There's a saying that would apply in that case: once you're in a fight, don't spare yourself; give it everything you've got. That's why at one particularly worrisome time, I spent the whole night in the Kremlin [Friday night, October 26].

A continual exchange of letters was going on between President Kennedy and us, and I spent the night at the offices of the USSR Council of Ministers [in the Kremlin], expecting that at any moment alarming news might be transmitted, to which it would be necessary to react immediately. Our military were warned. As much as possible we prepared our troops for action. As I recall, we even made some announcements about a heightened state of combat readiness. I must say now, with complete candor, that that was only a demonstrative statement made for the press, to try and influence the minds of the American aggressors. In practical terms we took no substantial measures, because we didn't think a war would start. We thought we would still be able to influence the extremely tense situation in such a way as to prevent a war.

American planes were constantly flying over the island of Cuba. That was driving Castro out of his mind. Castro gave the order to open fire, and our military brought down an American U-2 spy plane with a missile. That was the second American spy plane since the Gary Powers incident that our missiles had shot down.

Another great commotion welled up. We were somewhat concerned that President Kennedy might not be able to absorb this blow [and would be pressured into starting an invasion]. At that point we gave instructions to our commander not to take orders from anyone but us. Our orders to him were that *only in the event of an invasion* was he to coordinate his actions with the Cuban army so as to repel the invasion.

We had our comrades in the United States at that time. They were having meetings with various people. Yuri Zhukov[34] told me that one of his American acquaintances invited him to come to his private bomb shelter if a war started. He put it this way: "I'll save a place for you in my bomb shelter." That's what the atmosphere of war hysteria was like at the time.

The culminating moment arrived when our Soviet ambassador to the United States, Dobrynin,[35] reported to us that the president's brother, Robert Kennedy,[36] had come to see him on an unofficial visit. Dobrynin described his outward appearance as follows: Robert Kennedy looked very tired; his eyes were very red; it was obvious that he hadn't slept all night, and he stated so himself; later on. Robert Kennedy informed Dobrynin that he hadn't gone home for the previous six days and hadn't seen his wife and children.

He and the president had been sitting in the White House racking their brains over the problem of our missiles. And he added: "The tension in our country is very severe. The danger of a war is great. Please convey it to your government and to Khrushchev personally that he should take this into account. The president is preparing a message to be sent through confidential channels and earnestly requests that Khrushchev accept his proposals." Robert Kennedy stated outright that the situation was threatening, and that was why the president was sending his message personally.

Robert Kennedy also stated that the president didn't know how to get out of this situation, that the military men were putting heavy pressure on him, insisting that he take military action against Cuba, and that a very difficult situation had arisen for the president. He added: "You should take into account the particular features of our governmental system. It's hard for the president. Even if he doesn't want a war and doesn't wish for war, against his will something irreversible might happen. That's why the president is asking that you help solve the problem." Robert Kennedy left his phone number with our ambassador and asked him to call at any time of day or night. In a state of great nervous tension, he kept repeatedly appealing for prudence and good sense, asking us to help the president get out of this situation.

During these negotiations the Americans were frank and open with us in many respects, especially Robert Kennedy. They thought that a war was about to start, that many of our people were present in Cuba (they overestimated the number of troops we had in Cuba, but we did have quite a few there), and that Russian blood was going to be shed. The Russians would respond to that, not in America, but in Germany. The U.S. government felt frightened by all this.

By that time America had already called up its reserves, brought its navy out into the open ocean, and concentrated its land forces in U.S. coastal areas near Cuba. In short, all military preparations had been completed. Apparently the president understood what he was doing. Of course missile supremacy was on the side of the United States, but he understood that supremacy is a relative thing. The missiles that we had made operational [ICBMs in the USSR as well as the missiles in Cuba] could still do their job. They could wipe New York off the face of the earth, along with Washington and other industrial cities and administrative centers. Of course the United States could also do great damage to the Soviet Union. If a war started, it would not be like World War I or World War II, in which many Americans never heard gunfire. They didn't know what it was to have bombs and artillery shells exploding. They had fought on foreign territory. But in this war, if it broke out, they would be bringing the fire down on themselves. And what fire! Thermonuclear bombs!

Actually what we were trying to achieve was to have America shake itself out of its sleep and for its leadership to get a feeling of what war actually is, to realize it was standing on the threshold of war, and that therefore it should not go over the brink, that a military confrontation should be avoided. That was the kind of dilemma that was being posed.

We studied the document sent to us by the president and replied to it. I don't have those materials right at hand and I am describing everything exclusively from memory, although the essence of the matter stands out distinctly in my mind. I experienced this with great intensity and remember everything well, because from beginning to end I was responsible first of all for this action. I had been its initiator and all the correspondence we had with the president was formulated by me. It is a consolation to me now that on the whole we acted correctly and accomplished a great revolutionary deed. We didn't get frightened and we didn't allow American imperialism to intimidate us. So many years have passed now, and it's plain for all to see—and this makes us happy—that the revolutionary cause headed by Fidel Castro is still alive and flourishing. The United States made a commitment not to invade Cuba itself and not to allow its allies to invade, and thus far it has fulfilled that commitment.

I would like to go back, at this point, and say a few more words about the dramatic day [Sunday, October 28] when the most crucial decisions were made during the entire period of the Caribbean crisis. At the peak of the crisis, when events had reached their highest pitch, after we received the report from Dobrynin about Robert Kennedy's visit to him, I dictated a draft of a telegram to President Kennedy, in which we expressed our readiness to make concessions (in the sense of withdrawing our missiles). I dictated this telegram,[37] it was printed, and we were supposed to discuss it within our leadership collectively, so that a final text would be adopted and sent. At that point we received a telegram from our ambassador [in Cuba, Alekseyev] in which he passed on a message to us from Castro. Fidel reported that, according to reliable information he had received, the United States was going to invade Cuba in a few hours.

It must be said that we too had received similar information. Our intelligence reported that preparations had been made for an amphibious landing and that the invasion was inevitable if we didn't come to an agreement with President Kennedy. It's possible that this information was deliberately smuggled to us by American intelligence. After all, they often knew who our intelligence agents were. Therefore, it often happened that one side would smuggle information to the other that they wanted the other side to be aware of. The main thing in the message from Fidel was not what was being reported to him but the conclusion he drew. He reasoned that since an invasion was inevitable, it was necessary to forestall it. He proposed that to prevent destruction of our missile installations, we should immediately strike first, dealing a [preemptive] thermonuclear blow to the United States.

When this message was read aloud to us, we sat there in silence, looking at one another for a long time. It became clear at that point that Fidel absolutely did not understand our intentions. He assumed (and when I talked with him later he confirmed this) that we had installed the missiles there, not in the interests of Cuba, but that we were pursuing military aims in our own interests, in the interests of the Soviet Union, and of the socialist camp as whole, that is, that we wanted to use Cuban territory as a base right up next to the United States to install our missiles and to strike a blow at the United States with those missiles. It's true of course that that was a very good forward position from which to strike a sudden surprise blow with missiles. But we absolutely never wanted to make such a strike. In general we never wanted to start a war. A missile attack like that would have been the beginning of a war, but all we wanted was to rule out the possibility of an invasion of Cuba by the United States, so that the new social system would not be wiped out, the system that had been established on the island after the overthrow of Batista. That's what our aim and intention was and not at all to start a war. If a well-armed force from the United States had invaded Cuba instead of the fragmented forces of the Cuban counterrevolutionaries, Fidel would not have been able to withstand that invasion.

As a result of all our correspondence through official and unofficial channels, we arrived at the following decision and made it known to the U.S. president. We said that we would speak publicly and insist on the following: to avoid a military conflict, we were setting the condition that President Kennedy must make a commitment not to invade Cuba if we withdrew our missiles and other arms and equipment, except for conventional weapons.

The Americans themselves did not demand that we withdraw conventional weapons. That was impossible to demand because we would not have done that. The U.S. president understood that. We considered the IL-28 bombers conventional weapons and didn't want to withdraw them. But later we were forced to concede to Kennedy, and we withdrew the bombers as well, so as "not to tease the geese."[38] In the existing situation these bombers had no special importance. If we were to speak of the combat duties these bombers might perform, our modern fighter planes [MIG-21s] in Cuba could easily replace them. We wouldn't lose anything in the sense of military capability, and we would be demonstrating good will. We knew that the president had assured his military people that he would uncompromisingly insist on withdrawal of the bombers and would achieve that goal. We made a concession and agreed to remove the IL-28s from Cuba.

The Americans also began pulling back their ships and clearing the waters around Cuba. But their planes continued to fly over the island, and that continued to drive Fidel out of his mind. When the two official messages were published—ours to Kennedy and his to us—which spoke of our withdrawal of missiles from Cuba and a U.S. commitment not to allow an invasion of that island either by its own armed forces or by those of its allies, Castro didn't understand the full depth of the matter, what lay behind our action; he didn't understand it as a political maneuver. He even stopped receiving our ambassador. When we referred to U.S. allies, we had in mind mercenaries from other Latin American countries. Many cutthroats can be found in those countries who could easily be recruited if the United States provided the money and weapons. That's why we considered it necessary for the U.S. president to personally make this commitment. He did make it and he published a statement to that effect.

Suddenly we began to be criticized from the left; it was said that Kennedy's formulation was not precise enough. The Chinese press at that time declared that this was treason, cowardice, and capitulation on our part. But what should we have done? Carry the game to the point of war? That's exactly what the Chinese were insisting, but we naturally considered that sheer stupidity. It doesn't take great intelligence to bring things to the point of war. I have said many times that even a fool can start a war, and then a wise man would find it difficult to bring such a war to an end. We didn't want war. Even today I think that we were absolutely correct in removing our missiles from Cuba. And we began to explain our position to Castro in writing. He was very annoyed and even blew up at us, blasted us thoroughly *(raznosil nas)*, if I can put it that way. The Chinese diligently spurred Castro on in his "revolutionariness," his extremism. And this did us moral damage. Instead of our stock going up in Cuba, it went down. In Castro's view we had betrayed Cuba, but, in contrast, the Chinese were supporting Cuba.

I then proposed that we send Mikoyan to Cuba. Having known Mikoyan for many years, I thought that his diplomatic qualities would be very useful in this case. He has good nerves, is calm, cool, and collected, can repeat the same argument over and over without raising his voice. That has a great deal of importance, especially in talks with such an impassioned person as Fidel. Besides, Mikoyan had already been in Cuba, and the people there knew him to some extent. In short, we sent Mikoyan to Fidel [in November 1962].

After a few days, Mikoyan returned and reported that Castro was very upset and it was hard to hold any conversations with him. No arguments seemed to penetrate his consciousness. Throughout the talks [with Mikoyan], Castro insisted that our action had been very harmful, that it would bring harm to the entire socialist camp. In addition, Fidel demanded that the Americans withdraw from their base at Guantanamo.

At that time we had the impression that, despite our clear explanation of our goals to Fidel [before installing the missiles], he apparently had not understood them.

After Mikoyan returned from Cuba, I said that we had to write a letter to Fidel. I prepared a long letter in which I candidly presented all my thoughts. What I wrote was this: The chief significance of the Caribbean crisis was that as a result of it the continued existence of socialist Cuba had actually been sanctified. If Cuba had not gone through this crisis, it was unlikely that the Americans would have refrained from organizing a new invasion to eliminate the socialist system in Cuba. But now the United States would find it very hard to do that. We had withstood the arousal of passions to an intense pitch and had finally reached mutual agreement and had made an exchange of commitments. After all that, was America going to suddenly invade? In that event the Soviet Union would have the right to attack in response to the United States. (That's what I wrote in the letter.) Therefore Kennedy would not take such a step. We had now ensured the existence of socialist Cuba for the next two years, as long as Kennedy was in the White House. But it was our opinion that Kennedy was going to be elected to a second term. That meant another four years. This made a total of six years. To survive for six years in our era is no small thing. By the end of that time a different balance of forces would have developed. It was shifting more and more in favor of socialism.

Later, during conversations we had when Castro visited the Soviet Union on two different occasions [in May 1963 and January 1964], his attitude had become quite different, and the atmosphere of our discussions was exceptionally warm. That allowed us to exchange views candidly. By then the Caribbean crisis had receded into the past. We could look back, dissect, and analyze this past event. But when we talked with him I saw that Castro still didn't understand us.[39]

When our conversations had become completely friendly, I told Fidel that at the height of the crisis I had asked Defense Minister Malinovsky: "What do you think? Knowing what weapons and the number of armed forces in Cuba, if forces invading the island had the arms available to the United

States or that we have, how much time would it take before Cuba's forced were defeated?"

Malinovsky thought about it for a moment and replied: "Two days."

When I told Fidel this, he flared up and began to argue that this was in inaccurate estimate, that the Soviet Union would not have allowed that to happen.

I stopped him and said: "That's what you say. But I agree with Malinovsky. He made a correct estimate of the balance of forces. Maybe it wouldn't take two days, but three or four. At any rate, during that time the main centers of resistance would have been suppressed, and you would have had to retreat into the hills; then perhaps guerrilla warfare would have continued. Possibly it would have gone on for years, but the main thing would have been accomplished: a counterrevolutionary capitalist government would have been established, which would engage in suppressing any centers of revolutionary resistance if they persisted and would carry out a witch-hunt against any advocates of Marxist or Leninist ideas. That's the kind of situation that would have arisen. That's why we didn't want a war. We wanted peace, so that Cuba could take advantage of peacetime conditions to deepen the revolution, develop the economy, and reorganize it on socialist foundations, laying the groundwork for the building of a communist society in the future."

Those were the positions from which we had proceeded all along, and our purpose in installing our missiles was not to attack the United States and not to try to interfere in the internal affairs of the United States through Cuba. That would have been simply unrealistic if you analyze it from the point of view of common sense. For anyone who thinks at all about military affairs, it's obvious that we could have struck a blow, and it would have been a very severe blow. But of course the United States could have delivered a counterblow that would have been no less powerful and perhaps even more powerful. We knew very well that at that time the United States surpassed us in the number of nuclear weapons and bombers it had. They didn't yet have many missiles, especially intercontinental ballistic missiles, but we didn't have many intercontinental missiles either.[40] We had a sufficient number of strategic missiles with a range of 2,000 to 4,000 kilometers (1,250–2,500 miles).[41] We had so many of those that, according to our operational plans, all enemy targets [in Europe] that we needed to hit during the first few days of a war were covered. Yes, we had that possibility. But I must say again that it was not our aim to start a war, and Fidel simply didn't understand that.

When I met with him later, we held conversations at the seashore on the beach at a Black Sea resort. He told me: "You know it made me angry, and I felt offended that you gave President Kennedy your agreement to withdraw your bombers and missiles without prior consultation with us. Why did you do that?"

I answered: "It's not true, Comrade Castro. We did consult with you."

He said: "How so? What form did that consultation take?"

I said: "You sent us a telegram saying that within so many hours a U.S. invasion of Cuba would begin. You proposed that we forestall the invasion by making a nuclear strike at the cities of the United States. But we didn't want to start a world war. You indicated the hour when the invasion was to begin. So there was no time to send you our message and receive a reply. We had to make a decision right there and then. Because you had made the categorical statement that you had incontrovertible proof that an invasion was about to happen, we were forced to take immediate steps [agreeing to withdraw the missiles] so as to rule out the possibility of invasion. That's what we did, and we received a reply from the U.S. president [promising not to invade Cuba].

"It's hard to say in general how much you can trust people. But I think the word given by President Kennedy can be trusted, that he'll keep his word and not go back on it. Your enemies and ours were trying to heat up the atmosphere and encourage us to get into a confrontation with the United States. Of course our country and the United States are antagonists. The United States is a capitalist country, and we are a socialist country. The struggle between us will continue. That is a natural process. Each country will do everything it can so that its ideology prevails. But in this struggle the position we take is not based on military strength but on competing to win the minds and hearts of people on the basis of a struggle of ideas. We need to try to win people over with the prospect of a better life for working people and not try to win by means of war and destruction and military subjugation. We're opposed to that.

"We firmly stand on Leninist positions. The position the Chinese now hold is different from that, because they are trying to instigate war. They want us to have a military collision with the United States.

"Comrade Fidel, I declare to you and I assure you—with just this one reservation, that I don't know to what extent I can vouch for someone with different political views—that I trust Kennedy as a person and as the president. He will keep his word and abide by the promise he gave us. He still has, at the least, two years in the White House.[42] Of course when another president comes into office in the United States, he may violate this promise. But that is a different question. I think that when Kennedy's first term ends he will be a candidate for reelection, and he will be supported by the people. The people will elect him for a second term because, of all the U.S. presidents I have known, Kennedy is a man with the highest intellectual level; he's a very smart man who stands out distinctly by comparison with his predecessors.

"I never met personally with Franklin Roosevelt. It may be that Roosevelt surpassed Kennedy. Still, I think Kennedy will be reelected for another four years. That is, we will have not two years, but six years, a six-year guarantee of peaceful coexistence and the development of Cuba under peaceful conditions, six years of building its economy and government on socialist foundations, six years for military and cultural consolidation and the strengthening of all the other things of value in life. After six years the situation will have changed, and the next president who comes after Kennedy will find it very difficult to try anything in this sphere [of a military nature]. An invasion could no longer be carried out with impunity. I think that by then no one would dare to undertake it. By that time an entirely new balance of forces would have arisen in the world between the countries of socialism and capitalism."

Castro smiled and said: "Well, if they give us six years, then it's a different matter. But I don't think Kennedy will keep his promise; he'll break his word."

I answered: "Of course I can't vouch for the U.S. president, and I don't rule out the possibility that in the last analysis I may turn out to be wrong in my estimation and understanding of this person; it may turn out that he's capable of perfidy. But I don't think that's going to happen." Castro became more cheerful.

Then I added: "But what would have happened if we hadn't done that? War. Invasion of Cuba. As it is, America began crowing that we had withdrawn, that the Russians are cowards, that Khrushchev personally behaved like a coward. The Albanians and especially the Chinese have supported the Americans in these assertions. Comrade Castro, things have to be assessed realistically as to who won and who lost in this action [of withdrawing the missiles], concerning which we reached an agreement with the president. The position of each side must be analyzed on this basis. On the one hand, we seem to have lost by retreating. Such words as cowardice and the like could be used to designate this action. But such words don't change the essence of the matter.

"The fact is that we brought missiles to Cuba, installed them, and then a crisis arose, negotiations began, and an exchange of official messages, and as a result we then withdrew the missiles. Those are the facts. Why then did we bring in the missiles if we were forced to remove them? What did we bring them in for? If we had brought them there simply pursuing our own interests, that would mean the U.S. imperialists forced us to back down, intimidated us, and subjected us to their will. To a mechanical way of thinking, it might seem that this is not a complicated matter, and it's easy to draw such a conclusion.

"But you have to look at the root of things, as Kozma Prutkov said.[43] The root of things in this case is that a socialist Cuba exists where previously the president had been Batista. That Cuba was actually a colony of the United States, where monopoly capital reigned without restriction. Havana was a city to which the imperialists traveled to seek pleasure, enjoy their leisure time, and indulge their every whim. Now Batista has been overthrown, new people have come to power, and a revolutionary government has been established. You were transforming Cuba on a socialist basis, and then an invasion was launched. You defeated it. But is it really possible to think that the Cuban counterrevolution would let things go at that? Or that the monopolists would reconcile themselves to having been defeated and forced to leave Cuba? You are making use of their capital after having nationalized it. That means the danger of a second invasion persists. You admit that, don't you?"

Fidel said: "Of course!"

I continued: "Let's reason it out further. We installed our missiles to prevent this threat of invasion, and then we withdrew them after the U.S. president had given his word [not to invade]. As I've already told you, I believe he'll keep his word and fulfill this obligation, which he undertook in his capacity as president. This is not his personal commitment, but an obligation undertaken by his country, by the government of the United States, not to invade Cuba and not to allow their allies to invade. Only as a result of this kind of agreement did we withdraw our missiles, and I think that a very good resolution of the crisis was achieved. In order for revolutionary Cuba, with Fidel Castro at its head, to be preserved, we installed rockets, gave a military shock to the leadership of the United States, and extracted from them the commitment that was needed. Once we had this commitment, we withdrew our missiles and with them our obsolete bombers. I think the price we paid was cheap."

I went on: "The governments of the capitalist countries evaluate everything in dollars. If we look at the question in terms of dollars, it's plain that this was a profitable operation. Our expenses consisted only of transporting the military equipment and several thousand of our soldiers. That was the price for a guarantee of Cuba's independence. We didn't shed any blood, neither our own people's nor that of others, and we didn't let a war break out. We didn't allow any destruction to happen or the contamination of the atmosphere. I am proud of that. Time will pass and this truth will become clear to everyone."

Some people might say: "He's jabbering away about himself again."

I would answer them this way: "Yes, because in this case I personally assumed the responsibility for this action. It was done at my initiative, and I carried it out with the support of my colleagues, the collective leadership of which I was a part. If they had been opposed, I could not of course have carried this out. Still, I was, as it were, the moving force in this matter. I took the greatest share of the responsibility on myself, and possibly to a greater to degree than others I now experience the joy of having carried out the operation successfully."

I was very pleased that Castro now agreed with me. During those days, when he was in the USSR and we were having our talks, a leader of the counterrevolutionary Cuban scum gave a speech. These riffraff are apparently still being kept well fed in the United States. He openly criticized the actions of the U.S. government and criticized Kennedy, charging that Kennedy had given his word to support an invasion; then he had gone back on his word and, instead, made a commitment to Khrushchev not to support or allow another invasion of Cuba. Castro knew the person who had given this speech and told me: "I'm personally acquainted with him. He's our irreconcilable enemy, but he's telling the truth. If he says this commitment was made by the United States, but then wasn't carried out, that means you're right in your arguments, that the Soviet Union prevented implementation of this commitment [to support an invasion of Cuba] by installing its missiles. When the president gives his word it's the same as the signing of a treaty."

Incidentally, another part of our dialogue is of interest. I said to him: "You wanted to start a war with the United States. Why? After all, if a war had started, we would have survived, but Cuba would probably no longer have existed. It would have been pulverized. But you were proposing that we make a preventive nuclear strike!"

He said: "No, I never proposed that."

I said: "How can you say you never proposed it?"

The interpreter spoke up: "Fidel, Fidel, you personally told me about that."[44]

Fidel again insisted: "No!"

Then we began to search through the documents. It's a good thing Fidel didn't just make this statement orally, but sent us a written document.

The interpreter showed it to him: "How do you understand that word there? Doesn't that mean war? A nuclear strike?"

Castro had lost his bearings [back then]. In those days, you know, Fidel was very fiery. We understood that he hadn't even thought about the obvious consequences of his proposal, which placed the world on the brink of destruction.

At that point good relations were established between Kennedy and ourselves. I trusted him in the sense that he would keep his word. I would also say the following now about the Caribbean crisis. I repeat that it was a correct move on our part. We did the right thing by installing our missiles, and then again we did the right thing by not falling into a trap when the crisis came to a head and our "friends" [the Maoist Chinese] began to denounce us as cowards for withdrawing our missiles. They wanted to provoke us into starting a war. In that way they would have achieved their aims. The United States and we would have mutually exterminated each other and destroyed our economies [leaving the Chinese to pick up the pieces], but in our hearts we didn't feel we were cowards. We were not afraid of those accusations, but we evaluated the situation soberly and made the right decision. And I'm proud of that. In the course of the negotiations the United States set some additional, nonessential conditions: they wanted us to grant them the right to monitor our people to be sure that we were really withdrawing the missiles—that is, they wanted to be right there at the scene with on-site inspections. We couldn't make such a commitment, because that was Cuban territory and that question was not ours to decide. It was not up to us to say who could or could not travel to Cuba. We said that was not our jurisdiction. We had control of our property, because we had brought it into that country and we were removing it from that country, but the Cuban government decided the question of who could come to the island and who couldn't. Fidel immediately and sharply declared that he would not allow the Americans to come there—in no case and not under any circumstances. When U Thant, an intelligent man who wanted to relieve the tension in the situation, requested that he personally be allowed to travel to Cuba, Fidel would not grant him permission either.

When I met with Fidel, I said: "It's good you didn't let the Americans in. You acted correctly, because they might have thought you had turned coward. It's one thing to accuse the Soviet Union of cowardice. We are a large country, and anyone with sense would understand that we had nothing to be cowards about. But Cuba is a small country. That's why I think you acted correctly. But why didn't you take advantage of the new opportunity and allow U Thant to fly in? He would have arrived, you could have talked with him, and he would have gone to see that the missiles were being removed. You would then have been able to use the United Nations to your advantage. U Thant would have taken your side and would have defended you within the limits of possibilities available to him as a result of his position as UN secretary-general. But you rejected him, lumping him together with the American imperialists. I think you made a mistake."

Castro answered: "Yes, I agree. I had simply lost my temper. My state of mind was such that I didn't consider the arguments that you are telling me about now."

The main thing in the events I have described was that we didn't allow ourselves to be made fools of; we didn't retreat in that nerve-wracking, overheated atmosphere farther than was permissible, but we also didn't go over the brink. The restraint shown on both sides played its role here. After all, this crisis reached a boiling point of the highest intensity. We were close to war, standing on the very brink of war. Anything could have happened. Whether you wanted it or not, if one side fired, the other would have replied. But we didn't allow a catastrophe to happen.

In addition to the commitment not to invade Cuba, the U.S. president gave his word that when we had removed our missiles from Cuba, the United States would take its missiles out of Turkey and Italy. Kennedy asked us for the time being not to say anything about this. We wanted this to be stated officially in document form. He answered that because of the situation he was in he could not make any written commitments. Beyond that he said the following: "If you don't keep my statement secret and it leaks out to the press, I will issue a denial. But I am giving you my word of honor!" And he actually did remove missiles from Turkey and Italy, although he removed them not just because we had agreed to withdraw our missiles from Cuba but mainly because the missiles they had in Turkey and Italy were obsolete. If the Caribbean crisis had not happened, the United States would eventually have removed its missiles from those countries because by then it was no longer necessary to have such missiles at those points on the earth's surface.[45]

First, the United States already had a sufficient number of intercontinental ballistic missiles located on its own territory. They were more easily protected there; their positions were better equipped, and they were better camouflaged. Their missile teams were also stationed in their own country. All of that provided them with greater guarantees. Second, atomic submarines armed with nuclear weapons [Polaris missiles] had also made their appearance. In effect these were mobile launching sites. The U.S. Sixth Fleet was in the Mediterranean, and their submarines cruised in those waters, as they did in other seas and oceans. Why maintain missiles on foreign territory when you have your own personnel and your own mobile launching sites? They are less vulnerable and always combat-ready. The technology was developing, and better solutions were now available to replace what the United States had previously, when they first deployed their [Jupiter and Thor] missiles in Turkey and Italy.

We also have such capabilities today, and we have a sufficient number of intercontinental ballistic missiles. We also have a submarine fleet [whose ballistic missiles are] armed with nuclear warheads. I haven't been part of the leadership of our country now for many years, but I know what remained in the USSR when I retired [that is, what weapons capabilities the Soviet Union had]. And I can make assumptions about the high level of technology we have now achieved in this field. Therefore the United States acted correctly, from its point of view, in removing its missiles from Turkey and Italy. Nothing has changed in U.S. strategy in this regard. Now they threaten us with submarines armed with nuclear missiles. But we too have a nuclear-powered submarine fleet armed with nuclear missiles. So if we need to threaten some point in the United States, we always have the possibility of sending our nuclear-powered submarines, with missiles armed with nuclear warheads, close to the shores of that country. In this way we have not only compensated for the military might represented by the missiles we once had in Cuba, but we have also increased our strength by many times over.

President Kennedy—and this is to his credit—understood the situation correctly. After the conflict was over, he stated publicly that the United States had more nuclear weapons than the Soviet Union. He said that they had the capability of destroying everything living on Soviet territory two times over, but the Soviet Union had fewer nuclear weapons and could only destroy everything living on the territory of the United States once. I would say that this was a courageous statement. Every thinking American who heard this statement could draw the correct conclusion. To the American journalists who asked me if I heard this statement, I replied: “Yes, I heard it. And I think these were intelligent remarks. The president estimates that he can destroy us twice over, and I am grateful to him for his calculations. He admits that we could destroy everything living on the territory of the United States, but we could only do it once. When you have destroyed something once, why destroy it a second time?”

I was only joking, you might say, but my joking had a definite point to it. Apparently when Kennedy made his declaration, he was trying to explain something to his fellow Americans, especially to the “bomb lovers,” who the Ukrainians have a saying for: “They act like an idiot child with a brand new toy.” These are the kind of people who want to start a war and put an end to the Soviet Union by military means. When he spoke of the military might of the Soviet Union, Kennedy was emphasizing that solutions had to be sought for disputed question by means other than war—it was too late to try to solve them by war. What kind of mindless person would want to unleash a war and bring the fire down on themselves and be destroyed? I think that in the general atmosphere of war hysteria in America the president’s statement reflected civic courage on his part. I don’t know how correctly he did his arithmetic. That’s not for me to judge. But I was satisfied with the realism he showed in relation to our armed forces. We want nothing more than for our probable future adversaries to understand that if a war were unleashed, we could destroy them.

In 1968 I read an article in our Soviet magazine *Za Rubezhom* in which a foreign author was reminiscing about the Caribbean crisis.[46]

This article also described the assassination of President Kennedy. As I recall, the article was entitled "Six Seconds." It asked the direct question: "Who killed the president? Who were these people?" The article points to the fact that in the course of the resolution of the Caribbean crisis the U.S. president had to give assurances that he would not allow an invasion of Cuba by U.S. forces or by their allies. The author writes that that embittered the Cuban counterrevolutionaries and as a result they became participants in the plot to kill Kennedy. Thus, this article gives an answer to the question of who suffered defeat in the dispute over whether Cuba would remain a revolutionary country or would be turned back onto the capitalist track, where it had been under Batista.

Back then some people said that the Soviet Union had suffered a defeat. But now the results of our actions are already being evaluated more correctly. There was no war. A fight was going on for the right of the Cuban people to organize their lives as they wished without foreign intervention. That is what we stood for and we still do. In the interests of preserving the revolutionary gains in Cuba, we installed our missiles. We wanted the counterrevolutionary forces to make a sober estimate of the situation and understand that, if they had the audacity to intervene in Cuban affairs, our missiles would go into action. But when we came to an agreement—when the U.S. president gave his word that if we withdrew our missiles, he would not allow an invasion—that set a good example for the future. We solved the crisis by peaceful means when it could have broken out into a war. I think that in the end it was we who won, but the Americans also won because there was no war. Similar crises may develop in the future, because two opposing social systems exist in the world, the socialist system and the capitalist system based on private ownership, private capital. These systems are antagonistic, and that must be kept in mind. The time is now past when the imperialist countries could issue their dictates and invade any place they wanted with impunity and suppress revolutionary uprisings. If everyone who should realize this has not yet realized it, their actions could lead to tragic consequences and in that case a military confrontation would become inevitable.

But on the other hand, if the formula of peaceful coexistence is accepted by everyone, that would mean nonintervention in the internal affairs of other countries by any side, and it would mean the recognition that questions of the internal political arrangements in a country must be decided only by the people of that country. That is the holy of holies, the most sacrosanct principle. If this formula penetrates the consciousness of those who decide world politics, that could preserve peace on earth for a long time. Otherwise we'll always be living as though on the side of a volcano, feeling like people who live in a house on top of a minefield, where explosions might erupt at any moment. Today our government stands in support of these positions, the same positions we held when I was the head of the government. I am convinced of the correctness of these policies—peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition, and noninterference in the affairs of other countries.

I blame the capitalist countries above all for the increased tension in the world situation today. Apparently this is inevitable as long as antagonistic relations exist between classes and between countries with differing sociopolitical systems, the countries of socialism and the countries of capitalism. The governments of the capitalist countries are apparently unable in any way to make a sober assessment of the existing situation, to understand that new forces have come into existence, that social and political storms are raging all over the world, which cannot be dealt with by force or by means of suppression alone. Everything antiquated and outdated, everything that has outlived itself, is inevitably doomed to destruction. History will have its say in this matter, and it is marching inexorably in that direction.

Many years have gone by, and this [the Caribbean crisis] is already one of the pages of history. I am proud that we didn't give in to fear, that we displayed courage and far-sightedness in making this move, and thereby restrained the American aggressors from a second invasion of Cuba. Approximately nine years have gone by since those events, and I am very glad that there has been no new invasion.

When Kennedy was assassinated, I was worried about how our relations would develop after that. I had confidence in Kennedy and saw that he was not inclined toward a military confrontation with us. But how would the new president, Lyndon Johnson,[47] behave? Once he had assumed his duties in the White House, he informed us through the existing channels that all the commitments made by Kennedy publicly and all the assurances Kennedy had given through confidential channels would be honored.

Of course we had less confidence in Johnson. We considered Kennedy more flexible, whereas Johnson had a reputation among us of being a reactionary person. But he must be given credit. He stuck to the commitments given by his predecessor. I'm not going to go into the question of the Vietnam war, which he got himself into up to his ears. That was a case of his own personal stupidity. Perhaps the stupidity of that war did begin under Kennedy. It's hard for me to judge about that now. At any rate we achieved our goal, and Cuba has developed successfully. During my last conversation with Fidel, he and I discussed the economic development of his country. He told me that economic development was their main goal. A high standard of living had to be achieved in order to make the new socialist system attractive for the inhabitants of Latin America. I approved the line he was taking. I said: "The main thing is that the goods produced by the labor of the Cuban people should fully satisfy their needs. That is the most attractive force, the most powerful magnet drawing people toward socialism and the socialist system." It was pleasant for me to converse with Fidel Castro after everything had blown over. He understood our sincerity and our real intentions. I could not have wanted better relations. They were the most sincere and the most fraternal.

At that point [that is, after the restoration of good relations with Castro] my political and governmental activity ended [in October 1964]. I no longer have the possibility of influencing our policies. I receive only occasional fragmentary news from the newspapers. We had an agreement with Cuba: we undertook to help them process nine million tons of sugar annually. From the newspapers I see that they have grown a sufficient amount of sugar cane. This year a new goal, of ten million tons, has been set. It is evident from the newspapers that they will reach that goal also. Well now, I can only rejoice and wish the Cuban people success. I wish Fidel Castro success in raising the economic level of his country.

Let me say something more about John Kennedy. I wanted to show what Kennedy was like in specific dealings. When he was assassinated, I sincerely regretted it. I immediately went to the American embassy and expressed my condolences. Kennedy and I were different kinds of people. I was a former mine worker, a machinist, an industrial worker, who, by the will of the party, became prime minister, whereas he was a millionaire and the son of a millionaire. We represented classes that were in irreconcilable opposition to each other. The aim he pursued was to strengthen capitalism; the aim I pursued was to destroy capitalism and build a new social system based on the ideas developed by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. I think, as Marx, Engels, and Lenin thought, that the capitalist system has outlived its time. As a Communist, I believe in these ideas. The views Kennedy held were of course different. Despite the fact that we stood at opposite poles, when things came down to a question of peace or war, we were able to arrive at a common understanding and prevent military confrontations. I give him the credit that is due to him as the counterpart who sat opposite us at the negotiating table. I hold his memory in respect and highly value what he did in life. And that is true even though in a great many things we not only differed but held opposing positions, as for example, at Vienna. Our summit meeting in Vienna produced no results. But later, in spite of everything on the fundamental questions—the question of war and peace—we did find a common language. I am dictating everything now from memory, without even following an outline, and therefore in my memory there may remain a kind of photo plate that has not yet been developed, and if something like that does arise in my memory, I may want to continue on this subject.

Just such a "photo plate" has emerged from my memory. There was one other agreement we arrived at with the United States. We signed a treaty to stop nuclear testing above ground, in outer space, and underwater. The Americans did not agree to stop underground testing. They did not accept our proposals to that effect. That point was not included in the agreement, and today both they and we continue to conduct underground nuclear tests. I think the agreement that we reached laid the basis for putting an end to the arms race. And that is another merit for which President Kennedy deserves credit.

We also made an agreement with Kennedy to establish direct telephone communication, so that there would be a "hot line" in the event that an emergency situation arose and personal talks between the president and the head of the Soviet government were necessary.[48] People may ask: "Why should we rejoice over that?" No, there is nothing to rejoice about, but this detail did give some assurance that at a critical moment there could be talks, direct talks that wouldn't have to go through the diplomatic labyrinth. The main thing is that our resolution [of the Cuban missile crisis] gave me grounds for having confidence in this man. He was seeking ways of establishing communications, setting up technical devices that would help us avoid a conflict.

People might say: "Nevertheless it was in Kennedy's time that this conflict arose and this extreme tension that was fraught with the danger of war, isn't that so?" That's an intelligent question. And I say so without any irony. But the times we're living in must be kept in mind. We're living in a transitional era when on a world scale the question of who will prevail is being decided. The moribund capitalist system is grabbing onto anything it can in order not only to defend but to strengthen its positions. We, on the other hand, are on the offensive with the aim of strengthening our positions and achieving the economic, social, and political goals that we need to achieve. Two primary forces exist in the world today—capitalism and socialism. During the first years after the October revolution, we were the only socialist country, an island of socialism surrounded by a sea of capitalism. But today the economies of the socialist countries produce approximately 35 percent of world production. Of course during this transitional era, there will be confrontations. We don't have to be afraid of that, but we must be sober-minded and not carry things to the point of starting a war unnecessarily. To keep a war from breaking out, we also need intelligent counterparts on the other side. I consider that John Kennedy, as the representative of the capitalist world, was just such a counterpart.

With that I will end my account of the Caribbean crisis. It was a very interesting and highly instructive series of events. It seemed as though the two most powerful countries in the world were about to butt heads. It seemed as though a military denouement was unavoidable. We actually had our strategic missiles ready to be launched, while the United States had surrounded the island of Cuba with naval vessels and had concentrated its infantry and air force. But we showed that if we were guided by rational aims and the desire not to allow a war to happen, the disputed questions could be resolved by compromise and it was possible to find such a compromise. Reason prevailed. That's why in my memory the very best recollections remain about the late U.S. president. He showed soberness of mind; he didn't allow himself to be frightened, nor did he allow himself to become intoxicated with the military might of the United States; he didn't decide to go for broke. It doesn't take great intelligence, as I have said, to start a war. But he displayed civic courage, the courage of a statesman. He was not afraid of being condemned from the right. And peace won out. That is what I wanted to say. I think that the correct understanding of each other's positions, which is what we based ourselves on, was the only rational way to proceed in the situation that existed then.

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1. The term "Caribbean crisis" is commonly used in Soviet historical writing, and that is the title used in the Russian edition of the memoirs, but in the United States the events are generally referred to as the "Cuban missile crisis." [GS] The two titles reflect different views of the political source of the crisis. In the American view, the crisis was set off by the deployment of Soviet missiles in Cuba. In the Soviet view, the crisis arose from the threat and reality of American aggression against Cuba, in particular the Bay of Pigs invasion. [SS]

2. The Communist Party of Cuba was founded in 1925. In 1940 it merged with the Revolutionary Union to form the Revolutionary Communist Union (RCU), which was headed by Juan Marinello Vidaurreta (1898–1977) as chairman and Blas Roca Calderio (1908–87) as general secretary. In 1944 the RCU was renamed the People's Socialist Party of Cuba (PSPC) and remained under the same leadership. Following the establishment in 1952 of the seven-year dictatorship of General Fulgencio Batista (1901–73), the lawyer and founding member of the Party of the Cuban People (Orthodox) Fidel Castro Ruz (born 1926) began an armed struggle against the Batista regime in 1953. The PSPC officially stood aloof, but in practice many of its members, inspired by the ideas of the old Cuban Communist Fabio Grobart, took part in this struggle, and Carlos Rafael Rodriguez (1913–97)—whom Khrushchev probably has here in mind—went with Castro into the hills. In February 1958 the PSPC decided to give official support to Castro's armed struggle, and soon its members began to participate systematically in it. After the victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959, Marinello, Blas Roca, and Rodriguez entered the new Cuban leadership. But only gradually did that leadership assume organizational form. In April 1961 the PSPC, Castro's July 26th Movement, and the March 13th Revolutionary Students' Directorate merged to form the

United Revolutionary Organizations, which in 1962 were transformed into the United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba (UPSRC), renamed in 1965 the Communist Party of Cuba (CPC). Fidel Castro, who had not openly called himself a Communist up to that point, became the general secretary of its Central Committee. [MN] For more information about Batista and Fidel Castro, see Biographies.

3. On December 31, 1958, Carlos Piedra became president of Cuba. On January 2, 1959, he was replaced by the conservative Manuel Urrutia, to whom Khrushchev here refers. Urrutia remained in office until July 17, 1959. On February 16, 1959, Castro himself succeeded the provisional prime minister José Miro Cardona. [MN] Piedra and Urrutia were both judges; the former was the oldest judge on the Cuban Supreme Court. Cardona was Cuba's most successful criminal lawyer, president of the Havana Bar Association, and a former professor of law at the University of Havana. The prominence of these liberal figures reflected the broad social and political base of the Cuban revolution at this stage. [SS]

4. During the Batista dictatorship that preceded Castro's revolution, the Soviet chargé d'affaires G. I. Fomin left Cuba in 1952, but diplomatic relations were not officially severed.

5. Raul Castro Ruz (born 1931) was elected second secretary of the Central Committee of the CPC in 1965. But until 1962, when he became second secretary of the National Leadership of the UPSRC, he was not known as a Communist. He had previously taken part in the democratic youth movement, which was ideologically close to the Young Communist League. As Khrushchev recalls, he was exiled to Mexico in 1955 upon release under an amnesty from the prison where he was serving a fifteen-year sentence for participating in the armed struggle against the Batista regime. See Biographies.

6. The "comrade" Khrushchev is referring to here was Nikolai Sergeyevich Leonov, who in May 1953, as a young Soviet diplomat being posted to Mexico, met and befriended Raul Castro and two Guatemalan friends of Raul's. Leonov describes the encounter in his memoirs, *Likholetye* (The Bad Years) (Moscow: TERRA, 1997). All four were on a freighter sailing from Genoa, Italy, to Vera Cruz, Mexico, with a stopover at Havana, Cuba. Raul and his two friends had been in Europe to assist in preparatory work for a World Festival of Democratic Youth. Raul was then a second-year student at Havana University. (Within two months, on July 26, 1953, Raul Castro would take part in the unsuccessful attack on the Moncada barracks, an attempted uprising against the illegal military regime established in 1952 by General Fulgencio Batista.) The political police detained Raul and his two friends, not in Mexico, but in Batista's Cuba, when they disembarked at the port of Havana. All literature and photographs in their possession were confiscated on the grounds that they belonged to "pro-Communist" student organizations. As for Leonov, he rose from being a minor functionary in the foreign intelligence apparatus of the KGB to eventually becoming a KGB general and heading its analytical department. When Mikoyan visited Castro's Cuba he took Leonov along—not only as a translator but, more important, as a Soviet official personally acquainted with Raul Castro. [SK/GS]

7. Che Guevara de la Serna (1928–67) was an Argentinian revolutionary who met Fidel Castro in Mexico in 1955, became a participant in and one of the leaders of his armed struggle, and in 1962 joined the National Leadership of the UPSRC. However, he was never an official member of the CPC because in 1965, before the CPC was refounded, he left Cuba to lead a guerrilla movement in Bolivia. See Biographies.

8. Khrushchev is mistaken in thinking that Mikoyan visited Cuba on his way home from the United States. In fact, Mikoyan visited the United States in January 1959 and Cuba a year later, in January 1960. [SK]

9. More precisely, they were renewed. On January 10, 1959, the USSR extended recognition to the revolutionary government of Cuba. In February 1960, a Soviet-Cuban trade agreement was signed. In May 1960, agreement was reached on the renewal of diplomatic relations. On July 8, 1960, the Soviet embassy in Havana was reopened, and on August 22, 1960, Ambassador Sergei Mikhailovich Kudryavtsev presented his credentials. [MN] He had previously worked at the Soviet embassies in Austria, West Germany, and France. He remained in Cuba until 1962. See Biographies. [SS]

10. The acronym TASS comes from the Russian words for "Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union." Aleksandr Ivanovich Alekseyev (real name, Shitov; 1913–2001), was a Soviet diplomat and KGB intelligence officer. [GS/SK]

11. Alekseyev was ambassador from June 12, 1962, to January 15, 1968. Later, after his retirement in 1980, he was officially an adviser to the Soviet embassy in Cuba. For more information on his career, see Biographies. [GS/MN/SK]

12. He was succeeded as president on July 17, 1959, by O. Dorticos Torrado.

13. This is a reference to the so-called Bay of Pigs invasion at Playa Giron, Cuba, which began on April 16, 1961. [GS]

14. The Cuban revolutionary government had taken power in 1959, the Bay of Pigs invasion had come in April 1961, and the Berlin crisis also broke out in 1961. The height of the Berlin crisis was late summer and fall 1961. [GS]

15. On the Holy Alliance, see note 20 to the preceding chapter, "John Kennedy and the Berlin Wall." [GS]

16. This was originally one of Aesop's fables, but was popularized in Russia in a version by Leo Tolstoy.

17. When American planes violated the airspace of the Chinese People's Republic in the 1960s and 1970s, the Chinese foreign ministry gave the United States numerous "warnings," succeeded by "stern warnings," "serious warnings," and, finally, "very serious warnings."

18. Khrushchev often uses the familiar Russian saying, "Vaska the cat listens—but keeps on eating." It is actually a quotation from a fable by Ivan Krylov, the "Russian Aesop" (1769–1844; see Biographies). One of Krylov's more than 200 enormously popular fables is "The Cat and the Cook" *(Kot i Povar).* The cook scolds and curses the cat for having stolen a chicken, but takes no action against the offending animal. "Vaska the cat listens—but keeps on eating." Vaska (a pejorative diminutive from the first name Vasily) is widely used as a name for a cat in Russia. [SK/GS]

19. There were U.S. military interventions in the Dominican Republic in 1903–4 and in 1914, and the country was under occupation by the Marines from 1916 to 1924, but Khrushchev probably has in mind mainly the intervention of 1965–66. The Johnson administration sent troops to the Dominican Republic on April 28, 1965. The official reason given for the invasion was to protect American lives. However, its real purpose is generally thought to have been to suppress a rebellion aimed at restoring to office Juan Bosch Gavino (1909–2001) of the Dominican Revolutionary Party. Bosch had been elected president in December 1962 (in the first free elections held in the country in 38 years) and was ousted in a military coup in September 1963. [SS]

20. There were U.S. military interventions in Panama in 1901–3, 1908, 1912, 1918–20, 1925, and 1958, but Khrushchev probably has in mind mainly the intervention of 1964, which was a response to Panamanian demonstrations demanding the return of the Panama Canal. [SS]

21. Khrushchev presumably has in mind the U.S.-backed military coup of 1964 against the Brazilian government of President João Belchior Marques Goulart (1918–76), the U.S.-backed military coup of 1948 against the Venezuelan government of President Rómulo Gallegos (1884–1969), and the U.S. military intervention of 1954 against the Guatemalan government of President Jacob Arbenz Guzmán (1913–71). There was also a U.S. military intervention in Guatemala in 1920, directed against trade unionists. [SS]

22. The novel *On the Eve (Nakanune)* was published in 1860.

23. Todor Khristov Zhivkov (1911–98) was first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria from 1954 to 1981 and its general secretary from 1981 to 1989. He was chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria from 1962 to 1971. See Biographies.

24. Otto Vilgelmovich Kuusinen (1881–1964) was at this time a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and a member of its Presidium. See Biographies.

25. At this point Khrushchev quotes a Russian proverb *na miru i smert krasna!* which means roughly, "In the eyes of the world even death can be noble." This is similar in meaning to the expression "It's better to die on your feet than live on your knees." [GS]

26. Marshal Rodion Yakovlevich Malinovsky was the Soviet minister of defense at this time. See Biographies.

27. The number of Soviet troops sent to Cuba then was about 50,000. For a detailed account of the whole Cuban missile crisis, see my book *Nikita Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower,* 482–662. [SK]

28. These antiaircraft missiles were designated by the NATO code SA-2. [SK]

29. General Issa Aleksandrovich Pliyev (1903–79). In 1962 he was made a "general of the army," that is, a four-star general (presumably for his services in the Cuban missile crisis). Before and after his assignment to Cuba, Pliyev commanded the North Caucasus Military District, from 1958 to 1968. As a cavalry commander during the war against Germany he took part in the battles of Moscow and Stalingrad, the Belorussia and Melitopol operations, and the liberation of Odessa, Budapest, and Prague; he also took part in action against Japanese forces at the end of World War II. See Biographies. [SK/GS]

30. Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergei Semyonovich Biryuzov (1904–64) was at this time commander in chief of strategic missile forces. See Biographies.

31. Viktor Georgyevich Bakayev (1902–87) was minister of the Soviet merchant marine from 1954 to 1970. See Biographies.

32. Tactical nuclear weapons of various ranges, from 30 up to 180 kilometers (from about 20 up to 110 miles), were also sent to Cuba, to be used in the event of an American invasion.

33. The idea for the IL-28 bomber arose after World War II. Its first test flight took place on July 8, 1948. A large number of IL-28s were produced (in three modifications) in 1950–51. Some IL-28s were used by Aeroflot with armaments removed as postal and transport planes. [SS]

34. Georgy (Yuri) Aleksandrovich Zhukov was at this time a political observer for the newspaper *Pravda.* See Biographies.

35. Anatoly Fyodorovich Dobrynin (born 1919) was the Soviet ambassador to the United States from 1962 to 1986. See Biographies.

36. Robert F. Kennedy (1925–68) was U.S. attorney general from 1961 to 1964. In 1965 he was

elected to the Senate. He was mortally wounded in Los Angeles after announcing his intention to run for president. See Biographies.

37. Khrushchev dictated this telegram at a meeting of the Presidium; see Sergei N. Khrushchev, *Creation of a Superpower,* 631. [SK]

38. This means not to cause unnecessary irritation, not to "ruffle feathers," "make waves," "rock the boat." [GS]

39. In this last sentence an error in the Russian text has been corrected after checking the wording on the original tape recording of this passage. [SK]

40. It is estimated that at the time of the Cuban missile crisis the United States had 159 ICBMs and the Soviet Union had 24. [SK]

41. The author is referring to R-12, or SS-3 (to use the NATO designation), and R-14, or SS-4 missiles. [SK]

42. This conversation took place in May 1963. [SK]

43. Kozma Prutkov was an imaginary pompous philosopher, or "fountain of wisdom," whose foolish aphorisms were made up by three nineteenth-century Russian writers using the collective pen name Kozma Prutkov. (See note 36 in the chapter "The Visit to France" for more information about the creators of this imaginary character.) The saying in this case, "Look at the root of things" *(nado smotret v koren),* is not considered foolish, but is a common expression in the Russian language. [SK/GS.]

44. The interpreter at that meeting was Aleksandr Alekseyev (Shitov), the Soviet ambassador to Cuba. See Biographies. [SK]

45. The deployment of Minuteman ICBMs on U.S. territory had already begun. [SK]

46. The title of the magazine might be translated as "From the Foreign Press," although the literal meaning of *za rubezhom* is "abroad; beyond our borders." [GS]

47. Lyndon B. Johnson (1908–73) was vice president of the United States from 1961 to 1963 and president from 1963 to 1969. See Biographies.

48. In 1963 the well-known hot line between the Kremlin and the White House was set up, so that there would be no delays if U.S. and Soviet leaders needed to contact one another. At first a direct teletype circuit was installed in the Kremlin and the White House, linked with a trans-Atlantic cable, rented exclusively for that purpose. Later telephones replaced the teletypes. [SK]

VISITING THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

Before I record recollections of my trip to the Scandinavian countries, I want to mention that the first Soviet delegation to a foreign country after 1953 [the year of Stalin's death] was to socialist China [in October 1954]. Of the nonsocialist countries, we first went to India [and Burma and Afghanistan, in fall 1955] and then to Britain [in April 1956]. On our return we received appropriate invitations from the Scandinavian countries, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Then the press in those countries began to make a great uproar in opposition to our visit. The protest was expressed not against our delegation personally but against the Soviet government and its policies. We replied: "Because existing conditions are not favorable for our visit, we will postpone it to a more suitable time." Then came our visits to the United States [in 1959] and France [in 1960]. During that time, evidently, conditions matured for a visit by us to the Scandinavian countries, and their governments repeated their invitations. There was a certain awkwardness in the situation. They had invited us, we had declined, then they invited us again, and it was almost as though they were pleading with us. I don't know how the diplomats overcame this barrier of awkwardness, but it was announced that we would make the visit in June 1964.[1]

Denmark was chosen as the first country for our visit. Why Denmark? It didn't stand out for any particular political reason, but in view of its geographical position it was most convenient for us to begin there. We traveled to Denmark on the passenger ship *Bashkiria* and decided that we would go from there to Norway and then to Sweden and from Sweden home.[2] The president of Finland and his government asked that we visit them as well. That possibility was available to us, and when they heard that we had no objections they immediately sent an official invitation.[3]

The USSR had good diplomatic and business relations with the Scandinavian countries. There was nothing in principle that hindered the development of contacts between them and us, if you leave out the fact that Denmark and Norway were members of the aggressive military bloc NATO. However, we had trade relations with them and business contacts, and we freely placed economic orders in those countries without any limitations.

We arrived in Copenhagen. Our welcome was the kind that is customary on such occasions: an honor guard formed up and speeches were made. We felt quite good about it all. A Social Democratic government was in office then. The Social Democrats had an absolute majority in the Danish parliament, the Folketing. Naturally the government was also headed by a Social Democrat.[4] He made a very good impression on us, had a good attitude toward the Soviet government, and received our delegation accordingly. The opposition bourgeois parties made no move to protest our arrival.

We had business relations with Danish industrialists, who were interested in further developing our economic ties. The fishing industry wanted to sell us herring and other products of that industry. It goes without saying that Denmark always sought to supply us with dairy products—cheese, butter, and so forth. They were of very high quality, and there was widespread consumer demand for them in the USSR. But we were restrained by the limits on our supply of foreign currency. We didn't have enough to pay for everything they could supply. For its part, Denmark did not buy a great many products from us, so that we didn't have a stream of foreign currency coming to us from that country, although we did have a favorable balance of trade with Denmark. We were saving up our foreign currency to place orders in other countries for things we couldn't buy in Denmark. I have in mind countries that bought practically nothing from us. So we needed foreign currency in order to have wider access to the Western market.

After Stalin's death, an unpleasant dialogue occurred between our country and Denmark. We had long since established a working relationship with their shipbuilding companies, but suddenly they were refusing to accept our orders. We wanted to order a tanker for transporting petroleum with a displacement of 12,000 tons. The answer they gave us was that they couldn't take the order because of restrictions adopted by the NATO countries. This decision was aimed against our country. The intention was to limit the capacities of the Soviet maritime fleet. The permitted tonnage amounted to only a few thousand tons. Talks were held on this matter, and there were some heated exchanges, including in the press. The shipbuilding companies had an interest in receiving our orders and were eager to get them, but legally they couldn't, because this more general decision had been made for all NATO countries. The United States of course was setting the line. Denmark was forced to submit. We didn't forget about this incident. Later this restriction was removed. Now the Danish shipbuilders can accept any orders from the USSR, with no restrictions on tonnage.

A broader question of interest to us was the question of ensuring peaceful coexistence among countries with differing socio-political structures. Our aim was to eliminate tension and strain and find a way to dissolve the military blocs, to put an end to this mutual opposition and stop exhausting our budgets with arms spending. Beyond that we were interested in the development of commercial and economic relations, cultural and scientific contacts, and so forth. Since our orders were being accepted, we were in a position to order virtually everything that Danish industry was able to produce. The only limitations were of a technical nature related to the productive capacity of a factory or the limits on our foreign currency reserves.

Denmark is a small country having a relatively small influence on deciding questions within NATO. We didn't sense any opposition on the part of its leading figures during negotiations. We felt that the positions they were taking were dictated solely by the interests of the Danish people. Of course they didn't agree with us on some disputed questions that existed then and exist today between the Warsaw Pact countries and the NATO countries, but it was obvious that their disagreement was the result of a necessity imposed on them. In other respects the receptions and negotiations we had were not distinguished by any special features, and a good impression of them has remained in my memory. They were warm and friendly and we encountered no complications.

I should comment that some disputes had arisen in the Communist Party of Denmark (CPD)[5] at that time. Right after World War II, that party had been headed by [Axel] Larsen,[6] a Communist with a long record, who had managed to acquire some weight and influence in the international Communist movement, quite a well-known figure. At the last international conference of fraternal parties (held in Moscow [November 14–16, 1957]) long before our trip to Denmark, Larsen had taken a position, on Yugoslavia, that was in conflict with the general views of those who had gathered. He had spoken from a pro-Yugoslav point of view. As a result, heavy fire had been directed against him. The Communist Party of Denmark condemned Larsen by a majority of votes, after which he left that party and organized a new one. Thus in Denmark there appeared two left-wing workers' parties. One continued to call itself the Communist Party, as before, while the other, as I recall, called itself Socialist.[7] This was Larsen's party, whose numbers were not very large, but it was fairly influential among voters.

During elections to the Folketing, both parties ran their candidates. Thus a split had occurred. We arrived in Denmark when this split was still taking shape. Of course we supported the Communist Party and condemned the party led by Larsen. It took a position opposed to the Communist movement as a whole, and we conducted a struggle against it. But Larsen still called himself a Communist and argued that he was the one actually taking a Marxist-Leninist position. Before the split I had talked with Larsen, who often visited the Soviet Union and sometimes dropped in at the offices of the CPSU Central Committee. He gave me the impression of a simple and honest man, and we had never previously expressed any lack of confidence in him. We had had no reason to. He didn't take up any political questions, and indeed at that time apparently no special questions of that kind had come up. After all, our parties had no disagreements on issues facing the international Communist movement, and therefore the exchange of opinions that we had was quite normal.

At the end of one of our conversations in Moscow, Larsen had raised a question that I found somewhat surprising, but I was glad that someone was willing to make a practical observation. He said: "Comrade Khrushchev, I don't know why the paper money you print is so large. A lot of paper is being wasted on it. It's a special kind of expensive paper, and it's more difficult to carry these large-sized notes in your wallet." Larsen took some Danish paper money from his wallet and demonstrated: "Here's your ruble and here's our Danish currency. Ours is several times smaller. It's more compact and easier to carry in your wallet. And printing this kind of paper money is cheaper."

I thanked him for his good advice and replied: "It's simply that a certain tradition has grown up in our country.[8] There's no principle involved here. I think your observation is correct and useful. When we switch over to a new format, I think we'll take your comments into account."

I should mention that Larsen was not the only one who made such observations. The USSR State Bank and Finance Ministry said the same thing. When we converted our currency [in 1961] the size of our banknotes was reduced.[9] The new notes were like miniatures of the former banknotes, and they were more convenient to carry in one's wallet. Our expenditures for the printing of paper money were reduced. Larsen's suggestion indicates that we had friendly relations, and I was happy to listen to him. When everything changed and we became opponents, our former relations went sour. Our delegation had a meeting with members of the Danish parliament [the Folketing], and various parliamentary groups were introduced to us. Larsen was at that meeting. We ran into each other, as the saying goes, nose to nose. He took a seat near mine, but because our relations had already gone bad, we greeted each other simply by bowing and didn't shake hands. Later he asked some questions and I replied, but the subject was not very serious and I more or less made fun of his position. It seems to me that his party subsequently ceased to exist. As for Larsen himself, I don't know what became of him. The press, which tends to be opposed to the Communist movement, of course played up this last encounter I had with Larsen. That was the only blemish on our visit to Denmark.

In the course of getting to know the country, we visited its shipyards, and at several of them we took part in the official ceremony of launching a ship. In one such instance [my wife] Nina Petrovna was kindly offered the opportunity to christen a ship that was ready to be launched by breaking the traditional bottle of champagne over its prow. The local industrialists were pleased at having received new orders from us, and they wanted to consolidate our relationship so that they would keep receiving those orders. That was also to our advantage. Those Danish shipyards have remained in my memory more than anything else. They produced up-to-date, state-of-the-art ships that ran well and were easy to steer, although their tonnage was not large. They were not producing ships with a displacement of more than 12,000 tons at that time. But we were satisfied because the production of these ships was at a high technological level, very much up-to-date, and they completely satisfied the requirements of their customers.

We met with the leaders of the CPD. Our talks were extremely friendly and we had no differences of opinion, so that nothing negative has remained in my memory about those talks. We discussed questions of the international

Communist movement and exchanged views on world affairs. The name of the new CPD leader was [Knud] Jespersen.[10]

We then traveled around the country to familiarize ourselves with its agriculture in response to an invitation from the government with the polite support of the opposition. The opposition was headed by a farmer, the leader of one of the capitalist parties and a former prime minister.[11] According to the schedule we were to visit several farms, including his. My opinion of the farm he ran was excellent, or that is what has stayed in my memory. He received us warmly and showed that he had an excellent knowledge of what he was doing. He himself didn't work on the farm, but while using hired labor he conducted his business at a very high level. The yields he obtained were much larger than ours, as was true for that country as a whole.

I have simply no words to describe the pleasure I felt observing the state of agriculture in Denmark. It was a sight for sore eyes. As I surveyed the crops in the fields of Denmark, I felt the positive feelings of a person who loves to see excellent work done. I must admit, however, that disappointment accompanied my joy. The joy came from the fact that ordinary people could till their fields and obtain such outstanding yields of every kind of crop, that they could achieve such high productivity from their livestock and in the way they cultivated the land. My bitter feelings came from the fact that I could not of course get into an argument and try to demonstrate that our agriculture was no worse than theirs. Alas, their farming, although it rested on a capitalist basis, was at a much higher level than our socialist agriculture, which should have had the advantage organizationally, or so it would seem. Unfortunately, however, we were lagging far behind. I think that even today we lag behind the Danes.

Denmark is one continuous flatland, somewhat similar to the steppes of Ukraine, but with the advantage that its geographical position helps the tillers of the soil in respect to climate. Warm, wet winds blow in from the sea. Denmark is a land with a mild climate that is favorable to agriculture. With modern methods of cultivating the soil, if the topsoil lacks sufficient nutrient elements, this insufficiency can be compensated for by chemical fertilizers, which add to what nature has already provided and make it possible for every crop to obtain the nutrients it needs in sufficient quantity. The general appearance of the croplands of Denmark is amazing. Before my trip I had read a little about Danish agriculture, but I was still surprised by what I saw. It was pleasant to see the results of human labor, the harvests produced by human hands, and the highly productive livestock. We are going to have to work a lot harder to raise our agricultural production to even begin to approach their level.

We saw farms of different sizes in Denmark. We looked at the property of a farmer who was not wealthy in their understanding of things, but to us he would have been a kulak (a wealthy peasant). He had several cows and hogs, and everything at his farm was organized so that he would not be wiped out by more prosperous farmers and so that he could earn the maximum under the conditions of competition that exist there. If he could not withstand the competition, of course he would be ruined and would become one more reject swelling the army of the unemployed.

The dairy cattle surprised me more than anything. When you get right down to it, all of Denmark is one huge dairy farm. I don't even know how anyone could compete with it. It may be that the Dutch can keep pace. And the other Scandinavian countries also have a well-established dairy industry. But in this case I'm talking only about Denmark and its economy. At any farm we went to, we saw model orderliness: cleanliness, good organization, and little charts showing the productivity of each animal and the percentage of fat in its milk. A cow's productivity was shown not in terms of liters, as in our country, but in terms of fat content. As we walked past these little charts the figures danced before my eyes: 4.5, 4.7, 5.0, 5.2, 5.5, and even 7.0 percent of fat! It was something to dream about. And the Danes had been able to make this a reality! It's true that 7.0 percent was only in the case of some individual animals. The average fat content was 5.0 percent, while 4.5 was considered low. Our charts show only the milk yield in terms of liters from each cow. The liter is a worldwide unit of measurement, but the fat content of milk is a sign of great productivity in dairy cattle. While they get a yield of 5.0 percent fat content, in our country it's half as much, which means that we need two liters of milk to achieve the equivalent in fat content of one of their liters.

At the first farm we visited, the owner presented me with a calf as a gift. We also attended an exhibition. I don't know if it was deliberately timed for our visit or if it was just one more agricultural exposition of the kind that regularly take place. Livestock raising was well represented there. Our entire delegation was invited so that all of us could see this outstanding spectacle. The exhibition reminded me of the agricultural fair I had known as a young man in the Donbas. The fair in Yuzovka always began on September 14. The peasants brought hogs, geese, ducks, chickens, turkeys, and other agricultural products to the fair to sell. They engaged in trade freely. The event in Denmark was an exhibition, not a fair, and therefore it was more organized. It was laid out sector by sector with various kinds of livestock and poultry products on display. It made an elegant appearance and the people were also elegantly dressed. Then there was a display involving horses of various kinds. The animals displayed to the public served as models so that every proprietor might acquaint himself with the best examples and borrow from this experience. Then they brought out their cows and steers. These also made a powerful impression. The outstanding characteristics of each animal were pointed out. At the exhibition I was given two more calves and two steers as gifts. I ordered that the USSR Ministry of Agriculture take them and keep special track of them, entrusting them to a research institution. Let our experts work with these animals and obtain highly productive offspring from them.

In the USSR of course we don't just use animals that we've received as gifts for livestock breeding. We also made direct purchases in Denmark and other countries of special livestock for breeding purposes. In general Denmark is a small country that is obliged to work hard to sell its dairy products and bacon on the world market. There were times when its Social Democratic government literally pleaded with us to buy something because there had been overproduction in the country and they couldn't find a market. Before the elections to the Folketing, in order to win the votes of the farmers in support of Social Democratic candidates, the government tried to organize the sale of farm products. If the Soviet Union purchased agricultural products from Denmark, that served as proof that the people could have confidence in such a government because on the basis of friendly relations with the USSR it was able to organize sales of agricultural products. In this way the farmers were assured of a reliable market.

It's a small country but it literally performs miracles. Yes, I understand that to us these are miracles, but to other countries these are levels that were attained long ago, and for them there's no miracle involved. Even today when I close my eyes I can vividly picture that exhibition and the remarkable items it had on display.

According to the itinerary of our visit, as drawn up by the Danish government, a meeting with the king [King Frederick IX][12] and a dinner at his suburban palace was scheduled. The day and hour arrived for us to go to this dinner. It was not far from Copenhagen. We were there in the summertime, so that Denmark looked like a picture postcard or a painting in a museum. We arrived at the palace and were met by the queen and her two daughters. The king loved to hunt and was expected to return at any moment from his hunt, but apparently he had been delayed, as often happens in hunting. In the meantime various conversations were kept up to occupy us. Soon the king arrived—an ordinary-looking man, not at all the kind we might have imagined to ourselves earlier. Outwardly he was not distinguished by any special features. There was nothing royal or kingly about him. He wore neither a uniform nor royal regalia. He came to meet us wearing an ordinary suit. He was no longer a young man, and his face was not at all sleek and well groomed, as the faces of kings are usually portrayed. In general he had quite an ordinary face, and, depending on the point of view of the observer, the king could have been taken for a man of almost any profession.

Our ambassador had informed us that the king was a hunter. As a gift we brought him a shotgun made in Tula with the barrels arranged one above the other. This was something new in our country, although in the rest of Europe such weapons had been in use for a while. I personally owned two shotguns of this type as trophies, one Belgian and the other German. Our shotgun from Tula of course was made with excellent craftsmanship, and it fired with great accuracy. Weapons made in Tula can compete with any you might want. They daringly and willingly go up against the competition. Soviet marksmen using weapons of domestic manufacture can compete successfully against any marksmen using Western weapons. I presented the gift. When we began assembling the weapon for the king he became impatient and began doing it himself, and I helped him, but alas, I got fouled up because I don't shoot with such weapons very often. I like the classic type of shotgun with the barrels arranged side by side. I like them better. At that point I asked the chief of my bodyguard, Comrade Litovchenko, to show us how to assemble the weapon.[13] Thus we were able to instruct the king in practice. Apparently he had never owned such a shotgun, because he displayed a total lack of knowledge of how it worked. But we could see that all of this was very pleasant for him and he liked the gift. We also felt gratified.

The princesses were young. The youngest was just a little girl, but I would say a very pretty one. Of course there can be various points of view in estimating the beauty of little girls, but she made an unforgettable impression on our entire delegation. The older daughter was also as elegant and lovely as a flower. They told us she was already engaged and there would soon be a marriage. She was going to marry the king of Greece [King Constantine]. When I heard that, I was barely able to restrain myself from expressing my sympathies. I so much wanted to tell her that kings were now out of fashion and that the royal throne in Greece was quite shaky. As a human being I simply felt sorry for this young woman: she was going to have to suffer quite a lot of unpleasantness when she became queen of Greece. Again people might say: "How come you, a former worker, were feeling sympathy for a queen?" Well, I sympathized with her not as a queen but as a young woman. After all, I know what kind of surprises life can dish out. Even as a worker I would find it more pleasant if she were able to marry whoever she wanted and didn't have to marry a king. But she was a princess and therefore the only worthy suitor was a king. When a coup d'état was carried out by the "black colonels" in Greece [in 1967], the king was forced to flee. As I recall, he fled to Denmark.[14]

The Danish queen was also dressed quite simply, without any great fanfare, although she was quite a wealthy woman. She invited us to be seated at the table. The dinner proceeded without any strain or tension. The royal couple made us feel at home, and everything was quite natural and relaxed. Various toasts were made. I made one in honor of the king and he made one in our honor. It was an ordinary dinner such as usually occurs when people from different countries get together at an official occasion. Then we returned to Copenhagen, where the prime minister and his wife invited us to visit their home. He said that we could have a talk over tea or coffee. We agreed and at the appointed time we went to his home. The prime minister apparently wanted to show us the conditions in which he lived, and that was of interest to me.

We arrived in an area that looked like a worker's settlement with two-story houses. It was explained to us that a cooperative had built these houses and that the prime minister was a member of the cooperative and accordingly had his house there. As I have said, it was two stories high. This layout according to the Western system is more convenient for a family. As a rule, the kitchen and the dining room are downstairs and the bedrooms are upstairs. The windows opened onto a small garden. As is usual in such cases, each owner plants what he wants in the garden area, whether it be flowers or trees. The prime minister had some trees growing in a small part of the garden, and his neighbors on either side looked on quietly. The time we spent with him was quite pleasant. He is a communicative, gregarious person, and his wife is an actress and also quite outgoing. He was a young man and she was even younger. They had two children. A simple and nice family, without pretensions, well provided for but not luxuriously, which doubly pleased me. The house itself and the layout of the rooms also pleased me. I must confess that I made a mental note to myself at that time.[15] My thought was that we, too, ought to adopt this kind of modest lifestyle for top officials in our country. The living conditions provided for our leaders are quite different and absolutely not right. Some sort of justification for this is always found, but I'm not going to dwell on the subject at this point.

I didn't take a look at the whole house, but [my wife] Nina Petrovna did, and later she told me the details. We sat in the garden, where a dinner table was set up, and we began a conversation. On the next day I did some sightseeing in Copenhagen, including the embankment by the seaside with the famous statue of "The Little Mermaid" from the fairy tale by Hans Christian Andersen. Just before our trip some hooligans had removed the head of that statue. A lot was written about it in the press. This foul deed had upset public opinion throughout Denmark. The little mermaid from the fairy tale had great importance for every Dane. Soon no traces of the foul deed remained, because a new head was fashioned and placed where the old head had been.

In general Copenhagen pleased me greatly. The harbor area and the well-dressed public made a strong impression on me. We lived in a hotel there and watched the ceremonial changing of the guard and other sights and simply strolled around the city. After saying goodbye we left on a ship to Norway [actually, to Sweden]. I assume that the various ceremonies of greeting and parting had been coordinated in advance among the three Scandinavian governments. The policies of all three in regard to the Soviet Union hardly differed at all and the ceremonies were virtually identical. In Norway too there was a monarchy. And so the honors observed were similar to those in Denmark.

We were told that the father of the present Norwegian king [King Hakon VII][16] had a passion for fishing. He was so democratic that he sometimes took the streetcar to pursue this passion. The streetcar stopped not far from his favorite fishing spot. Not knowing the king personally, none of the people in the streetcar realized he was their ruler. He was just another ordinary passenger, like thousands of others in the streetcars.

As for the prime minister of Norway, [Einar] Gerhardsen, I knew about him from a distance, though I hadn't met him before. He had been prime minister before the German occupation of Norway; during the occupation he remained the leader of the Social Democratic Party, but worked at paving the streets, putting down paving stones. Later the Germans arrested him and held him in a concentration camp.[17] As I recall, he was freed by Soviet troops in northern Norway. As for southern Norway, it was liberated by the Western powers; we had no part in that.

The prime minister's wife [Werna] belonged to the left wing of the Social Democrats. I was informed that she was close to the Communist Party, though she personally had never been a Communist. When the working class of Norway had come out on the streets and built barricades, she had been there together with the Communists and left-wing Social Democrats.[18] In short, she was present when a clash between the workers and their class enemies could have taken place. In her worldview she was closer to the Communists than her husband was.

On the day of our arrival in Oslo we were supposed to visit the king of Norway [King Olaf V].[19] I was warned that he had a serious illness, which might cause him to suddenly laugh out loud for no apparent reason. Therefore we should take no special notice and act as though we hadn't seen or heard anything. We arrived at an ordinary-looking park, no different from many others, and a palace that looked like the dwelling place of a capitalist of medium wealth, one that made no special impression. The visitor didn't feel as though he was entering a royal palace. A person in a khaki military jacket greeted us and took us inside. We entered the palace and I was waiting to be introduced to the king. But when we went into his office and this person asked us to take a seat, while taking his own in the host's chair, I realized that this was indeed the king. He was so simply dressed; from his outward appearance he could have been the gardener.

Our conversation was purely formal and I soon left. The kings of Denmark and Norway are the reigning monarchs, but in fact they don't govern their countries. They don't engage in the practical work of government. They don't decide policy or the composition of the government. The visits we made to them were purely out of politeness. Our delegation was also housed in a royal palace in a park on the outskirts of Oslo. It was a fine park and a fine palace, but it had nothing like the luxury of the palaces at Peterhof or Tsarskoye Selo [in Russia], of Catherine's palace or Paul's.[20] The furniture there was not palatial, but practical, intended for the comfort of the people who lived there. In the park the flowers and foliage on plots of grass that were artistically laid out provided a restful and comforting retreat.

We had no problems requiring special resolution to present to the government of Norway. Of course there existed some problems of a general nature, which still remain on the agenda: peace, peaceful coexistence, and progress in economic matters; these are standard questions that always come up. Our relations were good, although some improvements were needed. If you keep in mind that our governments belonged to different socio-political formations, the relations between us could be considered quite good.

The opposition capitalist party in Norway was influential. This was expressed in the fact that in the Norwegian parliament, the Storting, the Social Democrats had a majority of only one vote, and the deciding vote belonged to a person who was not a Social Democrat, but a Socialist who held an intermediate position between the Social Democrats and the capitalists. But on fundamental questions, especially when a vote of confidence in the government came up, this representative of the Socialists (or rather that's what he called himself) always voted with the Social Democrats. Thus it was that one person was deciding the fate of the government, a situation that of course was quite unstable.

In traveling around Norway, we also visited its northern regions, where our troops had helped to drive out the fascists. We went to a cemetery where victims of the occupation as well as Soviet soldiers were buried. Everything was kept up there in model fashion; the gravestones with their inscriptions were clearly legible, and there was a monument to our compatriots. The burial ground seemed small, but it was obviously cared for with love. The monument was done in good taste architecturally and artistically, and it made a pleasant impression. There was nothing superfluous, no excessive indulgences, but the monument did capture one's attention and aroused sympathy for those who had fallen and were at rest in that cemetery.

The government receptions and dinners in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were similar to one another, and I won't bother to tell about them. They were all friendly. We felt that these people wanted to be friends with us and wanted such friendship to grow stronger; they especially wanted to develop economic ties, receive orders from us for their goods, and buy raw materials from us. We sometimes sold grain to Norway. For its part, it was seeking markets for the sale of its herring. Norway has favorable conditions for catching herring, because these fish, as they migrate through the ocean, pass right along the shores of Norway, and, as the saying goes, they leap right into the nets of their own free will. Sometimes before the elections the Norwegian Social Democrats would ask us to help them out and buy some herring, which they had not been able to sell. There was a great demand for this herring in the USSR. Norwegian pickled herring has an excellent flavor and is prepared better than we do with the herring we catch.

The Soviet finance ministry, when it bought Norwegian herring, always made a substantial profit, because it was sold in the Soviet Union for higher prices than the product cost us. Again, our purchasing power was limited by our supply of foreign currency. We had to pay for the herring with foreign currency, gold, or products that could be sold for foreign currency. Sometimes this restrained us from making purchases. After all, we also needed to buy other products more essential than herring. At that time Soviet consumers held second or third place in our government's calculations. The main items we purchased abroad were machines, tools, or instruments that we ourselves could not produce.

Norway built ships for us, just as Denmark did. We visited the shipyard docks in Norway, too, because the launching of a new vessel had been timed for our arrival. [My wife] Nina Petrovna was again given the honor of christening the ship by breaking a bottle of champagne over its prow. The industrialists paid a great deal of attention to us there as well. They were pleased to have orders from the Soviet Union and to have those orders placed repeatedly, so that their shipyards had plenty of work. It is evident from the press that this situation continues, because it is mutually advantageous. Everyone is satisfied: the capitalists earn their profits, the workers also earn their pay, and we increase the size of our fishing fleet. The Norwegians have been a seagoing people since ancient times and they know how to build excellent ships. Like the Viking guest in the opera *Sadko* by Rimsky-Korsakov,[21] they could sing: "I was born on the sea—on the sea I shall die." It really was so: the Vikings knew the sea from the moment of birth, and from time immemorial they built outstanding ships to master the vast expanses of the ocean. They reached the shores of North America long before Columbus and established their settlements on that continent.

Not far from Oslo (to which we traveled by rail) we were shown a large and modern chemical complex for the production of mineral fertilizer.[22] The concentration of useful minerals in this fertilizer was higher than that produced in our country, and so it was of special interest to us. I came to an agreement with the Norwegians that they would sell us a license for this fertilizer or provide us consultation [for producing it], to which they readily agreed. Then we visited some metallurgical plants. The local administration and especially the workers gave us a very good welcome. The king organized an official reception for us. I can't recall anything special about the queen. The royal reception as well as the government reception was very warm and proceeded in a friendly atmosphere. Then Prime Minister Gerhardsen said he wanted to have a one-on-one talk with me. I was willing, and a useful conversation resulted. I must stress that the exchange of opinions with Gerhardsen was more relaxed and the atmosphere more favorable for a sincere exchange than had been true with the prime minister of Denmark. Possibly this was because Gerhardsen was older than the Danish prime minister, closer to my age. Besides, he had come from the ranks of the working class, just as I had, and my reaction to that was favorable. Moreover, he behaved quite democratically.

Gerhardsen said that evidently upcoming elections to the parliament would not bring him victory, and so the Social Democratic government would not be able to remain in power for another term. The capitalist parties would come into office, and the workers party would go into opposition. He began telling me that they had lost more and more votes in the course of several elections, and now they had only a one-vote majority in the parliament. As I have said, that deputy with the deciding vote was not from their party.

He said: “In the next election we will probably lose that one vote.”

I asked him: “How could that be, Comrade Gerhardsen?” (Sometimes we used the term “mister” and sometimes “comrade” when we addressed each other. He readily resorted to the working-class form of address, that is, “comrade.”) I said to him: “The voters in your country are mainly workers, plus a small stratum of peasant farmers, plus the working intelligentsia. Why then are you losing the votes? How is this to be understood? Does this mean that the workers are voting for candidates of the capitalist parties? Why is it that they are voting against their own interests?”

He answered: “Yes, it’s true that the absolute majority of voters belong to the working class or the working intelligentsia and the poor peasantry. But even they, not to mention the capitalist farmers, are starting to vote for the capitalist parties.” He specifically showed me the figures indicating the loss of votes for the Social Democrats.

He was a direct man, and I felt favorably disposed toward him. I suggested: “You need to rethink your position. Come out with a more radical program in the elections to attract the workers.”

He looked at me with a smile and an ironic expression: “Comrade Khrushchev, we can’t adopt a program more radical than the one we have now.”

I asked: “Why? By not doing that you’re driving voters away; that’s why they’re not voting for you.”

Then he spoke more frankly: “Comrade Khrushchev, in our country there is a party that presents a more radical program than we do—and that is the Communist Party—but it gets even fewer votes than we do. Apparently for us the loss of votes is not caused by the fact that our program is insufficiently radical.”

I asked: “Then what is the cause?”

He said: “The fact that in our country many workers have their own homes and their own motorboats and other property. Our laws tax such property; these people are being taxed accordingly, and they are voting against us. The capitalist parties promise to lower the taxes on property, but they increase the taxes on ordinary working people. In this way they attract those with larger or medium incomes, promising them all sorts of advantages.”

It really was true that the party advocating a more radical program than the Social Democrats, that is, the Communist Party of Norway, had only a few representatives in the Storting.[23] I was on Gerhardsen’s side, although his government also pursued a policy that took into account the interests of the capitalist class and made no great effort to have Norway withdraw from NATO. That was the most burning question of interest to us at the time, and we sought to win agreement on this question. Norway was our neighbor. NATO threatened our security and sometimes carried out military maneuvers close to our borders, on land and sea. Of course we gave greater preference to a working-class government in Norway than to a capitalist government. If a capitalist government arose in Norway, a lot of other things unknown to us would come with it. We could expect that it would pursue a policy directed toward even greater integration into NATO, which conflicted with our interests.

The prime minister's wife took my wife to see some of Norway's public services and children's facilities. Mrs. Gerhardsen had visited the USSR even before we met her in Norway. She had headed some sort of youth organization, although she herself was no longer young. In truth she was an energetic, pleasant, and intelligent woman who was considerably younger than her husband. She invited [my wife] Nina Petrovna to their apartment, after which my wife told me that the prime minister's family lived modestly and even in poor circumstances. The apartment in which they lived was the same one he had occupied when he was an industrial worker. They led a Spartan existence. They had two teenaged daughters, who also had known no luxuries.

I met with the leadership of the Communist Party of Norway (CPN) as well. The discussion proceeded in a cordial atmosphere. The relations between us then were confidential and fraternal. Despite the fact that the prime minister was an opponent of the Communists, and the Communist Party of Norway stood in opposition to the government, sometimes, when a critical moment arose and the government might have been overturned by the capitalists, the CPN members of the Storting came to the rescue and supported the prime minister with their votes.

As for the capitalist members of the Storting, I met with one of them who was an old acquaintance—Norway's former ambassador to the Soviet Union, a tall and very thin man of middle age.[24] His wife was similar to him in her age and build, but a fairly pleasant woman. The former ambassador knew Russian and it was easy for me to talk with him. I had often conversed with him in Moscow when he had been the ambassador. Now he himself asked to meet with me. He assured me that the USSR should not be concerned over the fact that a non-working-class party might come to power, because there would be no changes in relations between our two countries if a change of government occurred. The new government, in which he hoped to hold a particular position, would pursue the same policy in relation to the Soviet Union.

Sure enough, when a change of government did occur, things worked out as he had said. Nevertheless, the Gerhardsen government was closer to us. It was susceptible to pressure from the side of the Communists and took the interests of the workers into account more. But now the Social Democrats are in the opposition in Norway and don't have enough support to return to power.

The Soviet ambassador to Norway[25] arranged a reception in our honor. A large number of guests were invited, including the leadership of the CPN and the government. Since the weather was warm, the reception was held out in the open, in pleasant and attractive surroundings. As we got to know Norway, we saw what it was like from firsthand observation, not just from looking at maps. It was a very mountainous country with a rather severe climate that was bound to toughen its population—a land of toilers and heroes. I observed something else as well: when we traveled north by rail, we saw bridges everywhere. They connect the mountains, spanning deep gorges and entering tunnels built into the mountains. For tourists it's an exotic country. There are parts of the country where a unique microclimate prevails, where plants native to the south are able to flourish. Norway has the same charming feature in the summer that the north of Russia has—the so-called white nights.[26] I don't know if the nights are whiter in Leningrad or in Oslo, but they do attract a large number of tourists. Tourism adds substantially to Norway's foreign currency earnings.

From Oslo, after the itinerary proposed to us by the government of Norway had been completed, we took a ship to Sweden [and thence back to the USSR]. On the way from Oslo we passed through a fjord that went fairly deep inland, and therefore it was a long way before we reached the high seas.[27] We sailed along as though on a large river, viewing the shores to the right and the left—beautiful places with rich foliage. The islands and all the shorelines that we passed had been developed. There were boat piers and vacation places, attractively built and sensibly arranged for good living. It all looked very elegant, both the individual homes and the clusters of buildings. We constantly encountered people on our way, riding in motorboats or in rowboats near the vacation resorts, and these encounters began and ended with friendly greetings. We responded from the deck of our ship. I never left the deck, not wishing to take my eyes off the marvelous spectacle, getting my fill of this view of the conditions of life of the Norwegian people. This supplemented the impressions I had formed while traveling around the country.

The trip to Stockholm seemed lengthy to me. When we entered Swedish waters the view there was also pleasant. It was an attractive shoreline, well developed, as in Norway, a scene similar to the one we had observed sailing from Oslo. The welcoming ceremonies were carried out in similar fashion. Norway, Sweden, and Denmark are closely related countries with similar political structures. All of them had Social Democratic governments, and therefore they maintained very close personal connections among one another. We heard the same identical speeches at the receptions for our delegation (of course the words weren't *exactly* the same). All this was only to be expected. After all, the Norwegians, Danes, and Swedes were all concerned about the same problems, and so were we—with one exception: neutral Sweden didn't belong to a military bloc. Nevertheless, Sweden leaned more toward the NATO countries than toward the USSR. And that should not have surprised us, after all, because Sweden is a capitalist country.

The Swedish ambassador to the USSR for a long time was Mr. [Rolf] Sohlman.[28] He spoke Russian fairly well, and it wasn't hard talking with him one on one. I had no difficulty understanding him when he took his time to express his thoughts. His wife [Zinaida] was of Russian descent. I don't remember how she ended up in Sweden. They were a nice couple. Sohlman was the dean of the diplomatic corps, that is, among the ambassadors accredited to the USSR. The ambassador who has been in a country longer than any of the others becomes the dean of the ambassadors in that country. We didn't have a great many dealings with him, but sometimes he stopped in at the foreign ministry on matters of business and at other embassies. This usually had to do with various kinds of diplomatic receptions. He invited me to them not in the name of his own embassy, but on behalf of the entire diplomatic corps, which he represented. Sohlman adhered to a correct line in his relations with the Soviet Union and gave us no grounds for dissatisfaction. In general he had a "special standing" in our country. That doesn't mean he ever defended our interests. He remained a loyal Swede and carried out his functions, not just as a representative of his government, but in general as a capitalist. I don't know what private property he owned. That is a question on a different level. But as an ambassador we were satisfied with him; no complaints were brought up against him. Our attitude toward him as a person was one of respect.

His wife was a sweet person who remained friendly toward us—something that didn't always happen. Sometimes Russians who end up abroad begin to make a show of hostility toward the homeland from which they emigrated. This didn't apply to Madame Sohlman. Of course being the wife of such a man, she invariably held the same social views as her husband. I don't think there were any political disagreements within their family. Their son, a youth of 17, had an excellent command of Russian. Children usually know their mother's language better because they spend more time with their mother. Later he studied at a college or university, but came to Moscow during holidays or summer vacations, sometimes accompanying his parents at diplomatic receptions, and the ambassador always took pleasure in bringing him over to say hello to me. That's how I got to know their family.

Good relations developed between us, and we often allowed ourselves to make jokes on historical subjects. Once I said to him: "Mr. Sohlman, we have good relations with you now, but at one time the Swedes invaded Russia as far as Poltava [in central Ukraine], and so we have to keep a sharp eye on what you're up to. You aren't thinking of marching on Poltava again, are you?"[29]

He smiled and answered: "Mr. Khrushchev, you know that after the lesson we were given by the Russian army at the time of Peter the Great, Sweden has virtually not been involved in any wars at all. So you can rest assured that we are not thinking of making a second march on Poltava." There was no unpleasant aftertaste from our joking, although in fact the battles between Sweden and Russia at the time of Peter the Great were rather bloody.

In Stockholm we were met by Prime Minister [Tage] Erlander,[30] again a Social Democrat. As a place of residence we were given a royal palace with all the conveniences, a beautiful park, and lots of flowers. The king didn't use the palace, which was reserved for guests. Actually it didn't look like a palace. As in Norway, it was a nice house, but an ordinary one without any special ornamentation. The park was beautifully laid out with marvelous walking paths and all the conditions for rest and relaxation. The palace had appropriate furniture and many paintings hanging on the walls. The conditions for our stay as guests could not have been better.

Soon, in accordance with protocol, we made a visit to the king [King Gustavus VI].[31] I see from reports in the press that he is still alive and well. We were informed that by profession he was an archeologist and engaged in scientific work. Before our trip Soviet scientists put together a library on subjects that he might be interested in. It was quite a heavy load. In presenting this gift I symbolically handed him one of the books and said: "I present this to you in my behalf and in the name of the USSR Academy of Sciences." The king was a tall man, no longer young, gray-haired, but well built and with a military bearing. He sincerely thanked us. As a young man he obviously could have been a handsome Guards officer.

The Social Democratic workers' government of Sweden was the oldest such government in Scandinavia. It had taken office even before World War II.[32] Premier Erlander was an experienced politician, and the negotiations with him proceeded in an atmosphere of mutual respect. We didn't have any disputed questions before us. As a neutral, Erlander spoke freely in support of universal disarmament and condemned all military blocs—both the Warsaw

Pact and NATO. He proposed to us that on our day off we make a trip outside the city to a government villa. There was a livestock farm not far from the villa, and our itinerary provided for a visit to that farm.[33] Erlander drove the car himself, and the officials accompanying him followed along behind. This farm was by no means inferior to what we had seen in Denmark. The raising of livestock in Sweden is also on a high level. They do quite a good job of selecting and breeding livestock, and consequently the country has highly productive dairy cattle with fat content in the milk of 5.0 percent and higher. And if they discover milk with fat content lower than 4.5 percent, they send the cows to the slaughterhouse; they are culled out and gotten rid of.

During our visit to this farm, we noticed that the farmer, at the wheel of his tractor, was harvesting alfalfa, but in quite a unique way. I hadn't seen this method of harvesting before. I must confess that I hadn't even known it existed. Even our specialists didn't know about it. The unique thing was that as the plants were mowed they passed through rollers that crushed the stalks. Later I was provided with information about these machines and I saw some models of them. Unfortunately, we didn't produce such machines in our country. This method of harvesting resulted in the alfalfa drying out more evenly after it had been mowed. Usually moisture remains in the stems. In our method of harvesting, the petals get dried out too much while the stems are drying, and as a result the petals fall off. Thus, the most valuable nutrient qualities, which are found in the petals, are left on the ground. In the harvesting method they use, the mass of alfalfa dries out evenly, and the hay is gathered up without such losses.

Besides that, the harvesting machine, as it moved across the field, put out rows of twine held up by little rods. The hay rested on the twine, which was made of paper, and in this suspended position, it dried out more quickly.

"Why do you make your twine out of paper?" I asked.

The farmer answered: "Previously I used wire, but it sometimes happened that bits of wire would end up in the hay and the cows would eat it, and there were cases in which they died. The wire would pierce the stomach or intestines. But in this case, everything is edible, both the alfalfa and the paper." This made sense.

This farmer had approximately 60 hectares of land. He also showed us his livestock. His farmhouse was small but comfortable with a nice terrace and a large pond, in which he was able to catch fish. He also demonstrated an amphibious tractor for us, which could operate on any surface, whether on dry land or underwater. Its main work was to mow down and clear away reeds and other water plants. There was a mowing device attached to this amphibious tractor. I liked this tractor, and I recommended to our specialists that they study the possibility of manufacturing such a machine. We purchased a model with the aim of starting production of such machines ourselves. After all, we have many lakes where the grass, weeds, and reeds growing in them should be cut down both to use as feed for cattle and for better cultivation of fish in the lakes.

The farmer had cows that were also highly productive. Here again, all this made me feel envious. In our country we have so many scientists you could dam up a pond with them, but the science of raising livestock is going nowhere. It doesn't even have a sensible orientation. I listen to the radio nowadays: the milk yield is such-and-such, so many liters. But this is sheer ignorance! This is an economic indicator for people who don't know anything. The main thing that determines the productivity of dairy cattle is the fat content in the milk. You can imagine how many resources we spent in vain on the upkeep of our livestock, how much feed we invested in, and what a modest return we obtained. On our collective farms and state farms we use twice as much feed as a Danish or Swedish farmer does, but the results are less. And that applies to Norway as well.

After visiting that farm we went for a boat ride on a beautiful lake. At first we rode as a group; then I took the boat by myself and went off a fairly good distance. It was a sunny day, the visibility was excellent, but my bodyguards nearly went out of their minds. We had a splendid day of rest and relaxation, and in the evening we attended an official dinner, where there was also an exchange of views. We discussed the relations existing between our governments and touched on the international situation, which of course we wanted to change in a favorable direction. Alas, these talks had no effect on changing the situation in the world. The king was present at the reception, which had been organized by our embassy. As is always true in such cases, it was a smoke-filled room with a huge crush of people. I observed one group of people with interest. The king was standing there surrounded by a small number and conversing with them. Everything looked very democratic. This king also understood the times he was living in and had a good sense of the situation existing in Sweden. There was not the slightest hint of any haughty, refined, or aristocratic attitude, as is known to us from the literature about various emperors. In the king's manner and bearing, there was nothing that would impress and intimidate observers the way it would when the procession of a Russian tsar went by. The king was dressed in an ordinary gray suit and didn't stand out in any way from those around him.

In Sweden, too, a ship was launched that had been built for the USSR. Again a bottle of champagne was broken over the prow. [My wife] Nina

Petrovna had already become an old hand at this job, and we joked about her new skill. The Swedish government arranged a visit for us [on June 24] to their former capital of Göteborg, a port city of historical importance.[34] The mayor there gave us a suitable reception. He was also a Social Democrat.[35] Then they showed us the sights. We visited the fish market. The fish are usually sold in the morning, and by lunchtime the market is closed, because fish of course spoil quickly. The health inspectors kept close watch and required strict observance of hygienic practices. We inspected many fish products at the market. Every possible kind of fish was on sale there. They would cook them immediately for anyone who wanted, and you could eat them right there. Then we took a look at the aquarium.

I love nature and I love sea creatures, and everything there was presented in a rich array: all kinds of fish, shellfish, and other creatures of the deep. This exposition was organized in an interesting way, especially for children, to help them become acquainted with the life of the sea. This is a very useful thing. We had lunch there and tasted the fruits of the sea. The mayor made a speech and in conclusion he said: "As a sign of your visit and as a memento of our city, I hereby present you with a gift of a camera from Göteborg." I accepted the gift, and nowadays I have fond recollections of that mayor. It was a Hasselblad camera, of excellent design, and it takes beautiful pictures. In my present situation, with nothing to do, it has proved very useful in filling up the emptiness of everyday life. After such a stormy life of social and political activity, I have suddenly become a pensioner. I have nothing to do and nowhere to go. The emptiness became oppressive and started to get me down. Thanks to the mayor of Göteborg for putting that camera in my hands to help fill up the time!

We also had contacts with the Swedish Communists.[36] In all the countries we visited, we met with our Communist Party brothers openly, not in some underground fashion, not incognito. We received them at our embassies and exchanged views. We had no disagreements with the Communist Party of Sweden. We were of a single mind on all questions, and therefore we simply shook one another's hand. In the Swedish parliament, the Riksdag, the Communists had a small number of seats[37] and found themselves in the opposition without having any special influence. But the presence of even a small handful of Communists in the Swedish parliament forced the Social Democrats and the capitalist parties, whichever was in power, to take the Communists' opinion into account. Their voice could be heard in defense of the working class and the struggle for peace.

[Near the end of the visit to Scandinavia] a question occurred to me, and I began to ask myself about it. It was a question that cried out for an answer:

"What conclusion can I draw after meeting with the Scandinavian Communists and visiting these three Scandinavian countries? Was the visit beneficial? Or was it perhaps an empty waste of time?" No, I consider the visit beneficial, although no specific problems were solved, nor could they have been. The benefit was that we got to know one another better.

At a reception at our embassy in Stockholm a woman approached me—the Swedish minister of culture.[38] She was a bit tipsy and began a conversation with me on the following subject: "Mr. Khrushchev, I would like to consult with you. A discussion is coming up regarding writers who might be candidates for the Nobel Prize. Candidates from the USSR are also being discussed. (She named two names.) In your opinion which candidacy should we support?"

I replied that I could not have a decisive voice in such a question.

She was insistent: "But what advice would you give? What would you suggest?"

I felt obliged to answer: "I would suggest that the names you have mentioned are not ones that would have great resonance in our country if they were awarded the prize. There are other writers who are looked on in our country with profound respect by wide layers of the Soviet public, and Soviet public opinion would feel satisfied if the Nobel Prize were awarded to them."

She asked: "Who do you have in mind?"

I said: "I would name Mikhail Aleksandrovich Sholokhov. If one were to choose among our writers, a Nobel Prize awarded to Sholokhov would be the most acceptable to public opinion in our country."[39]

She voiced no objections, and I didn't discuss the subject any further. This was an internal matter. I would have considered it humiliating to beg to be awarded the Nobel Prize. We have our own prizes in our country, including the Lenin Prize. In my view, it is just as good as any Nobel Prize; in fact there's no comparison. After I had already retired, I found out that Sweden had awarded the Nobel Prize to Sholokhov [in 1965]. I would like to think that my comments were subsequently taken into account in the awarding of this prize.

Sweden is a very lovely country. The high standard of living of its people made a strong impression. No one there looks hungry, and everyone is well dressed without wearing loud or garish colors. In their clothing they favor modest tones, and what they wear is well-made, tasteful, and elegant. Also, their cities are all well laid out.

In all three countries we invited government delegations to come visit us in return. They of course had visited our country even before that. But as I was leaving, as a polite gesture, I invited them to visit the Soviet Union again. I remain quite pleased with the hospitality they displayed, and I received great satisfaction from everything that I saw there and everyone I met there.

1. Khrushchev visited the Scandinavian countries between June 16 and July 4, 1964. The visit to Denmark was from June 16 to June 21, to Sweden from June 22 to June 27, and to Norway from June 29 to July 4. In his recollections Khrushchev apparently confused the timing of the visits, putting the visit to Norway before the one to Sweden. [SK]

2. Again we remind readers that Khrushchev had the trips to Sweden and Norway reversed in his memory. The trip to Norway was last. [SK]

3. However, Khrushchev did not go to Finland in 1964. [GS]

4. The head of the government was Jens Otto Krag (1914–78), who was prime minister of Denmark from 1962 to 1968 and in 1971–72. See Biographies.

5. The Communist Party of Denmark (CPD) originated in a split in the Danish Social Democratic Party in 1919. The new party initially called itself the Left Socialist Party; it was renamed the Communist Party in 1920. The CPD won parliamentary representation in 1994 by forming a single Unity List with the Left Socialists and the Socialist Workers Party. [SS]

6. Axel Larsen was chairman of the CPD from 1932 to 1958. [SS]

7. Larsen also criticized the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956 and stated that Danish Communists should not "slavishly" follow Soviet directives. He was expelled from the Danish Communist Party in 1958 and proceeded to organize the Socialist People's Party, of which he was chairman from 1959 to 1968 and again in 1972. [MN/SS]

8. The large size used in the printing of banknotes dated from before the 1917 revolution. [SK]

9. A currency conversion was carried out in the USSR on January 1, 1961. Effective on that date, one new ruble was worth ten old rubles. Prices of goods were reduced accordingly, to one-tenth of their previous level. [SK]

10. Knud Jespersen (1926–77) was chairman of the CPD from 1958 to 1977. [SS]

11. This was Erik Eriksen (1902–72), chairman of the Liberal Party of Denmark (Venstre) from 1950 to 1965 and prime minister of a minority government (in coalition with the Conservative People's Party) from October 1950 to September 1953. [MN/SS]

12. Frederick IX (1899–1972) succeeded his father Christian X on the throne in 1947. [SS]

13. This was Colonel Leonid (Nikifor) Trofimovich Litovchenko. [SK]

14. He fled after an unsuccessful attempt at a countercoup. [MN] Actually, he fled not to Denmark but to Italy. [GS]

15. Literally the Russian saying is "to wind (something) onto one's mustache," so as not to forget. [GS]

16. Christian Frederik Carl Georg Valdemar Axel (1872–1957), who was the son of King Frederick VIII of Denmark and Louise, daughter of King Charles XV of Sweden, adopted the title King Hakon VII when he ascended to the Norwegian throne in 1905 following the separation of Norway from Sweden. [SS]

17. Einar Henry Gerhardsen (1897–1987) was prime minister of Norway from 1945 to 1951 and (except for an interval in 1963) from 1955 to 1965. Khrushchev is mistaken in thinking that he was prime minister before the German occupation. It is true that Gerhardsen was originally a road worker. It is also true that during the occupation he was interned in a concentration camp (at Grini). See Biographies. [MN/SS]

18. This probably refers to the intense industrial conflict of the period 1918–33. Unrest reached a peak in 1931 when employers declared a lockout to enforce wage reductions and there were violent clashes between strikers, strikebreakers, and police. See T. K. Derry, *A History of Modern Norway, 1814–1972* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 310–23. [SS]

19. Olaf V (1903–91) became king in 1957.

20. The palace at Peterhof was built for Peter the Great (Peter I), that at Tsarskoye Selo ("Tsar's Village" in Russian) for Catherine II. Both these palaces, and also the palace of Paul I at Gatchina, are near Saint Petersburg. [SK]

21. First performed in 1896.

22. This complex was situated in the town of Heroya. It belonged to Norsk Hydro, Scandinavia's largest electrochemical company, and specialized in the production of nitrogenous fertilizers. The visit took place on July 2. Khrushchev was shown around by the general director, R. Ostbye. [MN/SS]

23. In fact, the Communist Party of Norway had no seats in the Storting at the time of Khrushchev's visit. The party, which was established in November 1923, won eleven seats in the parliamentary elections of 1945 but lost them all in 1949. It had three seats in the period 1953–57 and one seat in the period 1957–61. [SS]

24. This was F. Jakobsen.

25. This was Nikolai Mitrofanovich Lunkov (born 1919). He headed the Department of Scandinavian Countries in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1959 to 1962 and was Soviet ambassador to Norway from 1962 to 1968. See Biographies.

26. During midsummer at far northern latitudes, sunlight never disappears completely even in the middle of the night. The phenomenon is known as "white nights." [SS]

27. Oslo lies at the northern end of the Oslo Fjord, about 100 kilometers (60 miles) from the open sea—specifically, from the Skagerrak, an eastward extension of the North Sea. The ship from Oslo took Khrushchev to Sweden and thence back to the USSR through the Baltic Sea. [SK/SS]

28. Rolf Sohlman (1900–1967) was Sweden's emissary and then ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1947 to 1964. Subsequently he was Sweden's ambassador to Denmark and France.

29. In 1700, the Swedish army under King Charles XII defeated a much larger Russian army under Peter the Great at the battle of Narva (in what is now Estonia), the first great battle of the so-called Northern War (1700–-1721). A few years later, in 1709, a reorganized, rearmed, and retrained Russian army dealt the Swedes a resounding defeat at the battle of Poltava in Ukraine. The Swedes had invaded Ukraine from Poland, which Charles XII, an ambitious, expansionist ruler, had also conquered. [GS]

30. Tage Fritiof Erlander (1901–85) was chairman of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Sweden. He was prime minister of Sweden from 1946 to 1969. See Biographies.

31. Gustavus VI (Gustav Adolf) (1882–1973) was king of Sweden from 1950 to 1973. He was the son and successor of Gustavus V. Following the death in 1920 of his first wife, Princess Margaret of Connaught, he married in 1923 Lady Louise Mountbatten (died 1965). He participated in archeological expeditions in Sweden, Greece, and China, and founded the Swedish Institute in Rome. A botanist, his work in that field gained his admission in 1958 to the British Royal Academy. He was succeeded by his grandson, Carl Gustaf (King Charles XVI Gustavus). [Source: Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 6th ed. (Columbia University Press, 2004).]

32. The Swedish Social Democratic Party was founded in 1889. Social Democratic governments have held office in Sweden from 1920 to 1926, from 1932 to 1976, from 1982 to 1991, and from 1994 to the present. [SS]

33. The government villa was the country residence of the prime minister, called Harpsund. The farm was the Hagbyberg Estate, 700 hectares in area. [SS]

34. Göteborg is situated on Sweden's southwestern coast, just opposite the northern tip of Denmark. It was founded in 1621 by King Gustavus Adolphus. Stockholm became the capital of Sweden in 1634. The population of Göteborg in 1964 was about 400,000; it is now about half a million. [SK/SS]

35. The mayor of Göteborg at the time of Khrushchev's visit was T. Heglung. [SK]

36. The party that was to become Sweden's Communist Party was established in 1917 as the Social Democratic Left Party. The party was renamed the Swedish Communist Party in 1921, the Left Party–Communists in 1967, and the Left Party in 1991. It should be noted that at various times several different parties in Sweden have called themselves the "Communist Party"; the party that bears that name today has no relation to the Communist Party of the period 1921–67.

At the time of Khrushchev's visit to Sweden the Communist Party was led by Carl-Henrik Hermansson. [SK/SS]

37. During the 1960s the Swedish Communist Party (Left Party–Communists) won 4–5 percent of votes in parliamentary elections, giving it about fifteen seats in the Riksdag. In the elections of 2002, the Left Party won 8.3 percent of votes and thirty seats. [SS]

38. This reception took place on June 26, 1964. The minister of culture is not included in the official list of dignitaries present at the reception. Possibly Khrushchev was speaking with an official of the Nobel committee. [SK/SS]

39. On Sholokhov, see Biographies. He was awarded the 1965 Nobel Prize for Literature "for the artistic power and integrity with which, in his epic of the Don, he has given expression to a historic phase in the life of the Russian people." [SS] Sholokhov's "epic of the Don" was his saga of the Don Cossacks in World War I and the Russian revolution and civil war, published in Russian as *Tikhy Don* (The Quiet Don) but in English in two parts under separate titles, *Quiet Flows the Don* and *The Don Flows Home to the Sea.* [GS]

The Socialist Commonwealth

ON THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM

Let me share some thoughts about the countries belonging to the socialist camp. First, I will make some specific observations about how Stalin organized relations with those countries. He did everything in his power so that those countries would develop along the socialist path. Of that there can be no doubt. That was his dream, and he didn't spare any effort in pushing those countries along toward the building of socialism. He also wanted the countries of people's democracy to be in a state of friendship with the Soviet people. But he had a one-sided understanding of friendship, seeking to ensure that in all respects they would unfailingly follow in the wake of Soviet policy, especially in contacts with the West and the United Nations.

After Stalin's death we strove toward the same goals. This kind of policy seemed correct to us, since it was bound up with the ultimate aim of building socialism and communism. All forces struggling against the capitalist world should apply their efforts in a coordinated way toward a single goal. But Stalin was Stalin. He sought to carry out goals that were correctly posed, but he did so with his own barbaric, uniquely Stalinist methods. It was from this angle that the purges were carried out in the countries of people's democracy in the years after World War II. The "advisers" and informers who were working there gathered preliminary information in order to point their finger ultimately at who was to be the next victim. And of course you can always find out something about any person if you really want to find it out. Depending on what your orientation is, you can gather information that will reveal this person in the desired light, coloring his actions so that they appear to be politically incorrect. For Stalin, that meant the portrayal of such a person as unfriendly toward the Soviet Union and therefore an "enemy of the people." As a result heads flew in those countries, just as they had in the USSR and in our party. This same policy was pursued not only toward a broad spectrum of people in the people's democracies[1] but also toward the Communist leaderships of those countries.

Stalin maintained contacts with the leaders of those countries on the basis of their absolute subordination [to him] and did not tolerate any dissenting opinions or even the simplest objections. In a discussion on any question, if a person insisted on his own point of view, that made Stalin very angry and raised doubts in his mind about the sincerity of the individual. The strength of that person's Communist convictions and his devotion to Marxist-Leninist doctrine were called into question. From there it was only one step to the person's destruction. At the same time Stalin was very concerned about the economic development of the people's democracies and helped them in whatever way the USSR could. For example, the construction of a major metallurgical plant in Poland [at Nowa Huta] was thought of and begun under Stalin.[2] I remember Bierut[3] raising this question. In Moscow at that time everyone was working together to choose a location for this plant and decided it should be built in the region of Krakow, the ancient capital of the Polish state, but a city without any industry. They took into account the great historical importance of Krakow for the Polish people and its power of attraction for them. Bierut based his arguments on the following considerations: by building the new plant near Krakow a new proletarian center would be created as a base of support for the party and the building of socialism in Poland. This was an intelligent proposal on Bierut's part, and Stalin took an understanding attitude toward it. Aid was provided accordingly to the Poles in building this plant. It is still functioning successfully today.[4]

In 1946 the USSR had very few resources with which to meet the needs of the Soviet people for bread. There actually was famine in Ukraine, and isolated cases of cannibalism were even recorded. At the very same time Stalin was providing generous assistance in the form of grain for bread to Poland, although Poland was not suffering as great a need as some parts of the Soviet Union, in particular Ukraine. I remember at that time Wanda Wasilewska made a trip to Warsaw, where her mother lived, and on her return she spoke indignantly about the way the Poles were cursing the USSR for sending them rye together with deliveries of wheat. The Poles were not used to eating rye bread. Wasilewska had seen how we were living then in Ukraine, where people were dying of hunger.

The aid to the people's democracies also had promotional aims. (Stalin was very meticulous about this.) He wanted to make it look as though the USSR had inexhaustible resources. All this was done in order to tie the people's democracies more closely to the USSR and ensure their loyalty to Stalin.

I have mixed feelings about all this. The main direction of this policy was good. It really was necessary to do everything possible to strengthen the friendship between all of our countries and leaderships. But what methods should have been used? That is the main question. Everything is good in moderation. Any abuse of power is impermissible, even if correct goals are being pursued. Such actions do irreparable harm. That's how things turned out in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania, where innocent people were executed. Their heads rolled as a result of Stalin's political line and his harsh character. What friendly relations we used to have with Yugoslavia! How much respect Stalin once had for [Josip Broz] Tito! But when the Yugoslavs disagreed with us on certain questions and expressed their views, that was enough for them to be considered seditious, and after that not only did our relations with them go sour; our relations became hostile. In the USSR the merits of the Yugoslav people were no longer recognized, even though under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by Tito they had waged an outstanding fight against Hitler. The leaders of Yugoslavia were transformed into "butchers and traitors." We began to argue that what they were building in that country was not socialism, although the socialist foundations laid during the period when friendship flourished between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union had not been altered. On the contrary, they were being strengthened. However, since this was being done without consulting Stalin, and since disobedience was being displayed, it followed that these were no longer Communists and friends of the USSR, but enemies. This kind of intolerance on Stalin's part toward any manifestation of independence distorted our relations [with other countries] to an impossible extent, and if Stalin had lived longer, I don't know what it all might have led to and how it might have expressed itself, both in our country and among our neighbors.

Even at that time relations with China were also gradually worsening. As a Communist, Stalin treated the new Chinese system correctly, and we did everything in our power to help the Chinese [Communists] at the culminating stage of their struggle against Chiang Kaishek.[5] When Japan was defeated and its Kwantung Army was disarmed [in 1945], all the captured weapons were transferred to the Chinese Communists, creating conditions that led to the defeat of Chiang's forces by the Communists. We also gave them a lot of our own weapons, especially because the war had ended and we had a surplus. Stalin had no confidence in Mao Zedong. His lack of confidence persisted among us, his successors and former collaborators, and we began to view China in a guarded way, especially after our [first] trip there [in 1954]. Nevertheless, Stalin himself more than once gave the Chinese good reason for their negative attitude toward the Soviet Union. He should not have acted that way! China was an independent, rich, and ancient country. Its Communists had fought for many years against reactionary forces and had defeated them and been victorious. And suddenly they were supposed to act in a subordinate way toward the Soviet Union and turn themselves inside out to please Stalin? It was not good that Stalin demanded all the things he did demand [from China], even if we were paying at the normal rate of exchange in foreign currency for the things we took from the Chinese.

It is the internal affair of each government to decide what goods or raw materials, and in what quantities, to share with fraternal countries and what to keep in their own country for internal consumption or for sale on the capitalist world market. The needs and requirements of fraternal countries should be treated with understanding. One should not try simply to increase one's own wealth or treat another country and its leadership in an insulting way. Stalin, however, had absolutely no regard for such an approach. Whatever whim came into his mind, that's what he did.[6] On one occasion when I tried to tell him that it would be better to act more gently, he barked at me and his eyes flashed. How dared I try to correct *him*—Stalin!—on such an important question of political principle? After all, he was the leader and the top theoretician. Was he, the leader and theoretician, making a mistake and [the lowly] Khrushchev [daring to] correct him? However, when he received a telegram from Mao Zedong in response on a similar matter and read it aloud to us (in the letter Mao was replying that if you give us the resources, we ourselves can do what's necessary and then we'll supply you with goods), Stalin at that point ended the conversation with members of the Politburo. He broke off, without looking at anyone. It turned out that Mao had taken a position similar to the one I had been proposing.

It was impossible to try and construct our relations with the people's democracies in this manner. What was the problem? Didn't Stalin understand that he was insulting the dignity of others, offending their self-esteem? Didn't he realize that such actions, far from strengthening our unity, placed us in a bad light in the eyes of the leaders of the fraternal countries? Didn't he see that? Not much was required of him to understand it. But he didn't know how to restrain his desires or hold back from any whim that occurred to him. And he didn't want to hold back. As he saw it, all his orders should be carried out unquestioningly. Otherwise friends immediately became enemies, and relations went into reverse. On the economic plane Stalin used the methods of the strong against the weak. That's the kind of thing that goes on in the capitalist camp. But such things are absolutely impermissible under socialist conditions. Each country should develop as an independent country, both in cultural and in economic respects. And it's not at all obligatory for everything in another country to be the same as in our country, as was done under Stalin. On the other hand, on his lips everything that was actually Stalinist was transformed supposedly into being Leninist. And those who disagreed with him became enemies of Leninism. Such encrustations that built up in Stalin's personality did not contribute in any way to the consolidation of our ranks.

Later [in 1949] the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), also called Comecon,[7] was established to coordinate the economic development of the people's democracies and the USSR. The CMEA was an organization that was very useful and necessary for the socialist countries as a headquarters for coordinating the points of contact between the economies of the various countries in the course of their development on national but socialist bases. Mutual assistance was to be given among the socialist countries based on principles of independence and respect for sovereignty. If economic relations were to be organized this way through the CMEA, a useful and absolutely necessary organization would result. I think that after Stalin's death we adhered to such principles at all times. But that was later. When Stalin ordered that a treaty be signed for the delivery of coal from Poland to the Soviet Union, he set the price arbitrarily, just as he wished. Mikoyan signed the treaty for us and [Jozef] Cyrankiewicz[8] signed it for Poland, but later this treaty caused a lot of trouble for the Soviet Union. We had to repay Poland [in 1956] for having shortchanged it. Prices had been set lower than those on the world market [and those prices were set by Stalin arbitrarily]. I'm not even talking about the harmful political and moral effect that resulted from Stalin's incorrect approach to economic relations among the fraternal countries.

The same thing happened in our dealings with Romania. The Romanians, when relations between us began to go sour, simply could not express or say the word Sovrum, the acronym for the Soviet-Romanian Company.[9] For the Romanians, "Sovrum" was a curse word. We shut down such joint operations, or bi-national companies, after Stalin's death. We did it on our own initiative before our neighbors began to express dissatisfaction. Later I said to the Romanian leaders: "What are you scolding and denouncing us for now? It was we ourselves who proposed that those unequal relations be ended."

When, after Stalin's death, we began building friendly relations with the countries of Africa and Asia that were winning their freedom from colonial oppression, the economic relations we established with them were not at all on the model of "Sovrum." We were now operating on a basis of economic equality. I remember when we made an agreement with the Indian government to build the Bhilai steel mill,[10] great effort was required of us to make the point that the USSR would by no means take on the work of construction. We would provide credit and technical direction, but India would have to build the complex itself. That is, we didn't want to assume the role of contractor or subcontractor, because then we would have to hire labor and pay wages, and this would inevitably result in conflicts between us and the Indian workers, who would have appeared to be employees of ours.

We adhered to the same policy in other countries where we did any kind of work at the other country's request. Many facilities were built according to our plans or blueprints, and we provided the credits for them. But the sovereignty of the young governments [of these newly independent countries] was something we sought to protect, and we turned over to local cadres the tasks of construction and management of the workforce. They would argue with us that they didn't have the experience or the engineers, that they couldn't do it. We replied that we would assume the technical responsibilities, but they would have to set to work, appoint their own people, and as long as they followed our recommendations, we would take responsibility for the final results of the facility once it was built, and we would provide all the essential technology. I think this is a very important aspect of relations between countries. Respect for the sovereignty of another country, respect for the local way of life, culture, and existing traditions—all this has great importance, sometimes decisive importance, in building friendly relations. There is no need to act like an overseer. Of course the building of a socialist commonwealth is something new in the world. We didn't have any practical experience in this matter. But I'm absolutely convinced that if we were now to start over from scratch with the building of socialism in the USSR, we would not do many of the things that were done in the Stalin era.

Other countries that have begun the building of socialism later than we did have the right to take into account both the positive and the negative aspects of our experience. The positive side should be used, but sometimes it should by no means be used in such an extreme revolutionary form as happened in our country. Rather, any particular measure that now needs to be carried out should be refashioned and adapted to the times and the conditions. Everything negative in our experience should be rejected and thrown out. Not only should we not feel offended or gnash our teeth at this; on the contrary, we ourselves have the obligation to warn our friends not to repeat our mistakes. Some fastidious types, or "super purists" *(chistoplyui)*, will say there never were any serious mistakes in our country, but that is nonsense.

On the whole the CMEA has demonstrated its viability and has shown that it is necessary to coordinate development plans not through accidental or episodic trade relations, such as exist with any country, but through a permanent coordinating body. In such a body the trends of economic development in each country are studied more profoundly, and the interests of the fraternal countries are harnessed together through the joint elaboration of long-term plans for economic cooperation. The existence of enormous resources in the USSR, which facilitates the common cause as a whole, sometimes creates a situation in which some countries are, alas, able to obtain more from us than the USSR obtains from them. After all, a great deal is required of us, and no fraternal country has the capacity to satisfy our needs correspondingly.

The other countries come to us asking for help. They say: "Considering your tremendous resources, what is it going to cost you to help us? We have such-and-such a terribly difficult situation. . . ." And the USSR is obliged, while clenching its teeth and denying its own needs, to provide the assistance. Of course this is not charity. It will all be paid back, but sometimes the payback is not at all on equal terms. Sometimes it's in the form of goods that we ourselves don't need. To be sure, these goods find consumers in the marketplace eventually. These are not goods that you would throw away. However, they are goods that we could produce ourselves without any special effort. Any competent economist, who looks at the list of materials delivered to the USSR through the CMEA, will find much there that is superfluous. For example, we fill many large orders for machinery and are repaid in consumer goods. They also have value, but we could do without them quite well. That is, the USSR is not deriving any special advantage now from the CMEA. In their propaganda the capitalist countries accuse us of exploiting the other countries of Comecon. That's foolishness. They're using their own capitalist yardstick to measure things. The fact is that the other countries that belong to the CMEA, which have less powerful economies than the Soviet Union, extract much more from this form of economic cooperation.

There's another point: cooperation through Comecon brings not only economic advantage but political advantage as well. Friendly relations are strengthened, the fraternal countries develop on a more equal basis, the defense capabilities of all are enhanced, and favorable conditions arise for peaceful coexistence and for the increasing satisfaction of the needs of all the populations of the Comecon countries. The CMEA was supplemented in military respects by the Warsaw Pact.[11] This defensive alliance of the socialist countries arose as a result of the Cold War. The Cold War was imposed on the Soviet Union and the socialist countries by the West.

It was Churchill who lit the fuse for the Cold War. After World War II ended, he put his hand to the task of impairing the good relations that had existed among the former Allies. Of course this was not simply his personal desire. Churchill was the most ardent opponent of the new socialist system, the enemy of Communism, and he did everything he could to defend the capitalist world and organize it as a force to counter socialism. He wanted to keep the socialist countries in check or "on a tight rein," as the saying goes, so that not only would they be unable to develop and flourish but that they would be "rolled back." He wanted to do everything he could to that end—to undermine the foundations of socialism and to detach allies from the Soviet Union. The term "rollback" and other similar formulations were used fairly widely by the enemies of socialism among the Western politicians. Churchill and Dulles were especially avid opponents of ours, but there were others who displayed no less energy in that direction.

The Western countries and the capitalist world as a whole created what was called a temporary organization, NATO,[12] aimed against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

This was an extremely powerful military organization of the capitalist countries whose existence has done great harm to the socialist countries. The socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union, were subjected to a blockade, and the Western world refused to trade with us. We had a special need for industrial equipment and machine tools. They wouldn't sell them to us, and even to this day the prohibition on the sale of such items to us has not been removed in a number of capitalist countries, above all the United States. Our opponents quickly built up the armed forces of NATO. At first West Germany was not part of NATO, but later, not only did it join, but it now holds the dominant position in NATO after the United States, because it has the most powerful industry in Western Europe and a mighty army. This is dangerous, because to this day chauvinist and revanchist sentiments lie at the basis of the propaganda against the socialist countries, and all of that is based on great military power. The situation created in that way is what forced us to take action [that is, in forming the Warsaw Pact].

After Stalin's death, in my opinion, our main achievement in increasing our defense capability was the rapid growth of our industry. In addition, we made a more correct assessment of the direction in which our armed forces should be developed and we began to invest our capital in arms production more rationally. We set ourselves the task of building an extensive submarine fleet. Nuclear-powered submarines armed with missiles and nuclear warheads were the key component of this fleet. We developed intercontinental ballistic missiles and medium-range missiles (with a range of up to 4,000 kilometers [about 2,500 miles]) as strategic weapons. We created tactical weapons of a new kind for our army. The measures we took increased our military strength. It was not accidental that the American president, the late President Kennedy, correctly assessed the balance of forces and adopted a policy of negotiating with the USSR. He was an intelligent president. He began to search for ways to relax tensions and improve relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. Before him American propaganda had been based on the notion that the United States had military superiority over all the socialist countries and therefore could dictate its conditions and impose them. But Kennedy declared that although of course the United States could destroy the USSR twice over, the USSR had the capability of destroying the USA once, and of course a second time was not needed. Kennedy's statement forced all Americans with common sense to weigh his words. The United States had to revise its understanding of the military might of the Soviet Union, recognizing the necessity and inevitability of a change of course, which previously had been determined by its military supremacy. Now things had to be geared, if not toward friendship with us, at least toward a policy of not letting relations reach the boiling point, so that our two countries would not be consumed in a nuclear fire. This more sober understanding of the existing balance of forces on the part of the U.S. leaders I consider a great victory for us, after which the only basis for our relations could be a policy of peaceful coexistence, the policy of détente. And if the policy line of peaceful coexistence is pursued rationally and our military forces are maintained at a definite level, than a new world war can be avoided.

How can war in general be avoided as long as the capitalist and socialist camps exist in opposition to each other, as long as the world is divided into antagonistic groups? In such circumstances no absolute guarantee of peace can be achieved and it is necessary to restrain a potential aggressor. We must make sure that a potential aggressor sees that if he tries to unleash a war, he may be destroyed. That will have a sobering effect on him. The Caribbean crisis [i.e., the Cuban missile crisis] which we lived through was a classic example in this connection. After Kennedy's death the new U.S. president, Lyndon Johnson, informed Moscow through channels we had established under Kennedy that the reciprocal agreement [that is, withdrawal of Soviet missiles from Cuba in return for a U.S. commitment not to invade the island] was known to him and he would abide by it. We must give the U.S. leaders credit. They kept the promise Kennedy had taken on himself.

Let me return to the subject of the founding of the Warsaw Pact [in 1955]. The Soviet foreign minister at that time was Molotov. When we had reached a final agreement [with our allies] to establish this organization, the Central Committee Presidium assigned Molotov to prepare the appropriate proposals. Some time went by, and the proposals were presented to the leadership of the party and government for review. It became evident that fundamental changes were required.

Molotov had presented a list of countries that would belong to the Warsaw Pact. Neither Albania nor East Germany was on the list. At that point I asked him: "Why haven't those countries been included?" Molotov was still guided in his thinking by the concepts of the Stalin era. Stalin had expected that a new world war could break out at any moment. At that time, as I have said, antiaircraft batteries surrounded Moscow and the guns were on constant alert with live shells next to them. There was a continuous state of alert, in which the order to fire could be given at any moment. The United States already had atomic bombs, and we had only just produced our first thermonuclear device while the number of atomic bombs we had was insignificant. Under Stalin we didn't even have the means of delivering those bombs over long distances. We didn't have long-range bombers that could reach U.S. territory, never mind long-range missiles; we only had short-range missiles. This situation weighed heavily on Stalin, and he correctly understood that we could not allow the USSR to be drawn into a world war. As for Molotov, he was Stalin's shadow in his understanding of world politics.

Although by 1955 not a great deal of time had passed since Stalin's death, fundamental changes had taken place in our arsenal. The situation had changed. Molotov answered my question this way: "Albania is far away from us and inaccessible. We don't have contiguous borders. Its neighbor is Yugoslavia, and it's only through Yugoslavia that we could have overland contact with the Albanians." At that time our relations with Yugoslavia had been ruined. Molotov himself considered Yugoslavia not to be a socialist country but an enemy country. Therefore he continued his explanation: "Why should we include Albania? It might be attacked. It is situated right next to a powerful opponent, and we could not provide it with any aid. That's why I think we shouldn't include Albania in the Warsaw Pact."

"What about East Germany?"

"What? Are we going to go to war with the West over the German Democratic Republic?"

Astounded by this reply, I said: "Don't you see, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich"—there were good relations between him and me at that time, and I used this familiar way of addressing him by his first name and patronymic—"if we establish a military organization to which all the fraternal countries belong except for the GDR and Albania, that will be a signal to our Western opponents. We would be saying, to put it crudely: 'There, we're leaving them for you, and when you want to gather up and take Albania and the GRD for your own, the choice of time remains up to you.' That's how such an action on our part would be evaluated. It would arouse the appetites of the Western revanchists. That's something we cannot do." This was not an argument, but simply a discussion as part of our study of the situation, a clarification of the possibilities under which a defensive alliance might best be established.

At that point Molotov agreed: "Yes, you're right. I didn't take those considerations into account. Let's include Albania and the GDR in the draft treaty."

The structure of the Warsaw Pact is well known. Each country belonging to it has assigned a certain number of troops, which are subordinated to the commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Pact. A headquarters staff was established to assist the commander-in-chief. When we discussed who should be appointed commander-in-chief everyone agreed it should be a military leader from the Soviet Union. There was no argument about it. Everyone understood correctly that the Soviet Union had the most powerful army and the strongest war industry. Thus far, only the USSR among the socialist countries has nuclear weapons. And we have the greatest experience of war. We graduated from a school in which the course of instruction cost the lives of 20 million of our citizens. It was agreed that the defense ministers of the countries belonging to the Warsaw Pact would be deputy commanders-in-chief. In establishing this organization, we wanted to put pressure on the West and to show them that they could not speak with the language of force when talking to the socialist countries. Those days were gone. If they could form the NATO alliance, we could, in response, form the military organization of the Warsaw Pact. Those are the two main forces in the world which today stand opposed to each other.

However, we have not stopped fighting for détente and peaceful coexistence, emphasizing that we created the Warsaw Pact for defensive purposes and only in response to the founding of NATO. We have proposed many times (in conversations with Western government leaders and in official documents) that we would abolish the Warsaw Pact on the condition that the West abolishes NATO. I proposed that it would be a very intelligent step if our opponents became our partners and we reached an agreement to eliminate all military pacts. Even then we proposed an agreement on mutual disarmament, and if not total disarmament, then at least an equal reduction of armed forces. We also proposed the elimination of military bases in third countries. Incidentally, the USSR closed the military bases that it had in Finland and in China unilaterally. We wanted to demonstrate good will in that way and win over other countries by setting this good example for the West. But they didn't follow our example; instead, they continue to build up their military strength. That forces us to maintain our military strength at a corresponding level, as before.[13]

[At Camp David in September 1959] we had talked with Eisenhower, watched movies, and eaten supper together. Later we came back to the same question more than once; still, matters never moved from dead center. I believe that Eisenhower was sincere when he said he wanted to reach an agreement. And I replied to him just as sincerely. But our positions in the world at that time were at such wide variance that the conditions necessary for an agreement did not exist. We stood on class positions, the proletarian position of building socialism, while the United States was a mighty capitalist power, pursuing other aims; it had assumed the role of world policeman. In the end I said to Eisenhower: "Let's come to an agreement on the following basis: let's consider mutual disarmament our main goal, and noninterference in the affairs of other countries the main principle of our relations." This was not said during official negotiations, but during an informal, freewheeling conversation. Still, it was very important. We were touching on the most important question, but unfortunately the conditions had not yet ripened for that problem to be solved back then. And soon our relations generally became strained to the point of unbelievable heat and intensity.

Today different conditions exist. The explanation for this is the fact that the balance of forces between the USSR and the United States, in terms of arms and economic strength, has shifted in our favor. This gives us more opportunities to take the offensive in promoting disarmament and peaceful coexistence. But when NATO and the Warsaw Pact came into existence, a different balance of forces existed. The West surpassed us many times over in both economic and military respects, and that's what forced us to take the step of organizing the Warsaw Pact.

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1. The term "people's democracies" was applied to the countries of the Soviet bloc in Eastern Europe at this time, implying that they had progressed beyond "bourgeois democracy" but had yet to complete the transition to socialism. Later the term was dropped from use and replaced by "socialist countries." [SS]

2. This was a factory in Nowa Huta near Krakow. Later it was to produce more steel and cast iron than all the fifteen previous factories of the Upper Silesian group taken together (up to 7 million tons a year). [MN/SS]

3. Boleslaw Bierut (1892–1956) was the Polish party leader. See Biographies.

4. Khrushchev recorded these remarks in the late 1960s, but the Nowa Huta steel mill (now named Huta Sendzimira) is still operating as of 2006, though at greatly reduced output, employing 10,000 people as against 40,000 in its heyday. In 2004 it was bought by the Indian company Mittal Steel. [SS]

5. On Chiang Kai-shek, see Biographies.

6. The Russian saying begins "Whatever his left foot wanted." [GS]

7. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) was formed as an intergovernmental economic organization at a meeting of representatives of Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia, held between January 5 and 8, 1949. Albania joined the CMEA in February 1949, East Germany in September 1950, Mongolia in June 1962, and Cuba in July 1972. The supreme body of the CMEA was the session, its main body for day-to-day management the Secretariat in Moscow. Later, permanent commissions were created for different problems (from 1956 onward), and an Executive Committee was set up (in 1962).

8. Jozef Cyrankiewicz (1911–89) was the prime minister of Poland. See Biographies.

9. This was a joint venture that, on paper, was supposed to be mutually beneficial for both countries. [GS]

10. For more on the Bhilai steel mill, see the chapter titled "India." [SS]

11. The Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid was signed on May 14, 1955, by Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia at the Warsaw conference to ensure peace and security in Europe. The treaty entered into force on June 5, 1955. The signatory states formed the high command of United Armed Forces, with headquarters based in Moscow, a commander in chief from the USSR, and a chief of staff also from the USSR. The Political Consultative Committee was formed for the purpose of consultation and to consider questions of general concern. In 1969, the Committee of Ministers of Defense and the Military Council of the United Armed Forces were set up.

12. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was established in Washington, D.C., on April 4, 1949, by the United States, Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Canada, Italy, Portugal, Norway, Denmark, and Iceland. Greece and Turkey joined NATO in 1952, West Germany in 1955, and Spain in 1982. The supreme body of NATO is its Council in session. NATO headquarters is in Brussels (Belgium).

13. At this point Khrushchev takes three paragraphs to repeat the conversation he had with Eisenhower at Camp David in September 1959. Since this is substantially the same account that he gives, almost word for word, in the chapter entitled "Washington and Camp David," elsewhere in this volume, we will not repeat it here. [GS]

MAO ZEDONG

It's now 1967, and in China Mao's supporters have won definitively. Yet two or three years ago people were shouting that this would be impossible, that the young people of the so-called Red Guard movement could not win.[1] Now, however, the so-called Cultural Revolution in China has developed full force. Back then [that is, two or three years ago] I said: "Nonsense! Of course the Maoists will win." They have a strong army. No sense of morality is evident there, and no laws are recognized. If you don't obey, they tear off your head. In fact they do it with great artistry. They gather thousands of people on the public squares and suppress anyone who disagrees.[2] What is this? Can you call it politics? You can't even say exactly what it is. It's barbaric. It's something you can hardly find a name or definition for, but these are the actual facts, and there's nothing you can do about it. That's what conditions of life are like in China.

Liu Shaoqi[3] is a very intelligent man. He refuses to surrender. He doesn't agree with the policies of Mao Zedong, and in some way he's able to fight against them. Besides that, he has a lot of supporters, but they don't have any real power. And so Liu Shaoqi continues to exist—but not because he has supporters who refuse to surrender him to Mao. No, Mao could wipe out Liu without any special effort. But that would arouse the anger of the masses, to whom Liu is well known. Mao knows this and is now fighting not against Liu the individual but against him as a spokesman for a particular set of political ideas. Mao wants to isolate Liu politically.

Mao's personality cult is a complicated phenomenon. We have encountered many religious cults [in history], not just in China. For how many centuries people have been reiterating, "Lord have mercy, Lord have mercy"! But has that helped? And if so, who did it help? Usually it hasn't helped, but the clergy convinced us, and the people believed in God. The same thing is going on here. Incidentally, people have begun exalting Mao in our country, too. For example, here is one instance. This happened when I was still working as part of the Soviet leadership. I found out that our military people had published Mao's military writings. I called in Marshal Malinovsky and said: "Comrade Malinovsky, your ministry has printed Mao. The Soviet army smashed the German army, which was a first-rate army. Among our adversaries there was no better army. Mao, on the other hand, was fighting for twenty or twenty-five years, and all that time he and his enemies were poking each other in the rear with bayonets and knives. Now you have printed his so-called military works. What for? Are we to learn from these works how to fight in future wars? What part of the body made this decision?" This happened five years ago. The people who made this decision are generally intelligent, but they made a stupid decision in this case, and they themselves agreed that they had made a stupid blunder. Those books today are probably lying in a warehouse, or perhaps they were simply burned.

I want to dwell on the question of "personalities" a little more. A year ago or a year and a half ago, as I have been told, a viewpoint was being circulated in the USSR—that I had caused the dispute between China and the USSR. I won't argue about this, because history itself has shown what little value such statements have. But what surprised me and made me both sad and angry was that this nonsense was repeated by Yudin, who was Soviet ambassador to China when the Sino-Soviet conflict began.[4]

Therefore I will say a few words about Yudin. He has expressed an opinion to the effect that I teased and provoked Mao, and that [as a result] Mao turned anti-Soviet. If Yudin had said that to me in person, I could have proved to him with documents that Yudin himself laid the basis for our conflict with Mao, according to objective evidence. And if we are going to get into such a low-grade debate over this matter, I could say with full justification that whenever Yudin appears in another country a conflict between us and that country occurs. For example, Yudin went to Yugoslavia and we got into a shouting match with Tito.[5] They sent Yudin to China and we got into a shouting match with China. This is by no means a coincidence.

At one time I had a lot of respect for Yudin. How did he end up in China? Mao sent a letter to Stalin asking him to recommend a Soviet Marxist philosopher to come to China, because Mao wanted his own speeches to be edited and he wanted an educated person to help put them in appropriate form so that no mistakes of any kind in Marxist philosophy would occur. The choice fell on Yudin. And they sent him to China. Yudin and Mao worked together like soul mates. Mao even came to the Soviet embassy more often than Yudin went to see Mao. That's what Yudin said, and apparently that's how things happened. Even Stalin was somewhat concerned that Yudin was being disrespectful in some way toward Mao.

Everything was going along well. And suddenly we received a lengthy coded message from Yudin in which he described incredible things that he had heard from Mao aimed against the Soviet Union, our Communist Party, and against Yudin personally. If previously the impression had been formed that Mao was virtually groveling at Yudin's feet, after this telegram it became evident that Mao had no respect for Yudin at all. The opinion took shape among us that Yudin should be recalled from China. As an ambassador Yudin was weak. As long as personal relations between Mao and Yudin were friendly and fraternal, it was useful to have him there. But why the devil did we need Yudin to perform tasks that were purely of an ambassadorial nature? Let the diplomats do such work. But when he came into such conflict with Mao, he couldn't even perform his functions as ambassador. The total break that occurred between Yudin and Mao was over philosophical questions [not because of his role as ambassador]. And we called him back to the USSR from China.

When we made our trip to China in 1954 and held several meetings with Mao, I said to the comrades afterward: "A conflict between China and us is inevitable." I drew this conclusion from remarks Mao had made and from the way our delegation was treated. A kind of Oriental atmosphere of sickly sweet politeness was created around us. They were unbelievably attentive, but it was all insincere. We lovingly hugged and kissed with Mao, swam in a pool with him, chatted away on various subjects, and spent the whole time like soulmates. But it was all so sickly sweet it turned your stomach. Some particular questions, on the other hand, that came up and confronted us put us on our guard. Most important, I had the feeling—and I said something about this to all the comrades even then—that Mao had not resigned himself to having any Communist Party other than the Chinese party be predominant in the world Communist movement, not even to the slightest extent. That he could not tolerate.

If Stalin had lived a little longer, the same conflict would have broken out even earlier and a complete break would have occurred between the USSR and China. Politics, generally speaking, is a game. And Mao played his game, pursuing his policies. His distinctive trait lay in his Asiatic methods of flattery and perfidy. After the Twentieth Party Congress, Mao said: "Comrade Khrushchev has opened our eyes, has spoken the truth, and we are going to restructure ourselves." Mao himself published that statement, and then the [Sino-Soviet] dispute broke out. Mao declared that the idea of peaceful coexistence was a bourgeois-pacifist point of view. Then the Chinese began to say that under socialism the distribution of goods according to the amount and quality of labor input was a bourgeois notion. Charges were made that we were tailing after the bourgeoisie. Questions of principle concerning the further development of our country were being raised. We couldn't follow China's lead in these matters. Yet today the philosopher Yudin dumps all the blame on "individual personalities." He amazes me. I thought he was an intelligent man.

Those were our disagreements. But if we talk about Mao, that's one thing, and if we talk about China as a whole, that's something else altogether. If we were to start denouncing the Chinese people, we would find ourselves taking nationalist positions. It would be nationalism if we began to think that one nation has special rights and privileges. That's equivalent to Nazism. Therefore even today we sincerely believe that the Chinese are our brothers. They're people just like us. And if the youth of China have been deceived and are attacking our embassy, that doesn't mean we should hate the Chinese people. The youth are not the nation as a whole. After all, we are Marxists! We should understand that there's also another kind of youth [in China]. It was not all of China, you know, that was present on that large square,[6] and not everyone who was thronging that square and shouting actually agreed with what was going on. That is the heart of the matter! How many Chinese there must be today who actually deplore what has happened. A fierce struggle has broken out in China, and the Chinese are killing one another. In the same way Stalin had hundreds of thousands of our citizens shot. We, members of the party, bear responsibility for that, but it cannot be thought now that the entire party was doing that. What was going on was abuse of power by Stalin, and today the same thing is being repeated by Mao in his country.

I will cite several more facts from the history of our relations with China. Stalin had a fairly negative attitude toward Mao Zedong. He called him a "cave Marxist" *(peshcherny marksist)*.[7] From a Marxist point of view Stalin was right. The truth is that when Mao was making a successful march across the country, the Communist forces were approaching Shanghai. But then they stopped and failed to take the city.

Stalin asked Mao: "Why don't you take Shanghai?"

Mao answered: "It has a population of 6 million people. If we take the city, we'll have to feed them. And what do we have to feed them with?"

Was this a Marxist speaking? Mao based himself on the peasantry and not on the working class. He disregarded the workers of Shanghai. He didn't want to acknowledge them, and he didn't want to base himself on them. Stalin criticized Mao from a classical Marxist point of view more than once, and he was right. But facts remain facts. Basing himself on the peasantry, Mao did achieve victory. This was not some miracle, but an amendment to historical materialism. Well, so then, he came to power based on the peasantry! That supposedly means that the truth of history is on his side. But it is not a Marxist truth. After all, victories can be short-lived, and, generally speaking, they can have various results. This is also evident from history.

Here is another specific instance. Under Stalin the USSR signed a treaty with China for the joint exploitation of the mineral wealth of Xinjiang. While the Communists were fighting Chiang Kaishek, and Chiang was unable to control that province, we established ourselves there fairly solidly.[8] The main population in Xinjiang is not Chinese but Uighur, and we established good relations with the Uighurs. I don't remember what we were mining there, probably lead. When the war ended, with the Chinese Communist Party victorious, Mao began showing annoyance and assumed a guarded attitude toward us: How would we conduct ourselves in Xinjiang?

Stalin then [in February 1949] sent Mikoyan to the location of the Communist forces [in China].[9] Through Mikoyan Mao was informed that we were withdrawing from Xinjiang. It was correct for us to do that. However, we proposed to China that in exchange for our withdrawal a joint Soviet-Chinese company should be formed to exploit the mineral resources of Xinjiang. Naturally, this would mean that we would supply the capital investments and technology, but the workforce would be drawn from the local population. However, all the output was to go to the Soviet Union. The result of this was that seeds of distrust were sown. This was a mistake; it was even an insult to the Chinese. Earlier the French, the British, and the Americans had sat on Chinese territory [and exploited it], and now Soviet people were also worming their way into Chinese territory. It's unbelievable that Stalin did this! He did the same thing in Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Romania. Later we shut down all these joint ventures.[10]

A third instance. The officials at our embassy [in China] reported that China had begun the mining of gold and diamonds and was hiding these operations, keeping everything for itself and not supplying us with any. I remember what a rumpus Stalin raised about this. Stalin called up and asked which of us knew the region in China where gold and diamonds were being mined. None of us were such experts, and each replied that he didn't know. In the middle of the night he dragged our trade officials out of their beds and onto their feet, people who often travel to China, and as I recall, even scholars, demanding information from them about the regions of China where valuable minerals were being mined.

Stalin even sent a telegram on the subject to our embassy in China demanding that they look into the matter closely and report back. Stalin wanted to put pressure on China and demand that they give us everything.

This was impermissible behavior! Later when we were at dinner at his dacha, we glanced at one another and joked quietly.

Beria said: "You know who would know about this? The opera singer Kozlovsky. He's always singing: 'Countless the diamonds in our caves of stone . . .'"[11] Incidentally, Beria himself egged Stalin on, saying that China had enormous natural resources and Mao was trying to hide them. If we were giving him credits and loans, we should force him to hand over his mineral treasures from the bowels of the earth. Stalin took quite an interest in this matter.

A similar occurrence took place in the same period. The question of obtaining natural rubber from China came up. The *hevea* tree, which is a source of natural rubber, grows on the island of Hainan in China. I suggested that we find out from Mao all the regions of China in which we might develop rubber plantations. If this was possible, we could give China credits and technology to help develop such plantations and free all of us from dependence on the capitalist countries for rubber. But Stalin turned this all around and made something different out of it.

He sent a telegram to Mao suggesting that territory be provided to us, so that *we* could plant these trees, process the raw material, and obtain rubber.

I tried to restrain Stalin from taking this step: "Comrade Stalin, we shouldn't write to Mao in that manner. It's as though we wanted to obtain a concession.

Previously much of Chinese territory was occupied by foreigners who held concessions and had colonies. Such a step by us could be taken badly."

How his eyes blazed when he looked at me! How dared I try to correct *him,* Stalin! The question of concessions was a question of principle, a political question, and he was the leader, he was the theoretician, and are we supposed to think suddenly that he had made a mistake and that Khrushchev needed to correct him? He would not tolerate any corrections, especially in such a delicate and critical sphere of action.

He sent the telegram to Mao with the hope that Mao would immediately reply, granting his consent. We did receive a reply very quickly. I remember that Stalin had gathered all of us together then. It was not an official meeting, but some telegrams had to be looked into and sent out on various questions, so that later we could watch a movie, and after the movie go off [to Stalin's] to eat [one more long drawn-out dinner late into the night].

Marshal Zhukov has written in his memoirs that when he used to visit Stalin the only thing he ate was buckwheat porridge and boiled meat.[12] It's as though Zhukov was saying they lived on locusts and wild honey. I can't endorse that point of view. At a certain stage fairly democratic dishes were served at Stalin's home. I myself used to eat ordinary Russian broth with him, but that was in the prewar days and in the early period of the war. Later during the war and after the war, there was no place for an item like buckwheat porridge. Among miners, before the revolution, buckwheat porridge was considered the kind of food that soldiers and prisoners ate. It was the cheapest kind of food. I say this even though I love buckwheat porridge and eat it with pleasure even now. But that's not the point. I'm just refuting the baloney written in Zhukov's book, which was not actually written by Zhukov, and I'm doing that in passing. I always considered Zhukov a man of high principle, incapable of such a thing. [If he really did write this,] Zhukov apparently is not the same man he was before the war and during the war.

So then, Stalin received a telegram in reply and read it aloud to us. Mao's answer was this: "Give us money and we will produce for you what you want; we will supply you with rubber."

After Stalin had read the Chinese answer out loud, he didn't look at anyone. Anyone who had been present at the conversation between Stalin and me remembered that I had warned him that it would be insulting to Mao. And here Stalin had had his nose tweaked [by Mao].

Nevertheless this matter was carried further, and we signed a treaty. Later it turned out that the area where rubber trees might grow was not large and would not cover our needs. So the whole business died on the vine.

In another instance, Stalin took a sudden liking to canned pineapple. He immediately began dictating a telegram to Mao. Malenkov performed his functions as a clerk. Stalin said: "Write that they should lease us some territory where we can grow pineapples." (They grow in south China around Guandong or on the island of Hainan.) Stalin continued: "Write that they should provide us a place where we can build a factory to can pineapples."

Again I said: "Comrade Stalin, they have only just come to power, and there are so many factories there that belong to foreign companies and governments and if one of ours was to show up, one from a socialist government, Mao would feel insulted." He gave me a nasty look, got angry, and barked at me. This was the second such incident in a short space of time.

The telegram was sent. In a day or two we received the answer from Mao: "We agree. If you are interested in canned pineapple, give us credits, we will build a factory, and we will supply you with the product of the factory as a way of paying back the credits." While Stalin was reading this telegram I kept quiet, but again everyone had heard me warn him. When he finished reading, Stalin became furious and began cursing. Of course it had been offensive to the Chinese.

After that [that is, after Stalin's death] no such telegrams were ever sent, either with my signature or with the signature of any member of our government. We didn't do anything insulting to China up until the point when the Chinese themselves began trying to crucify us. And if they were going to try that, I was not going to be any Jesus Christ.

In my day, when the [Sino-Soviet] dispute broke out, the Chinese newspapers began printing articles to the effect that Vladivostok was Chinese territory and that the Russians had taken it from China. They said that Chinese had predominated there at one time and that supposedly the Russian tsars had wormed their way into the area. Then a discussion began about the borders between our two countries and they sent us a map. We couldn't even look at that map and remain calm. What they depicted on it was so shocking![13] The opinion crops up among some people nowadays that Mao is a fool, that he's gone feeble-minded. Not true! He's a clever man. He is our opponent, but he's a clever man. For a while he simply deceived us. Talleyrand[14] once said that the diplomat was given the power of speech in order to conceal his thoughts. Diplomacy is a form of politics. Take de Gaulle for example. Is he a clever man or stupid? At one time some people thought he was an idiot. But he's a very intelligent man. In his views he's our adversary, and he conducts himself as a representative of his class, but he's not stupid. He's smart. As for Mao, he is a nationalist, not a stupid man, but one who has his own point of view.

We don't agree with his views; in fact I had no patience for such views. If you read my report at the Twenty-First Party Congress, you'll see that many of my arguments were directed against China, although I didn't mention China by name. We rejected the propositions that Mao was putting forth.

When the Chinese came out with their slogans, their propaganda circulated freely in Siberia. When I found that out I said: "Put a stop to this business! Do you think there's no fertile soil for these extreme egalitarian ideas in our country? If so, you're mistaken." Super egalitarian slogans are very enticing. But we have to answer them with substantive arguments, not just ban them.

Incidentally, I support one of the measures they have taken. Mao abolished the use of shoulder boards in the army [to which epaulets are fastened in dress uniforms]. I think that's a sensible measure, whereas the step we took, when we began wearing shoulder boards and epaulets and stripes down the sides of our uniform trousers, was not sensible. What the devil do we need that stuff for? We won the civil war without epaulets. My rank at the time was that of commissar, and I went around without any epaulets on my shoulders. The Red Army men recognized their commissars and their commanders, and we smashed the enemy without any epaulets. But now we've dressed ourselves up like peacocks.

Mao is literally bursting with an impatient desire for world domination. First China, then all of Asia. And then? China has a population of 700 million. In Malaysia, half the population is Chinese, and in other Asian countries there are quite a few of them. Some conversations "of an innocent nature" that we had over tea are quite interesting generally, from the point of view of understanding Chinese nationalism.

Mao once asked: "How many times have different conquerors taken over China?" He answered his own question: "More than once. Yet the Chinese people assimilated them all." That's what his aim is for the future. Just think of it. We have 250 million people, but they have 700 million. Then he began discussing the exceptional qualities of China. The occasion for his remarks was the fact that there are no foreign words in Chinese. Mao bragged: "The whole world uses the word 'electricity.' They took this word from the English and they repeat it. But we have our own word for that." I was very much shaken by all this boastfulness.

(Now it is 1969. Two years have gone by since I first began to dictate on the subject of Mao Zedong. And I feel the need to return to the subject of China.)

It is often said that China is far away from us. But actually China is also very close. It borders on the Soviet Union, and we have a common border that stretches for a great distance. That is, this "faraway" China is our next-door neighbor. However, it still can be called a relatively distant neighbor if you remember that we never had very much to do with China. (I'm talking only about the milieu in which I personally moved.) Before the revolution people in my circles knew the Chinese only from pictures and had read very little about China. We encountered Chinese mainly when they were carrying or delivering various kinds of goods. In the Donbas, for example, they imported tussah silk and sold it. It was from contacts like those that we formed our picture of China. Of course the Russo-Japanese War [of 1904–5] forced us to come into closer contact with them. However, the opinions of Russian soldiers about the Chinese varied widely.

After the October revolution the Soviet government established contacts with China, especially with the leader of the Chinese revolution, Sun Yatsen.[15] When civil war began in China in the 1920s, Sun Yatsen pursued a progressive policy and took a position in favor of friendship with the Soviet Union. The sympathies of Soviet citizens were on his side. Our newspapers promoted sympathy for the Chinese people and their struggle for emancipation from dependence on imperialism. Then Chiang Kaishek came into the leadership in China. He broke his ties with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and began a war of the Kuomintang against the CCP. The sympathies of our people were on the side of the Soviet regions of China.[16] In all our thoughts it was as though we were living together with the Chinese people, who were waging a battle against the oppressors.[17]

I remember the following episode, probably from 1926 or 1927. I was in charge of the organizational department of the party's Yuzovka district committee then. An acquaintance of mine came to see me, Akhtyrsky, a man who had given a very good account of himself during the civil war. His name was fairly famous. The man who bore that name had commanded an armored train. The train was given that same name. It was called the Akhtyrsky train. He was a very brave man, but in political respects he was half-Communist and half-anarchist. He came to the party's district committee, drunk as always, and appealed to me: "Give me an official travel authorization right away. I'm going to China; I'm going to fight against Chiang Kaishek. The quicker you give it to me, the better, so I won't be late, so I can take part in the attack on Shanghai." I told him that the Chinese Communists could handle the situation without him, and they would take Shanghai. This episode is an indication of the mood that existed among our people then.

Let me make a few more observations from the time of the Russian civil war. I never encountered the Chinese volunteers who were fighting on the Soviet side back then. There were no Chinese in the military units I served in. But there were Chinese units in our Front (army group). The Red Army men said that the Chinese conducted themselves very well in battle and joked about the fact that the Chinese soldier functioned this way (or so it was said): "Give the machine fuel and it will work. If you don't give it bread for fuel, the machine won't work." In other words, "As long as you feed me, I'll keep firing." But they really were fearless in battle and excellent comrades.

The names of the Chinese [Communist] organizers of the fight against Chiang Kaishek were popular among Soviet workers, especially Zhu De,[18] who commanded the Chinese Communist army. The name Gao Gang was also well known.[19] Another name that was mentioned among us was Chang Tsolin,[20] a counterrevolutionary who was regarded as a front man for the Japanese imperialists and an enemy of the working class. The names of other opponents of the Communists were also heard occasionally, for example, Wu Peifu.[21] I have forgotten many of them now.

Among the Communist leaders of China, one I knew well was the CCP's representative to the Comintern, who was very popular among Moscow workers and often spoke at public meetings. He never refused when we asked him to come to some factory [to give a speech]. In fact he still lives in Moscow [in 1969] and has always remained our friend. Whatever position the present-day leaders of the Chinese People's Republic may hold, he continues to maintain friendly relations with our Communist Party and our people. This is Comrade Wang Ming[22]—a splendid Communist.

Of course, in the 1930s [and early 1940s] I had no reason to concern myself with Chinese questions, and I didn't know the structure of the CCP or many of its leaders. I remember that their names were mentioned fairly often in our press, but I can't recall them now. However I never once heard of Mao Zedong at that time.[23]

After Japan attacked China [beginning in 1932, when Japan took Manchuria, but especially after 1936, when Japan had taken north China and was moving into central China], we established fairly close relations with Chiang Kaishek, despite the fact that he engaged in hostilities against the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Stalin supported Chiang Kaishek, seeing in him a progressive force leading the struggle against Japanese imperialism and for the liberation of China. I think that was the correct position. It was necessary to support Chiang, because if he were defeated, that would mean the strengthening of Japan, the strengthening of our common enemy. In the Far East, Japan was our enemy number one. Later, when I met with Mao Zedong, he criticized Stalin for having followed that line in relation to Chiang Kaishek. But after all, Stalin was not assisting Chiang in the pursuit of Chiang's internal policy;

he was helping Chiang because Chiang was fighting against Japan, and that was to our advantage.

Churchill, for example, followed an analogous policy when he supported the Soviet Union during World War II, although he remained our political foe. He was our enemy from the first days of the Soviet government's birth and remained that to the day of his death. But Churchill was an intelligent politician who saw that it would be useful, when the life-and-death struggle with Hitler began, for Britain and the Soviet Union to combine their efforts. This did not mean that Churchill accepted Soviet power, not in the slightest degree. Nor did it mean that he wanted to do good for the Soviet people. No, not at all! The situation that had taken shape in the world and considerations of advantage for his own country were the factors that prompted him to form an alliance with us. Proceeding from the same kind of principle, the Soviet Union supported Chiang Kaishek.

Things were calm on the border between China and us during World War II. I'm talking about that part of the border that was controlled by Chiang Kaishek. On the part of the border where the Japanese were present, tension was constantly increasing and outbreaks of armed conflict occurred frequently. The Japanese were constantly "probing" us. Then after their first string of victories in the Pacific theater [during World War II], they began to suffer defeats, and the situation on the continent of Asia gradually began to shift in China's favor. The Chinese army, in its turn, began to win isolated victories, because Japan was no longer up to the task of occupying China. After the defeat of Nazi Germany and its satellites, the Soviet Union, after an interval of three months, joined in the war against Japan. Our army played its role successfully in the culminating stage of the defeat of Japan. Under the terms of an agreement with our allies, we liberated Manchuria and the northern half of Korea, and at that time we had the opportunity of helping China more effectively, including extensive aid in the form of material resources and arms.

When World War II was coming to an end, the USSR began to concern itself with Chinese matters more than before. We decided to give direct aid to Mao and the People's Liberation Army in the fight for state power. As a result of Japan's defeat, its Kwantung Army laid down its weapons, leaving a huge quantity of captured arms and equipment in our hands. A substantial part of this, especially military equipment, was transferred to the Chinese Communists. We had an agreement with our allies in regard to these weapons, to the effect that we did not have the right to transfer them to either of the warring groups in China. And so they had to be given to Mao in such a way as not to create the impression that we were violating the commitment we had made. And so we shipped these weapons off to some place, and Mao's people supposedly stole them from us and armed the Communist forces that way. By that time they had built up large forces, equipped with captured Japanese weapons.

I personally first heard about the activities of Mao during the war when Mikoyan went as our authorized representative to Yenan.[24] He went there to meet with Mao. Stalin wanted to find out what the needs of the Chinese Communists were so as to organize assistance for them. I remember that after Mikoyan returned Stalin discussed Chinese problems in the inner circle of those who had gathered for dinner, and he was rather puzzled: "What kind of man is Mao Zedong? He has some sort of special views, a kind of peasant's outlook. It's as though he's afraid of the workers and keeps his armies away from the cities." We were especially bewildered by Mao's behavior when his army, after advancing successfully toward the south, approached Shanghai and stopped for several weeks without entering the city. I've already mentioned what Mao answered in that connection. He explained his conduct as a result of the impossibility of feeding the 6 million residents of Shanghai. Stalin was indignant: "What kind of Marxist is this? He considers himself a Marxist, but doesn't go to the aid of the Shanghai workers? He doesn't want to take responsibility for their fate."

I was still working in Ukraine then, and it was only when I went to Moscow that I learned from Stalin the details of what was going on in China and what we were doing for China. When the Chinese Communists won in 1949, I was just being transferred to Moscow, where I became first secretary of the party's Moscow city committee and its Moscow province committee and simultaneously a secretary of the Central Committee. Now I had constant communication with Stalin and thus was kept abreast of problems having to do with China. Of course, none of us made decisions on such matters without Stalin. Not only that, but in general these questions were considered none of our business. I don't think I knew everything going on in relation to China. Stalin decided the main questions, along with Molotov. But I did know that the Soviet Union was giving aid to Mao Zedong more and more extensively, so as to consolidate his gains. The Communists won their victory in China openly by armed struggle. The United States helped organize the counterrevolutionary front [supporting Chiang Kaishek and the Kuomintang against the Communists], so that the civil war in China after the defeat of the Japanese continued for a prolonged period. The Communists needed our aid, and they received it, mainly in the form of weapons.

1. The Chinese term for "Red Guards" was *hong wei bing,* and that term was used in Russian as well, apparently to avoid any identification or confusion of this movement in China with the historical Red Guards of the revolution and civil war in Russia. [GS]

2. The verb that Khrushchev uses here *(dushit)* could imply physical destruction; literally it means "strangle," but could also be translated as "wipe out," as by public execution; its figurative meaning is "stifle; suppress." [GS]

3. Liu Shaoqi was chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party from 1959 until the Cultural Revolution in 1966, when he was attacked as "the Number 1 power holder following the capitalist road." See Biographies. [SS]

4. Pavel Fyodorovich Yudin (1899–1968) was a Soviet philosopher, public figure, and diplomat. He was prominent as a Stalinist author of works on historical materialism and Marxist philosophy. He was director of the Institute of Red Professors from 1932 to 1938 and of the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences from 1938 to 1944. Concurrently, from 1937 to 1949, he was director of the Association of State Publishing Houses. He also worked in the Central Committee apparatus of the Soviet Communist Party. From 1947 to 1953 he was editor-in-chief of the newspaper *For Lasting Peace, For People's Democracy,* the publication of the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform), the headquarters of which were based initially in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. Then Stalin sent Yudin to work with Mao on problems of "Marxist philosophy." Yudin served as Soviet ambassador to China from 1953 to 1959. For an account of Yudin's unsavory role in Stalin's purges of 1936–38, see "I Accuse" by Pavel Shabalkin, in Stephen F. Cohen, ed., *An End to Silence* (New York: Norton, 1962), 124–32. [GS]

5. Being stationed in Belgrade and serving as one of Stalin's top officials in the Cominform, Yudin was at the center of events as the Soviet-Yugoslav conflict developed in 1947–48. On Yudin's destructive activities in Belgrade during the Stalin-Tito conflict, see Vladimir Dedijer, *The Battle Stalin Lost* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1972). Dedijer said of Yudin, "He was the best philosopher among the NKVD men and the best NKVD man among the philosophers." Also see Biographies and Khrushchev's account of Yudin's role in the Stalin-Tito dispute in his chapter on Yugoslavia in this volume.

Khrushchev repeatedly discusses Yudin's negative role in many of these chapters on Soviet relations with ruling Communist parties of other countries, and he consistently (and wrongly) identifies Yudin as the Soviet "ambassador" to Yugoslavia at the time of the Stalin-Tito split in 1948. This may be because Yudin, as chief editor of the Cominform's main organ, actually did play quite a prominent role in the Stalin-Tito dispute and, later, actually did become ambassador to China and was the Soviet ambassador there when the Sino-Soviet dispute began. Positions and statements that Khrushchev attributes to Yudin probably are accurate—that is, they were not statements or actions by some other person who was actually ambassador to Yugoslavia. [GS]

6. Khrushchev is probably referring to the first mass rally of Red Guards held in Beijing's Tiananmen Square on August 18, 1966, at the outset of the Cultural Revolution. About a million young people attended the rally. [SS]

7. This designation suggested not only that Mao's Marxism was primitive, that of a "cave man," but also referred to the fact that the Chinese Communist Party leaders were living in caves in the "Soviet region" they controlled in Yenan; see also note 16 below on the "Soviet regions" of China. [GS]

8. In 1943, an independent Uighur government arose in Xinjiang (Eastern Turkestan) province, in the far northwest of China on the border with the USSR. The province had escaped the control of Chiang Kaishek, who was embroiled in war against the Japanese occupation as well as in civil war with the Communists. Apparently the Soviet government established relations with the Uighur government, which lasted roughly until the time of the Communist victory in China, in 1949. [GS]

9. In February 1949 Mikoyan spent nine days at the headquarters of Mao's guerrilla army. [SK]

10. Compare Khrushchev's comments in the previous chapter about the "Sovrum" company, a joint venture of the Soviet and Romanian governments. [GS]

11. This is a line from an aria by a visiting Indian merchant in Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov's opera *Sadko.* Compare the first page of Khrushchev's reminiscences about his trip to India in 1955, in the chapter titled "India." Ivan Semyonovich Kozlovsky (1900–1993) was a leading opera singer in the Soviet Union; he was with the Bolshoi Theater from 1926 to 1954. [GS]

12. On Zhukov's memoirs, *Reminiscences and Reflections (Vospominaniya i razmyshleniya;* first published in Russian in 1967 by the Novosti publishing house), see the chapter "A Few Words About Zhukov, Government Power, and Others" in Volume 2 of the memoirs. [GS]

13. The Chinese map showed large parts of Siberia and the Soviet Far East as Chinese territory. [GS]

14. Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754–1838) was a leading French diplomat of the early nineteenth century. See Biographies.

15. Sun Yatsen (1866–1925) was president of the first Chinese Republic in 1912 and founder of the National People's Party (Kuomintang). See Biographies.

16. In April 1927, Chiang Kaishek turned against his former Communist allies in the Kuomintang, carrying out a massacre of workers and Communists

in Shanghai and elsewhere. At that point the Soviet leadership, then dominated by Stalin and Bukharin, ended its former political and military support for Chiang Kaishek. Some shattered remnants of the CCP organized guerrilla warfare in the countryside, based on the impoverished peasantry. They were able to establish control of some areas, which they called "Soviet," supposedly based on peasant councils. In the early 1930s Chiang waged several "extermination campaigns" against the "Soviet regions" of China, and the hard-pressed Communist guerrilla army undertook the "long march" [of 1934–35] from endangered peasant Soviet areas in central China to Shanxi (formerly Shensi) in the northwest. There the CCP, under Mao's leadership, was able to establish a permanent base. The CCP leadership lived in caves near Yenan in Shanxi—another reason Stalin might have called Mao a "cave Marxist," aside from the implication that Mao's Marxism was primitive. At the end of 1936, as the Japanese were seizing more and more of central China after previously taking much of north China, some of Chiang's officers kidnapped him and demanded he stop fighting the Communists and fight the Japanese harder. Negotiations between the Kuomintang and CCP were held, and they agreed to unite military efforts against the Japanese invaders. Accordingly, in 1937, Soviet government support and aid to Chiang Kaishek resumed, continuing until shortly after World War II. [GS]

17. By the time of the October revolution, about 250,000 Chinese were living and working in Russia. In 1917 they began to form revolutionary military detachments of Chinese internationalists. Volunteers for these detachments, the headquarters of which was set up in Moscow in 1918, were provided from December 1918 onward by the Union of Chinese Workers in Russia and from June 1920 onward by the Central Organizational Bureau of Chinese Communist Organizations in Soviet Russia.

18. Zhu De (1886–1976) acquired broad fame in the Soviet Union in 1927, when he played a leading role in the Nanchang uprising and took command of the Ninth Corps of the Chinese Red Army. In 1931 he was elected people's commissar of military and naval affairs in the Soviet government of China. He commanded the Chinese Red Army from 1931 to 1937, its Eighth Army from 1937 to 1945, and the People's Liberation Army from 1945 to 1954. See Biographies.

19. From 1945 to 1953 Gao Gang (1902–55) was the leading Communist figure in Manchuria (northeast China). However, Mao distrusted him on account of his close ties with the Soviet leaders. In 1953 he was transferred to Beijing and appointed chairman of the State Planning Commission. In 1954 he was "exposed"—accused, inter alia, of relying excessively on Soviet advisers and promoting the Soviet model of economic management—and removed from all official positions. In March 1955 he was expelled from the Chinese Communist Party. He died under mysterious circumstances. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

20. Chang Tsolin (1873–1928) was a warlord based in Manchuria. He had close ties with the Japanese Kwantung Army. In 1926 his army seized Beijing and massacred Communists, but suddenly switched sides and handed over control to the Kuomintang, whose forces were approaching from the south. The Kwantung Army blew up the train on which Chang then tried to return to Manchuria, killing him. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

21. Wu Peifu (1874–1939) was a warlord based in central China. From 1920 to 1924 he in effect controlled the policy of the Kuomintang government in Beijing; then he fought against the People's Revolutionary Army until 1927. Toward the end of his life he became a monk. See Biographies.

22. Wang Ming (1904–74), whose real name was Chen Shaoyu, was a prominent official of the Communist International (Comintern) from 1932 to 1943. He was the leader of an "internationalist" (that is, pro-Soviet) group in the Chinese Communist Party that opposed Mao and his policies. His line dominated in the CCP from 1931 to 1935, when Mao won ascendancy. In 1956 he was allowed to leave China for the Soviet Union and remained there until his death. See Biographies. [SS]

23. Mao Zedong (1893–1976) was first elected to leading positions in the Chinese Communist Party in 1935–36, but his ties with the Soviet Union were much less close than those of other leading Chinese Communists who were better known there. See Biographies. [SS]

24. Yenan (also transliterated as Yanan) is a city in the Chinese province of Shanxi. It was located in the so-called Soviet region, the area controlled by the Communists. From 1936 to 1947 the headquarters of the CCP Central Committee was accommodated in cave dwellings in the mountains around the city. [GS/MN]

FRIENDSHIP WITH CHINA AFTER THE VICTORY OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION

Mao Zedong's first trip to the Soviet Union was timed for Stalin's seventieth birthday [December 21, 1949]. It was precisely by that date that I was to return from Ukraine to Moscow for permanent work in a new position. Stalin told me: "Hand over your tasks in Ukraine to others, and be sure to be at my seventieth-birthday celebration, without fail." And that's what I did. I didn't happen to be present at the meetings Stalin had with Mao; the meetings were just between the two of them, or perhaps with Molotov also present [at some of them]. How many such meetings were held and how they went is hard for me to say now. But after those meetings Stalin was never ecstatic about Mao and had no especially flattering comments about him. However, at a dinner in honor of Mao, Stalin made a great display of hospitality. He loved to put on big dinners and to bask in the glory of his hospitality and attentiveness to his guests. If he wanted to, he knew how to do that especially well. I was present at that dinner. The dinner, and the conversations at it, proceeded in a relaxed atmosphere.

It was pleasant for me to see that good relations seemed to be taking shape with the new China. Every one of us wanted that. It's true that one unpleasant incident took place during Mao's visit. After the dinner, and the friendly conversations that had gone on during the dinner, several days went by without Stalin meeting with Mao at all. And because Stalin didn't meet with him or assign anyone else to, none of us went to see Mao. He began to show his displeasure at being left sitting in the residence allotted to him, not being shown anything and not meeting with anyone. He declared that if things continued that way, he would leave. It was reported to Stalin that Mao was expressing dissatisfaction. Then we all met with him again at dinner at Stalin's dacha. Stalin at that time was doing everything he could to meet Mao's requests, establish good relations, and show that he was entirely on Mao's side.

Mao left. At that time the Soviet government's authorized representative in China for economic affairs was a man who had been a railroad official [Ivan Kovalyov].[1] He worked in Manchuria, restoring the railroads after the Japanese were driven out, and then became an adviser to Mao Zedong. Stalin considered him a confidant. Soon this man began reporting in his official dispatches that certain negative attitudes toward the USSR were observable, especially

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This and the following four chapters of the memoirs (up to the chapter on Albania) were tape-recorded by Khrushchev in 1969. [SK] expressions of displeasure by Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai,[2] and other leaders of China. Gao Gang sent us similar reports even before Mao's arrival in Moscow. Gao at that time was the official representative of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party for Manchuria, and at the same time he was more or less governor of Manchuria, the official representative in Manchuria for the new Beijing government. Very good relations had grown up between him and our representative [in Manchuria]. Gao didn't say anything specifically about Mao's personal position, but neither did he say that Mao was doing anything to counter those who were expressing open dissatisfaction with us. Gao cited many instances confirming that such dissatisfaction existed.

Here is one of them. Some Chinese holiday was being celebrated. A parade was held. When troops armed with our tanks drove across the parade ground, Chinese military men expressed anger that allegedly the Russians had given them old tanks. And it was true. The tanks were not new. We didn't have so many new tanks in our country that we could give them to China. The USSR had just come through the war, was restoring its industry, and had reduced the production of tanks. Things could not have been otherwise. And so I don't see what grounds there were for feeling offended over that. Of course the tanks were old, but they were still battle-worthy. However, such comments further fueled attitudes of discontent toward us, and the blame for everything that went wrong was being placed on the Soviet Union.

Stalin wanted to win Mao to a more favorable attitude toward us and during his visit made a demonstrative show of friendship and confidence in him. For this reason Stalin took some documents that he had received from our representative in Manchuria with an account of conversations he had had with Gao Gang and simply turned them over to Mao. For my part, and this was true of the other Politburo members with whom I exchanged views, we had no doubt that Gao was reporting the undiluted truth to us. What Gao's aims were I don't know, but in any case he was acting from the standpoint of friendship toward the USSR. And here Stalin was handing over these documents! If you were to try to find some historical parallel, it would be something like the denunciation made to Tsar Peter the Great against the Ukrainian hetman, Mazepa, by another Ukrainian official, Kochubei.[3] Peter the Great gave Mazepa this note from Kochubei denouncing Mazepa; Peter's aim was to win Mazepa over and show Mazepa that Peter did not believe the treason charges against him. Mazepa of course had Kochubei executed and was soon helping King Charles XII of Sweden, when Charles invaded Russia. Pushkin describes this episode vividly in his long narrative poem *[Poltava]* about the battle of Poltava. Mao gave Gao Gang the same treatment Mazepa gave Kochubei, that is, he had him executed. At first he placed him under house arrest, and later it was reported that Gao had "poisoned himself." Not very likely. More likely, they strangled him or poisoned him or put him to death by some other means. Mao was entirely capable of such things. But so was Stalin. In that respect they were twin souls and they used the very same methods. This truth was confirmed to an even greater degree later on.

Meanwhile, we lost a man [Gao Gang] who had demonstrated his closeness to us; he proved it by informing us about the situation in the Chinese leadership and the attitudes of some of the Chinese leaders toward the USSR. That was extremely valuable. Yet instead of supporting Gao, Stalin betrayed him. I assume that Stalin's reasons for this were the following. Stalin was a man who trusted no one. He [once told us that he] didn't even trust himself. He thought that sooner or later the fact that secret reports were coming to us from Gao would become known to Mao. Then Stalin would be in the awkward position of seeming to have encouraged opposition to the Beijing government. Therefore Stalin made use of this opportunity to show demonstratively that he had full confidence in Mao, and that therefore he didn't want to receive information from a man acting in opposition to the Chinese leadership. Gao personally never spoke to us about his attitude regarding Mao, but for a number of Chinese it was no secret [that is, that Gao had a negative attitude toward Mao].

I remember that our people in China sent a report about a party in some Chinese city. When the young people at this party had had too much to drink they began openly expressing hostility toward us: "Take your man Gao back to your country. He's your man, not ours." This took place at a time when Gao was a member of the Politburo of the CCP Central Committee. That means that, even then, he was in a somewhat isolated position; it was known that he was not loyal to the "Soviet policy" of the Politburo of the CCP. That must also be kept in mind. In betraying Gao, it's possible that Stalin thought Gao was going to be exposed anyhow. That is only my personal conclusion, because I never heard any such statements from Stalin himself. Still, I can't think of any other reason why Stalin suddenly handed over these documents to Mao. To tell the truth, we members of the Politburo of the AUCP(B) were indignant over Stalin's action. And Gao Gang was destroyed.[4]

As for Mao's visit to Moscow, I could see that Stalin was making an insincere display of politeness. You could feel a kind of haughty attitude on his part toward Mao. Mao is by no means a stupid person. He understood at once what was going on, and it upset him, although Mao didn't show his displeasure, except for the incident mentioned above.

When the disputes between China and the Soviet Union did flare up, Mao said, in conversations with me, that Stalin not only failed to give him support but, on the contrary, took steps in relation to Chiang Kaishek that contradicted the interests of the Chinese Communist Party. Besides that, some of Stalin's actions, such as creating joint-venture companies, gave rise to anti-Soviet and anti-Russian sentiments generally in the new China. Unfortunately, other acts were committed that did great harm to the strengthening of our friendship with neighboring socialist countries. For example, I consider it madness and perfidy for Stalin to have demanded that all goods and raw materials that could be sold for foreign currency, produced or obtained by North Korea and China, should be delivered to the Soviet Union. Naturally, each country should have its own foreign currency reserves, in order to have access to the capitalist world market. After all, the USSR cannot give them everything. We ourselves had to hunt for ways to earn foreign currency—by mining gold or exporting goods that the West would pay for in foreign currency. We had to do this to obtain the foreign currency we needed for buying goods that we didn't produce ourselves.

China had similar needs, and so did all the socialist countries in general. That has to be kept in mind, and we should have designed our policies to take their interests into account. But Stalin was deaf to all such matters. He didn't understand such things and didn't wish to understand them, especially after we had defeated Hitler. He thought he could be like Tsar Alexander I, who after the defeat of Napoleon laid down the law for all of Europe. Stalin thought he could lay down the law [for the "socialist countries"]. This was an exaggeration of what was really possible, and it disregarded the interests of his friends. Stalin's policies offended them and sowed the seeds of hostility toward the USSR. I remember such episodes in our relations with China. Stalin's ill-considered actions cast a shadow over our friendship, but there was no objective cause justifying such actions.

On the other hand, sometimes Mao not only showed respect for Stalin but even went so far as self-abasement of a certain kind. For example, he asked Stalin to recommend a person who could help him edit his speeches and articles from the time of the Chinese civil war. Mao wanted to publish those materials and asked that someone be sent to help him, someone educated in Marxism who not only could help him with the editing but would keep any theoretical mistakes from creeping in. It was pleasant for Stalin to have this recognition of his authority, as expressed in this request. I think Mao did this based on his own calculations. He wanted to create the illusion in Stalin's mind that Mao was ready and eager to see questions of Marxist theory and practice through Stalin's eyes, that Mao had no claim to any separate viewpoint of his own on the work of building socialism in China. But the facts contradicted any such illusion, as became clear later on, in the course of China's subsequent history.

The Chinese also made big requests for assistance from us in the form of arms, equipment, and the construction of factories. Here too the Soviet Union provided an enormous amount of aid to China. I can't say exactly what the total was in monetary terms; I can't remember now. But we are talking about metallurgical plants, automobile and tractor factories, and factories for the production of modern weapons. We gave China credits for all this material, sent them our blueprints, and provided other assistance that in fact was free of charge. We also provided technical documentation [for the plants and equipment] not on a commercial basis, but as a gift based on friendship. And we sent military instructors of all kinds: pilots, artillerymen, tank crews, and so on. I thought this was useful for both China and us. We regarded the strengthening of China as a means of consolidating the socialist camp and securing our eastern borders. We had common interests, and we regarded China's requests as an expression of our very own needs. To the extent that our financial capabilities permitted, we responded positively to their requests and tried to satisfy them.

In the Far East, not only were the interests of the Soviet Union and China very closely interwoven, but also those of the Korean People's Democratic Republic. The USSR was also very attentive to North Korea and gave it all possible assistance, both in building up its army and in organizing its economy. In short, we did everything we could so that North Korea would develop economically more quickly than South Korea and thereby become a source of attraction for the people of South Korea. When North Korea went to war against South Korea, this tied North Korea, China, and the Soviet Union even closer together, in a tight knot, as it were, because a victory for South Korea would have meant a victory of the United States over North Korea, which in turn threatened both China and the Soviet Union. Our sympathies were entirely on the side of North Korea, on the side of the government headed by Kim Il Sung.

For many years we officially held to the view that South Korea had attacked first [thus starting the Korean War]. I don't think there is any need now to correct the version that was created, because that would only be to the advantage of our adversaries. But without going into detail, the truth is that Kim Il Sung took the initiative and was supported by Stalin and all of us. As Communists, we sympathized with the Korean people and wanted to help them throw off the yoke of capitalism and establish people's power throughout their country. After Stalin's death the Korean War continued for a little while. The idea of finding a way to end the war had long since ripened in our thinking. We took steps through diplomatic channels and began to sound out the Americans: "What would your attitude be toward a cease-fire?" The Americans responded positively, and negotiations began. Then a joint commission consisting of Koreans, Chinese, and Americans was formed for direct talks among the parties involved in the war. These negotiations lasted a long time, but in the end an agreement was reached. The troops remained in the positions they had held at the time that military activities ceased—that is, approximately along the 38th parallel, which had been the line of demarcation between U.S. and Soviet troops established after the defeat of Japan.

We had good relations with China at that time, outwardly at any rate. I say outwardly because, as we later found out, in his innermost thoughts Mao did not recognize us as equal allies and secretly nursed great power aspirations. For our part, we provided substantial aid to China. Chinese workers received practical training from us at the auto and tractor factories and other factories that were built with our help in China. Our engineers and workers labored in China and took a direct part in this work of construction. In the initial stages, the Chinese treated us very well, and we did everything we could so that fraternal relations would be strengthened. We considered the peoples of the Soviet Union and China to be brothers, and we felt this work was useful not only for us but also for the international Communist movement.

In addition, on Stalin's initiative, we gave a large quantity of arms to the Chinese People's Liberation Army: artillery, tanks, rifles, submachine guns, and warplanes. For the most part, the weapons we gave the Chinese were the same ones we used in the Soviet armed forces. It's true that in some types of arms and equipment our army had already switched over to new models. After all, such modernization is always going on, both in wartime and especially in a postwar period. That is, in the process of modernizing the armed forces, one type of weapon is taken out of production and other types are put into production. In relations with China what was the general principle on the basis of which we operated? As soon as a new weapon was refined, we supplied it to our army and then offered it to China, so that it could modernize and update its People's Liberation Army. We thought that this approach was fundamental for good fraternal relations. We had an interest in China being strong and its army being up-to-date and having the latest technology. While exerting every effort to increase the combat capability of our own army, we were equally concerned about increasing the strength of the Chinese army.

Rumors reached us that there were forces in China whose attitude was hostile toward the Soviet Union. We received reports that some Chinese newspapers were voicing dissatisfaction about China's borders with the Soviet Union, laying claim to Vladivostok, and so forth. They told their readers that the Russian tsars had forcibly established the existing borders, imposing them on China. Other expressions unfriendly to the USSR were also used. Of course I don't defend the tsars. But the borders that the USSR ended up with came to us as an inheritance from previous governments, and we always considered that these were legal and valid Soviet territories. After all, the new revolutionary governments in other socialist countries received their borders as an inheritance from their previous governments and considered all the territory within those borders to be their own rightful national territory, which came to them from the governments they had overthrown.

I would argue that this approach is sensible and correct. If the question of reexamining borders is brought up and a search is begun into the historical past, when the borders were different, it's possible to go a very long way into the past. This doesn't contribute to friendly relations among socialist countries. On the contrary, it tends to set us quarreling among ourselves. Besides, for a real Communist-internationalist, who ought to see beyond national borders, this question is not of importance, generally speaking, in promoting the cause of the ultimate worldwide victory of the revolutionary movement, nor is it important in the framework of Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

We talked to Beijing about this. They replied: "Pay no attention. We have many different parties in China, and each party has its own press. Hostile expressions by spokesmen of the capitalist-landlord class may crop up here and there, but they don't represent the views of our leadership." We were satisfied with that, although we would also have liked the viewpoint of the Chinese Communist leadership to be published openly. That was not done. We didn't make any such demands directly, but simply trusted the word of the Chinese leaders.

Day-to-day business contacts were maintained mainly through Zhou Enlai. Zhou came to our country fairly often, and we discussed all questions with him. We came to a preliminary agreement with him about ending the war in Korea and worked out common tactics for our conduct on this matter. Zhou often came to the USSR on one or another economic matter, including the signing of a treaty to provide China with plant and equipment and other needs that China had. Very good relations were established between Zhou and us. We treated him with great respect. He proved to be an efficient, businesslike person, and it was easy to talk with him and easy to find mutually advantageous solutions. We thought that in general good, businesslike relations had been established between China and ourselves. At that time Zhou was prime minister and foreign minister. For that reason, questions of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and China were also taken up with him. I've already said that we delivered huge quantities of aid to China and built factories there. I want to dwell on this question particularly, because after my retirement various people who have met with me have expressed alarm. They were concerned that we had given too much aid to other countries and in so doing had squandered the wealth of the Soviet Union. Yes, we have helped our friends, for example, China. But China paid us back the same way other countries we supported paid us back. These people ask: "What kind of aid is it if that's what we get in return?" On the surface this question might seem to be one of ordinary commercial transactions. But it's not exactly that! Of course, if it were only a question of a commercial transaction, we would have to get something in return. Foreign aid involves the provision of credits by us in the form of plant and equipment, which is set up with our help. We build the plants and train the workers, and we provide everything necessary to organize production [at those plants]. A country aided in this way is then able to produce metals and machinery.

Of course if we look at the relations established in the capitalist world, any company will calculate solely on the basis of what is advantageous for it, and that's all. They ask: "Is it more profitable for us to sell some equipment? Or is it more profitable not to sell the equipment but to sell the products made with that equipment?" More often, it's more profitable to do the latter. We, on the other hand, wanted to strengthen the economies of countries friendly to us and to help them raise the living standards of their populations, and so we delivered equipment and built entire factories. More than that, we provided the equipment at favorable prices. For example, when the capitalists give credits or loans, they charge between 5 and 7 percent annually, but we were charging only 2 or 2.5 percent. Our lower interest rates were a big advantage. Therefore we have the right to say that we actually were providing aid to fraternal countries.

At the same time, in the mid-1950s, we held talks with China that ended with an agreement on the status of Port Arthur and Dalny.[5] Here our positions were made quite clear and correctly so. We proceeded from the fact that Port Arthur had from ancient times been Chinese territory, and we would remain there only as long as it corresponded to the interests of the Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union. Our efforts had been aimed against a common enemy, Japan, which had been defeated. New circumstances had then arisen; specifically, the threat from the United States had increased. The United States was in fact organizing a war against the Chinese people's government in southern China [by Kuomintang forces that had fled across the border into Burma], and it might also begin to threaten the Chinese People's Republic from Japan. We spent a lot of effort and resources bringing the Port Arthur base into suitable condition, modernizing its armament, and maintaining a fairly substantial garrison there. Later we turned it all over to China. In addition, we renounced any rights to the Chinese Eastern Railroad, which ran through Manchuria. In my opinion, this decision was correct. We didn't want to cause a conflict. We didn't want to own property on the territory of another socialist state. And we put an end to the matter by turning everything over to China. But apparently this didn't satisfy them entirely. Mao wanted more.

After Stalin's death we put an end to all unequal agreements, including the joint-venture company that was exploiting minerals in Xinjiang [Eastern Turkestan]. We also came to agreement on transferring Port Arthur to China and evacuating our troops. Preliminary talks on this latter question went on for a long time. It was not we who delayed the decision but the Chinese side, although we understood their reasons. China was afraid of the United States as long as the Korean War was going on. The Americans had turned the war around, so that it had ended up favorably for South Korea, and in Beijing fears had arisen: "Won't the United States take aggressive action against China, too?" The United States had enough troops in South Korea to do that, and therefore during the Korean War the Chinese not only didn't try to speed up the process of our turning over Port Arthur to them, but they delayed the process.

In 1954 a decision was made to send a Soviet party and government delegation to Beijing to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic. By a decision of our party's Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, I headed the delegation. The delegation was large and representative. In it were Bulganin, Mikoyan, Shvernik, Furtseva, Shelepin, Nasriddinova, and others.[6] The departure of our delegation was timed for the anniversary of the victory of the People's Revolution and the establishment of workers' power in China—October 1. And so we arrived in China. They gave us a hearty welcome. We ourselves were very glad to be on Chinese soil, to meet and talk with the leaders of its people. We didn't have any special questions to bring up with Beijing other than the common problem of defense. In order to ensure our defenses we had to help develop the economy further, especially the industry in China. For our part we had only one request to the Chinese government. We thought it was of mutual interest and to some degree would be of assistance to China. There was a great deal of unemployment in that country, and we wanted a certain number of Chinese workers to come help exploit the wealth of Siberia, above all to help with cutting timber.

I don't remember now exactly how many people we were talking about. We needed about a million people, perhaps even more. That was the overall need we had, according to reports presented by the ministries in charge of the appropriate economic sectors. The opinion was widespread at the time that a shortage of labor power existed in our country. That point of view turned out to be incorrect and was later revised. It became clear that we had an adequate number of workers, even more than we needed. The problem was simply that we were making poor use of our labor resources, and therefore there seemed to be a shortage of labor. This shortage was felt mainly in Siberia. And that's understandable. In order to develop the wealth of Siberia, workers from the European part of the USSR had to be brought in, because the population density in Siberia was not very great. I am dwelling on this question in order to show how Mao Zedong reacted to our request.

We gathered for a customary tea-drinking ceremony. I didn't notice any abuse of alcohol in China. Even at dinner wine was drunk in moderate quantities only; there was no pressure to drink heavily, as there had been from Stalin, when the amount that people drank didn't depend on what they wanted; it depended on the amount of poison Stalin wanted to pour into their organism. In this respect Mao differed sharply from Stalin, and I cannot say that he displayed any personal inclination toward drinking. Mainly the Chinese drank tea. During official sessions, tea was poured into a cup that had a little cover over it (a Chinese tradition). As soon as you had drunk that cup of tea they would bring you another. If you hadn't drunk it all, they would take the tea away and bring you a new cup anyhow. After a little while, the same thing happened again—a new cup appeared. Periodically, they would also bring a warm, steamed terrycloth towel. The Chinese would use it to wipe off the face and head, to freshen oneself. We weren't accustomed to this kind of ceremony, but we used the towels to show respect to our hosts.

They served tea in such large quantities! I wasn't used to drinking so much fluid and I refused the tea. This was especially because they were serving green tea, and I don't like it. Bulganin, on the other hand, loved tea, and he readily participated in the ceremony, but as a consequence he was later unable to sleep. A doctor examined him and asked: "Have you been drinking green tea? Did you drink a lot?"

"Yes, a lot."

"If you keep drinking it in such quantities, you will have even more trouble sleeping. You need to cut back on your consumption of tea. Tea contains stimulants that cause sleep deprivation."[7] Bulganin stopped drinking tea and soon returned to normal, as he told me.

How did Mao react to our request for workers? You had to know Mao [in order to understand this]! He walked around slowly and calmly, like a bear, kind of waddling. He looked at me, lowered his eyes, raised them again, and calmly in a soft voice began to speak: "Everyone looks at China as a kind of reserve source of labor power. Everyone thinks that we have a lot of unemployed people, that we are an underdeveloped country, and that therefore Chinese laborers can be brought in for any kind of unskilled work, as cheap labor. But in China this attitude toward the Chinese people is considered insulting. Your demands"—that's how he put it—"could create difficulties for us and give rise to an incorrect understanding in China with regard to the Soviet Union. It would turn out, or so it would seem, that the USSR also looks on China as a source of unskilled labor. That's how the Western capitalist countries regarded us."

It was very unpleasant for us to hear this, especially the last comparison. We had a sincere and fraternal attitude toward China and had come there, so to speak, with our hearts on our sleeve, in an open and honest way. We thought this proposal would be to China's advantage, that the Chinese government would have an interest in temporarily relieving itself of extra mouths to feed. The Chinese workers could earn their own bread. Thus, it would be to the advantage of those who came to work in our country and to China's advantage, because it too would receive payments for the work done in Siberia. We arranged that I would lead the talks on behalf of the Soviet delegation. Therefore I replied: "Comrade Mao Zedong, we don't want to create any difficulties for you. We thought this proposal would be in your interest. If it creates difficulties for you, we don't insist on our proposal at all. We will make do with our own labor force."

With that the conversation ended. After the official meeting we gathered at our residence and decided that since our request created difficulties for the Chinese comrades, we should not pursue the topic further. We would cope with the task of exploiting the wealth of Siberia by using the labor force that existed inside our country. And so we decided to stop bringing up this question and didn't return to it after that. But when we returned to Beijing, after traveling around China, the Chinese side addressed us once again. They asked: “Why aren’t you raising the question of [laborers from China]?” We explained that we had withdrawn our proposal after the reply from Comrade Mao Zedong. At that point Beijing made an official statement to us that the Chinese side had simply expressed its views, but nevertheless it had an understanding attitude toward the needs of the Soviet Union and was willing to help us. Since the Chinese had taken the initiative, we agreed to renew discussions on this question and concluded an appropriate agreement, which was signed by both sides. This stated the number of workers who would come from China, and the conditions of payment were also worked out. We agreed to sign this document because we ourselves had taken the initiative earlier, and now Beijing had brought up the question on its side. It was awkward for us to back away. We would have had to give explanations that might have harmed our relations.

We made arrangements at first to receive 200,000 workers, and the Chinese began to come to our country. However, from the discussions we had held in Beijing and especially because of the way they raised the question of workers going from China to Siberia, we understood that the way they were behaving was no accident. We listened to a lengthy lecture by Mao Zedong on the history of China and also about Genghis Khan and other conquerors who had come to China; he said that the Chinese nation had proved to be the sturdier force and that it had assimilated all conquerors who had come to China. A great deal was said about the superior qualities of the Chinese nation, compared to others. What Mao told us about this was interesting to hear, but we drew the conclusion for ourselves that Mao had a haughty attitude toward other nations and nationalities. I formed the opinion that as relations between China and the Soviet Union developed further we might encounter difficulties, that Mao’s thinking was permeated with nationalist notions; he considered the Chinese superior to all other nations and nationalities.

We noted another personal characteristic of Mao’s: he considered no one else his equal. That meant he could be friendly only with those who recognized his superiority and subordinated themselves to him, not on a juridical basis, but in the sense of the “correct understanding” of the problems facing countries and parties. It seemed to me that Mao could not reconcile himself to the circumstances necessary for healthy relations among socialist countries, circumstances in which each country and each ruling party holds a position of equality with all the others. He was aspiring to hegemony in the world Communist movement!

After returning to the USSR we had a frank exchange of views about this problem at the Central Committee Presidium. Our report caused concern.

As head of the delegation, I gave the report. To sum it up, my opinion was that there were some menacing prospects built into our relations with China, and the reason for this was the arrogance shown by Mao when he was reviewing the role of China in world history and his own role in the history of the Chinese people and the Communist movement. By placing his own person in the forefront in this way, he threatened to create friction between our two countries and perhaps more than friction. For that reason (and every one agreed with me), we should do everything we could not to let this happen and to structure our relations in such a way as not to arouse any suspicions but also, in general, not to nourish the negative nationalist bacilli that Mao was carrying in his organism. We also decided to exert every effort not to disrupt the fraternal relations between China and the USSR and to do everything possible to strengthen them.

I personally held the opinion that this would be hard to accomplish, or even impossible, because Mao would not accept a position equal to others in a collective leadership of the world Communist movement; he would demand recognition of his superiority. It would be impossible to agree in such matters. In this area everything would depend on personal characteristics, the attitude any given leader has toward himself and the direction in which he tended to exert his efforts. If he was not seeking subordination to himself personally but was seeking only to assert his leading position by displaying a more profound understanding of the course of history and the policies worked out collectively by the Communist parties—that would be a different matter! But no, I sensed that Mao had defined himself once and for all, in his own mind, as the leader of the world Communist movement. And that was dangerous. Our other conversations in Beijing touched directly on the world Communist movement. We considered it expedient to carry out a kind of "division of labor" in relation to the Communist parties of the nonsocialist countries. Since the CCP had won victory in China, we proposed that it would be best if it established closer relations with the fraternal Communist parties of Asia and Africa. Besides, in its level of industrial development and in the standard of living of its people, China was closer to the conditions faced by the people in such countries as India, Pakistan, and Indonesia. Those were the countries we had in mind most of all. We wanted it left to us, the Soviet party, to strengthen ties with the Western Communist parties, above all in Europe and the United States.

When we expressed these thoughts to the Chinese comrades they objected. They said: "No, that's impossible. The leading role in the Communist movement should belong to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It has a rich experience, it had Lenin, cadres have been formed in the CPSU who understand

Marxist-Leninist theory more profoundly, and without the Soviet Union there is no way that we could undertake such a task. After all, we ourselves look to the Soviet Union and learn from it. There should be a single leadership center, in Moscow." When I heard Mao present these arguments of every possible kind about recognizing the leading role of the USSR and the CPSU, I couldn't rid myself of the thought that this was all just lip service; he was just saying it without meaning it. I felt that Mao was thinking something else altogether, that he was preparing appropriate groundwork for himself. This distressed me very much. I sensed that a time of friction and perhaps even more than friction would come between our two parties and our two countries. Let me state again that for me this was a cause of great distress. But we couldn't hide our heads in the sand, like ostriches; we had to look this danger straight in the face. On the other hand, we had given our word to do everything we could to suppress any incipient hostility, to overcome it, and to achieve the very best fraternal relations between our parties and between our countries.

When we returned to the USSR we decided to study our own possibilities more deeply. After Stalin's death we felt great responsibility for the fate of our country. This responsibility forced us to go more deeply into questions of economic management, especially planning. We were convinced that it was wrong to think that we didn't have enough of a labor force in the USSR. We believed we had a labor surplus in the USSR; the problem was simply that it was being used incorrectly. For that reason the need for the large number of workers we had asked for from China faded away. The first batch of laborers had already come to our country, bur subsequently we took no initiative in this matter. It might have seemed, on the basis of the views Mao had expressed to us, that this change in our policy would impress Beijing. But no such thing! The Chinese themselves began to remind us: "What is this? You signed an agreement, but you're not taking our workers? What's the matter, are you embarrassed? We're ready, of course, to provide you with fraternal assistance."

We began to explain the state of affairs to them, and during a [later] meeting with Mao [in 1957] I apologized to him that we had previously overestimated our need to import workers. As it turned out, I said, we didn't need such a large number. It was necessary to add that as a result of new policies we were carrying out since the death of Stalin, new possibilities had become apparent for freeing workers from some jobs [through increased labor efficiency], and, God willing, we could put them to work [in Siberia] and not invite workers from elsewhere. It is really true that in Moscow to this day there is hidden unemployment numbering in the hundreds of thousands.

These people all have jobs, but are not really employed. What kind of jobs are they? If a person didn't show up at his or her workplace, no one would notice their absence. You could reduce the staff at any government office by 30 percent, and the work wouldn't suffer.

This saga ended as follows: when the agreement with the Chinese workers came to an end they returned home, and because of new settlers coming to Siberia we didn't repeat the same large number as before. Gradually the unanimous opinion formed among us [in the Soviet leadership] that the Chinese wanted to penetrate the Soviet Far East. Let me point again to Mao's interesting maneuver. At first he said that our proposal was offensive and insulting for the Chinese people, then he himself began to insist that we take more people, and, if necessary, they would add even more.

The opinion formed among us was that Beijing wanted to resettle in our territory as many people as possible to "provide assistance" in exploiting the riches of Siberia. Their aim was to implant themselves in the economy of Siberia and to assimilate the Russian population, which was not large. As a result Siberia would become ethnically Chinese. Later, if our relations went sour, they might go to extreme lengths in such a situation, because China had already made known its claims to our Far East. This was not stated openly. But there was no question that in the back of their minds they thought China had as much claim to Siberia as the Soviet Union. This followed logically from their views regarding the Soviet-Chinese border, the statements in their press, and conversations between our people and the Chinese, with both high-ranking officials and ordinary people.

Thus the first signs of disagreement between us appeared, and we first began to feel concern about relations with China. In a short time these initial manifestations of Chinese nationalism grew into an aggressive, land-grabbing form of nationalism accompanied by the cult of Mao. To our regret, life confirmed our earlier apprehensions.

At one of our meetings with the Chinese in 1954 we raised the question of evacuating Soviet troops from Port Arthur. In doing this we wanted to transfer to China all our immovable property there, that is, the plant and equipment, but this didn't include the heavy artillery that we had just installed there. Mao objected and questioned whether it was appropriate to take this action just then. He was afraid the United States might take advantage of the withdrawal of our troops from Port Arthur and attack China in that area. I expressed our considerations: "I doubt, Comrade Mao Zedong, that the United States would do that. More than that, I'm sure they wouldn't. Of course there can be no guarantees, because the United States does pursue an aggressive policy. The war in Korea ended only recently. But we will be withdrawing our troops only to Vladivostok, which is right nearby. If an enemy attack occurs, we, of course, will come to your aid." In the end Mao agreed, saying: "Well, if you think the United States won't attack us, we don't object to your withdrawing your troops."

Thus we came to agreement and assigned our representatives to start drawing up an official document pertaining to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Port Arthur. A little while later (and we were meeting with the Chinese comrades often), Zhou Enlai raised this question again. He said: "We would like it if your artillery stayed in Port Arthur." We agreed to leave the weapons for them, but in exchange for payment. Zhou, however, insisted that China wanted to receive the weapons free of charge. This was an unpleasant subject, and it was not at all easy for me to reply, but I was forced to: "Excuse me, but I would like you to understand me correctly. These are very expensive weapons, and we would be selling them at reduced prices. We would like these weapons to be transferred to you on the terms that we are proposing. We have not yet recovered from the terribly destructive war with Germany. Our economy was ruined and our people are living poorly. That is why we would ask you not to insist on your request, but to agree to our proposal. Please understand us correctly!" With that the conversation ended. Beijing stopped insisting.

I am giving my recollections without looking up any documents. Therefore some particular details might not be exactly correct, but I can vouch for the overall accuracy of the facts I have presented.

The Chinese also raised the question of building a railroad. They said they were not very interested in a railroad to their country going [from the Trans-Siberian railway in the USSR] through Ulan Bator [the capital of Mongolia]. To this day I don't understand exactly why. Previously we had shipped cargo through the [Soviet] Far East [that is, through Chita to Harbin, and from there to Beijing]. A railroad to Beijing through Ulan Bator would have shortened the distance greatly. But the Chinese stated bluntly that they wanted a railroad that would go through mineral-rich Chinese territory [in Xinjiang] and that would reach our border near Alma Ata [capital of Kazakhstan].[8] We didn't object. We said: "If it's to your advantage, we will do everything on our side to ensure that such a railroad is built." The appropriate joint commission later began to function. We agreed that the Chinese would build the railroad in their territory up to our border, and we would build the railroad on our territory in the area [northeast] of Alma-Ata.

Construction began. The Chinese moved forward from their side, and we from ours. Our stretch of the railroad was shorter, and the topography was not so difficult; also we had better-trained personnel and superior technology. Therefore we approached the border more quickly. As we approached the border the Chinese were not visible even in the distance. The next time their representatives came to visit us [it turned out] they had already begun work, and they were getting to know concretely how the fruit tasted, so to speak. They got to know what it's like to build a railroad, and they felt that it was such a tough nut you'd have to grind away at it with really good teeth. Through Zhou Enlai they again raised the question of the railroad. Usually it was to Zhou that they assigned all the questions that were not very pleasant for us. First, he was their prime minister, and second, he was more diplomatic.

Zhou asked: "How would you view the idea of building a section of the railroad on our territory?" [That is, from Druzhba in the direction of Urumqi.] For us this came as a surprise. We understood immediately what it meant, but we didn't know then what [difficulties] it might lead to. They were proposing something [for us to do] that would be a very costly indulgence for us. The railroad would have to be built through mountains and across ravines. So many bridges would have to be built and so many tunnels drilled—more than you could count! And it would cost a great deal. Again the unpleasant duty of replying to our friends on this question fell to my lot. I said I was very sorry, but it was beyond our powers at that point. It was only with great effort that we were solving our own problems in the USSR, and to assume the responsibility for building a railroad on Chinese territory was something we simply couldn't do. We understood [their idea] that this stretch of railroad would be built not only by our efforts but also at our expense, and so the matter was dropped. The railroad remained uncompleted.[9]

Apparently each time they brought us a problem like this, and we refused to solve it, a little weight was added to the scales that measured our friendship. As the scale on which these weights rested fell lower, friendly relations between us declined. A pile of grievances built up, becoming a burden on our relations. But friendship is friendship and business is business. Every government is obliged to serve its country's interests, and so is every government representative. In principle, such incidents shouldn't have caused relations to deteriorate. And actually these incidents weren't the main reason for the dispute, but in the end they contributed to the worsening of relations.

Now let me tell how the Chinese reacted to the decisions of our Twentieth Party Congress and the revelations about Stalin's abuses of power. A delegation from the CCP attended the Twentieth Congress, headed by Liu Shaoqi and, as I recall, Zhou Enlai. They understood the reasons that guided us, and they supported us. Even after the congress Mao and other Chinese leaders spoke repeatedly in support of the Congress decisions, and at first good relations between China and us continued, despite the fact that we had exposed the crimes committed by Stalin. Today [in 1969] Mao doesn't agree. He condemns the decisions of the Twentieth Party Congress and has taken up arms in defense of Stalin. The methods Mao uses nowadays for dealing with his opposition have nothing in common with the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the dictatorship of one individual. Stalin behaved in the same way in his day, when he destroyed members of our party's Central Committee, and leaders of the central party organizations, as well as the territory, province, city, and district organizations and the factory organizations and simply rank-and-file Communists in general.

I don't recall any special friction that arose in relations with China during the first few years of my work after Stalin's death. Our relations proceeded more or less normally, as with the Communist parties of other countries. And I would even say that they were somewhat warmer, because for us China remained a kind of exotic country, which had previously been oppressed by imperialism, and a loving attitude had been formed among us toward it for a long time, both toward its people and toward its leaders. The worsening of relations built up gradually. But it was perceptible.

Then in October 1956 war broke out in the Middle East. Britain, France, and Israel went to war against Egypt. Their aggression coincided with the tragic events in Hungary and friction with Poland. In such a complicated international situation we needed to have closer contacts with China. We asked Beijing for someone from the Chinese leadership to come to Moscow. We wanted to consult and work out a common line in relation to Poland and Hungary.

In Hungary events were developing in a turbulent direction.[10] Reprisals were already being taken against Communists there. Communists were being shot and hanged, and party committees were being destroyed. Rakosi [the Communist leader in Hungary] asked us to help him leave his country. We sent him a plane and he flew to the USSR. After Rakosi's removal from leadership, [Erno] Gero became the head of the Hungarian Communists. He was undeniably a good Communist and our friend. But no one there would listen to Gero; all the threads of government administration in the country passed into the hands of Imre Nagy.[11] For some reason Nagy was very hostile toward the Soviet Union, although he had lived in our country as an émigré and had worked for the Comintern.[12] Rakosi explained that Nagy had always held extremely right-wing positions, even though he still considered himself a Communist and was part of the leadership of the Hungarian Communist Party, which later became the Hungarian Workers Party.[13]

Liu Shaoqi flew to Moscow. As I recall, the Chinese delegation also included Deng Xiaoping and Kang Sheng.[14] Today [in 1969] Deng Xiaoping is out of favor, and I know nothing about his fate.[15] As for Kang Sheng, he has a very bad attitude toward us. In the Chinese leadership he is the one most hostile toward the USSR and the CPSU. Liu Shaoqi was a pleasant man, with whom you could talk on a human basis; you could examine problems with him and solve them. Our party's Central Committee Presidium authorized me to conduct the negotiations. Another member of our delegation was [Boris] Ponomaryov.[16] We held our talks all night long, without stopping, discussing the course of events, examining possible variants, and thinking over what we should do.

The question was sharply posed: Should we take military action in Hungary or not? If not, what would be the grounds for inaction? After all, the counterrevolution was raging at full blast. Émigrés from Vienna had already come to Budapest and seized the leadership in the country, taking it into their own hands. At that time Mikoyan and Suslov[17] were actually in Budapest. They reported to us that there was shooting and that fighting was spreading. Nothing like that was observed in other parts of the country. Outside Budapest things were calm, and there was no particular hostility toward the USSR or the Hungarian Communist leadership.

In discussing with Liu Shaoqi about the complicated situation that had arisen in Hungary, we had a feeling of absolute confidence in one another—of each delegation toward the other and of each party toward the other. During the course of our talks we reached first one decision, then another, changing our minds several times during the night. Liu immediately made contact with Mao and passed along to him the view we had arrived at. As a rule we received agreement [from Mao] with our view. Despite the fact that our views kept changing, Mao agreed with each decision, one after the other, although they contradicted one another. We worked out these varying positions in the course of these sessions, which were like a joint Chinese-Soviet commission on the Hungarian question, if I can put it that way. We ended the night with a decision not to intervene in Hungary, not to use force and to allow events to develop of their own accord. We wanted to believe that the internal forces in Hungary would prove strong enough to gain the upper hand, restore order, and not allow the counterrevolution to seize power. During the night, as I have said, opinions changed several times. At one point it would be the Soviet Union proposing to use troops, and at another point it would be China, and then at other times it would be the opposite. Nevertheless, despite all our waverings, hesitations, and arguments, the attitude of the delegations toward each other was very good, based on full confidence and sincerity.

The sessions were held at Stalin's former dacha in Lipki, where the Chinese delegation was being housed. It was already morning when we went home, having decided not to send Soviet troops into action, but just then, that very morning, we received a report from Budapest that the counterrevolution had literally begun a pogrom: Communists were being hanged by the feet, especially security police and party leaders. Cruel and brutal reprisals were being carried out. Members of our party's Central Committee Presidium gathered, and once again we discussed everything and decided to use force after all. But we had previously agreed, together with the Chinese, that we would not use force, and Liu had informed Beijing of that. It would not be good on our part, after agreeing on one thing, to do the opposite. Liu was supposed to fly back to China the evening of that same day, and we had arranged that we would come to the Vnukovo airport a little earlier [that is, before his flight departure time] and have one more joint meeting. We said we wanted to return to the question we had sat up all night discussing.

We arrived with, as I recall, all members of our party's Presidium present, and the Chinese delegation also arrived. We held our meeting in a separate room and explained the reasons why we had changed our view once again. Liu agreed that there apparently was no alternative and that it was necessary to resort to extreme measures. He expressed certainty that the fraternal Communist parties and the Hungarian people would understand that this action was forced upon us in the interests of the working class and in the interests of the progressive forces. After all, it was hard even to imagine the possible consequences if the counterrevolution installed itself in Hungary.

The Chinese flew off. We were very pleased by their visit and had not observed any disagreements between our two parties. After order was restored in Hungary Zhou Enlai flew to Moscow. From there he flew to Warsaw, Budapest, and then, as I recall, to Belgrade. After the counterrevolutionary uprising in Hungary had been liquidated, our relations with Yugoslavia again took a turn for the worse, even though the Yugoslav comrades, and Comrade Tito first of all, had been fully in agreement with us and approved our action regarding the use of force. Malenkov and I had made a special trip to Yugoslavia [in October 1956] to consult with the Yugoslav comrades on whether to use force or not.[18]

We were very pleased by the arrival of Zhou Enlai. Our relations with Poland had become strained, but that was not true for China. We regarded China as a good intermediary, one that might be able to reduce the tension in relations between the Communist parties of the USSR, Poland, and Hungary. Not everything was fine and rosy with Yugoslavia either. We thought that the road we should take would be not to let relations grow worse, but to seek some way of normalizing them and establishing fraternal ties among the Communist parties of the various countries. Zhou arrived in the USSR, seemingly with a good attitude, but I would say that a certain coolness was already evident, as though you could feel a draft coming through some opening. Perhaps that was merely the result of our being overly sensitive because of all the tension. This coolness didn't manifest itself in any specific detail; we simply sensed it in the intonation of his remarks. To put it simply, Zhou now expressed his opinions in a more independent way than he had before.

We took an understanding attitude toward this. After all, the blame for the worsening of relations with Poland and Hungary lay on Stalin, and that meant it also lay on us. Stalin had been the cause of the attitudes [that had built up against us], and they were bound to make themselves evident at some time. All the things that had been done would not just go away; there were bound to be consequences. We were now paying for the bloody deeds Stalin had previously committed against the leaderships of Poland and Hungary. We needed a correct understanding of our position, a position of condemnation of the forceful methods, a condemnation of Stalin's actions. We wanted to restore normal fraternal relations with our friends, and we wanted to base our relations on equality, on respect for the populations of all countries and for the leaderships of their Communist parties.

It was necessary to normalize relations among us on a new basis, because previously Stalin thought that he could simply issue orders, laying down the law for the Communist movement, and that others should nod their heads, like so many dumbbells, staring at his lips and simply repeating: "Yes, yes, it's genius! We agree completely!" Nothing more was required back then. But now relations of a different kind were needed. If equality was to be established, we had to learn to listen to unpleasant remarks and understand the feelings of insult and injury over the methods Stalin had used. All that now lay on our shoulders. The stew that Stalin cooked up had gone bad, and we had to swallow it now after his death.

The Chinese played a positive role in this case. But we didn't feel entirely positive about the situation. We saw that the Chinese leaders were beginning to conduct themselves somewhat differently in meetings at which we discussed our common problems. To make up for that, the normalization of relations with Poland moved along quickly. Enormous credit in this regard goes to Comrades Gomulka, Cyrankiewicz, Spychalski,[19] and others who came into the Polish leadership. The services they performed were tremendous. After the suppression of the counterrevolution in Hungary the situation there also began to be normalized fairly quickly. The Hungarian comrades took a very understanding attitude toward our use of military force to eliminate the counterrevolution. After all, counterrevolution in its purest form had made its appearance there. However, some difficulties could be noted in other fraternal parties. Some individuals in the Communist parties of France, Italy, and a number of other parties failed to understand the essence of the matter; they publicly condemned our actions in Hungary. Some writers and other representatives of the intelligentsia took these events especially to heart. The process of normalization of our relations with Yugoslavia also moved forward. Both the Yugoslavs and we did everything we could, on both sides, to that end.

1. Ivan Vladimirovich Kovalyov (1901–93) came from a peasant family in Voronezh province. He served in the Red Army during the Russian civil war, from 1919 to 1921, and joined the Communist Party in 1922. He received training in military railroad work, which became his special field during the 1920s and 1930s. In the Soviet-German war, 1941–45, he was in charge of military railways. From 1944 to 1948 he was USSR people's commissar of railways and then USSR minister of railways. From 1948 to 1950 he was in charge of Soviet military specialists in China and was the official Soviet representative for matters concerning the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria, as well as Soviet adviser to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. See Biographies. [SK/GS] As adviser both to the people's government of Northeastern China and to the Central Council of the people's government in Beijing, he was nicknamed "the adviser to two leaders" (that is, to Gao Gang and to Mao Zedong). [MN/SS]

Here is a brief account of the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER). In the tsarist era, construction had been organized by the Russo-Chinese Bank, which operated under the patronage of the Russian tsarist government. The railway was built between 1897 and 1903. It was an extension of a branch line of the Trans-Siberian Railway from Chita (east of Lake Baikal in Russia) to the Chinese (Manchurian) border at Manchouli; the railroad's main line went from west to east through the northern part of Manchuria to Harbin, in the center of that province, and continued east from Harbin to China's border with Russia's Maritime Territory. The town of Suifenho is on the Manchurian side of this border, and Pogranichnaya and Grodekovo are on the Russian side. A branch line ran from Grodekovo to Vladivostok. To have a railway running directly across Manchuria saved about 1,100 kilometers (700 miles), compared to the route of the Trans-Siberian Railway running north of the Amur River (the northern border of China/Manchuria) to Khabarovsk and then south through the Maritime Territory to Vladivostok.

An important part of the Chinese Eastern Railway was the branch that ran south from Harbin through Changchun and Mukden to Port Arthur and Dalny, a naval base and seaport controlled by Russia on the shores of the Yellow Sea, near the border between Manchuria and Korea. After the Russo-Japanese war of 1904–5, in which the Japanese took Port Arthur and Dalny (which was given the Japanese name Dairen), the section of the CER from Changchun through Mukden to Port Arthur came under Japanese control and was called the Southern Manchurian Railway. After World War I and in the early 1920s there was fierce rivalry among the great powers (in particular, the United States and Japan) for control of the CER, which was seen as a crucial resource for opening up the riches of Manchuria for commercial exploitation. By a 1924 agreement the CER was declared to be a purely commercial venture under joint Soviet-Chinese administration. In 1929 Chinese warlords tried to seize the CER, but Soviet troops retained control of it. Although on Chinese territory; the CER had virtually sovereign rights within its zone of jurisdiction. However, in 1931 the Japanese began their occupation of Manchuria, establishing the puppet state called Manchukuo, dominated by the Japanese Kwantung Army, and in 1934 the Soviet government sold its rights in the CER to Japan for 140 million yen. In August 1945 the Soviet Union occupied Manchuria, disarming Japan's Kwantung Army, as had been agreed at the Yalta conference between Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill. A new agreement established joint Soviet-Chinese administration over both the CER and the Southern Manchuria Railway, the whole rail network being renamed the Chinese Changchun Railway. At the same time Soviet forces aided the Communist side in the civil war against Chiang Kaishek, the Chinese Communists establishing themselves strongly in Manchuria. The CER was then restored mainly at Soviet expense and through Soviet effort. In 1950, after the Chinese Communists had won the civil war, the Soviet Union turned over all its rights in the Manchurian railway system, free of charge, to the new government of the People's Republic of China. [GS]

2. At this time Liu Shaoqi was vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Zhou Enlai prime minister of the Chinese People's Republic. See Biographies. [SS]

3. Vasyl Kochubei (1640–1708) was general chancellor from 1687 to 1699 and general judge from 1699 to 1708 at the court of the Ukrainian hetman Ivan Mazepa (1639–1709, hetman from 1687). Mazepa ruled left-bank Ukraine, the part of Ukraine that was then under Russian suzerainty. He sent Peter I repeated warnings of the secret negotiations that Mazepa was conducting with the Polish king Stanislaus I Leszczynski and with the Swedish king Charles XII. He fled to Russia but was handed over by the tsar to Mazepa and beheaded. [MN/SS]

4. In 1954 Gao Gang was "exposed" and removed from all official positions. In 1955 he was expelled from the Chinese Communist Party and soon thereafter died under suspicious circumstances. See Biographies.

5. Port Arthur (Chinese name, Lushun)—naval base and warm-water port at the tip of China's Liaodong peninsula. (The peninsula extends southward into the Yellow Sea just west of the Chinese-Korean border.) Port Arthur was leased from China by tsarist Russia in 1898 (together with the nearby port city of Dalny—whose Chinese name is Dalian; Japanese name, Dairen; in Russian Dalny means "distant"). The leased territory was linked by rail to Harbin in northern Manchuria, where tsarist Russia had established a dominant presence and sphere of influence by building the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER; see note 1 above about the CER). Russia's naval base at Port Arthur was taken by the Japanese in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904–5, and Japan retained effective control of the area (the Kwantung-leased territory, the southern half of the Liaodong peninsula) through World War II. Port Arthur was liberated from the Japanese by Soviet troops on August 23, 1945. Under a Sino-Soviet agreement in 1945 the Port Arthur Naval Base District was jointly administered by the USSR and China. This agreement was renewed in 1950, after the Communist victory in the Chinese civil war and the establishment of the People's Republic of China (October 1949). The agreement was further renewed in 1952. In 1955 the USSR withdrew its forces from the Port Arthur base and turned over its holdings entirely to the Chinese. [GS]

6. At this time (in 1954) Nikolai Bulganin was first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and minister of defense, Anastas Mikoyan was a deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and minister of foreign trade, Nikolai Shvernik was chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, Yekaterina Furtseva was first secretary of the Moscow city party committee, Aleksandr Shelepin was first secretary of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League (Komsomol), and Yadgar Nasriddinova was minister of the building materials industry in Uzbekistan. See Biographies.

7. Green tea contains caffeine. Decaffeinated green tea can be drunk in large quantities without affecting sleep. [SS]

8. The route the Chinese envisioned ran from Urumqi, capital of Xinjiang, to the border with Kazakhstan just north of Lake Ebi Nor. The railroad town Druzhba, to the northeast of Alma Ata, was on the Soviet side of the border. [SK]

9. This section of railroad was built later, probably in the Gorbachev era. It is now an important part of a new "silk road" connecting China and the West through Central Asia, but avoiding Russia. In fact, a train called the Silk Road Express now runs between Urumqi and Almaty (formerly Alma Ata). [SK/GS]

10. Khrushchev gives a more detailed account of the Hungarian events below, in his chapter on Hungary. [GS]

11. Matyas Rakosi (1892–1971), who had been first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers Party, was removed from all his official positions and left Hungary for the Soviet Union in July 1956. Erno Gero replaced him at the head of the Hungarian party and remained there until October 1956, when the uprising began and Janos Kadar (1912–89) was elected first secretary. See Biographies.

Imre Nagy (1896–1958) was prime minister of Hungary from July 1953 until early 1955, when he was removed from all his posts and expelled from the party by the Rakosi-Farkas-Gero group, which then dominated that party. He returned to the post of prime minister in October and November 1956. Following the Soviet invasion, he was found guilty of treason and executed. He was rehabilitated posthumously in 1989. See Biographies. [MN/GS]

12. Nagy had been an NKVD agent, with the code name "Volodya." [SK]

13. The party was called the Communist Party of Hungary from 1918 to 1943, the Hungarian Communist Party from 1944 to 1948, the Hungarian Workers Party from 1948 to 1956, and the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party from 1956 to October 1989.

14. At this time Deng Xiaoping was deputy prime minister of the Chinese People's Republic, and Kang Sheng was chief of the security apparatus. See Biographies. [SS]

15. When the Cultural Revolution was proclaimed in 1966, Deng Xiaoping was denounced by the Red Guards as a "capitalist roader," removed from all his official positions, and sent to work in a tractor factory. He was later (in 1973) to be reinstated by the prime minister, Zhou Enlai. See Biographies. [SS]

16. At this time Boris Ponomaryov was head of the International Department of the CPSU Central

Committee, which was formally responsible for maintaining liaisons with Communist parties in other countries. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

[17] At this time Mikoyan was first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and a member of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee. Mikhail Suslov was the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee responsible for ideological questions as well as a member of its Presidium. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

[18] For Khrushchev's detailed account of that trip to Yugoslavia in October 1956, see the chapters on Hungary and Yugoslavia in this volume. [GS]

[19] Wladyslaw Gomulka was at this time general secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, Jozef Cyrankiewicz was a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, and Marian Spychalski was minister of national defense of the Polish People's Republic. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

TURN FOR THE WORSE IN RELATIONS WITH CHINA

In the circumstances existing in 1957 the time had grown ripe for an international conference of Communist and Workers' parties. Preparations began. There was agreement that the conference should coincide with the [fortieth] anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. A commission was formed to draft preliminary documents. October arrived, and we all met in Moscow.

The Chinese Communist Party sent quite a substantial delegation. Mao Zedong himself headed the delegation, and it included, as I recall, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, Kang Sheng, and others. It also included the widow of Sun Yatsen, Soong Chingling.[1] I confess we were somewhat taken aback by her presence, because I didn't know then and I don't know today whether she was a member of the Communist Party. We assumed that she was not a party member. It's true that she was a very progressive person, and over the course of many years, during the struggle of the Chinese people against the reactionary forces, she had always taken pro-Communist positions. We were not overly concerned about whether she was formally a Communist Party member or in fact did not carry a party card. After all, in her convictions she was a person who was extremely close to the Communists. Soong Chingling conducted herself in relation to us quite well, in a comradely and fraternal way.

On the whole, the conference proceeded on a high political and ideological level. No particular disagreements arose among the delegations. This was the most extensive gathering of representatives of the fraternal parties since the time of the Comintern.[2] Emissaries from more than eighty parties came to

Moscow. We discussed the international situation and the possibilities for preventing a world war. In general, the question of a war involving nuclear missiles was always a topic for discussion at such conferences. If a world war broke out I don't know whether the warring sides would restrict themselves to the use of classical conventional weapons, or whether events might lead to a war of nuclear missiles. After all, it would be difficult for one side, if it began to suffer defeats but had nuclear missiles in reserve, to refrain from using them. In order to save itself, it might decide to "push the button." Well, that's a question for the future. I don't want to try prophesying; for now, I will limit my remarks to the past.

Mao spoke at that conference on the question of war. The nature of his speech was approximately as follows: We should not be afraid of war, and we should not be afraid of atomic bombs or missiles. Whatever such a war might be like, we, the socialist countries, would be victorious regardless. Speaking specifically about China he stated: "If imperialism imposes a war on us, we have 600 million people, and if we lose 300 million of them, what of it? After all, that is war. Years will pass, and we will raise up a new batch of people and restore the population to its previous numerical strength." That was the kind of rough, crude way in which he spoke. His remarks were followed by a deathly stillness. No one was prepared for such an attitude toward world war. On the contrary, everyone was thinking about how to find ways of avoiding war. The main topic had been precisely our struggle against the danger of world war and for peaceful coexistence. And here was Mao, all of a sudden, putting forward the slogan that we should not fear war, that it would bring us victory, and if there were casualties, well, that's what war is all about!

After that session the delegations began to swap impressions. I remember that Comrade Novotny[3] [head of the Czechoslovak Communist Party] said: "Comrade Mao Zedong says they're prepared to lose 300 million of their 600 million people. But what would it be like for us? We have 12 million. We would lose everyone. There would be no one left to 'restore the population to its previous numerical strength' [as Mao had put it]." Gomulka[4] reacted even more sharply. But the criticism by representatives of fraternal parties didn't make the slightest impression on Mao. That aloof manner had not yet become a permanent feature of his behavior, but you could already sense that he placed himself above the rest. Sometimes he allowed himself to do things that in general were impermissible, and he did it all without paying the slightest attention to others. For example, one day he was sitting next to his wife, Jiang Qing,[5] and he kept flirting with her the whole time, saying indecent things to her and laughing, and she too was laughing. Such behavior is something one should not do at all, let alone at a serious conference. This was also an indication that Mao had no desire to restrain himself and behaved with no consideration for those around him.

Yugoslavia also sent its delegation. It was headed by Kardelj. Rankovic was also part of the Yugoslav delegation.[6] He had a very good, very friendly attitude toward us, and for our part we treated him with full confidence. But when we began consulting on a final document for the conference, the Yugoslavs raised the question of changing some of the formulations. In our view this was impossible. Other Communist parties supported us, stating that the declaration should be adopted with the formulations that had already been written, because a commission made up of representatives of [all the] fraternal parties had drafted it. Then the Yugoslavs said they wouldn't sign such a document. We were left with no option but to sign it without the Yugoslavs. We paid court to the Yugoslav delegation for a long time, trying to convince them, arguing the necessity of signing the declaration in the form drafted by the commission, but the Yugoslavs remained impervious. I even had the impression that they deliberately started that fight, insisting on changing the formulations, because they were not fully ready to normalize relations with the fraternal parties and to sign a joint international document. By signing it, it would be as though they would lose their leadership among the so-called Third World countries, the "nonaligned" countries that held a special intermediary position between the imperialist powers and the socialist countries. At any rate, that is the opinion I formed, because there didn't seem to be any rational basis for them not to sign the text.

We discussed the problem with the Chinese, and Mao said: "Well, what of it? If they don't want to, that's their business. Let's go ahead and sign it without them." And so we signed the declaration without creating further tension between the Yugoslav delegation and ourselves. We hoped nevertheless that the Yugoslavs would later add their names to the joint document, and we did everything on our part to normalize relations with Yugoslavia, basing them on mutual trust and a fraternal attitude. Meanwhile, our conversations with the Chinese delegation and with Mao personally were of the friendliest kind. I would even say they were intimately friendly. It came out later, however, that on the Chinese side this was just a game. Later, when our relations with Yugoslavia improved, one of the Yugoslav comrades told us that when they had discussed things with Mao during the conference he had made rather scornful comments about us. We had been discussing with him the question of how to convince the Yugoslavs to sign the joint declaration, and at the same time he was telling them directly: "Well now, if you don't sign the declaration, that's your business. Strictly speaking, there's no tragedy in that. It's just that our hosts, the representatives of the CPSU, are getting a little irritated. But later on they'll calm down."

In other words, behind our backs Beijing was encouraging the Yugoslav delegation not to sign the common document and was shaking their hands approvingly, which is something we didn't know at the time.

During the discussion about the text of the declaration, disagreements with the Chinese did come up, but they were of a different kind. They seemed to us insignificant at the time, but as later events showed, beneath them was a deep foundation. In preparing the draft of the declaration our delegation, on instructions from our party's Central Committee Presidium, introduced the proposal to exclude from the text any reference to the leadership of the CPSU in the world Communist movement. I thought that after the exposure of Stalin's mistakes any such passages, especially if written in an international declaration, could be taken as an attempt to return to Stalinist methods of leadership in the Communist movement, an attempt to restore our party's position of hegemony over other fraternal parties. That could be perceived as an attempt to alter the new relations among Communist parties of different countries. These were now based on principles of equal cooperation.

Almost all the representatives of the fraternal parties understood our proposal correctly and agreed with it. Suddenly there were objections—from none other than the Chinese. They stated that the CPSU actually did lead the world Communist movement and that fact should be acknowledged in the documents of the conference. They said it was necessary to have a leader who would guide the policies of all the Communist and Workers' parties in the struggle against imperialism. We couldn't agree with that, especially because we assumed that this was being done with ulterior motives (and subsequent events confirmed our opinion). After all, if all the other parties recognized the leading role of one party, then that leader could be changed. Today it would be one party and tomorrow another. We thought the Chinese were laying the groundwork for future claims to such a leading role. Therefore we thanked the Chinese comrades for their acknowledgment of the services of the CPSU to the world Communist movement, but stated firmly that we were opposed to inserting such a formulation. Again the other parties agreed with us. With that the discussion of the text ended. However, the incident I've mentioned is a further indication that the present-day policies of the CCP did not just suddenly appear out of nowhere; the basis for them was being laid bit by bit for a long time.

During the course of the conference we held meetings with many delegations, probably with all of them. I talked with Mao a lot, and with the comrades who had come with him. These conversations seemed to be of the friendliest and most pleasant kind. Incidentally, in our private meetings Mao gave character sketches of the other members of the CCP Central Committee Politburo. His way of characterizing his comrades put me on guard. He spoke of most of them in gloomy terms; I would even say he besmirched them. He painted everything in black colors. I can't recall now, word for word, what he said about Liu Shaoqi, but he had very bad things to say about Liu, citing certain "facts" as proof. He also gave a negative characterization of Zhou Enlai. And he said foul things even about a very old comrade, Zhu De [the longtime military leader of the Chinese Communist guerrilla army]. It would have seemed that Zhu De was more a warrior than a politician, but a good warrior who had fought selflessly for the cause of the workers and peasants of China and had proved himself a good Communist. But no! Mao had just as bad characterizations of all the others except for Deng Xiaoping, who at that time was already general secretary of the CCP Central Committee. Mao pointed at him and said: "See that little fellow over there?"—Mao and I were having a conversation during a reception, sitting apart from the others—"He's a very wise man, sees far into the future." And he lavished praise on Deng in every possible way as the future leader of China and its Communist Party.

Before that meeting I hardly knew Deng at all. His name had not been featured in our newspapers before the victory of the Chinese revolution. On the other hand, the name of Zhu De had echoed very widely from the very beginning of the civil war in China [in the late 1920s and early 1930s]. A colonel in the Chinese army, Zhu De had gone over to the side of the Communist Party and headed the armed struggle against Chiang Kaishek. He was one of the first officer cadres of the old bourgeois Chinese army to raise the banner of fighting for the cause of the people. I also remembered the name of Gao Gang, one of the militant Old Guard who fought for the ideas of the Communist Party. Of course at that time Gao Gang was no longer alive, and there was no possibility of talking about him during our conference. But Mao characterized him [in retrospect] as the very worst of men. As he was giving these characterizations of the people in his inner circle, there involuntarily occurred to me a comparison between Mao and Stalin.

Stalin had also given negative characterizations of all those close to him in the same kind of way. I don't know anyone he singled out in a favorable light.

Not only did he give foul characterizations; he also physically destroyed the people he worked with. Most of those who had remained alongside Stalin after Lenin's death were no longer alive. Thus I could hear indications of a similarity between Mao and Stalin. I saw a certain kindred spirit between them, although of course it was a distant kinship. At that time I could not have imagined in what dark colors Mao's own character would be revealed later and to what tragedy he would lead his people.

Mao asked me how things were going in our country. I told him things were going well and we were all working in harmony. But I also said that among our comrades it was being said that Comrade Bulganin should be transferred to a different post and someone new should be promoted as chairman of the Council of Ministers, because the comrades were not satisfied with Bulganin's work. I told him that, because I thought it would be a bad thing if, after Mao left and important posts in our country were reshuffled without our having informed him previously, he might think that we had been hiding something from him. And so I told him openly and sincerely about some of our internal party matters, about the relations among members of the leadership. He asked: "Which of your people are you thinking of promoting to replace Bulganin?"

"We haven't decided anything yet. But I am leaning, although not firmly, toward proposing Comrade Kosygin."[7]

"And who is Kosygin?"

I told him about Kosygin.

"Introduce me to him!" I introduced them, and they went off into a corner to talk. I was pleased that Mao wanted to get to know the man who would become the head of the Soviet government. I saw that as a desire on his part to strengthen good relations between our governments and parties in the future.

The conference ended. The Chinese left. But many times after that Zhou Enlai came to our country—on officially announced visits and also privately (incognito). And his visits were always pleasant. We got along with him well. We had a very good attitude toward him, and these visits gave us pleasure. He informed us about the state of affairs in China, and we were satisfied that everything was going along in their country as it should. At that time collectivization of agriculture was being completed in China. The process had gone along successfully, and we were simply ecstatic about that. When I personally thought about how agriculture was reorganized on a socialist basis in our country, I imagined the incredible difficulties waiting for anyone who undertook this task. After all, I knew how painful the process had been in our country. As for China, it was an even poorer country and was in a worse state of ruin than Russia had been. It had hardly any technology. Manual labor predominated everywhere, with the use of the wooden plow and the spade. And not every household there even had a plow. How can you carry out collectivization under such conditions?

Lenin said that bringing the peasants together in cooperatives would be possible only on the basis of mechanization. He wrote that if we had 100,000 tractors the peasant would say that in that case he was "for the commune." But in the case of China, there were not only no tractors, no kerosene, and no trained personnel; there were hardly even any plows. However, despite the great difficulties, the Chinese had managed collectivization. The apparent explanation for this is that they were not very demanding. They were satisfied with very little. And when their impoverished means of production were united, that immediately gave them the possibility of working the land more effectively and extracting more products relative to the input of labor, and therefore the peasants could provide a better standard of living for themselves. We were happy about the success of the CCP.

I have already spoken about Chinese industry. With our help they built tractor and automobile factories, as well as defense plants to produce artillery, planes, and other weapons. We were proud of this. It was a pleasant thing for us to provide aid for China, and China repaid us accordingly with friendship and high regard. Thus, outwardly our relations were exceptionally good. When members of our leaderships met, we talked literally about everything, both bad and good, that we encountered in our countries and hid nothing. We joked together and laughed a lot. I remember when we were in China and traveled around the country we saw the primitive level of organization of agricultural work, based on manual labor, without mechanization. The Chinese would stand in a row and pass along, from hand to hand, baskets filled with soil. The result was a kind of conveyor belt. Some carried baskets on their shoulders or on their backs. One of our homegrown wits, I don't remember which one, came up with the choice phrase that this was the Chinese version of our "walking excavator."[8] I thought it was a pretty apt comparison. One day we were all sitting around the table joking. The Chinese loved to joke and were often the ones to start the joking. So I told them how, as we saw it, the Chinese had their own form of "walking excavator." They laughed. But I thought about it later. Might that not have offended them? After all, the Chinese were very easily offended. But no, they had understood the joke correctly and were not offended. Or if they were offended, they didn't show it. They are good at masking their feelings. That is also one of their characteristic traits. They know how to wear the mask, so that their face doesn't show their feelings or their real attitude toward one thing or another.

In 1958 the Chinese asked us to give them assistance in the form of arms, because they wanted to carry out a new military operation against Chiang Kaishek. They asked us for planes that could provide air cover, coastal artillery, long-range artillery, and some other things. We gave them everything they asked for. We thought they were planning something decisive in the way of eliminating Chiang Kaishek. Not only did we not restrain them; on the contrary, we considered such actions to be correct, helping to unify China. They began carrying out their operation. Specifically it turned out to be an attack on two islands near the coast [Quemoy and Matsu].[9] This proved not to be the easiest of military operations. An exchange of artillery fire went on for a long time, with the Americans actively assisting Chiang Kaishek. But the advantage was on the side of the forces of the Chinese People's Republic. We of course were wholeheartedly in favor of and had an interest in their victory. All our sympathies were on Mao's side. The Chiang Kaishek strongholds on those islands had to be eliminated, because they could serve as jumping-off points for a landing on the Chinese mainland. Chiang Kaishek was still dreaming of such a thing, and the Americans, according to our information, were encouraging him to make an attack on mainland China.

Much to our surprise, although we saw that the arrow was pointing in favor of the Chinese People's Republic, that those islands could have been taken, Mao called off the offensive. The fighting died down, and the operation accomplished nothing. Later during a meeting with Zhou Enlai, when he came to visit us again, we asked him: "Why did you do that?"

He said: "We did it on purpose."

"What do you mean 'on purpose'? You didn't take the islands, but you began the military operation with the aim of taking them, didn't you? Otherwise, what was your purpose?"

"We wanted to demonstrate our military capabilities, but we didn't want Chiang Kaishek to move too far away from us. We wanted him to remain within range of our artillery and other weapons. After all, not only can we strike at those islands with our aircraft, but we can also reach them with our coastal artillery. If we had taken the islands, Chiang Kaishek's forces would have ended up so far away that we'd no longer be able to harass him militarily at some time when we might need to."

"What's the advantage of that?" I asked. "You now have two islands occupied by the enemy close to your shores, from which an amphibious landing might be expected. After all, doesn't having the enemy so close give him better opportunities?"

But Beijing held to its own view, and we still didn't understand why they had failed to complete the operation. They had done great damage to those islands, but why? They hit them so hard that Chiang Kaishek had to evacuate his troops from one of the islands. The uninhabited island could simply have been taken. To this day I don't understand why the operation wasn't completed after putting so many resources into it. When preparations for the operation were being made, we thought perhaps it would be necessary to help China more actively, and we proposed that we could send them our fighter planes, a whole division, or as much as they might need. They reacted suddenly against that proposal, and very irritably, and gave us to understand that such a proposal was offensive to them. It was insulting. They didn't need that kind of assistance! We were not about to insist. The only reason we had thought of offering this assistance was that they had previously appealed to us. We had given them planes and artillery and sent our aviation instructors and generals as advisers. But when they rejected the idea of our sending entire units, we realized that they regarded our proposal negatively, even though we had no aims in mind other than a desire to help our friend and brother strengthen his state borders and unify the country. After all, we always supported the aspirations of the Chinese People's Republic to eliminate the Chiang Kaishek government, incorporate the offshore islands, and include Taiwan as part of the Chinese People's Republic. When this operation was being carried out, those two islands became a focus of attention for the press all over the world.

Other notable incidents took place that revealed for us the true face of the Beijing regime in the sense of its supposedly friendly relations with us. Aerial combat was taking place in the skies over China. Chiang Kaishek's air force had American planes in its arsenal with air-to-air missiles. Some of those missiles, fired at airplanes of the Chinese People's Republic, missed their targets and fell to the ground. Some were still in fairly good condition. Our advisers knew this and reported to us about it. Naturally we were interested in U.S. military innovations, especially all those having to do with missile technology. These were "Sidewinder" missiles, fairly small, but quite complex in their structure.[10]

Here we had one more opportunity to acquaint ourselves with American technology. You might say that the Americans themselves had sent specimens to us by way of China. We wrote to the Chinese and told them that we knew they had such-and-such captured enemy missiles and we would like to study them, so that subsequently we could put this American technology to use in the interests of both of our countries [that is, China and the Soviet Union]. There was no answer. Some time went by, and we reminded them. Again they gave no answer. We were amazed. How could this be? We had given China everything—our secret military technology, blueprints, designs, technological production charts, and production models. We had armed the Chinese thoroughly, and now a captured enemy weapon had fallen into their hands, as a result of aerial combat with Chiang Kaishek, but they wouldn't give it to us. To Moscow this was simply incomprehensible. We began to insist. Then they began to reply that they themselves would study the missile, but since they had only one, they couldn't give it to us. Once they had studied it, they said, they would share the information with us.

We couldn't agree with that. Missile technology is complex, and China was not yet at a level of technological development where it could quickly and knowledgeably cope with the task of studying this new missile. We thought we were better trained to do it, because we were already making these kinds of missiles and had them in our arsenal. The American model was necessary for us for comparison purposes. We expected of course that the Americans might have thought up something new and interesting, which we would be able to borrow for our army. Besides, we felt stung to the quick by the Chinese reply and were greatly offended by it. I think anyone in our position would have reacted exactly the same way. It's obvious: we had held nothing back, had kept nothing secret from China, had given it everything, providing assistance with weapons, advisers, assemblers, engineers, and designers. We had shared virtually our last crust of bread with them in a fraternal way, and here they had captured an enemy weapon and didn't want to give it to us!

But there was nothing we could do. The weapon was in their hands. We decided to put some pressure on the Chinese. We were preparing to send them some documentation for the production of medium-range ballistic missiles.[11] The Chinese were insistently asking us to hurry up with the deliveries. We gave instructions to our military advisers that, when they had talks with their Chinese counterparts, they should express dissatisfaction and say, as though they were just expressing a private opinion, that, after all, we had provided China with our latest technology, yet they didn't want to give us this captured enemy missile, and we felt offended by that. The advisers were to hint that "technical difficulties" had arisen in connection with the transfer of documentation for production of the medium-range missiles and that we might not be able to deliver them in the stipulated time frames. We were convinced that such conversations would reach the ears of those who should hear them. And sure enough, in a short time the Chinese consented to turn over the captured missile to us. They turned it over to our advisers to be sent to Moscow. An unintelligent attempt to play at secrecy on Beijing's part was evident here. This incident of course left its mark on our relations. I would say that it had a sobering effect on us. As the Russian proverb has it, a brother is a brother, but money is something else altogether!

The missile arrived, and we sent it to a research institute not far from Moscow [in Khimki]. Our designers soon reported that it was an interesting missile and I ought to take a look at it. I went to the institute. They gave me a demonstration of how the missile was assembled and disassembled. It was extremely interesting from the point of view of how it might be used by troop units. It was easy to assemble and disassemble, with the use of simply one wrench. Our missiles were no worse, but they were less technologically refined, more complicated to assemble, and heavier. In terms of combat performance, the American missiles were no more powerful than ours; nevertheless, in our opinion, the American missile was better designed. That was exactly so, according to the objective appraisal of our design engineers, as they reported to us. And we decided to begin production of this same type of missile with some slight changes.

The design engineers reported to me frequently as they studied the missile. I dealt rather extensively with military technology then, because the arms question was critical for us then. We assumed we were lagging behind the United States. We had to make up for lost time, mainly in the realm of missiles and aircraft armed with missiles. Our adversary had surrounded us with military bases and had a powerful fleet of bombers. Fighter interceptors armed with air-to-air missiles were a vital necessity for us, as well as surface-to-air missiles for our defense. We felt these problems needed to be solved as quickly as possible and in the best possible way, so that we would be well armed if a military confrontation were suddenly to develop. Then it was reported to me that the Chinese had not given us the button-sized sensing element of the Sidewinder's infrared homing system. Without it the missile could not be used. Again we made a request to the Chinese, but they replied that they had given us everything. We were not about to insist further. Either they had lost the sensing element when they were disassembling and reassembling the missile, or they didn't give it to us on purpose. Our research institutes later solved this problem themselves, although a great deal of time was required before we discovered the technological secrets [of how the sensing element worked and how to replicate it]. Finally it was reported to me that the problem had been solved.[12]

The unpleasant aftertaste from this missile incident remained in our minds and poisoned our feelings. Earlier we had literally looked with the innocent eyes of children on our relations with our Chinese brothers. We were overjoyed that we had such good communications with them. China had become a socialist country. That immediately changed the balance of forces in the world. After all, China was China! An enormous continental power, the main one in Asia, and located right along our borders. Now the entire socialist system was consolidated into one single camp with contiguous borders, representing a fairly substantial force. Now two camps had arisen in the world: the capitalist and the socialist. Gradually our ideology, our Marxist-Leninist theory, was winning out and becoming firmly entrenched in people's minds. Yet here an incident of this kind had occurred, which forced us to stop and think. Our relations continued to develop in the spirit of friendship, but the seeds of conflict were also ripening. Our paths began to diverge. Then, around that time, a new trend emerged in China, which had a powerful effect on the former simplicity and sincerity of our relations.

Mao came up with the idea of "the great leap forward."[13] It could be said that this was China's internal affair. That's true, but if one is to abide by a policy of truly friendly relations, as had been established between socialist countries with such close economic ties, it would have been helpful to have an exchange of opinions on this matter and listen to the points of view of all the fraternal countries. Differing opinions might arise, or one particular country or group of countries might have differing views. At any rate, it was necessary at least to inform one another. In our view, such a method would strengthen mutual confidence and create better relations between our governments and parties. But suddenly we found out about the "great leap forward" from articles in the press.

When you hear about a project from the press, the intention of its initiators is not always clear. We didn't understand the meaning of the slogan "great leap forward." Later, again from articles in the press, we found out about the "small-scale metallurgy campaign" in China[14]—that is, the decision to build backyard furnaces and smelters in China. It was some sort of epidemic. Various groups of people or even well-to-do individuals were building blast furnaces in their backyards. No one thought about the quality of the cast iron obtained or how much it would cost. Nor was there any thought of trying to produce metal that would be suitable for use in industry from such primitive contraptions. I don't even know what century such metallurgy dates from. It seemed to us that none of this was serious—neither the "great leap forward" nor the "small-scale metallurgy campaign." I was told that even Sun Yatsen's widow had a blast furnace built in her backyard. I don't know if she obtained cast iron from it. People who had been her guests and to whom she had bragged about her furnace told me about this.

Another slogan appeared in China: “To catch up with England in the production of steel within a few years and then to catch up with and surpass the United States.” When we read these slogans, we couldn’t take them seriously because we knew such things were impossible. Such a complicated and difficult task could not be solved under primitive conditions, even though the attempt was very enticing. China was then on a fairly low level of technology and economic development. We ourselves, when we set this kind of task for the USSR, didn’t specify particular time frames. The slogan operative in our country was phrased in an extremely general way: “To catch up with and surpass America as the most advanced capitalist country.” But we too were at a stage of development in which we didn’t dare set a time by which this would be accomplished.

Then in China they began to organize communes. The Chinese began to bring all the peasants together into communes, socializing even the means of consumption and domestic items, including personal belongings. This is a totally impermissible action, which can only lead to painful consequences.

In China people are generally pretty skillful at thinking up slogans and capable of presenting them effectively to the population. Chinese newspapers reached us, our people read them, and we [in the Soviet leadership] began to receive reports that, in areas bordering on China, Soviet newspapers had also raised the question of borrowing from the Chinese experience of building communes. Proposals were even made to adopt the idea of a “great leap forward.” This frightened us, I must admit. We could no longer maintain neutrality on the question and were forced to state our point of view regarding the use of this slogan under Soviet conditions, and our view was that it was absolutely inappropriate.

Vylko Chervenkov, one of the leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party,[15] made a trip to China at that time. He didn’t know his way around on this subject, and when he returned from China he let loose with a flood of absurd articles in the Bulgarian press. We saw that Bulgaria was also adopting “communes” and a “great leap forward.” These ideas began to be put into practice in that country. How was this expressed? The Bulgarians began making their collective farms larger, increasing them to unbelievable dimensions, and they began investing resources in heavy industry that were beyond their pocketbook, far more than they could afford. Through Bulgarian friends who took a critical view of this we received alarming information indicating that very tragic consequences could result.

We were forced to invite the Bulgarian comrades to come to our country, and in the course of our conversation we expressed our point of view. We stated that we considered it unrealistic to apply Chinese methods in the conditions existing for the European and other socialist countries in the West; this would lead to nothing good and would create great difficulties. In regard to Bulgaria specifically, we said: "Comrades! You know what good and fraternal relations we have with you. And we want those to continue always." (Our relations with Bulgaria really were such that you couldn't want anything better.) "We consider it our duty to warn you that if you continue to imitate China with this idea of a 'great leap forward' and if you continue to try to develop beyond your means, you will be placing your economy in a precarious position. You are forced now to place large orders with countries in the capitalist camp. The time will come to pay for the goods you've ordered, and you'll turn out not to have the means to pay what you owe. We assume you'll turn to us and ask for a loan, but it would be difficult for us to provide such assistance. That could place your economy in a very painful situation.

"Now in regard to the question of agriculture. Agriculture is conducted with great skill in Bulgaria. You not only grow crops and raise livestock, but you have specialized sectors, such as vegetable gardening and fruit orchards; you are cultivating roses on an industrial scale, and you are a supplier of vegetables on a Europe-wide scale. If you engage in 'gigantomania' [that is, creating huge collective farms] in agriculture, it will lead to a collapse. It will make your farms unmanageable and economically unprofitable. The socialization of individual landholdings will frighten the peasants away from the collective farms, and you'll have to pay for this for many years to come. This is a complicated and difficult question that must be solved gradually and with great caution."

I personally was a big supporter of the Bulgarians; I simply took my hat off to them as growers of vegetables. I spent my childhood and youth in the Donbas, which was supplied with vegetables by Bulgarians. People came there from Bulgaria, rented land, and engaged in truck farming. They were remarkable gardeners. It's true that the Bulgarians themselves didn't work in their fields; Ukrainians did; but the Bulgarians were good managers, and they literally flooded the market with every possible kind of vegetable, always fresh and very cheap. The Bulgarian vegetable dealer would arrive early in the morning, driving his two-wheeled cart hitched to a couple of horses, and in a singsong voice he would cry out to the miners' wives: "Lady, dear lady! Time to get up and come buy your greens!" The women would come pouring out of their houses. The driver would stop his cart and the trading would start. He knew all his customers by name, and when they spoke to him they also called him by name.

When I grew up I had a bicycle. I would often change clothes after work, hop on the bicycle, and ride out into the fields [where the Bulgarians had their gardens]. And there I gazed admiringly at the fruits of their labors: remarkable tomatoes and eggplants. I won't even mention the cabbage, cucumbers, and so forth. I found the fields of eggplant especially attractive. It was like lyric poetry: You ride up and take a look at the rows of dark blue eggplants, and there they were hanging, those huge bell-shaped fruits with their dark bluish-purple sides gleaming. . . .

So in this respect I knew the Bulgarians from long ago and respected them, as I still do. Of course when they supply tomatoes to the USSR nowadays, I sometimes say jokingly to my family: "The Bulgarians, like good brothers, are sending us their tomatoes, but they themselves don't eat such tomatoes." Why did I say that? Because they weren't very tasty. They had been picked too soon and hadn't ripened on the vine. A tomato like that turns red, but it doesn't have the taste of the fruit that ripens where it grows.[16]

But I have digressed somewhat.

So then [returning to the subject], we expressed our thoughts to the Bulgarians. They had a pained reaction. Then we said: "We aren't trying to get you to agree with us; we only wanted to warn you that if you ask us for gold to use as credit, we won't be able to help you, because we don't have very large gold reserves now. How will you get out of your difficult financial situation when the time comes to pay your bills? Think about it yourselves." With that we parted. It's true that the Bulgarians took some measures, dismantled some of their excessively large collective farms, and so forth. But of course it wasn't possible to fully correct everything they had done. They were unable to return to their former organizational forms in agriculture, and many greatly enlarged agricultural cooperatives remained in their country.

I have used the term "enlargement of collective farms." And not by chance. People who have worked with me know my point of view on this question. I, in fact, was the initiator of the amalgamation of collective farms in the Soviet Union. I had both pleasant and unpleasant experiences in this sphere. My view was that there were no prospects for collective farms in our country that did not have enough arable land and had a small labor force. They couldn't make use of highly productive modern machinery. It followed, therefore, that such collective farms should be reorganized on a different basis, so that they could use more modern technology, and that is what we did in my day. It's true that in our country too we failed to avoid "gigantomania," and that cost us dearly. This was a miscalculation on my part. Many people, when they become overly enthusiastic, are sometimes unable to distinguish realistically between what is large, what is very large, and what is a small agricultural unit.

As for the Chinese, they virtually drove entire provinces into forming one single collective farm. Only they called it a commune.[17] These would end up being the size of one of our rural districts (a *raion)* or even larger.[18] The result was an unmanageable economic unit, which couldn't possibly be profitable. I want to finish my discussion of this question of how application of the Chinese experience affected our Bulgarian friends. After half a year they asked us for help when they had used up all their credits, including short-term loans. Of course short-term loans are the most expensive. They were paying almost 15 percent annually (compared to 5–7 percent for long-term loans). The banks in such cases take the skin off your back. We were obliged, after all, to take a certain amount from our reserves and put it on the table for our friends, so that the creditors they had to pay wouldn't start pestering them. This ended up being outright plunder [that is, they were being robbed by the Western creditor banks]. Such were the hard blows struck by economics on those who unjustifiably got carried away with trying to follow the Chinese example.

The Chinese themselves solved this problem very simply. There was no form of control there; the arbitrary will of the rulers was enforced without any control. They didn't base themselves on any economic or scientific considerations. There was no study of the problem in advance, nor was it thought through carefully. Despite the fact that it seemed to be obvious, we thought we should explain how unsustainable the dangerous slogan of communes was. Especially because, as I have said, we had a direct reason for doing this—that is, some of our party's province committees and territory committees in Siberia had begun to adopt the Chinese slogan, promoting it in the press and discussing how it could be applied to Soviet conditions.

At that time we were drafting resolutions for the Seven-Year Plan to be presented at our party's Twenty-First Congress.[19] We decided to discuss this problem [of the "great leap forward"] in the main report at the Congress without referring directly to China—to examine and analyze the component elements of the problem. I presented the report to the Twenty-First Congress from the Central Committee on the plan for Soviet economic development over the next seven years. In passing I analyzed the "great leap forward" [without naming it]. In this way we inoculated our party leaders against blind imitation. We showed that it could have painful results for the USSR and do irreparable damage to our economy and consequently to our politics. After all, politics depends greatly on economics, and therefore it's necessary to pay close attention to both of them, not allowing anything that might prove harmful for our country's development.

The Chinese were present at our party's Twenty-First Congress. And after they had heard my remarks and read the text of my report, there was no need to explain to them further that we had a negative view of the "great leap forward." This circumstance also, apparently, did not contribute to a deepening of our friendly relations. On the contrary, it caused a cooling-off. We had parted ways on fundamental questions of economic development.

By that time, of course we had begun to publicly express critical views about campaigns that were unfolding in China. Even before the "great leap forward," the slogan "Let a hundred flowers bloom" was widely publicized there. (The slogan was trumpeted all around.) When we encountered this slogan and began to study its possible consequences, we could neither understand it nor accept it. What did this mean, "Let a hundred flowers bloom"? Every farmer knows that some flowers need special attention and need to be cultivated, but other flowers must be destroyed, because they are weeds, and when they flower and produce fruit, this turns out to be bitter fruit harmful for people's health and harmful to the crops. So this slogan was not acceptable to us.

Our propaganda people put a question before the party's Central Committee, asking what they should do, whether our attitude [toward this slogan] should be publicly expressed. Soviet people read the newspapers, and this slogan was already circulating in the land of the Soviets. Some orientation was then provided for the press and our propagandists. They were specifically told not to take up this question, but to avoid it. After all, this slogan had been put forward by the Chinese for internal consumption, and therefore perhaps for them it had a certain meaning, but it was not appropriate for our conditions, and we didn't agree with it. Of course it was clear to us that the Chinese would immediately understand what line we were taking. If we were not promoting this slogan in our propaganda, that probably meant we didn't support it. Although we didn't condemn it or reject it, it was clear to everyone that we were opposed to it.

During one of our meetings (it was either in Moscow [in November 1957] or when I had flown to China [in July 1958]), Mao himself raised this question. He asked: "What is your attitude toward the slogan 'Let a hundred flowers bloom'?"[20] I answered that we didn't understand the slogan and therefore it was hard for us to apply in our country; it could be interpreted incorrectly among us and would bring no good results.

He said: "Yes, we understand your situation. But in our country this slogan is based on the teachings of our ancient authors." He began to quote examples to me from ancient Chinese literature, where the call for "a hundred flowers to bloom" was first voiced. Mao understood that we didn't share his point of view. Here again, the situation did not contribute to the strengthening of good relations between us. In that conversation we had trod ever so lightly on Mao's toes; we had gently let him know that he could think up any slogans he wanted and toss them off to be printed in his country, but for us not every slogan was acceptable, not by far. Mao thought of himself as of divine origin, but he had invented this divinity on his own. He thought he was serving up all his divinely inspired ideas for the good of humanity. Naturally our reaction caused a cooling-off in our friendly relations, or at least it contributed to such a cooling-off. However, being an intelligent man, he made it look as though he had not been offended. Every party was free to adopt only what was useful to it and not to take what was unsuitable.

The "great leap forward," the organization of communes, and other measures taken by Mao began to bear their negative fruits. China's economic situation grew worse. Before these slogans were put into practice we rejoiced at how quickly China was developing. Its economic achievements were increasing, the everyday life of its people was improving, and their standard of living was rising. But all of China's industry was disorganized by the "great leap forward." Standard technological procedures suffered first of all, because the Chinese declared that these were merely bourgeois inventions. For example, for a machine tool that they had bought in the Soviet Union, the standard for production of items was specified exactly, but they exceeded that outer limit several times over. Excessive strain was placed on the machinery, and it began to wear out. A time of general disorganization of industry set in, and anarchy reigned. Shortages of raw materials appeared and equipment was ruined. A painful and difficult situation resulted in China. Engineers who stuck to the technological standards, based on scientific knowledge, were accused of being yes-men for the bourgeoisie, wreckers, and so forth, and they were transferred to other jobs as ordinary workers.

Through our embassy we received an inquiry: Zhou Enlai wanted to visit us. What was our view? We immediately replied that we would be very happy to receive him. He arrived. What problem did he present us with? The painful situation in China's metallurgical industry. He said Beijing was asking us to send economic advisers. Our advisers were already working there. What advisers could we give them other than the ones they already had? We had already sent skilled personnel, including in the field of ferrous metallurgy. But Zhou asked us to send even more skilled personnel, who would study the existing situation together with them and help draw the necessary conclusions. We consulted among ourselves and decided to recommend that Comrade Zasyadko be sent. He was the deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers for problems of the metallurgical and coal-mining industries.[21] He himself was a coal-mining engineer and had been a miner. I knew him well from the time when I worked in Ukraine when he headed the very large coal administration in Stalino [now Donetsk] province. He was a very good worker, but with one shortcoming. He was a heavy drinker, and once he got drunk he was out of control.

We sent Zasyadko to China. Undoubtedly he was useful there, because he was a direct man; you might even say he was a harsh individual. He stayed there a few weeks. When he returned he reported the results of his trip. I asked him: “What did you see there, Comrade Zasyadko? And what did you recommend to our Chinese brothers?”

“What could you recommend there, Comrade Khrushchev?” (He had a rough, harsh voice.) “They themselves are to blame for everything. They have disorganized the functioning of the entire ferrous metallurgy industry. When I arrived at the Anshan[22] metallurgical works [in Manchuria], everything there was in a state of disarray.” Zasyadko began giving concrete examples of how poorly the blast furnaces, open-hearth furnaces, and other units at the Anshan metallurgical complex were operating.

“Who’s the manager there?”

“So-and-so is the manager. [He mentioned a name.] I met him. It turns out that he’s a veterinary doctor by training.”

When I met with Zhou Enlai, he asked me to tell him about the impressions formed [by Zasyadko]. I asked him: “Comrade Zhou Enlai, where are the metallurgical engineers that studied in our country and graduated from our institutes?[23] We hear that they’re working in rural areas, that they are undergoing so-called reeducation to be toughened up as fighters. And your metallurgical plant is being managed by a man who has no concept of metallurgy. If you had no specialists, that would be understandable. In the first years of our revolution all sorts of things happened [because of a shortage of trained personnel]. But now you can freely choose people with skills appropriate to the job that they were assigned to.” Zhou didn’t have anything sensible to reply. I saw that he himself understood the stupidity that had been committed. But after all, it was not he who had dreamed this up, and he was powerless to eliminate the problem.

Confusion and disarray appeared in other sectors of Chinese industry as well. Our specialists, and even our ordinary workers, who had been sent there to start up new factories, built with our aid, began reporting incredible things to us. They said: “We came home from work and found all our things turned inside out; our suitcases had been searched. We asked for an explanation and told that this was simply impossible, that apparently we hadn’t locked our doors; they denied everything.” Well, this was no longer just some misunderstanding, but grounds for lack of trust. What were they searching for? What could they find in the suitcases of our engineers or workers? What could be lying in those suitcases? They themselves didn’t know what they were searching for.

They told us about the following incident. Our engineers were helping the Chinese master the operation of some cruise missiles.[24] Our engineers had assembled the missiles in preparation for their transfer to the Chinese, and when they had finished assembling them they went home. The next day they saw that one of the missiles had been disassembled. They asked: “Who disassembled this? It shouldn’t be taken apart without us being present. After all, these are our missiles, and they aren’t ready to be turned over to you yet.” No one could give any sensible explanation. Apparently the Chinese had decided to check into something during the night, “to pry into our secrets” (although it’s unclear why; after all, we were going to hand these missiles over to them), and so they had taken the missile apart. But they didn’t know enough about the device to put it back together properly. Many incidents occurred, based on lack of trust and lack of respect for our specialists. Then rude insults began, especially on the part of drunken Chinese.

They accused our people of being “limit-setters.” This term was familiar to us! In the old days, at a certain stage of Soviet development, this word was in circulation among us as an insulting or pejorative term. I don’t know to what extent it was a sensible term at all. It seems that in our country this term was not well founded either, and it reflected a lack of trust in engineers and technical personnel. There was great suspicion of “bourgeois specialists” back then. We violated the standard limits that they set, but it was not always sensible for us to do that, although sometimes what we did was right.[25] However, we had not recommended such an attitude [of violating standard limits] to the Chinese. They themselves had arrived at this slogan, repeating what we had done. Well, that was their business. Nevertheless, we told them that this way of doing things would lead to no good.

It was at about that time or a little earlier that we received an alarming telegram from our ambassador to Beijing. It spoke of the sharp dissatisfaction of the Chinese leadership with the actions of the Soviet Union. The ambassador then was Yudin, of course. He was a philosopher, and he had been sent to China with a special mission. He went there as a highly learned man when

Mao asked Stalin to help him bring Mao's literary works into proper order: his speeches, articles, and so forth, because he wanted to publish them. He wanted a literate Marxist to look them over and help edit these texts, so that no theoretical mistakes would occur. That's why Yudin was sent. Mao always considered himself a philosopher, and he had a great liking for philosophy. Therefore Stalin decided to send Yudin as ambassador, so that he could discuss with Mao on general philosophical subjects and at the same time would be able to help him edit these writings and prepare them for publication.

Both while Stalin was alive and after his death, we received telegrams from Yudin in which he reported on Mao enthusiastically. They were like twin souls, and Mao himself was coming to see Yudin rather than Yudin going to see Mao, and he would sit at Yudin's place all night long engaging not so much in editorial work as in freewheeling conversations. Yudin was practically choking with enthusiasm when he described these conversations. We were glad of this because, as the saying goes, "Do whatever you have to, to comfort the child—anything, as long as it doesn't cry." We were pleased that Mao was having a good interaction with our ambassador. We thought this testified to mutual trust and would contribute to further improvement in our relations.

In roughly this same period [1958], our military proposed to our party's Central Committee that we ask the Chinese government to allow the Soviet Union to build a radio station in the south of China, so as to maintain communications with Soviet submarines cruising the Pacific.[26] We discussed the question and concluded that this proposal would be in the common interests of the entire socialist camp. Since we had developed large-scale construction of submarines with diesel engines, and at that time we had already started building nuclear-powered submarines, naturally we needed reliable communication with the submarine fleet that would be operating in the Pacific.

Our military people were unquestionably correct in choosing an appropriate location from which we could establish such communications. Today I would say we were too hasty back then, exaggerating the international interests of the Communist parties and socialist countries. We calculated that our fleet and the Chinese fleet and in general all the military resources of the socialist countries were all serving one common cause—to be prepared to repel the imperialists if they unleashed a war against us. Our submarines would be operating not only in the interests of the USSR, but also in the interests of China and all the fraternal countries. Therefore we assumed that China would have no less interest than we in building such a radio station.

Why did we want to build the radio station ourselves? It would have been difficult for the Chinese to build the necessary electronic complex in the time frame we desired. Our military people were putting pressure on us to start the construction as quickly as possible. But we didn't take the national sensibilities of the Chinese leadership sufficiently into account. Mao was stung by our proposal. His national pride had been wounded, and China's sovereignty had been infringed on. He evidently thought we were trying to establish a base for ourselves in China, and he had a very stormy reaction to our proposal, although he himself had earlier asked us to help China build submarines armed with missiles. The USSR had sent all the necessary documentation. The Chinese chose an appropriate location and with the help of our specialists began construction of those submarines. We regarded the matter as one that was self-evident: in the interests of our common defense certain measures needed to be taken and joint efforts made to accomplish this task.

Other questions of a similar nature were being raised when suddenly we received an alarming telegram from Yudin. We consulted together, and the CPSU Central Committee Presidium decided that I should fly to China. We informed the Chinese comrades, and they replied that they would receive us. This was in July 1958. As I recall, Marshal Malinovsky flew there with me, because we were going to discuss military questions. Kuznetsov, deputy foreign minister of the USSR,[27] also went. We flew there "incognito," without making any announcement about the trip in the press. We were met at the airport in Beijing by Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, and other Chinese leaders. We were housed in a building for honored guests. We spent most of the time at a swimming pool. An awning had been set up, where Mao could sit when not bathing, and we along with him. Of course we could not compete with him when it came to long-distance swimming. After all, Mao had broken some sort of record [in swimming the Yangtze, now Chang, River], as the Chinese press reported. We found out about that later, but at that time we immediately put up our hands and surrendered to Mao, acknowledging his superiority in this field. Most of the time we lay around like seals on warm sand or on a rug and talked. Then we would go into the water, come out again, and let the sun warm us. Our conversations proceeded in a fairly calm and friendly tone despite the fact that in his telegram Yudin had reported harsh expressions made by Mao.

This is what Mao said about the radio station: "We cannot accept your proposal. For so many years China's sovereignty was disregarded. This would be an infringement of our prestige; it would be a blow against our sovereignty."

I apologized as much as I could: "We do not in the slightest degree wish to infringe on your sovereignty, interfere in your internal affairs, intrude into

China's economy, or in general do anything harmful to the sovereignty of the Chinese People's Republic."

"In that case provide us with credits and we will build the radio station for you."

I said to him: "Yes, that would be best. We will give you our technical manuals, our blueprints and designs, and we will give you credits and deliver the equipment to you. In short, we will give you everything so that the radio station can be built as quickly as possible. So go ahead and build it!"

"All right," Mao said, "we agree."

It would seem that we had solved the problem quickly to mutual satisfaction. The task presented by our military men would be carried out. But in fact things didn't work out that way. Construction was not begun, not at all. The Chinese kept setting more and more new conditions and coming up with new catches that would delay the project. Then after our relations became much worse, this matter was taken off the agenda altogether.

At the pool we entered into a discussion about another question, which also had to do with the submarine fleet.

According to an agreement that we had signed earlier, our planes were allowed to use airfields in China. Now our navy people raised the question of their stopping in at certain ports in China to repair our submarines and give our crews rest and relaxation. China has a long coastline [on the Pacific], but we of the Soviet Union are situated, as it were, on the [northern] edge of their coastline, so that in this case too the navy men were pursuing strictly businesslike aims. However, the Chinese again objected that this would be an infringement on their prestige. Mao objected sharply. I said to him: "Comrade Mao Zedong, I don't understand you at all on this question. After all, this is in our common interest."

"No, we cannot go along with it. This is an infringement of our sovereignty. We are building our own submarine fleet."

"Well, what can we say? If you talk about sovereignty, let's operate on the basis of mutual advantage. For example, if you want to base your submarine fleet in the Arctic Ocean, we will provide a base for you on our territory, and in exchange you would let us have a base for our submarines on your Pacific coast, on Chinese territory."

"No, we cannot go along with that either. The armed forces of each country should be deployed only on that country's territory. Your proposal insults us and wounds us. We cannot go along with it."

"All right, if that's how you see the situation, we don't want to insist, and we'll make do with the possibilities available to us. We will strengthen our

Far Eastern navy. We want to modernize it and substantially reinforce it, so that our submarine fleet will become a power to reckon with in the Pacific region."

Again we had touched a sensitive chord. This was a country on whose territory foreign conquerors had dominated for many years. After that I began to understand better the considerations that guided Mao in our conversation. Evidently it had been futile in general for us to make this proposal to China. If we had known in advance the kind of reaction we would receive, we would not under any circumstances have made the proposal; we would not have created difficulties for ourselves by addressing this request to Mao. However, what's done is done. You can't change it. I understand that in such questions the most punctilious correctness is necessary. I understand this consideration especially well now. You cannot infringe on the sense of national dignity of any country or any nationality. Sovereignty exists. Are you going to infringe on that sovereignty? You can only talk about that when there is full mutual agreement, and even then it's better to avoid it as much as possible unless there is an extreme necessity, for example, the danger of a war involving the two sides in the agreement. In general, questions of sovereignty will continue for a long time to be the cause of disagreements in the world and will continue to do palpable damage to mutual understanding between different countries when such disagreements suddenly surface.

On one occasion at the swimming pool Mao began a conversation of the following nature. He said: "Comrade Khrushchev, let's make an estimate of the balance of forces between imperialism and socialism. I have done some arithmetic and these are my calculations: China has a population of approximately 700 million, and therefore can field so-and-so many army divisions. The Soviet Union has 200 million and can field so many divisions." Such standard calculations do exist, and his arithmetic was more or less correct. He was making an overall estimate of how many troops could be placed under arms by all the socialist countries. Then he began calculating how many divisions the United States, Britain, France, and the other NATO countries could put in the field. The figure that resulted was incomparably fewer than ours. He said: "There you have the balance of forces. So what do we have to be afraid of?"

These arguments corresponded to the point of view he had expressed earlier at the international conference of fraternal parties in 1957, when Mao had stated that for China the loss of 300 million people, that is, half the population, would not be a tragedy. Now he was bringing up this same matter again, using arithmetical calculations to reinforce his thesis that we should not be afraid of war. He didn't say outright that we should no longer bother with the fight for peace in general. But if you think about it, his arguments actually do come down to that. Mao regarded as the top priority not the question of peaceful coexistence, but the question of preparing for war with the aim of crushing our enemies in a war, no matter how great the losses such war might bring to the socialist countries.

I said to him: "Comrade Mao Zedong, the estimates you have made are well known to everyone. But it should also be kept in mind that a purely arithmetical calculation would be justified if we were living in different times when wars were fought by hand or by crude weapons such as lances or bayonets. It used to be that whoever had the biggest club had the advantage. But now we are living in different times. When the machine gun first appeared, it immediately changed the balance of forces. That shifted in favor of the army that had the larger number of machine guns. Then when tanks made their appearance, as well as airplanes, the balance of forces changed completely. The side that had the larger population no longer was the victorious side but the one that had the best military industry and could provide itself with the latest weapons. Now we have missiles and nuclear weapons. A world war will be a war of nuclear missiles, and in such a war all the odds will be negated. One bomb can wipe out several divisions. So that the number of divisions you have is no longer a sign of strength, but, to put it crudely, it only tells you how much human canon fodder you have. Therefore we have to approach the question of war differently and we cannot measure the balance of forces by the size of the population.

"We are developing our industry at an accelerated pace, especially our atomic industry and our missile-building industry, so that the USSR will not be caught flat-footed. We have to have a sufficient quantity of the latest means of destruction, the same ones with which our opponent will unquestionably be armed. Our likely enemy is highly organized, has a very powerful industry and a high level of technological development."

He said: "No, I still think you're wrong. The size of the population is decisive, as in the past, in deciding the balance of forces." On this question there was no way we could come to mutual agreement. He expressed his point of view and I expressed mine. We didn't repeat ourselves further because it would have accomplished nothing.

Mao took up another problem. At one time we had published a statement by Defense Minister Zhukov in the Soviet press. The international situation had required of us at that time a statement in defense of all the socialist countries. We prepared such a statement and entrusted Comrade Zhukov to make it. The idea of this statement was to warn the imperialist camp that if it attacked one of the socialist countries, the Soviet Union would not remain neutral, but would strike a blow in reply to the aggressor, using all possible means at the disposal of our armed forces. Mao now referred to Zhukov's statement and said he considered the statement incorrect. I asked him why. After all, this had not been Zhukov's personal point of view but the opinion of our party's Central Committee. There was great tension between China and the United States just then. I said: "Our firm position restrained the imperialists. They would know that an attack on one of our allies, whether it was China or Albania, would not go unpunished. Besides, Zhukov's statement was mainly concerned with the German Democratic Republic, which of course borders on the capitalist world."

Mao said: "Wrong. That's incorrect." He began expounding his point of view, which in essence came down to the following: "If they attack China, you should not get involved in the war. We will do the fighting ourselves, even if it takes ten or twenty years. We have plenty of people, and we have a vast territory. If the enemy gets involved with us, nothing good will come of it for him. We will cope with the enemy ourselves and defeat him. There is no one country that can succeed in defeating us. The Japanese were fighting China for many years, but what has remained of their aggression? Will the enemy destroy our economy? Well, let them. The most important thing is that the Soviet Union be preserved. If the USSR remains and continues to develop as a socialist country, everything can be put back in its proper place. China will deal with the enemy and then with your help will restore its economy. That's why in general the Soviet Union should not be subjected to the danger of a war with the imperialist camp." That's how he had turned things around. It was as though China was ready to sacrifice itself so that the first socialist country in the world, the Soviet Union, could be preserved.

I said: "If that is the attitude you take toward your international duty and you are proposing that each country rely only on its own strength, then the enemy can pick us off one by one. Such a position would encourage aggression, not restrain it. That's why we think that it was appropriate to make the statement we made, and we will continue to follow that policy. That statement was formulated not just by our Ministry of Defense but by our government and the Central Committee of our party."

Mao replied: "It was an incorrect formulation."

With that our discussion ended, each of us holding to his own opinion. At our next meeting, discussion continued on military subjects. The discussion was of a different character at that point, and I would say that Mao's comments were the opposite of what he had said before. Nevertheless, there were common roots to what he was saying now and what he was saying before.

Mao said: "I was thinking about our previous conversation, and I have come to the conclusion that if there was an attack on the Soviet Union, I would recommend that you not offer resistance."

I was immediately put on my guard. What was this? An attack by the imperialist powers on the USSR takes place, and we're not supposed to offer resistance? I asked: "What would happen?"

"You would withdraw gradually, retreat for a year or two or three. You would force the enemy to extend his lines of communication and thereby weaken him. Then with our combined forces we would attack him and crush him."

I said to Mao: "I don't even know how to reply to you. This conception of things is completely unintelligible to us. To retreat for a year? But the next world war is hardly going to last a year. It's going to be over very quickly."

Mao continued: "But didn't you retreat as far as Stalingrad? For two whole years you retreated, so now why can't you retreat for three years? If you retreated as far as Stalingrad then, now you could retreat to the Urals, to Siberia, but farther back at your rear stands China. We will use our resources and our territory, and undoubtedly we will defeat the enemy."

I answered: "No, we take a different position, a position of countering the enemy immediately, and in the event of aggression our counterblow will be given with all the means we have at our disposal. Today we have many forces at our disposal, great technological capabilities, and with every passing year we are increasing them. The inevitability of a counterblow will force our enemy to think more than once before deciding on aggression against us. And perhaps aggression will be ruled out altogether."

"No," he said again, "I consider that thesis to be incorrect."

Later I thought a lot about his views and what he based them on. I don't know how such positions and arguments can be characterized. It was a surprise to me that Mao could think this way, and I couldn't answer the question of how such thinking could arise. If we were to assume that this was just provocative talk on his part, I don't think Mao would undertake such a crude and stupid form of provocation. After all, we are not that naïve. He could not in any way assume that we would agree. If he actually believed that his arguments made sense in terms of military strategy, it's hard to believe that an intelligent person would be capable of thinking that way. To this day it remains a total mystery to me. I still don't know whether he was being provocative or was simply incapable of thinking clearly. However, that conversation did take place, and I take full responsibility for the accuracy of the statements by Mao that I have reported and of my replies, without any exaggeration and without any distortion or misrepresentation. God forbid, why would I do that? We have enough troubles with China and I wouldn't want to increase them. Just the opposite!

In this situation people who can't see very far might say: "Look how much we did for China, and yet it took the road of hostility toward the Soviet Union." I would say, well, what of it? We are not to blame for that. Even with the situation that has now arisen between the Soviet Union and China, one that seems to show vividly that we should not have spent what we did [in aid to China], I nevertheless think that our policies were correct. We did what we did to help raise China's economy to a higher level and to strengthen it on the path it had chosen of building socialism. We gave our aid sincerely so that our friends could also develop, build up their economy, and strengthen their independence, just as we had done after the October revolution. But as it turned out, the opposite occurred. You can expect just about anything from people. Mao Zedong is pursuing a wrong policy. There's no doubt about that. But I am profoundly convinced that our friendship with China left its traces in the consciousness of the Chinese people. You might say that the Mao Zedongs of this world come and go, but the people of China remain.[28] A time will come when Mao Zedong will no longer exist, and his followers will no longer exist, but the healthy and beneficial seed that we sowed in China will sprout forth and begin to grow. So then, our aid was not given in vain; the material resources sent by the Soviet Union to help the Chinese people were not just thrown away.

Someday I will die, and if a person can think after death, I would like to think about the happy time when fraternal relations will be restored between the peoples of the Soviet Union and China, and generally speaking, among all the peoples of the socialist countries.

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1. Twenty years younger than Sun Yatsen, Soong Chingling was from the wealthy Soong family, which had long supported the Kuomintang. Chiang Kaishek married her younger sister—another indication of the Soong family's influential role in the Kuomintang. Unlike the rest of her family, which sided with Chiang Kaishek, Chingling sided with the new revolutionary government and remained in mainland China when Chiang and most of the Kuomintang forces fled to Taiwan. See Biographies. [GS]

2. The Communist International (Comintern, for short) was dissolved by Stalin in 1943 in the middle of World War II. [GS]

3. Antonin Novotny (1904–75) was at this time first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and president of Czechoslovakia. See Biographies.

4. Wladyslaw Gomulka (1905–82) was at this time first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party. See Biographies.

5. Jiang Qing (alternative transliteration: Chiang Ching; 1914–91) was a Shanghai actress who became Mao's third wife in 1939. Mao's colleagues in the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party gave their consent to the marriage on condition that she would not take an active part in political life.

Apart from concerning herself with the reform of the Chinese theater, she fulfilled this condition until summer 1964, when she began to rise rapidly to political prominence. In 1966 she became deputy head of the Cultural Revolution Group of the CCP Central Committee. The power that she exercised in the decade of the Cultural Revolution (1966–76) gave her the opportunity to settle accounts with the leaders who had relegated her to obscurity for so many years. In the 1980s she was removed from all her official positions and denounced as a member of the "Gang of Four" for abusing power during the Cultural Revolution. She died in prison. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

6. At this time Edvard Kardelj (1910–79) was a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, of the league's Executive Committee, and of its Secretariat. [MN] In addition, he was a deputy chairman of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Aleksandar Rankovic (1909–83) was also a deputy chairman of the Federal Executive Council as well as a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

7. At the time of the conference of Communist parties, held in Moscow in November 1957, Kosygin (see Biographies) was a deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, first deputy chairman of its State Economic Commission, and a candidate member of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee. A few months later, however, in March 1958, Khrushchev himself was elected chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers (the equivalent of prime minister). As he related elsewhere in these memoirs (in his chapter entitled "A Few Words About Government Power, Zhukov, and Others," in Volume 2 of the present edition), Khrushchev proposed Kosygin for the post, but the majority of the Central Committee Presidium insisted on Khrushchev's becoming prime minister, while simultaneously retaining his post as first secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. For the transcript of the discussion of this question at the CC Presidium on March 25, 1958, see *Prezidium TsK KPSS, 1954–64: Chernovye protokolnye zapisi zasedanii: Stenogrammy* (Presidium of the CPSU CC, 1954–64: Rough-Draft Stenographic Records of the Minutes of Presidium Sessions) (Moscow, 2003), 300–302. [SK/GS/MN]

8. The walking excavator is a machine with "legs" for moving large quantities of earth. It was invented in the Unites States. [SK/SS]

9. Quemoy and Matsu are the largest of the 64 Pescadores Islands in the Taiwan Strait between Taiwan and the Chinese mainland. The Pescadores constitute Penghu county of the Republic of China (Taiwan), which now has a population of more than 90,000. [MN/SS]

10. The AIM-9 Sidewinder was a heat-seeking air-to-air missile carried by fighter aircraft. It was first deployed in 1956. Its launch weight was 85.5 kilograms (188 pounds) and its flight range 16 kilometers (10 miles). [SS] For more on the Sidewinder missile incident, see Sergei Khrushchev, *Nikita Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower,* 266–72. [SK]

11. These were R-12 missiles, or in the NATO designation, SS-4s. [SK]

12. In regard to the sensing element, see especially pp. 269–70 and 271–72 of Sergei Khrushchev, *Nikita Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower.* [SK]

13. The Great Leap Forward of 1958–60 had the proclaimed goal of turning China into "a great industrial power" within seven years, on the basis of the theory of development along a saddle-shaped trajectory. According to this theory, the achievements of a great leap would be consolidated in the course of a subsequent decline, followed by a new leap.

14. In August 1958, at an expanded meeting of the Politburo of the CCP Central Committee in Beidaihe, the decision was adopted to secure a rapid growth in the output of cast iron and steel by using domestic blast furnaces and steel smelters. The goal was set of increasing the annual output of steel from 10–12 million tons to 80–100 million tons by 1962. [MN] Beidaihe is a seaside resort on the Bo Hai inlet of the Yellow Sea, about 300 kilometers (180 miles) east of Beijing, at the southwestern end of Qinhuangdao municipality in Hebei province. It serves as a summer retreat for the country's top leaders. [SS]

15. Vylko (or Vulko) Chervenkov (1900–1980) at this time held the post of deputy prime minister. At an earlier period he was general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party (1949–54) and prime minister (1950–56). See Biographies.

16. See note 11 to the chapter "The Shelves in Our Stores Are Empty" in Volume 2 of these memoirs. [SK]

17. At the August 1958 meeting of the Chinese Politburo it was also decided to create 26,000 people's communes with an average membership of 20,000 and collectivized peasant property, land plots, labor, and means of production, equal distribution of incomes, and a militarized daily regime.

18. A *raion* is roughly the equivalent of a county in the United States. [GS]

19. This party congress was held between January 27 and February 5, 1959, mainly to adopt a seven-year plan for the Soviet economy in place of the usual five-year plan. [GS]

20. The slogan proclaimed in May 1956 was: "Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend." But in 1957 Mao declared that only "sweet-smelling flowers" were permitted to bloom, while "poisonous weeds" should be uprooted. [MN] The hundred flowers campaign was actually initiated by Zhou Enlai. Mao initially supported the campaign, but withdrew his support when much

of the criticism that he and Zhou had invited turned out to be unacceptably radical. The campaign was halted in July 1957 and was followed by the "antirightist campaign," in which many critics were labeled as "bourgeois rightists" and penalized or imprisoned. [SS]

21. Aleksandr Fyodorovich Zasyadko held this position from 1958 to 1962. It appears that in his youth he worked not as a miner as such but as a metalworker and fitter at coal mines in the Donbas. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

22. Anshan is a municipality in the central part of Liaoning province in northeast China (Manchuria). Its population is currently 3.6 million. The main city is Haicheng, with a population of 1.2 million. [SS] It is a center for ferrous metallurgy and the extraction of iron ore as well as oil refining. It also has engineering, chemicals, and cement-producing enterprises.

The Anshan metallurgical complex is China's largest metal-producing combine. Its construction started in 1916 under the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. The combine went into operation in 1931. In 1953 it underwent reconstruction with Soviet assistance. The complex encompasses iron ore enterprises, enrichment facilities, smelting and coking plants, and factories for the production of rolled metal, magnesite, refractory materials, acids, and mining equipment. [MN]

23. "Institutes" in the Soviet Union were equivalent to technical colleges in the United States. [SK]

24. These were P-15 antiship missiles for use by the navy. Western sources referred to the P-15 as the SS-N-2. It had a flight range of 40 kilometers (25 miles). [SK/SS]

25. The term in Russian is *predelshchiki* (the word for "limit" being *predel)*. It refers to people who insisted on standard limits being observed in the utilization of machinery. [GS] Khrushchev alludes to the experience of Stalin's five-year plans, when the term was used to pillory engineers who argued against the overuse of equipment in the quest for the highest possible output. [SS]

26. See the account of this incident in Sergei Khrushchev, *Nikita Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower,* 266–69. [SK]

27. At this time Vasily Vasilyevich Kuznetsov (1901–90) was first deputy foreign minister. In 1953 he had been Soviet ambassador to the Chinese People's Republic. See Biographies.

28. This is a paraphrase of a statement made by Stalin during World War II: "Hitlers come and go, but Germany and the German people remain." [SK]

FURTHER WORSENING OF RELATIONS WITH CHINA

In 1959 [as has been related] President Eisenhower invited me to make an official visit to the United States; we accepted the invitation, and in the fall of that year I flew to Washington.[1] Meanwhile, our relations with China kept growing worse, but our disagreements had not yet gone beyond the confines of internal discussion among the leaders of our two countries. For the time being they were not carried over into the press. Then suddenly China took aggressive military action against India [beginning with the Longju incident in August 1959 and culminating in major fighting along the Sino-Indian border in October-November 1959]. For our part, we had the very best relations with India. We had a high regard for the leader of India's peoples, Mr. Nehru, the head of the government, and his associates. They were pursuing a course of strengthening friendly relations with the USSR. Our delegation had visited India in 1955, and we had become acquainted with that country. Of course one short visit is plainly not enough to get to know a country properly, especially such a huge country as India, with all its different languages and peoples. Nevertheless, we now had a more specific picture of this remarkable country—more specific than before our visit. The main thing was that we had got to know Nehru and his associates better.

In principle the Chinese also had a friendly attitude toward India. They had taken part in the joint initiative of calling the Bandung Conference [in April 1955].[2] Zhou Enlai had played a major role at that conference. The declaration of principles worked out at the Bandung Conference[3] was impressive to us [in the Soviet leadership], given our understanding of the world situation. It impressed us with its call for peaceful coexistence, and in particular it gave us hope for the strengthening of friendly ties between China and India. They held common views on international questions. There did not seem to be anything that might portend a break in their friendship. We were happy about that and tried to move in the same direction, strengthening our contacts with both countries. After our visit to India [in fall 1955] our contacts with Nehru began to grow even stronger.

Nehru also visited the USSR and made a very good impression on us.[4] Of course he was not a Communist, but a bourgeois political figure and a democrat, who had his own political views. We understood that although he was not a Marxist, or a supporter of the Soviet type of governmental system, he did want to do good for his people, and he wanted life in India to be organized on a democratic basis. He still talked about socialism then, although rather vaguely, and it was hard for us to understand what kind of socialism he had in mind in general. After all, the term "socialism" has been dragged around a lot and is somewhat the worse for wear. Even Hitler adopted the term. It was not clear what the strategic long-term direction of development would be in India. We felt that we should display patience and not try to force the matter by discussing this subject during our conversations. Let life itself force Nehru to take a correct position that would satisfy the needs of the masses. Of course we did everything we could in practice to encourage him to take the socialist path of development. In addition, we had good relations with the Communist Party of India, which at that time was headed by Comrade Ghosh.[5]

But now the Sino-Indian conflict had broken out.[6] Later it developed quite extensively, with the participation of major military forces, large mutual losses, and the seizure of disputed territories. The Chinese press denounced Nehru as an opponent of socialism and as China's enemy number one. The Chinese know how to wage such a public campaign, to focus negative attention on the person they are condemning. We did not share their point of view and our press maintained restraint, taking the following position: an unexpected conflict had broken out between two nations—India, which is friendly toward us, and China, with which we have fraternal relations. That's exactly how we used our words: "friendly India" and "fraternal China." In this way we were showing that China was closer to us, and that in fact was the case. China really was closer to us in its ideology and its aim of developing in the direction of socialism and communism. In Nehru's time India did not proclaim any such goals. We accordingly made this verbal distinction between the two countries.

The scale of the fighting in their border districts kept expanding. My return to Moscow from Washington coincided with the national celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic [October 1, 1959]. A delegation from our country was supposed to attend. The members of our Central Committee Presidium expressed the view that I should head the delegation. What they had in mind was that given the rapid deterioration of relations that was evident between China and us, if I as the person who held the highest positions in the party didn't go, Beijing might take it that we were belittling the importance of their national holiday and of China's place in the world Communist movement. The comrades told me: "Despite the fact that you've just returned from Washington, you'll have to gather up your strength and fly to China to represent the land of the Soviets and its Communist Party and at the same time (and this was the most important thing) to hold appropriate talks with the Chinese leadership."

The war was still raging on the border with India, and we were obliged to express our attitude toward the events taking place there. A statement by TASS[7] was published in Moscow, saying that we regretted the military conflict between fraternal China and friendly India and we hoped that both sides would make every effort to stop military action and restore the relations that had previously existed. When I arrived in Beijing the Chinese leaders showed me all kinds of attentiveness outwardly. But I sensed that inwardly they were bursting with dissatisfaction over the political line of the USSR and over me personally. Our meetings and discussions began. The Chinese always assigned one particular person to take the role of primary opponent—that is, they didn't all argue with me. [Only one did,] and the others sat in silence. Mao usually didn't engage in unpleasant conversations, but entrusted them to someone else. Thus it was Zhou Enlai who at one time had spoken with us about the USSR's allocating resources to build a railroad through Xinjiang. It was also to Zhou Enlai that Mao entrusted the task of talking with us about transferring our artillery at Port Arthur to China free of charge. Zhou engaged in discussions very politely, in a refined diplomatic manner, never allowed himself to speak rudely or to use coarse phrases in relation not only to his interlocutors but also to third parties.

Chen Yi, the foreign minister,[8] conducted himself differently. I don't know if this was just his personality or if this was required of him by political considerations, but he presented himself as sharp-tongued and acerbic in the way he expressed himself, rude, crude, and coarse in his behavior, and abrasive in his dealings with others. I drew these conclusions about Chen Yi on the basis of a specific conversation with him on the question of the Sino-Indian border conflict. Our conversation took the following form: "Why," he suddenly asked, "did you publish that statement of TASS with such content? After all, Nehru is such a so-and-so." (And he began calling him all sorts of names.) I can't reproduce exactly the vocabulary of curse words that the foreign minister used at this point, and after all, that's not necessary. But Chen Yi did use every possible humiliating and insulting expression up to and including some that were personally demeaning to Nehru. His political characterization of Nehru was that he was the most thoroughgoing enemy of socialism and an agent of American imperialism and that there would be no further progressive development in India until Nehru was driven out or destroyed.

Of course we couldn't agree with this evaluation of Nehru's personality and social role. I pointed out that we had a different view, that our attitude toward Mr. Nehru was more favorable than Chen's, and that of all the leading bourgeois figures of India Nehru was precisely the most progressive. He was pursuing an anti-imperialist policy and had not concluded any treaties with the United States aimed against the interests of the people, whereas at that very time India's neighbor Pakistan had made a military alliance with the United States.[9] Therefore we had no reason to antagonize Nehru or push him away from us. On the contrary, we needed to strengthen Nehru's position in India, because if he were overthrown, reactionary forces would come to power, and they might redirect India's policy toward a rapprochement with imperialism. That would not benefit China or the USSR. I also said that we didn't understand the reasons for the current military conflict between the two countries. The areas over which the war was being fought were sparsely inhabited and high in the mountains. In general, we didn't know if they contained anything of value. The dispute over these territories should be settled by peaceful means.

I went on to give various examples of how border disputes with nonsocialist countries surrounding the Soviet Union had been settled in Lenin's time. For example, Lenin quickly resolved a border dispute with Turkey,[10] yielding fairly extensive territories that Russian troops had occupied after World War I.

These areas were inhabited by Armenians. On the Armenian flag there was a coat of arms depicting Mount Ararat, and Ararat is now located on Turkish territory. The Turks even complained to us, asking why Armenia had Mount Ararat on its flag. Was it making a claim to Turkish territory?[11] Our reply to the Turks was this: "Why do you have a half moon depicted on your flag? After all, the moon doesn't belong to Turkey, not even half the moon. What's going on? Do you want to take over the whole universe, and did you choose the moon as a symbol of that?"[12] The border dispute was dropped. Istanbul withdrew its objections. I gave other examples as well. Just at that time we had concluded negotiations straightening out the border with Iran.[13] Again we had made substantial concessions and had resolved the territorial dispute on the basis of mutual agreement, thereby, to our pleasure, removing a dispute that had lasted for many years. I asked: "Why then does China feel it has to go to war over border questions? We don't understand that."

But Chen Yi kept repeating over and over, as though he had been wound up like a machine: "Nehru, Nehru, Nehru! India is carrying out an imperialist policy! The Chinese will keep waging war until India's army is smashed. . . ." We were very disturbed by his statements. I should also recall the events in Tibet, which had occurred just before that, events that were unpleasant for China. An uprising had broken out in Tibet.[14] The Chinese forces in Tibet were small at first, and the Tibetans made a good showing in the course of the fighting and were even able to take power temporarily. At that time India took a pro-Tibet and anti-China position, expressing its sympathy for the Tibetans, if not openly, still rather obviously. I told the Chinese comrades that they should take a patient and understanding attitude toward this fact. After all, it would have been difficult politically for Nehru to support China on the Tibetan question. It should be kept in mind that Tibet borders on India, and it was more advantageous for India to have an independent Tibet, a weak country that did not represent any threat to India, whereas a Chinese-dominated Tibet would be a painful annoyance to them.

Although we were completely on China's side, I appealed to Beijing to be reasonable, to understand that Nehru was not a Communist and could not sympathize with our ultimate aims, and therefore it was hard to imagine that he would take China's side in its fight against the insurgent Tibetans. But it was all in vain; they didn't agree with me, and that's how our talks went. What about the general reception for our delegation? The "Oriental style" was displayed in full in this connection. The welcome we were given was very polite, and the conversations at dinner were most polite. The official talks on the other hand were extremely strained.

We were accompanied to the airport [for the departing flight] by Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu Deh, and Chen Yi. At the airport Chen Yi continued his attacks on India and Nehru; Soviet leaders were not yet being attacked at that time. The other Chinese leaders present were virtually silent the whole time, putting in a comment or two only now or then. Mao spoke up in support of Chen Yi a couple of times. The tone of the conversation was even harsher than before. Chen Yi no longer even pretended to choose his words.

How did China's military operations against India develop after that? The Chinese forces were better armed and more disciplined. They had had some serious schooling in real warfare relatively recently. The Indians had nothing like that. Naturally they suffered rather big defeats. I'm not about to try describing exactly how the military operations unfolded or how it all ended. That's well known from the newspapers. And for all practical purposes I had just about the same sources of information as did the general public elsewhere in the world.

There is one other aspect of the situation that I would like to go into in this connection. The military conflict gave rise to great difficulties for progressive public opinion in India and placed the Communist Party of India (CPI) in a painful and difficult position. That party suffered a split over the question of its attitude toward the war with China. The majority of the party followed Ghosh, who advocated defense of the fatherland and supported the actions of Nehru, but some very good Communists, members of the CPI's Central Committee, people I knew personally and respected, took a pro-Chinese position, expressing themselves in favor of the defeat of the Indian army. For its part, Beijing developed an energetic propaganda campaign against the majority of the CPI, and thereby against the CPSU, which held an analogous position in favor of an end to the war without total victory or total defeat for either side. And in fact, that is how the war ended.

Very soon the question of our own border with China came up. That existed long before the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949, and we adhered strictly to the existing border. On the Chinese side the border was not even guarded at first, but there were border troops on our side. Of course even for us the guarding of that border was pretty much a formality. Chinese cattle herders often drove their livestock over the border to pasture on Soviet territory. They had done that since ancient times. And we never made any complaints or protests about it. As I recall, there was even some sort of agreement that in certain places Chinese citizens could pasture their cattle on our territory adjacent to the border.[15] The question of relations between China and Mongolia was also closely linked with this whole problem. I would also like to dwell on that subject. The question was raised at a meeting between representatives of the Soviet Union and China. The Chinese side was headed by Mao Zedong, but the question was posed to us by Zhou Enlai. We understood of course that Zhou was saying what Mao had dictated to him.

Zhou tried to bring the matter up diplomatically: "How would you view it if Mongolia became part of the Chinese state?"

In reply I objected: "You are raising a question that is very difficult for us to answer. It concerns the Mongolian People's Republic and China. It doesn't concern us. We are a third party."

Apparently the Chinese had foreseen such a reply, because Zhou immediately said: "All right. But what is your personal opinion? What would you yourself think about this?"

I answered: "Our attitude toward the matter would depend on how it was viewed in Ulan-Bator. But I would think that such a proposal would hardly make the Mongolians very happy. How many years now has this republic existed as an independent state, with its own parliament, administration, and army?[16] For them to become part of China now would simply mean to be deprived of their independence. That's hardly likely to make them happy. Besides, Mongolia is now just about to join the United Nations, and many countries have diplomatic relations with Mongolia. Is it supposed to be deprived of all that? Why? I would say that your proposal would create difficulties for the leaders of Mongolia. But in general I can't speak for them. I don't know what they would say." With that the subject was exhausted. The Chinese didn't return to it.

When our relations with China grew worse, Beijing made a number of territorial claims on us and even accused us of seizing territory from the European socialist countries. Out of nowhere the Chinese dragged up the question of whether the Soviet Union had supposedly reincorporated territories that before World War I had been part of the Russian empire—referring to Bessarabia, the Baltic states, and parts of Poland. In short, as the Chinese later elaborated over the radio, the Soviet government was allegedly pursuing the same foreign policy as the former tsarist government, the policy of seizing territories from other countries.

I think the Soviet government has given sensible enough explanations on this point. Its policy has been absolutely correct. If the borders that have been formed historically were now to be annulled, denying recognition to the validity of territorial possessions that came to the fraternal socialist governments as an inheritance from previous monarchical, imperial, or tsarist governments, and if we were to begin searching for ethnically based borders and looking at areas where various nationalities had settled in the long distant past—if we did that, we would get all tangled up; we would start quarreling with one another and would hardly be able to solve the problem rationally. After all, entire populations or ethnic groups, who now have their own states, would have to be deprived of those territories because their remote ancestors had come there and settled on land that had not belonged to them. All these people had originally come from somewhere else and were living [on occupied territory] in their present locations. So what should be done? Should they be driven out and sent to live on the moon? This theory of revising existing borders is insupportable. No intelligent purposes are served by it. It's being dredged up with the aim of getting our different ethnic populations fighting among themselves, to muddy up the waters and in those muddy waters to catch poor fools who will adopt an aggressive policy in relations among fraternal socialist countries. It is a fallacious policy. Unfortunately, the Chinese continue to pursue this policy.

Mongolia, of its own accord, decided to realign its border with China. This is a complicated question because Mongolian territory consists of two parts. On the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR), the Mongolians have established their own independent state, but another part of the Mongolian people continues to live within the borders of the Chinese state. That territory is called Inner Mongolia, because it is inside China and lies between the MPR and the non-Mongol territories of China.[17] How should the border here be defined? It would be hard to find a historically justified or ethnically based dividing line, because in fact the present-day border cuts across the living body of the Mongolian people and the ancient territory of the Mongolian state. As it turned out, Mongolia and China exchanged maps and began talks. I must say that I was pleasantly surprised at how quickly the disputed questions were solved, with the Chinese not being particularly stubborn about their original proposals. Soon both sides came to mutual agreement and marked out borders that were more clearly defined and that were satisfactory to both the MPR and China. They signed a treaty to this effect, and a solid borderline was established, officially recognized by both states.

The same problem arose with us. The Chinese press began to call into question the Sino-Soviet border, which had been established long before. In discussions with our advisers in China, the Beijing leadership stated in a very hostile way that the Russians had taken what was then the Soviet Far Eastern region from China, along with other adjacent territories. We wanted to eliminate such disputes once and for all and to reach agreement with Beijing on all border questions. Some misunderstandings arose between us in regard to the border along the Ussuri River and along some other rivers. As is generally known, rivers tend to change course over time, and new islands are sometimes formed. Under the treaty signed between China and the tsarist government, the Chinese bank of the river formed the border, not the middle of the river channel, as is the usual practice under international law. Thus, if new islands were formed they were considered Russian. Of course we recognized the interests of the local Chinese population de facto in connection with some of these islands. The local Chinese population used these islands as places to pasture their cattle and obtain wood. We took a fraternal and understanding attitude toward such everyday needs, and our border troops, as it were, looked the other way, not regarding this as a violation of the border in such cases.

Later the situation became more strained. The Chinese began shooting at our border guards' river patrol boats. There were clashes between our border guards and Chinese "peasants." Our border-guard commanders reported that these were not peasants at all, but Chinese border troops wearing civilian clothing. They would grab our people "by the throat" and threaten them with weapons. Our border troops should be given credit. They conducted themselves in a disciplined way and rigorously carried out their instructions: not to allow themselves to be provoked under any circumstances into an armed conflict. As a result these confrontations had a peaceful outcome for the most part. People grabbed at one another's clothing and ripped off buttons, and sometimes a slugfest broke out here or there, but no weapons came into play.

We officially appealed to Beijing: "Let's come to an agreement. Why should there be clashes between our border troops, with the danger of a bigger conflict developing, which would be harmful for both of our countries?" I don't remember how long the correspondence went back and forth, but China agreed to a meeting. We organized a government commission and proposed that China choose a place for us to meet. The Chinese proposed that the meeting take place on their territory and we agreed. The negotiations began. At first Beijing presented its territorial claims in oral form. They demanded that Vladivostok and fairly extensive territories in the Soviet Central Asian republics be "given back" to China. Of course we could not accept that or even take it as a basis for further discussion. Our side presented its understanding of the situation and its interpretation of the borders that had been formed historically. As a result it was agreed that each side would present its map with proposed changes to the existing borders. Such a map had already been worked up on our side; our government had reviewed it and entrusted our representatives to convey it to Beijing. The Chinese also handed over their version of a map.

When we looked at the Chinese map, we saw that Vladivostok was no longer designated as Chinese territory. This claim was withdrawn in silence, without any comment. The Chinese claimed some of the islands in the rivers along the border, but the main thing was their demand for the border along the rivers to be in the central shipping channel rather than on the Chinese side of the river. We agreed to that, because that is the usual practice worldwide. In deciding questions in dispute with China, we generally tried to base ourselves on accepted world practices. In the end we agreed to transfer to China most of the islands it laid claim to, and after that virtually no disputes remained over the border separating China and the USSR, with one exception: Beijing insisted that Chinese ships be allowed to use the main channel on the Amur River near Khabarovsk. Under the old treaty with Russia[18] they had the right to sail only in the channel adjacent to the Chinese side of the river. Now Beijing was demanding the right to sail literally under the walls of Khabarovsk. We wanted to keep the old agreement in force, because relations between us were strained, and we didn't want people with a hostile attitude coming so close to such an important location. The Chinese disagreed with us, and that clause was not included in the written agreement.[19]

We also looked at the rest of the border (which stretches for more than 2,000 kilometers [about 1,250 miles], the land border in many places passing through mountainous regions where only hunters travel). After reviewing China's claims, we advised our delegation to take a middle position. The disputed sectors of the border were not large and did not represent any particular value for us or, in our view, for China. We wanted to simply draw a line and divide the disputed areas in half. In some places we would make concessions, giving China new territory, and in other places bulges would be straightened out to our advantage. Under this arrangement the result would not be exact, literal compensation [of new territory to one side in exchange for territory given up elsewhere], but a general straightening out of the borderline. Of course in some areas you couldn't draw a straight borderline, because the border exists to serve people and can't always be a straight line "as the crow flies." Ideally, a border should pass through areas that are accessible to border troops, so the dividing line should of course be worked out in its final details in the local areas. We proceeded from the standpoint that it was better not to make waves, but to arrive at an amicable agreement. It seemed to us that in this situation each minus would be made up for by a plus, so to speak—that is, a concession by us in one place would be compensated for by a concession by the Chinese in another. We hoped that now an overall solution would be found that would not be to detrimental to either the prestige or the basic territory of either side.

Our delegation presented the position of the Soviet government. But Beijing did not accept our proposals and insisted that all questions be decided only as indicated on the Chinese map. The main obstacle to the signing of a border treaty was no longer just the refusal of the Chinese to accept our proposals; there was something else going on. In the end we were willing to agree to accept their proposals so as to put an end to these disputes once and for all. The main problem, however, was that Beijing insisted that we accept in the text of the treaty a statement that the Sino-Soviet been established on terms of inequality when China was weak and that the tsarist government had imposed by force a border that was to Russia's advantage. The demand to officially state in a treaty that the border was based on an unjust agreement would have been absolutely unacceptable for any sovereign state. After all, the earlier Sino-Russian treaties had been signed by both sides, some of them centuries earlier, and some of them decades earlier. If we were to agree with Beijing, we would have to renounce all the territories that Russia had obtained earlier, and for the sake of justice to the Chinese we would have had to give back all those territories, supposedly acquired on an unequal basis. Beijing was bluntly demanding this and continues to do so.

When we saw that we would not succeed in reaching an agreement and that new claims might be made against us, we stated honestly and forthrightly that the territory China was claiming had never historically been Chinese. At one time China might have had some of its people there who collected tribute from the local population with the use of force, and on that basis Beijing was now saying those were Chinese territories. But the people who lived there were not Chinese, not at all; they were Kazakhs, Tajiks, Kirgiz, and other Central Asian or Siberian and Far Eastern ethnic groups. In the maritime region [near the Pacific] the Chinese had had only some isolated settlements. To be sure, they had been trying to colonize that region, but for the most part the Chinese people there had been hunters and traders. They had enjoyed the same rights that Russians did who later penetrated the area and gradually pushed the Chinese out economically. The political incorporation of the maritime region into Russia had taken place long before [in 1860].[20] Any attempt now to revise those historically established borders, to call them into question and to try to redraw them, was hopeless and would not produce an improvement in relations between our countries. No disputes between countries could be resolved on such a basis.

Our delegation returned from China without an agreement. The next negotiating session was to take place in the USSR. Our government reviewed everything that was required and gave appropriate instructions to our delegation, which was headed by the commander of Soviet border troops [Colonel General P.I. Zyryanov].[21] He made a good impression on me as a calm and sensible man. I felt he was capable of conducting the negotiations with a full understanding of the situation. Then we contacted China to find out when the delegations would be able to meet again. But Beijing gave no reply whatsoever. Up to the end of my activity as a leader of the party and government, we still had received no reply. My only information about how events are developing now on this border question comes from the newspapers. It is evident from the papers that the Soviet position is clear and has not changed in any fundamental respect. The Soviet government is following the same line regarding the border with China that it did in my day.

I should add that the trickiest problem of all had to do with the Pamir Mountain region.[22] The status of the Pamir region was not provided for under any treaty between the tsarist government and China. That was the source of the difficulty. We instructed our delegation to explain that historically the Pamirs had been inhabited by Tajiks, and by rights the region should belong to them. No Chinese live there now, nor had they before. Why was there any question about this? The border there should remain as it had been historically. I can't say how the Chinese reacted to this explanation because, as I said, there were no more meetings during my time as head of government.

Today [in 1969], our delegation, which is headed by [Vasily] Kuznetsov,[23] is again engaged in negotiations. I don't know how they are proceeding or what territorial claims Beijing is still making. But it is obvious from statements in the Chinese press that Beijing is continuing a hostile policy toward the USSR, just as when I headed the Soviet government. It's too bad! But I believe that, in spite of everything, a time will come (although I don't know when that will be) when the Chinese leaders will realize the need to solidify the ranks of the socialist countries and Communist parties in the interests of all our peoples and in the interest of the struggle for peace and for socialism on the earth. Then the conflict will be resolved on a rational basis, and both sides will begin to do everything they can to strengthen our common friendship and to move with united efforts toward the goal set by Marx and Lenin, toward communism.

In talking about the history of our relations with China, I've mainly touched on affairs of state. But the disputes between our two countries could not help but affect relations between our two parties. In this connection I would like to cite some facts that were characteristic of the development of the Chinese Communist Party's relations with the CPSU and with other fraternal parties. After the Bandung Conference China took a firm stand in the united ranks of the fighters for peace and for peaceful coexistence between countries with differing social systems, but with the passage of time China began to stand apart and pursue separate policies, and ultimately it reached the point where it began to undermine the peace movement. As is generally known, the participants in the peace movement include people from various social strata, people of differing religions, and people whose property-owning status varies. These people were united by one desire—to ensure international peace. In my activity I persistently supported this same position and campaigned for it with all my strength. I believed then, and I still believe today, that this policy corresponds to the interests of all nations, both capitalist and socialist.

As early as the 1950s China began gradually torpedoing the peace movement, expressing disagreement with the concept of peaceful coexistence and stating that it leads to bourgeois pacifism and weakens the revolutionary ardor of the people, their urge to change the state of affairs in the world. The Chinese argued that only drastic and radical action against capitalism could promote the transition to socialism; that revolutionary work had to be conducted much more intensively, and that we should not be diverted into the struggle for peace, which disarms and weakens the mass of the people. Beijing also spoke out against participation by representatives of the bourgeoisie in the peace movement, declaring that an alliance with them is a betrayal of the interests of the working class. For our part we didn't think it sensible to weaken such an important movement by driving bourgeois elements in the peace movement away from us. These were people who trusted us and were doing everything they could to ensure peace on earth. For example, Cyrus Eaton[24] is a very prominent capitalist, a magnate in the coal and steel industry, but an intelligent man who is sincerely working for peace and who advocates peaceful coexistence between the United States and the Soviet Union. Why should we drive him away from us? Just because he is a capitalist? That would be stupid! Many religious figures who hold high positions in society also support peaceful coexistence. And we didn't consider it sensible to drive them away from us either.

In this connection I want to recall a remarkable man, Canon Félix Kir of Dijon[25] in France. Today he is no longer with us. But when I visited France I met with him. At one time this man had done a great deal to help in the organization of the struggle by French patriots against the Nazi occupation of their country, and until the end of his life he was devoted to the peace movement. How can you drive such people away? On the contrary, we must try to mobilize all such forces, so that they will work in the same direction as the Communists and fight to preserve peace on earth and for a better rearrangement of society. Revolutionary transformations and a change in the social and political structure are internal questions for each country, and they should be decided not by means of war but by organizing the working class, which in alliance with the peasantry and the intelligentsia will strive toward the victory of Marxist-Leninist ideas for rearranging society. These are the goals and aims that we have always served.

Beijing, on the other hand, did everything it could to undermine the unity of the peace movement. It put together factional groupings and created all sorts of difficulties at meetings of representatives of the peace movement from various countries, undermining the attempt to adopt unanimous resolutions.

Inside China a lot of work was also being done to discredit the policies of the USSR as a whole and to discredit the Soviet specialists in China in particular. As a result, conditions developed in which our specialists could no longer work normally. They were no longer trusted, and in fact they were made a mockery of. We decided that the continued presence of our specialists in China would not contribute to the improvement of relations between our countries. We had pursued the aim, on our side, of providing all possible economic assistance to develop China's science and technology, and now all of this was being turned against us. Our technical proposals were deliberately being downrated; our machine tools and other equipment were being called defective. Quite a few of our people who were working in China had intolerable working and living conditions created around them. Therefore we were confronted with the question of what to do. We had sent our best specialists and exemplary workers to China, to the detriment of our own country, depriving ourselves of our best people, who had been trained in Soviet industry and agriculture. And now, instead of appreciating our friendly assistance, our former friends were turning this around, turning it against us, trying to discredit us, and insulting our people.

A certain incident played a role in our decision to recall our specialists from China. Some disputes had arisen at that time between China and North Vietnam,[26] after which the Chinese withdrew all their specialists from North Vietnam. We too found ourselves in the position where the presence of our people in China was no longer achieving the goals for which we had sent them. There was no other way out of the situation than to bring our people home. When we recalled them [in 1960], the Chinese began to loudly express their indignation and to put on a performance in front of the fraternal

Communist parties, saying, in effect, "Look what a terrible thing the Soviet Union has done, depriving China of assistance." They have people in Beijing who are very skilled in such propaganda. Incidentally, I want to emphasize unconditionally that when I say "the Chinese" this does not apply in any way to the people as a whole. The majority of Chinese are friendly, hard-working people, who deserve great respect. What I have said applies only to the clique around Mao Zedong. It was he who was directing this policy against us, and he above all bears the responsibility for the break in our relations. Neither the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) and certainly not the Chinese people as a whole are guilty of this; in fact they themselves suffered from this foolhardy policy.

In the first stage of our disagreements Beijing conducted the struggle against us in such a way that it did not go beyond the bounds of relations between our parties and internal contacts. Material about our disagreements was not published in the press on any broad basis. However, the work they were carrying out against us was of course conducted on such a large scale that it was impossible to hide, and the sparrows on all the rooftops had begun twittering about it. It was being trumpeted in all the anti-Soviet media abroad that a break between China and the USSR was already close at hand and that the dispute between us was growing hotter. This made the opponents of Marxist-Leninist politics happy, and for that they had weighty grounds. At the moment when an open discussion in the press began, we discovered that the Albanian leadership had gone over to the Chinese side. How did this happen? Precisely at the time when our relations were getting more and more strained, an Albanian delegation went to China. In principle, we always considered such trips useful. We were also happy to travel to China ourselves and were ready to repeat such working visits as we had made before. We regarded such visits by representatives of all the fraternal parties as useful means of establishing personal contacts, which served to strengthen relations between the parties and countries. This helped us all to keep our Marxist-Leninist weapons sharp and in good readiness for battle.

But it turned out that the trip by the Albanian delegation had another aim in mind. We were dumbfounded when we heard about the kind of conversations the Chinese were having with the Albanians. These discussions were conducted on a confidential basis, but when the delegation passed through Moscow a member of the Politburo of the Albanian Party of Labor, Liri Belisheva, went to see Comrade Andropov. She abided by the historical position of friendship with the Soviet Union and was outraged at the discussions that had been held. She was a staunch Communist who had passed through the severe school of struggle against Italian fascism earlier in her life and had suffered in the torture chambers of the fascist prisons. In prison they knocked out one of her eyes. She was a person greatly devoted to the Communist cause. Like other genuine Albanian Communists, she was an advocate of friendship with the Soviet Union and told us in a comradely way about the conversations that had taken place in Beijing, having been thunderstruck by their anti-Soviet trend. She reported that the Chinese had initiated the conversations but the Albanians had responded willingly and accepted the anti-Soviet arguments of Beijing.

We showed great naiveté at that time. The chairman of Albania's Council of Ministers, Mehmet Shehu,[27] was being treated then in a Soviet hospital. It seems that Andropov went to see him. Andropov was then the head of the party's Central Committee department in charge of relations with Communist parties of the socialist countries. Andropov told Shehu that we had received this information and even informed him who provided us with the information. We thought that Mehmet Shehu and Enver Hoxha[28] were our true friends, genuine Communists, and we had no doubt that this news would astound them just as it had us. We didn't think they shared these views, but we were badly mistaken. As soon as our man left Shehu, the latter removed his hospital clothing and flew back to Albania. A full-scale witch-hunt developed there against people who favored friendship with the Soviet Union. They were declared enemies of the Albanian Party of Labor and enemies of their homeland. As for Liri Belisheva, the Communist woman who had come to see us, she was removed from the Albanian Politburo and even expelled, as I recall, from the Albanian Party of Labor. Things ended with her actually being arrested, and I think she was physically eliminated. The Albanian leaders behaved like wild animals. They dealt savagely with anyone who was not to their liking. Infamous three-member boards [like the ones that had carried out Stalin's purges in the USSR] were established and headed by [Bequir] Balluku.[29] These boards handed down sentences and themselves put the sentences into effect, including executions.

When we found out what was going on in Albania, the cup of our patience overflowed, and we decided that measures had to be taken. But I will tell about that later.[30]

As for the Chinese, they began circulating their propaganda in our country. Their students distributed anti-Soviet literature at some of our institutions of higher education, including leaflets, and tried to organize anti-Soviet demonstrations in the streets and city squares. Our students studying in China under an intergovernmental exchange program suffered all sorts of insults and for all practical purposes were no longer able to study there. We decided to recall them and in turn propose that the Chinese students leave our country. We asked Beijing to remove those who were behaving improperly in the Soviet Union. When these people returned to China, at the very last railroad station before the Mongolian border, they made a very crude and barbaric demonstration. It feels improper even to talk about what they did. They took down their trousers and made a mess right on the railroad platform and the floor of the railroad station. I don't even know how to refer to such a demonstration. It was sheer swinishness! And supposedly these were cultured people doing this. They didn't do it because they failed to understand that it was indecent; they knew very well. In fact they did it precisely because it was indecent. That's why they pulled off this stunt against us.

Of course actions like that could not be kept secret from public opinion. They could not be considered the result of a misunderstanding, in response to which we should wait patiently until everything became normal again. Our relations with Beijing were strained to the utmost. I must say that during the time of good relations we had signed an agreement for cooperation in the field of atomic energy, including the transfer to China of secrets for producing atomic weapons. In general, we had given China everything. We had no secrets from China, and Chinese scientists, engineers, and designers in the field of atomic energy worked hand in hand with our people in that field. When China asked us for an atomic bomb, we gave our scientists the assignment to take the appropriate representatives from China and teach them how to do this. Our scientists proposed that an appropriate model of an atomic bomb be built for them. I can't explain here exactly what kind of model it was or why it was necessary to do that. After all, the concept of state secrets does exist. It's enough just to mention it. And sure enough, a small-capacity atomic bomb was built for them as a prototype.

It was just at the time when relations deteriorated most abruptly that the training of Chinese specialists had been completed and the prototype bomb had been packed ready for shipment. The minister of atomic industry (officially he headed the Ministry of Medium Machine-Building)[31] reported that everything was in readiness, including authorization to ship the bomb, and people were getting ready to send it off. They were only waiting for the signal to be given! We gathered at a meeting of the party's Central Committee Presidium. It was very hard for us to decide what to do. We knew that China would use it all against us if we broke our agreement and refused to ship the prototype. On the other hand, they were denouncing us so hard and making such inconceivable territorial claims against us, how could we at a time like that supply them with an atomic bomb, as though we were unthinking, obedient slaves? We decided not to send it. As soon as we had done that, the Chinese of course immediately made use of it to try to turn fraternal parties against the CPSU, complaining that the Soviet Union was not sharing its military technology with China and didn't want to provide aid to China. Of course that was a lie, because every type of modern armament that China possessed had been produced on the basis of models supplied from the USSR and with our full cooperation. China had learned [from us] the entire technological process for producing any kind of weapon: rifles, artillery, tanks, missiles, aircraft, and naval weapons. Everything that Beijing had asked for we had immediately given, including the very best models.

In this period our ideological conflict was still being conducted through confidential channels. It had not yet come out in the open. It was being expressed in indirect statements with hidden meaning. However, even in that situation Beijing considered any methods permissible. The only thing that neither China nor the Soviet Union allowed itself to do at that time was to openly carry the dispute into the press, nor did we attack personalities; we left the leaders of our respective countries and parties untouched. However, after I was retired, I read in the papers and heard on the radio [from a Chinese radio station broadcasting in Russian] insulting statements by the Chinese directed at me personally and at the new leadership of the Soviet Union. This cuttingly abusive language was the kind you don't often hear even from the class enemy. It's not enough to call them "unfriendly" statements. They were hostile calls for the overthrow of Soviet power in the USSR. But I won't talk about this because our press has already given sufficient attention to this matter.

Unfortunately, that was the shape our relations were taking. It was a very grievous development in the eyes of genuine and sincere Communists. I personally feel very aggrieved that things turned out this way. I believed with all my heart and wanted to believe in China. I was overjoyed with China's victories. I followed the course of the Chinese people's struggle for their liberation with great enthusiasm. The Chinese people carried on this struggle under the banner of the Communist Party. All of us were overjoyed when the Chinese comrades won their victory. We considered this a tremendous victory for all revolutionary forces. Unfortunately, our efforts are no longer conducted in common. They have been disconnected, and the socialist camp has been weakened as a result. But I want to believe and I am convinced that this will not last long. The Chinese Communist Party will find healthy elements within itself, and they will overcome the illness afflicting the CCP.

Alas, what is now going on in the Chinese Communist Party is to some degree a repetition of what Stalin did in his day in our Communist Party. He also hid behind the claim that he was fighting for the revolution, for socialism, and against the enemies of the people. But who were these "enemies of the people"? The best sons and daughters of the Communist Party, cadres who had built the party together with Lenin and who, under his leadership, had worked in the underground [in the tsarist era] and during the first years of Soviet power. These were the people Stalin proclaimed to be enemies of the people. Now their names have been cleared. It's true that their good names have not yet been restored completely, and they are not given the full attention that history and justice require. But there is a process moving inexorably in that direction, and the truth will prevail. At the Twentieth Party Congress we showed courage and spoke the word of truth. But now the future is more important than the past.

People must watch very closely so that such Stalinist actions will not be repeated in the future, so that they will be ruled out completely. Special measures must be taken to guard the people against establishment of a dictatorship in our country. The most important thing is the existence of democracy and a high level of culture and morality among party members and among the people as a whole. In this case the people itself will know how to defend itself against tyranny and against the abuse of power.

What is happening in China is very similar to what happened in our country earlier. Mao Zedong has, so to speak, taken the bit in his teeth. He accumulated power after the victory over Chiang Kai-shek and established himself firmly at the head of the government. Now he is taking reprisals against those with whom he originally won his victory. In order to exterminate the party cadres, he has taken up the same weapon that Stalin used, even though such methods were exposed and denounced at the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU. Mao approved the resolutions passed at those congresses of ours, spoke extensively in the same spirit, but then dreamed up the "cultural revolution." What does culture have to do with it? But then, it doesn't matter what particular slogan is used when honest people's heads are placed on the chopping block. The point is that this is being done for the sake of consolidating the power of one individual. In our country it was Stalin; in China, Mao. The same kind of danger threatens all the fraternal countries and can be repeated in any Communist Party. There are no guarantees against a repetition. Words alone cannot bar the path to the onset of tyranny. Only the party itself and the people themselves, if they are aware of their responsibilities to history and have respect for human dignity, not only in the collective but in the case of every individual, only then will they know how to bar the way to dictatorship. Otherwise the imposition of dictatorship by one individual cannot be opposed. This is the only way to train and educate collective thinking to serve the interests of the people and the triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

When Mao tossed out the slogan, "Let a hundred flowers bloom," he opened the floodgates for free expression of any opinion both orally and in writing, both in the party and among the people as a whole. In fact this was a well thought-out, malicious provocation. He called on people to express themselves openly and then began to exterminate those whose freely expressed ideas he considered harmful. In such cases people always cover themselves with the argument that they are fighting against harmful ideas. But who decided what is harmful or beneficial? Mao himself. Thus, everyone who had ever gone against him was said to be harmful for the new system. In our country Stalin turned the worthiest of people into "enemies of the people." And the same people who yesterday had applauded them today were demanding their execution and approving abuse of power without requiring any proof of the correctness of such actions. Stalin found people who would juggle the facts [to fabricate criminal cases], manufacture evidence, and put it into circulation. Mao today is operating with the very same methods.

It's interesting to observe the metamorphosis in his attitude toward Stalin. After Stalin's death, when we met with Mao, he had very unflattering comments to make about Stalin, accusing him of not understanding the essence of the Chinese revolution and of underestimating the people's potential. It was very hard for me to understand Mao's views on the working class. In the war against Chiang Kaishek Mao relied more on the peasantry and in general regarded the peasants as more revolutionary than the working class. Stalin criticized Mao for that. And Mao cited specific facts, referring to specific letters from Stalin to Chiang Kaishek and to Mao, from which it followed that the Comintern had played an especially harmful role for China. The Comintern operated on Stalin's orders or followed his orientation. Since the Comintern was located in Moscow, it did everything Stalin suggested. Mao was indignant that he had been advised at one time not to fight especially hard against Chiang Kaishek but to try to establish contacts with him and unite [Chiang's and Mao's] efforts in the struggle against the Japanese aggressor. And evidently that did happen.[32] A certain historical logic is evident in these recommendations [from Stalin and the Comintern for Communist cooperation with Chiang] because the main danger to China at that time was coming from Japan, and it was necessary to unite all efforts to repel the invader. This did not mean that their forces had to merge. What was needed was to shift the center of gravity temporarily to focus on repelling the foreign invasion.

The Chinese representative to the Comintern then was Wang Ming. He is still alive and well today. My attitude toward Comrade Wang was always one of respect. I think he understood the revolutionary process in China correctly and was among those who worked out the correct directives. When Mao directed sharp criticism at Stalin, he had in mind Wang Ming as well; Mao held that Wang had not correctly understood the situation in China and had not acted correctly when he had headed the Chinese Communist Party in the early 1930s. One sensed in Mao's remarks that he was seeking a justification for having overthrown Wang Ming. Today Comrade Wang would obviously have lost his head if he had been in Mao's reach.[33] Immediately after the victory of the revolution, Mao didn't want to dirty his hands with the blood of Wang Ming. Wang was treated respectfully and was elected in absentia to the CCP Central Committee, but it was recommended that Wang not return to China; he took up residence in Moscow. Later the situation changed. We have information that several attempts were made to kill Wang Ming. Poisoned food products were sent to him from China. He always tested the food on his cats before eating it. Who could have had an interest in doing that? Only Mao. Mao has a certain loyal hatchet man, just as Stalin had Beria. The man's name was Kang Sheng.[34] With the possibilities that both Kang and Mao had at their disposal, it would not have been so difficult for them to select a means for killing anyone. But Wang Ming played it safe in knowing the habits of his "friends"; he took precautions and avoided premature death.

But why was Mao friendly at first toward the Soviet leadership formed after Stalin's death, only to make a 180-degree turn later? Why at first did he keep repeating that he was a friend of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and later go back on his words? Why at first did he support us in our condemnation of Stalin and later begin to glorify Stalin? Underlying this behavior was megalomania. We noticed it when the Soviet delegation first went to China. Mao suffered from the same illness that Stalin suffered throughout his life. Stalin couldn't acknowledge anyone else as his equal. The people who worked around him he regarded as furniture. It was necessary to have it to eat on, sit on, and sleep on. When the furniture became worn out a little, as he saw it, he calmly had it changed.

Mao is doing the same thing now. At first after Stalin's death he wanted to take control of us, to win us over with flattery. And he made a profuse display of friendliness. He praised us for the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and said that we had shown wisdom in exposing and denouncing

Stalin's abuses of power. But when he saw that he couldn't buy us with kindness, that we had our own firm point of view and wanted to carry out a strictly Marxist-Leninist policy as we understood it, and when he was convinced that he could not influence us by any means or methods, or make us into tame creatures who would do his bidding, that he couldn't establish his hegemony over us and through our party extend that hegemony to the international Communist movement, then he lost his earlier hopes and began to seek other means of demonstrating his genius and superiority over those around him.

That's when he thought up the "great leap forward" and the communes. He wanted to make a show of special Chinese methods of building socialism and the Maoist style of leadership that would in the shortest time solve the problem posed by Lenin: to catch up with and surpass the capitalist world in the production of goods per capita and to thus make the socialist world invincible. Mao proposed that China would catch up with Britain in a few years and then go after the United States, and in passing it would exceed the gains made by the peoples of the Soviet Union. He wanted to achieve this with little expenditure and in a very short time. Before the "great leap forward" and the communes, China's strength had been building up very quickly. I was delighted by that. India served as a good standard for comparison. China was distinguishing itself quite noticeably in comparison to India. Here was a useful argument. Before the victory of people's power in China, both of these countries had been at more or less the same level of development, with India even having a better industrial base. But then the standard of living in China had risen more quickly. That showed the superiority of the socialist system!

But when China made its "great leap forward" and Mao decided to show the world the "Chinese miracle" of backyard steel furnaces—and later when he had brought the people to ruin by creating "communes" and had turned the communes into semi-militarized settlements—the Chinese economy was disorganized, and a downturn began in industry and agriculture. At that point he should have admitted his errors. But do you think Stalin or Mao was capable of admitting mistakes? In Stalin's case when he had committed very crude errors in the collectivization of agriculture, violating the principle that joining a collective farm had to be a voluntary decision, he suddenly came out with his famous letter called "Dizzy with Success."[35] This was a case of amazing perfidiousness. We took the "dizzy with success" slogan for good coin, and it became part of our history. But what kind of dizziness could there have been when there was no real success at all? It was not success but a disaster! Things should have been called by their real names, and the situation should have been corrected. But Stalin was incapable of acting that way, and he dumped all the blame on the "cadres" [lower-ranking party leaders], who at first lost their posts and later lost their heads. Mao operated with the same methods when he began the "cultural revolution." That so-called revolution was in reality a counterrevolution. It's hard for me to say how it might have been interpreted in the Chinese Communist Party and among the people, but every Chinese person knows how it was manifested concretely.

When he destroyed the party cadres and the intellectuals and destroyed everything in order to bring the country to such a state that he himself would be recognized as a god (no longer just a leader, but a god), Mao particularly reminded me of how things had been in our country. When Stalin's name was mentioned at meetings, everyone rose from their seats and applauded, just as people cross themselves in church when the Lord's name is mentioned. It was the same kind of action, but in our case it was more like gymnastic exercises at party meetings: you stood up and clapped and then you sat down. Mao did things more simply. He ordered that excerpts from his speeches be printed [the famous little red book of quotations from Chairman Mao], proclaimed these to be gospel, and forced everyone to learn them by heart and repeat them by rote, and people became stupid either out of fear or from this rote learning and rote repetition. This could even be observed in film sequences shown on television. It was an inconceivable thing, a debasement of human dignity! I heard on the radio once that a surgeon was forced to repeat quotations from Mao before he performed an operation. Is this really conceivable in the twentieth century when men have already been to the moon? Is it really possible in our day to believe in incantations like this, attributing supernatural powers to one individual? How is it possible to say that the operation was successful because the surgeon repeated the sayings of Chairman Mao by rote and that before he did anything he had to look in the little red book to find out what Chairman Mao had said?

Mao did an unheard-of thing when he declared his wife, a former actress, to be the chief ideologist and leader of the Cultural Revolution and of cultural life in China. I don't know what merits may have been attributed to her. As an actress perhaps she was excellent. Opinions vary about such people. Some say she was talented, others that there was nothing talented about her, that her only merit consisted in the fact that Mao took a liking to her, that fame had come to her [after her association with Mao]. The real situation experienced by cultural figures in China—composers, writers, scientists and scholars, teachers, and the intelligentsia as a whole—was constant, unparalleled, impossible humiliation and abasement. Enormous abuses were committed. But the population put up with them. Among Chinese young people units were formed that "restored order" in educational institutions. These "Red Guard" detachments set the rules on how teaching should be done and how the fundamentals of science should be interpreted. They did this by wielding clubs and sticks, and that was how the "cultural revolution" was introduced.

Once when I was turning the radio dial I came across a Chinese broadcast in Russian. I listened for a little bit but it became repulsive to me because one and the same thing was constantly being repeated. First a young woman was speaking in poor Russian, and then a young man took his turn cursing and denouncing us. Their voices seemed familiar to me. Perhaps they had been interpreters when I had been in China or Mao had come to visit us. I am assuming that this is so because whenever I tuned in to Chinese broadcasts I always recognized their voices. Then I stopped listening because it became too unpleasant. These Chinese broadcasts consist of the monotonous repetition, like prayers, of quotations from Chairman Mao accompanied by eulogies of Mao. I will say again that unfortunately we passed through the same stage in the Stalin era. At party meetings and public gatherings people chanted endlessly: "Stalin, Stalin, our dear father!" And I chanted it, too; I was no exception. It's all the more repulsive for me now to listen to all this, to witness a repetition of this by the Maoists in exactly the same form.

I want to say a few words about the other Chinese leaders who I had occasion to encounter. Liu Shaoqi[36] as a person impressed me the most. It was pleasant to talk with him. When we conversed, I felt that we thought in the same way, that we understood each other right away, without everything having to be spelled out, even though we were speaking through an interpreter. We were in full agreement with the report given by Comrade Liu at the CCP's Eighth Congress and his presentation of the tasks facing the Chinese people and Communist Party. Liu saw the facts with the same eyes and understood them the same way we did. Later, however, Liu began to speak out against us. This first happened when he was having a discussion with the Albanians. I think he did this under pressure. Life has confirmed my suspicions: Liu himself has fallen victim to the "cultural revolution." Today he is victim number one, even though he had been the most influential person after Mao and, I would argue, the most intelligent of their leaders.

Zhou Enlai.[37] We ranked him second after Liu Shaoqi. The positions he takes now are destructive, serving as a kind of support for Mao in the bloody deeds he's doing. But at one time when we used to meet with him Comrade Zhou showed himself to be a pleasant conversationalist and a man who understood economic problems and knew his way around on political questions. As for agricultural matters, it's true that we hardly ever talked with him about those, but he had an excellent understanding of matters having to do with industry.

Zhu De.[38] In my opinion, he was no longer involved in specific day-to-day problems. He held approximately the same position that Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin had held earlier in our country. I don't know what practical work Kalinin carried out under Lenin. But under Stalin he was the nominal signatory of all decrees, while in reality he rarely took part in government business. Sometimes he was made a member of a commission, but people didn't take his opinion into account very much. It was embarrassing to see this; one simply felt sorry for Mikhail Ivanovich [Kalinin]. He was a man with a kind of folk wisdom, a representative of the working people, a man who knew the needs of the workers and peasants well. That's why Lenin proposed him for the position of legal head of state [chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets]. Zhu De occupies approximately the same kind of post in China.[39] When I used to meet and talk with him, he made a good impression on me, and it seemed to me there was a great similarity between his personality and that of Kalinin.

Chen Yi. I didn't know him very well. They say that as a former army commander he was a capable man in military affairs. Today his position in China is also somewhat up in the air. I don't know what post he holds actually because he too has come under attack from the frenzied "Red Guard" groups and Mao's other oprichniki [forces of ruthless suppression].[40]

Deng Xiaoping. He made a very strong impression on me. Not just because he was one of the youngest in the Chinese leadership. Even Mao at one time gave him a glowing character reference, calling him the future leader of the country and party and saying that Deng was the best of Mao's comrades in arms, a force of major importance whose strength was still growing. When we met with Deng in the Soviet Union, and also at the Romanian Communist Party Congress in 1960,[41] where we had a preliminary exchange of views on the necessity for calling an international conference of Communist and Workers' parties, Deng was obliged at that time to take an incorrect position, representing the views of Mao rather than the true interests of the Chinese Communist Party.

Kang Sheng. I don't know anything good to say about him. He was simply Mao's hatchet man, a Chinese version of Malyuta Skuratov.[42] He performed such functions for Mao previously and he performs them now.

Peng Zhen.[43] Former leader of the Chinese Communist Party's Beijing city committee, he is an intelligent man from a working-class background. I liked him even though I engaged in a big dispute with him on the question of calling an international conference of Communist and Workers' parties. Of course he also took Mao's position. But when I was arguing with him, I could sometimes detect a troubled look on his face. I noticed that he became reflective and thoughtful, and I felt sympathy for him. It seems that indeed he deserved sympathy, that he was experiencing something deeply painful. Perhaps his inner tragedy had already begun back then. After all, he could see where Mao was leading the country, but he couldn't bring himself to take any action and blindly carried out Mao's orders. But he was already a man divided inwardly against himself. How his career ended is well known to everyone now. He was removed from all his posts, and I don't know whether he's alive or, if he is alive, where his residence is and how he is dragging out his existence.

Peng Dehuai.[44] I met with him a number of times. He gave the impression of a genuine Communist, a man well trained in Marxism. And that is what he has proved to be in fact.

Now I will make some additional comments about the causes of the events taking place in China and their effect on other countries and on the international Communist, workers, and national-liberation movements. I have seen a lot of things in my political life. And now when I evaluate what has transpired before my eyes, I think and reflect: why, after all, was it possible for such things to happen? This kind of analysis is indispensable. Theoreticians in various fields, such as political economy, philosophy, and history, are needed here. A lot of material needs to be digested, things need to be looked at from all sides, and people need to be unafraid to draw conclusions relevant to the future. Such conclusions cry out to be written down on paper. It's possible that people living in our time won't get around to saying what needs to be said. But I'm confident that people will be born (or already have been born) who, when they have grown up politically and investigated questions of past history, will say what needs to be said. If it is not my generation that carries this out, it would be desirable at least that the next generation, which is now coming of age, should do so.

What, after all, has happened in China? It's a complicated question. Events developed in a similar way in our country after Lenin's death, but especially after Stalin consolidated his power and came to feel that no one and nothing could restrict him, that he could begin to carry out reprisals against those who thought differently from him. At first he did this, as we became accustomed to saying, through party methods, without obvious measures of repression. But even those methods should be reexamined from a new angle. What should be done if different views emerge among the leaders of a country? To what extent is it permissible for them to diverge in general? Are such differences possible in principle, different points of view within the leadership of one or another party, including a Communist Party? Yes, not only are they possible; they're unavoidable, because there aren't even two drops of water that are absolutely alike. Nothing in the world and in nature repeats itself exactly. Everything comes into being and develops with its own individuality. And in large political parties, and in a huge society, like ours, it is impossible to foresee in advance that certain positions will be absolutely correct and others incorrect. It would be foolish to make such a claim. A person's point of view is worked out in the process of their life, their interactions with other people, and in the course of their participation in building a new society and economy.

Speaking of China, I want to cite the history of our own country as an example because I know it better and it's closer to me. Our Communist Party had the honor to be the first to raise the victorious banner of socialist revolution. Lenin led this process with great success because at first the revolution proceeded in our country with hardly any bloodshed. You can't judge how the October revolution was carried out by what's shown in the movies, even though these are movies by outstanding directors.[45] When I saw on the screen how the storming of the Winter Palace was depicted, I had to smile. Actually, no such storming took place. I was alive at the time and I read the newspapers back then. There was no description in the papers of any storming of the Winter Palace, as is shown in the film, because the Provisional Government had long since lost its influence over society, had outlived itself, and the defenders of the Winter Palace quickly surrendered as soon as they were told to lay down their arms. That celebrated figure, Antonov-Ovseyenko,[46] simply walked into the palace with his escorts and carried out the assignment he had been given to arrest the Provisional Government. It's well known to history that Zinoviev and Kamenev issued a public statement opposing the insurrection [of October 1917].[47] Why am I dwelling on that particular matter right now? I bring it up only to point out Lenin's style of leadership.

It might seem that after the action they took neither Zinoviev nor Kamenev could return to leadership in the Bolshevik party. But no, after the revolution was victorious Lenin drew them into the work [of governing the country]. They became members of the Politburo and held key posts in the party and government for a long time. Even after everything that had happened they remained personally close to Lenin. If Lenin had come to the conclusion that they had both outlived their usefulness and no longer deserved confidence after the political mistake they made, he would hardly have left Zinoviev as the leader in Petrograd when the Soviet government moved to Moscow. And when the Communist International was founded [in 1919], Lenin proposed that Zinoviev be elected its chairperson.

And now about Kamenev. He became Lenin's deputy as head of the government and chairman of the Moscow Soviet. The two most important party organizations at that time were those of Petrograd and of Moscow. And both of these party organizations, as well as the parallel government institutions, were headed by these people [Zinoviev and Kamenev] who had demonstrated political unsteadiness. In spite of this they were not denied confidence and trust. Could Lenin really have done what he did [assign them to such important positions] if he had no trust in them? Lenin's humane wisdom is evident in this, his understanding of people's qualities. These people had not been able to find the correct point of view right away, to analyze the course of events properly, and that was the source of their vacillation. But Lenin believed in their personal honesty and devotion to the revolutionary cause, and he entrusted these important posts to them.

But what if Stalin had headed the party at that time instead of Lenin, what would have happened then? Repression would have started much earlier. Zinoviev and Kamenev would have been among the first to be shot. They would have been shot then rather than later, that is, when their lives were taken really because they had spoken out at the Fourteenth Party Congress [in 1925], taking their own position against the dictatorship of Stalin. I won't dwell now on the questions over which the Stalinists and Zinovievists disagreed. The question here is not the existence of differences of opinion but the extent of those differences. Differing opinions are possible and permissible because only among fools is it possible not to have disagreements. Thinking people and creative people always take different approaches to one and the same question. Even questions of theory, and on practical questions of course it goes without saying. On practical matters there always arise many different ways of solving a problem. And if someone takes a particular position, that does not in any way mean that he or she is an enemy of socialism or of the working class, an enemy of the people, to use Stalin's malicious formulation.

Points of view can diverge to such an extent that people become personal enemies. But you have to become a complete degenerate to betray the cause to which you have devoted your life. And the people I am talking about had not degenerated in that way. It was only Stalin who called them degenerates, in his striving to strengthen his own personal power, and he destroyed such outstanding leaders as Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, Rykov, Radek, Syrtsov, Lominadze,[48] and many others. Yes, they all had personal shortcomings, sometimes even major ones, but they never became traitors to the cause of socialism.

Some clever commentators will say that Lominadze shot himself, that he wasn't killed by Stalin. That's true. But he already understood that if he didn't take his own life, he would be eliminated. And aren't we seeing the same thing now in China? I don't know what particular form this process is taking now, whether the form of banishment into internal exile, imprisonment, or social isolation of the former leaders of the Chinese people. I also don't know what happened to Liu Shaoqi and other prominent figures in the Chinese Communist Party. There are many possibilities here. Stalin also operated in a wide variety of ways. He had people arrested, he had them executed, he sent them into internal exile, and he denounced honest people as "enemies of the people."

In former times the tsarist autocracy sometimes punished people with what was called "civil death." This sentence was imposed, for example, on Chernyshevsky.[49] He was deprived of all civil rights and of any standing or recognition in society. Mao often uses a method similar to this, or a method used by the Inquisition, when dunce's caps were put on people's heads and signs with denunciatory statements were hung from their necks; then these unfortunate people were forced to stand out in the public square and be subjected to public mockery. It's terrible that people can be brought to such a stage of savagery. But in China that's what the student youth are doing. I'm not even talking about the crude use of armed force, which is employed in China when required to achieve Mao's aims. And all of this takes place under the banner of the struggle for the interests of the working people. This is monstrous, but these are the facts! In the name of the people the best representatives of the people are being destroyed, and it's being proclaimed that this is being done on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory, the idea of the dictatorship of the working class, part of the struggle for building a socialist society. The very highest ideals for which people have accepted banishment and execution and hard labor are now being presented as justification for barbarous atrocities.

How is it possible for all this to happen? Unfortunately, no one is looking into this now in a profound or serious way; they are making do with superficial explanations. Meanwhile, even on an international scale, we are encountering phenomena that it would have been hard to imagine earlier. The dictatorship of the proletariat is being turned not against the class enemy but against the best representatives of the working class itself, against those people who had won authority among the people by taking part in the revolutionary struggle. This is a terrible business. If we judge matters from the simplistic view of the man in the street or from the philistine level, the question arises, "Who can you believe?" But there's something even worse. Such policies turn humanity against the ideals of socialism. This can have exceptionally important historical significance for the future and for the fate of world socialism. We are fighting for the cause of the people taking part in the movement in various countries, but what awaits us in the future? People may ask what has happened to the heroes who made the October revolution and built the Soviet system? Where is Krylenko now, the first commander of the troops of the Soviet government?[50] He is no longer! And where is Antonov-Ovseyenko, the man Lenin assigned to arrest the Provisional Government? How did he end his path in life? The same way that many others who played, let us say, a lesser role in the founding of the Soviet state. People who came to the fore later. For example, Peters,[51] an irreproachable Bolshevik on a personal level, he too died as an "enemy of the people." In my reminiscences about that time certain names are constantly falling from my lips—the names of Chubar, Postyshev, Kosior,[52] and others. They went to their "eternal reward" as alleged renegades, although they deserved something far better.

We can trace the appearance of a sad law of history. Almost everywhere from the dictatorship of the proletariat the dictatorship of a single individual has arisen over the working classes, over the party that conquered power, and even over the individual leader's closest associates. I would assume that those who now acknowledge Mao as an indisputable authority will meet the same fate that many of his associates have met.

But history takes vengeance on those who use violence. Stalin started the mass repression by organizing the assassination of Kirov, which he declared to be a tragedy for the party. The party of course felt this tragedy painfully. The party believed that enemies of the people had killed Kirov. Now it's absolutely clear to everyone that Kirov's death was needed in order to create an atmosphere of universal fear in which Stalin's indisputable authority could be established and those who had traveled the glorious path together with Lenin could be swept away, because those people might stand in the way of Stalin achieving one-man rule.[53] There is no difference in principle between that and what is happening in China, as far as I can see.

A problem inevitably arises—the question of who and what a Communist Party should serve, a centralized, disciplined party welded together by a single aspiration. Such a party can serve as an instrument to transform social existence based on the principles of socialism. But the organizational system of such a party also allows a single individual to use it for the sake of his own personal power. It seems to me that if Lenin had lived longer, he would have proposed some means of eliminating such a possibility. But that is just a guess. Today we ourselves are obliged to search for such a solution. Otherwise we'll end up with a blind lottery, not knowing whether an honest man will end up as the leader, one who can be tolerant toward the views of other members of the collective, or the kind of man that Stalin was. Lenin had time to propose the establishment of a Central Control Commission,[54] and he proposed that disputed questions that arose within party bodies should be decided at joint sessions of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission. However, after Lenin's death these institutions lost their earlier importance. The people selected for the party's Central Committee and for the Central Control Commission were the kind who did whatever they were ordered to by Stalin and who looked on events from Stalin's viewpoint, interpreting them in ways suitable to his needs. A similar situation has now arisen in China. The same kind of thing is possible in other socialist countries. This means that the kinds of measures Lenin proposed are insufficient. More effective control from below over the leaders is necessary—that is, genuine democracy is needed.

I have referred earlier to the late philosopher Yudin. I was told that after I went into retirement Yudin made a report about China at some public meeting and explained why our relations with China had gone so bad and reached the terrible state they're in now. He said Khrushchev personally was to blame for this. Khrushchev had treated Mao Zedong with disrespect and these bad relations were the result. A shameful explanation like this was actually made in public by a man who held a leading position in our country as a philosopher and for a long time headed a department of the party's Central Committee. We must of course look more deeply and not reduce everything to the will or actions of a single individual. Of course the personality of a leader plays a huge role in history. We know this well. Stalin's personality, for example, played a terribly destructive role. But in the given case, if we are to speak about personalities, it would not be a bad thing for Yudin to look at himself. It was he who played the role of first swallow when the unfortunate turn in our relations with China began to occur. That was long before any disagreements like the ones that later arose between the Soviet leadership and Mao. For us, Yudin's reports about his first disagreements with Mao came like a bolt from the blue.

The main problem was that Mao aspired to worldwide hegemony. He was searching for a pretext to begin a fight against us and he found it. Therefore it's not a question of Khrushchev. If it hadn't been Khrushchev, it would have been someone else, anyone at all—it would have made no difference. Mao would have been striving toward his goal, regardless, and the same problem would have arisen. How to protect the people—in this case the

Chinese people—against abuse of power by their leader? Can it really be true that no one is thinking about this problem? In that case what in the world can we expect in the future? With these thoughts I will end my reminiscences about China.

1. See the three chapters, earlier in this volume, in which Khrushchev gives a detailed account of his U.S. visit. [GS]

2. The Bandung Conference was a conference of representatives of 29 African and Asian countries, most of them newly independent of colonial control, held between April 18 and 24, 1955, at Bandung, Indonesia, with a view to promoting economic and cultural cooperation and opposing colonialism. It led ultimately to the establishment in 1961 of the Nonaligned Movement. [SS]

3. The Bandung Conference unanimously adopted a ten-point "declaration on the promotion of world peace and cooperation," incorporating the principles of the United Nations Charter. [SS]

4. For more on Soviet-Indian relations, see below, Khrushchev's chapter on India. [GS]

5. Ajoy Kumar Ghosh (1909–62) was a founding member of the Communist Party of India in 1925, the general secretary of its Central Committee from 1951 to 1958, and thereafter general secretary of its National Council and a member of its Central Executive Committee. See Biographies.

6. The Sino-Indian conflict broke out in September 1959, sharply intensified in October and November 1962, and resumed a number of times thereafter.

7. TASS was the Telegraphic Agency of the Soviet Union, the state-owned news agency, often used as an official mouthpiece of the Soviet government on world events. [SS]

8. Chen Yi was foreign minister of the People's Republic of China from 1958 to 1966. See Biographies.

9. The military alliance between Pakistan and the United States became open in 1958, when the United States joined the Middle East Treaty Organization, renamed the next year the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). Besides Pakistan and the United States, the other members of CENTO were Turkey, Iran, and the United Kingdom. [SS]

10. The Soviet-Turkish Friendship and Brotherhood Treaty was signed in Moscow on March 16, 1921. In accordance with its provisions Soviet Russia ceded to Turkey the regions of Kars, Ardahan, and Artvin in the southern Caucasus. [MN/SS]

11. Mount Ararat is the place where, according to tradition, Noah's ark came to rest. For Armenians the mountain is a mystical symbol of their national identity. It is situated in an area of eastern Anatolia (in present-day Turkey) that before the genocide of 1915 was densely populated by Armenians and that some Armenian nationalists hope eventually to recover. On a clear day the peak of Mount Ararat is visible from the southern part of the former Soviet Republic of Armenia. [SS]

12. The crescent moon is a traditional symbol of Islam. [SS]

13. On December 2, 1954, an agreement between the USSR and Iran on border and financial questions was signed in Teheran. It established a new line for the state border in the Atrek, Seraks, Eddy-Evlar, Dyman (Deman), and Muqan (Mugan) sectors. This line was demarcated and adjusted by a mixed Soviet-Iranian commission between August 1955 and April 1957.

14. Tibet has existed as a sovereign state since the seventh century. In the eighteenth century it was incorporated into imperial China, but the government of the Dalai Lama was preserved as well as the country's socioeconomic and political structure, religion, and way of life. Following the overthrow of the Chinese imperial regime in 1911, Chinese troops and officials were expelled from Tibet. From 1913 to 1950 Tibet was an independent state ruled by a theocracy. In October 1950 Chinese Communist troops invaded and occupied the territory of Tibet. On May 23, 1951, Beijing concluded an agreement with the Dalai Lama for the peaceful absorption of Tibet into China. However, Beijing continued to build up its military presence and take measures that radically undermined the traditional way of life of the Tibetans. This led to the uprising of 1959 to which Khrushchev refers. The uprising was crushed, and the fourteenth Dalai Lama was forced to emigrate to India together with a substantial part of the Tibetan population (especially the monks). In 1965 Beijing declared Tibet an autonomous region of the Chinese People's Republic. The Chinese government continues to pursue a policy of assimilation in Tibet.

15. Khrushchev may be referring here to border areas inhabited by traditionally nomadic groups, such as the Uighur pastoralists who are accustomed to migrate across the Kazakhstan-Xinjiang border. [SS]

16. The Mongolian People's Republic was established in Outer Mongolia on July 1, 1924, so the answer to Khrushchev's question was "about 35 years," depending on exactly when this conversation took place. As the Chinese leaders must have been well aware, Outer Mongolia had been under China's control from 1691 until the fall of the Ching dynasty in 1911, when a group of Mongol princes proclaimed an independent monarchy.

Chinese troops reoccupied Outer Mongolia in 1919, but were driven out at the beginning of 1921 by White Russian forces, who were driven out in turn in June 1921 by the Russian Red Army, accompanied by Mongolian Communist units. The Mongolian monarchy was restored temporarily and allowed to survive until the king died. [SS]

17. The Mongolian People's Republic (Outer Mongolia) has an area of 1,565,000 square kilometers (604,000 square miles) and a population of about 2.5 million (in 1995). The Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region of the Chinese People's Republic, established in May 1947, is somewhat smaller in area—currently 1,180,000 square kilometers (455,000 square miles). Its population is 22.2 million people (in 1994), only one fifth (4.5 million) of whom, however, are now Mongolians, the rest being mostly Han Chinese settlers. [SS]

18. There were in fact six treaties pertaining to the Amur border concluded between China and tsarist Russia—the treaties of Nerchinsk (1689), Kiakhta (1768), Aigun (1858), Tientsin (1859), Peking (1860), and Saint Petersburg (1881). [MN/SS]

19. The Chinese laid claim to Tarabarov Island in the Amur River. If that claim had been accepted, then the northern river channel between the island and the city would have become the border. But that channel is very close to the riverside districts of Khabarovsk. The USSR wanted to retain possession of the island and to have the border go along the southern river channel, between the island and the Chinese side of the river.

President Vladimir Putin agreed on a visit to Beijing in early spring 2005 to transfer Tarabarov Island to China. At the same time he agreed to transfer part of the Bolshoi Ussuriisky island group on the Amur River and Bolshoi Island on the Argun River (a nearby tributary of the Amur). The law ratifying this agreement was adopted by the State Duma on May 20, approved by the Council of the Federation on May 25, and signed by President Putin on June 1, 2005. [SK/SS]

20. The Peking Russo-Chinese treaty of 1860 recognized the entire region from the Ussuri River to the Sea of Japan and the Korean border as a Russian possession. This region was formerly called the Ussuri Territory *(krai)*, and was renamed in the Soviet period the Far Eastern Territory. In 1938 the easternmost part of this territory was detached as the Maritime Territory *(Primorsky krai)*.

21. Colonel General Pavel Ivanovich Zyryanov was commander of the Soviet border troops from 1952 to 1972 (with an interval in 1956–57). See Biographies.

22. The Pamir mountain region covers an area of about 10,000 square kilometers (4,000 square miles), mainly in the former Soviet Republic of Tajikistan, although its easternmost part is in China and its southernmost part in Afghanistan. Like Tibet, the Pamir region basically consists of a high plateau fringed by mountain ranges and transected by deep river valleys. It is sparsely populated, mainly by a subgroup of Tajiks known as Pamiris. [SK/SS]

23. At this time Vasily Kuznetsov was first deputy foreign minister. In 1953 he had been Soviet ambassador to China. See Biographies.

24. Cyrus Eaton (1883–1979) was a leader of the Cleveland group of American financiers and industrialists. In 1957 he initiated the annual International Pugwash Conferences of Nuclear Scientists (named after his birthplace in Nova Scotia), which brought together nuclear scientists from East and West with a view to promoting disarmament, international security, and scientific cooperation. In 1960 he was awarded the International Lenin Prize. See Biographies.

25. For more about Canon Félix Kir, see the chapter, earlier in this volume, about Khrushchev's visit to France. [GS]

26. These disagreements emerged in November 1960 at the Conference of Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow, the "Declaration" of which was signed by the Vietnamese delegation but only with reservations by the Chinese delegation. They manifested themselves again at the Geneva conference to settle the Laos question (May 16, 1961, to July 23, 1962), where the Chinese delegation adopted a special position, and in the course of Vietnamese-Chinese contacts at the beginning of the 1960s, when Beijing raised the question of certain counties of northern Vietnam that had once belonged to China, such as Au Lac. [MN] In 207 B.C. Au Lac was invaded and incorporated into the Nam Viet kingdom, based in southern China. In 111 B.C. Nam Viet was in turn invaded and absorbed into Han China. [SS]

27. Mehmet Shehu (1913–81) was chairman of Albania's Council of Ministers from 1954 until his death. See Biographies.

28. Enver Hoxha (1908–85) was at this time first secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labor. See Biographies.

29. General Bequir (or Beqir) Balluku later became minister of defense, but was removed in 1974 and subsequently tried and executed. [SS]

30. See Khrushchev's chapter on Albania, later in this volume. [GS]

31. Yefim Pavlovich Slavsky (1898–1991) was minister of medium machine-building from 1957 to 1963 and from 1965 to 1986. See Biographies.

32. At Stalin's urging, the Chinese Communists, beginning in December 1936, did unite their efforts with those of the Kuomintang to fight against the Japanese occupation. Communist divisions were formed into the Eighth Route Army, which fought the Japanese effectively. The Communist troops were nominally subordinate to the Kuomintang government but actually remained under Communist control. After Japan's defeat in 1945, Stalin

again urged the Communists to cooperate with Chiang's government, and some attempts at cooperation were made by both sides during 1946, but by 1947 a full-scale civil war resumed, ending in the Communist victory in 1949. [GS]

33. Wang Ming lived in Moscow from 1956 until his death in 1974. See Biographies. [SS]

34. Kang Sheng was in control of the Chinese Communist security apparatus from 1935 to 1949 and again from the mid-1950s. See Biographies. [SS]

35. Stalin's letter "Dizzy with Success: On Problems of the Collective Farm Movement," published in *Pravda* on March 2, 1930, blamed local officials for excessive haste in the collectivization campaign. See the chapter "Moscow Workdays" in Volume 1 of these memoirs. [SS]

36. On Liu Shaoqi, see Biographies.

37. On Zhou Enlai, see Biographies.

38. On Zhu De, see Biographies.

39. From 1919 to 1938 Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin (1875–1946) was chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets. From 1938 to 1946 he was chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Formally these positions made him head of state, although neither gave him much real power. Zhu De was chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China from 1959 to 1967. As both the Supreme Soviet in the USSR and the National People's Congress in China were bodies of formal popular representation without real power, the parallel drawn by Khrushchev is an exact one. See Biographies. [SS]

40. Here Khrushchev implies a parallel between Mao Zedong and a cruel and repressive figure notorious in Russian history, Tsar Ivan the Terrible, and his special punitive troops, the *oprichniki,* which were headed by Malyuta Skuratov (mentioned below). [GS] Chen Yi was badly harassed and beaten by the Red Guards. It is believed that his mistreatment led to his death in 1972. He was not reappointed to any official positions following the Cultural Revolution. [SS]

41. Deng Xiaoping was at that time a deputy prime minister. See Biographies.

42. Grigory Lukyanovich Skuratov-Belsky (died 1573), also known by the nickname Malyuta, headed the *oprichniki,* the armed units that Tsar Ivan the Terrible used against his opponents, especially the boyars. See Biographies. [GS/SS]

43. Peng Zhen (1902–97) became first secretary of the Beijing city committee of the Chinese Communist Party and mayor of Beijing in 1949. In the 1980s he was to be chairman of the Standing Committee of the All-China People's Representative Assembly. See Biographies.

44. On Peng Dehuai, see Biographies.

45. One of the films that Khrushchev probably has in mind here is *October,* produced in 1927 by the celebrated Soviet film-maker Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948). [GS/SS]

46. Vladimir Aleksandrovich Antonov-Ovseyenko (1883–1938) was a prominent Soviet politician, military commander, jurist, and diplomat. At the time of the October revolution he led the taking of the Winter Palace and the arrest of the Provisional Government. See Biographies.

47. On October 18(31), 1917, the Petrograd newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* (New Life) published a letter from Kamenev and Zinoviev in which they expressed disagreement with the decision of the Bolshevik Central Committee to start an uprising against the Provisional Government in the immediate future. Thereby they gave away the timing of the uprising. On Kamenev and Zinoviev, see Biographies.

48. On Bukharin, Rykov, Radek, Syrtsov, and Lominadze, see Biographies.

49. In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Russia "civil death" was a form of shameful punishment for members of the upper ranks of society. The victim was placed in a pillory, and a sword was broken over his head as a sign that he was henceforth deprived of all the rights of his estate, including ranks, privileges, and property and parental rights. On July 12–13, 1826, this form of civic punishment was inflicted on the Decembrists. It was inflicted on the progressive Russian writer and journalist Nikolai Chernyshevsky on May 31, 1863, on Mytnaya Square in Petersburg, before he was exiled to Siberia. On Chernyshevsky, see Biographies. [MN/SS]

50. Nikolai Vasilyevich Krylenko (1885–1938) was supreme commander in chief and people's commissar for military affairs in the period immediately following the October revolution—from November 1917 to March 1918. See Biographies.

51. Yakov Khristoforovich Peters (1886–1938) was a prominent Chekist (secret police official) and played an important role in the October revolution and the civil war. See Biographies.

52. Chubar, Postyshev, and Kosior were prominent figures in the Communist Party of Ukraine. They were all executed in Stalin's purges. See Biographies. [SS]

53. See the chapters "The Kirov Assassination" and "Some Consequences of the Kirov Assassination" in Volume 1 of these memoirs. [SS]

54. The Central Control Commission was the party's supreme body of oversight from 1920 to 1934, when it was transformed into the Party Control Commission.

HO CHI MINH

Comrade Ho Chi Minh has died. [He died on September 3, 1969.][1] This sad news was broadcast over the radio today. Of all the people I met during the time of my political activity, Ho Chi Minh especially impressed me. They say that at one time on this earth there lived the holy apostles. Ho Chi Minh was like one of those holy apostles. Only he was an apostle of the revolution. I first met him when Stalin was still alive. He flew to our country directly from the jungles, and Stalin had a conversation with him at which the rest of us were present. I won't list everyone who was there, because I only wanted to tell about my impressions. There was a kind of sincerity and purity that lit up Ho's face. It was the sincerity of an incorruptible Communist, one who was highly principled and devoted to his cause. He was truly a saintly man.

Ho Chi Minh told us how he had made his way through the jungles and how many days he had traveled on foot until he reached the Chinese border, from which he made his way to the Soviet Union. Then he told about the struggle being waged under his leadership in Vietnam. During that part of the conversation, he looked at Stalin, and at all the Soviet leaders present there, with a special kind of expression in his eyes. I would say that in his gaze there was a certain childish naiveté. He won you over with his sincerity, honesty, and conviction of the rightness of the Communist cause. His every word underlined the fact that the Communists were class brothers and that consequently any conversation among Communists should be the most sincere and honest possible.

Ho Chi Minh raised the question of our supplying the fighting Vietnamese with arms. He was grateful for anything he could get from the Soviet Union for the struggle that Vietnam was waging against the French occupation forces. I liked him very much. And so I felt deeply offended by the way Stalin characterized Ho after our conversation. We had no exchange of views on the subject, but I could see that the others felt as I did and didn't agree with Stalin and his negative comments. He spoke scornfully about Ho Chi Minh and used all kinds of offensive and insulting terms. There was no feeling of sincerity in his remarks, and yet we wanted sincerity to be shown by Stalin as the leader of the world Communist movement, sincerity in relation to a Communist leader like Ho Chi Minh, who under the most difficult circumstances had been able to organize the Communist movement in his country, had raised up his people in rebellion, and for so many years had been waging a successful struggle to liberate his country. A reverential attitude could have been taken in the presence of this man. Gratitude could have been expressed to him for his selfless service to the Communist cause, to which he had devoted all his efforts and abilities.

During one of our talks Ho took a Soviet magazine out of his briefcase. As I recall, it was the magazine entitled *SSSR na stroike* (The USSR Under Construction), and he asked Stalin to write something on it for him. In France autograph hunting is widespread, and Ho [who had lived in France for a number of years] was not free of that vice. Of course he was tempted by the prospect of showing people Stalin's autograph when he returned to Vietnam. I don't know what happened. Probably there was a manifestation of Stalin's same old illness—his suspiciousness and mistrustfulness. He later gave orders to the security police to find the magazine and confiscate it. Apparently he felt that he had shown a lack of caution when he signed his name on the cover of the magazine. No difficulties were encountered—they turned everything upside down and inside out at the place where Ho was staying and brought back the magazine. Then Stalin joked: "He's going to reach for it, and the magazine won't be there." I don't know whether Ho told anyone that the magazine had disappeared, but I imagined his feelings when he opened his suitcase and found that this magazine, so precious to him, was gone. You can imagine the poison that entered into the soul of such a sincere man as Comrade Ho.

During that visit the decision was made to recognize the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.[2] Later Stalin often returned to this question and expressed regrets: "We were too hasty; we shouldn't have recognized them. We gave them recognition too early." This indicated that Stalin did not believe in the possibility of victory for the movement that Comrade Ho was leading in Vietnam. But the deed had been done, and there was no one Stalin could blame.

I remember another troubling incident. Ho very much wanted his visit to Moscow to be announced publicly. He spoke to Stalin about this. I wasn't present on that occasion; I only heard about it from Stalin afterward. Stalin told us that Ho wanted to be received officially as a representative of Vietnam. "But I told him that the right moment had been missed. You're already in Moscow. You came here unannounced, so how can we announce you now?"

To this Ho replied: "Let's do it this way. Give me a plane, I'll go up in the air, the appropriate preparations will be announced, and when I land a welcoming ceremony will be organized corresponding to my rank as chief of state."

Stalin laughed and made fun of him. "Imagine what he wanted. He wanted that! Ha, ha!" No, Stalin didn't believe in the possibility of victory for the guerrillas in Vietnam.

Sometime after his departure Ho sent us an appeal in writing, asking that we send quinine because his people were suffering terribly from malaria. The production of quinine in our country had been organized on an industrial scale. In a fit of generosity Stalin said, “Send him half a ton.” Half a ton? And this was for people who had carpeted the earth with their bodies in the struggle against the foreign invader. We looked at one another and felt indignant. How could he not be ashamed to show such miserliness, such—we didn’t even know what to call it. Evidently Stalin didn’t understand what half a ton of quinine costs compared to what Ho was paying in the struggle for the common cause.

Subsequently I met with Comrade Ho many times. In talking about him I would like to record my reminiscences of our work together at the time of preparations for the Geneva Conference on Vietnam in 1954.[3] In that period we had the very best relations with Vietnam and the same kind of relations with the Chinese Communist Party. At a preparatory conference in Moscow, China was represented by Zhou Enlai and Vietnam by President Ho Chi Minh and Prime Minister Phan Van Dong.[4] We jointly worked out our position for the Geneva Conference and looked into the situation existing in Vietnam. The situation was very difficult and painful: The liberation movement was on the verge of collapse, and the guerrilla fighters needed an agreement with us so that the conquests that had been achieved by the Vietnamese people in the fight against the occupation forces could be preserved. Hanoi was in the hands of the French, and the guerrilla fighters could not aspire to retake it. Other cities and provinces were also controlled by the French. If you took a map, on which our demand number one would be reflected, North Vietnam would have been covered with numerous islands where the French occupation forces would remain in the event that our demands [at the Geneva Conference] were met in full.

After one of our sessions in Catherine’s Hall at the Kremlin,[5] Zhou buttonholed me, drew me aside into a corner, and said: “Comrade Ho has told me that their situation is hopeless. If they don’t get a cease-fire in the near future, they won’t be able to hold out against the French forces. They have therefore decided to retreat to the Chinese border, so that China can move its troops in, as it did earlier in North Korea, and help the Vietnamese people drive the French out of Vietnam.” Then Zhou added that they [the Chinese] couldn’t do it, because in Korea they had lost a lot of people and that war had cost them dearly. They were in no position to become entangled in a new war and therefore could not agree to what Ho was asking. I then made a request to Comrade Zhou: “A very cruel struggle is being waged, the Vietnamese are fighting well, and the French are suffering heavy casualties. Therefore you shouldn't tell Ho Chi Minh that you can't give him aid if they retreat to the Chinese border under pressure from the French. Let it be a little white lie. Let the Vietnamese believe they will be helped. It will be an additional source of strength for the Vietnamese resistance, for the guerrilla fighters against the French occupation." Zhou agreed not to tell Comrade Ho that China would refrain from entering the war against the French on Vietnamese territory.

Then a miracle happened. Just as the delegations were arriving in Geneva, the Vietnamese guerrilla forces won a major victory and took the French fortress of Dienbienphu [in May 1954].[6] At the first session of the Geneva Conference, Mendès-France,[7] who then headed the French government, proposed that the French forces in Vietnam would limit their presence to south of the 17th parallel. I must confess that when this news from Geneva was reported to us we gave a sigh of relief and pleasure; we had not expected this. It was the maximum we had aimed for. We gave our representatives in Geneva orders to demand that the demarcation line be moved farther south, to the 15th parallel, but we warned them that this was a bargaining position and that Mendès-France's proposal would have to be accepted and in this way the gains made by the Vietnamese Communists would be consolidated. A treaty was signed to that effect.

Mendès-France should be given the credit due to him. He evaluated the situation soberly and correctly. The guerrilla fighters in Vietnam had their difficulties, but the French army there had no fewer difficulties. This proved to be a wise step, which put an end to the French war in Vietnam. The French pulled out of the war and evacuated their troops. Everything would have been fine if the Geneva agreements had been carried out. Within two years there were supposed to be elections throughout Vietnam, and we had no doubt that Ho Chi Minh, that is, the Communists and all the progressive forces in the country, would win a victory in that election. But here again the ominous figure of John Foster Dulles made its appearance, and the United States imposed a new, long, and bloody war on Vietnam, which continues to this day [1969].[8] I will not talk about that now because it is all dealt with in the press. This history is well known to political people. However, in connection with the news of the death of this genuine Communist and prominent figure in the international Communist movement, Comrade Ho Chi Minh, a loss that is painful to me, I would like to tell about the complicated and difficult position of Vietnam in connection with our conflict with China.

I remember when the conference of Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow was being held in [November] 1960, China was represented by Liu

Shaoqi.[9] The Chinese spoke out against us. Enver Hoxha of Albania conducted himself especially rabidly as an agent of Mao. After his speech the Spanish Communist Comrade Dolores Ibarruri[10] took the floor and responded to Hoxha with indignation. She compared him to a dog biting the hand that feeds it. At the culminating stage of the conference, a joint document was drafted, and the process of consulting and working out agreement on particular points was under way. The Chinese refused to sign the final declaration. Everything had been agreed to, but on one particular point the Chinese became obstinate, and it was a point on which we could not make concessions to them either, because it was a matter of principle.[11] Ho came over to me then and said: "Comrade Khrushchev, you ought to concede the point to them."

I said: "How can we concede? Why, it's a matter of principle!"

Ho said: "Comrade Khrushchev, China is a huge country; they have a huge Communist Party. The concession should be made to them. A split cannot be permitted. It's necessary that the Chinese sign the document together with everyone else. This document will have great international significance."

I said: "Comrade Ho Chi Minh, our delegation and our party have devoted every effort to preserve unity in the Communist movement and to evaluate correctly the significance of the Chinese Communist Party. We have done everything we could so that China could remain together with the other fraternal Communist parties. But you must grasp the fact that on questions of principle we cannot agree with the position held by the Chinese. It is in contradiction with the Communist worldview. And if one is to refer to the fact that China is a huge country and the CCP is a huge party, it can be said that we, too, are not a small country and we don't have just a small Communist Party. Besides, all the Communist parties are equal and should enjoy equal rights and equal opportunities. Our aspirations should be subordinated to a single goal, the victory of the Communist movement."

He agreed with this argument, but he said: "For us this is doubly difficult. After all, we are neighbors of the Chinese." After talking with me he apparently went over to the Chinese. After prolonged negotiations between our representatives and the Chinese, we finally found a common formula, and China agreed to sign the document.

I felt very bitter later when the Chinese decided to make an open break with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal parties. China has powerful influence in Vietnam. A large stratum of the population there is Chinese.[12] Pro-Chinese people even hold key positions in the leadership of the Vietnamese Communist Party. They have carried on their work against the Soviet Union and against our policies at the same time that we were doing everything we could to help Vietnam. The pro-Chinese elements in Vietnam have done everything they could to start a quarrel, to turn Vietnam away from the Soviet Union, and to set our two parties fighting against each other.

After Beijing broke off all political and business relations with us, de facto, and did everything in its power against us, it began trying to impose its views on Vietnam. Unfortunately the Vietnamese Workers Party took the Chinese bait. This is very bitter for us. We sincerely wanted nothing for ourselves when we gave aid to Vietnam. But then, later on, Vietnam did everything to favor China against us, against its own interests. Why am I now recalling these bitter pills of the past? One may draw the conclusion from reports in the press (and I have no other sources of information) that everything is going along well. Delegations representing the Vietnamese people and the Vietnamese Workers Party come to our country, and delegations of our journalists travel to Vietnam and write about the battle of the Vietnamese people, showing scenes of their heroic struggle on television and in the movies. But some unofficial information that has reached me indicates that in fact not everything is going so smoothly, contrary to the promotional material in the press and on the radio and television.

It is said that the Vietnamese display an unjustifiably reserved attitude toward Soviet citizens. And this in spite of the fact, recognized by the entire world press, and even by the enemies of Communism, that Vietnam is able to put up its resistance against the Americans mainly because it relies on aid from the Soviet Union. It follows from this that in Vietnam and in the Vietnamese Workers Party, in its leadership and in the government, there still exist pro-Chinese forces. Outwardly friendly relations and mutual understanding between us are developing smoothly. But isn't this perhaps a necessary tribute that the Vietnamese leadership is paying, perhaps even on the advice of China, so as not to be deprived of aid from the Soviet Union?

I admit that this is possible, although I would like it not to be so. I would like to believe something different, but I don't think China is going to let Vietnam out of its claws, and the pro-Chinese forces there have always been very strong. When I held a position in the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party and government, it was said that the main supporter of China was Le Duan,[13] the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Workers Party. Reports that we received both from our ambassador and from people who traveled to Vietnam allowed us to draw the conclusion that Ho Chi Minh had been removed from the leadership de facto on the grounds that he was too old [although officially he was still the leader of the country]. He was accused of nourishing a special attitude toward the Soviet Union, of not being capable of realistically analyzing the situation that had now developed, and of underestimating the role of China. In short, even then, having such information, I understood that Comrade Ho actually did not take part in deciding the most important questions of the Communist movement in Vietnam.

Now with his death these bacilli may revive with new force. That would be a poor way of honoring the memory of Ho Chi Minh. How much effort he expended, how much of his mind and thought he invested in the cause of the revolution and in strengthening friendship with the Soviet Union! Victory in Vietnam of course is not yet very close; nevertheless, the light of victory over American imperialism is already visible; it's already glimmering. And so we cannot relax our efforts, but must mobilize everything for a successful culmination of the struggle of the Vietnamese people. After all, it is a struggle not only of the Vietnamese, who have shed their blood and sacrificed themselves in the interests of the world Communist movement. Only time will tell whether the leaders of Vietnam who have remained there after the death of Ho Chi Minh will display an adequate understanding of this. Today, when the cruelest kind of fighting has blazed up between the Vietnamese and the American aggressors, even the pro-Chinese elements have understood the necessity for friendship with the Soviet Union, and loyalty to the positions of Ho Chi Minh has been more clearly delineated. If after Ho's death Le Duan continues to pursue the line that he did in the times I have spoken about, great harm will be done to the Communist movement, and above all, irreversible harm to the Vietnamese Communists themselves, to the Vietnamese people, and to its struggle for independence and socialism in Vietnam.

After the death of Ho Chi Minh, many speeches were made, and even more articles were written about him in the newspapers and magazines. Obviously people will continue to write about Ho Chi Minh, people from various political tendencies, with differing world outlooks. For my part, I want to share my impressions about what I have read and heard and try to make some comments regarding the prospects for development of relations between Vietnam and the Soviet Union. What will these relations be like? How will relations be established not only with the capitalist countries but with the Communist parties who differ with the views of Mao? What relations will the leadership of the Vietnamese Workers Party and the Vietnamese people establish with China? Many people are concerned about this now. There's hardly anyone able to predict how events will develop. Some indications shedding light on this question are evident, but one must be cautious, because everything changes, everything is in flux. At one time relations between the Soviet

Union and the Chinese People's Republic were irreproachable, and we had good relations even with Mao himself. And now everything has changed. The same thing can happen with Vietnam. Our relations were good, and if they grew worse later, the blame for that lies not with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In my opinion, it was the result of Mao's influence.

The main documents that provide an opportunity for making predictions and guesses about the future are the so-called testament of Ho Chi Minh and the speech by Le Duan at Ho's funeral. I have read both documents over twice. I even forced myself to read especially carefully to try to analyze correctly and understand how relations between the Soviet Union and Vietnam will develop. The so-called testament of Ho does not instill me with hope for good prospects. I don't know how authentic the document is. Even if it is his genuine testament, I don't know whether or not it was published in full, without being edited or revised after Ho's death. Such questions are lost in the murk of lack of information. Why do doubts creep into my mind? Knowing Comrade Ho and his attitude toward the Soviet Union, I was surprised that in his so-called testament he never once mentioned our country. The words "Soviet Union" and "Communist Party of the Soviet Union" do not appear in the document. It appeals abstractly to the peoples of the world and the Communist parties for unity. But Ho was an intelligent man and understood that this kind of abstract appeal, not addressed to anyone in particular, would not contribute to unification and consolidation of the Communist parties. This document is not in his spirit, not in his style. Therefore I think that when this document was written, pressure was put on Ho. I am not saying that they stood over him and cowed his spirit. No, he was taking the existing situation into account. Therefore this document is not so much oriented toward the future as toward the present.

When our relations with China went sour, Vietnam vacillated at first. Ho had always held a friendly position toward our Communist Party and our people. But as a result of the line that Le Duan began to push, there came about the removal of Ho Chi Minh from the leadership, and I am convinced that his position in the political leadership was not subsequently reestablished. For the whole subsequent period, Ho Chi Minh remained something like an icon of the Communist Party, but most of the people did not know the real state of affairs. If this hypothesis is accepted, the content of the so-called testament becomes understandable. It was drafted in a pro-Chinese spirit, although China, too, is not named in the document. It is sufficient to leave the Soviet Union unnamed and not to say anything about the sympathies felt by the Soviet people for the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people.

The testament says nothing about the enormous, selfless aid the Soviet Union has given to Vietnam. Yet this aid has been decisive, because under conditions of modern warfare, with the kind of war Vietnam is waging against such a wealthy and powerful aggressor as the United States, it would be impossible to fight without our aid. The only way to obtain arms that are more or less equivalent to American ones is by relying on the Soviet Union. The Vietnamese did the right thing when they revised their policies. I say that they revised them. They didn't change them, but only revised them, taking into account the need to continue the war. In order to achieve victory, the appropriate weapons were needed, and those weapons could be obtained only from the Soviet Union. China couldn't provide them.

If Ho's alleged testament is analyzed, taking these circumstances into account, it corresponds to the old saying: "Pray to God, but don't anger the devil." That's why I think the document was drawn up in a pro-Chinese spirit. Perhaps under the influence of Zhou Enlai immediately after the death of Ho Chi Minh, this document was edited, and what was published was not the original but excerpts from it. Such cases are unfortunately known to politics. Le Duan's speech, which I read carefully, is constructed in the same spirit as Ho's so-called testament. This confirms my guess even more strongly. Everything is aimed at not being deprived of material aid from the Soviet Union and other Communist parties. But at the same time the intent is, while receiving that aid, not to contradict China. China understands the necessity for Vietnam to pursue a policy of friendship with all the fraternal countries. In this very intense conflict, in the battle that is being waged there now, there is no alternative. But it must be kept in mind, and I'm absolutely convinced of this, that this policy is being pursued more in the interest of China than of Vietnam itself.

How will our relations develop in the future? I repeat that it's very difficult now to say definitely. Everything changes. But it can be predicted that as long as the war continues between Vietnam and the United States, the policy that was carried out while Ho Chi Minh was alive will be continued. But knowing that Le Duan is pro-Chinese to the marrow of his bones, I don't think he's capable of making a 180-degree turn and becoming a pro-Soviet person. This is absolutely ruled out as far as he is concerned. Therefore he will wear the mask of friendship. But it must be remembered that it is a friendship that is forced to take the existing situation into account. As soon as the war ends and the Americans are driven out of Vietnam (and I hope that day comes as soon as possible), the mask will be removed, and Le Duan will be revealed before the Soviet Communist Party in his true pro-Chinese aspect.[14]

I would suggest that we will have to put up with very bitter things that will be done in relation to our people and to our party. Vietnam will establish the same kind of relations with the Soviet Union that China did, that is, expel our people with the exception of a small number. We probably still have a small diplomatic staff in Beijing. That's how it will be with Hanoi, too. I don't want that to happen, but I also don't want to be blindly trusting. I have seen their policies [that is, the pro-Chinese elements] and I know them. The death of Ho Chi Minh has untied their hands to carry out an anti-Soviet policy. Having expressed my thoughts, I want to say a good word once again about my friend and comrade in struggle for the Communist cause, the apostle of the Communist movement, a dear and unforgettable friend, Comrade Ho Chi Minh.

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1. Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969; see Biographies) was the leader of the group within the Communist Party of Indochina that was affiliated with the Stalin-dominated Comintern. (As in many countries, there were other Marxist and left-socialist groups in Vietnam that did not follow Comintern policies.) During World War II, Ho Chi Minh's group, under the name Viet Minh, organized guerrilla warfare against the Japanese occupiers of former French Indochina. At the time of Japan's defeat in August 1945, there was a nationwide uprising of the Vietnamese people, who took control of their entire country, disarming the former Japanese occupying forces. The independent Democratic Republic of Vietnam, with Ho Chi Minh as president, was proclaimed on September 2, 1945.

However, under pressure from Stalin, who wanted to maintain his alliance with Britain, France, and the United States after World War II, Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese Communists agreed to allow the British to land an expeditionary force in Saigon in September 1945. The British then rearmed French forces in Vietnam and allowed additional French forces into the country. This opened the way for France to reestablish its presence as the colonial ruler of Indochina.

Many Vietnamese nationalists, non-Comintern Communists, and left-wing socialists (including a substantial Vietnamese Trotskyist movement) were opposed to this action of allowing the former colonial rulers to land their troops in Vietnam, where the Vietnamese people had already taken power. But the Viet Minh, headed by Ho Chi Minh, physically attacked and suppressed the more militant nationalists and Trotskyists, executing many. Those forces had called for fighting against the landing of British forces in Saigon and the reentry of the French colonial power, but the Viet Minh cooperated with the British and French. Later, in March 1946, the Viet Minh also allowed the French to land at Haiphong, in northern Vietnam, without offering any military resistance. Not until December 1946 did the Viet Minh organize military resistance against the French, after the French colonial forces had taken Hanoi. (See Ellen Hammer, *The Struggle for Indochina* [Stanford University Press, 1954].)

By December 1946, more than a year after Vietnam had proclaimed its independence, the French had reestablished their military presence in much of their former colony, but at that point the Viet Minh could no longer continue to collaborate with such an obvious recolonization. Guerrilla resistance to the French had been spreading throughout the country, and the Communists led by Ho Chi Minh resumed guerrilla warfare of the kind they had conducted against the Japanese during World War II. By 1947–48 the Cold War was in full force all over the world. The United States and its allies had completely turned against their former ally, Stalin. Now Stalin belatedly supported Vietnamese armed struggle against the colonial rulers, and it would probably have been at that time, in the late 1940s or early 1950s, that Ho visited Moscow seeking military support. Stalin's government belatedly recognized the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on January 30, 1950, after the Communist victory in China (October 1949).

Later Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Minh cooperated with Soviet and Chinese officials at the Geneva conference of April–July 1954. Ho and the Viet Minh agreed to the division of their country into north and south, with an independent country under Communist control in the north, but a continued U.S.-French presence in the south. After another decade that situation resulted in renewed struggle by the people of South Vietnam against a series of U.S.-backed puppet governments, and the result was the Vietnam war that raged from the early 1960s until 1975, when all of Vietnam was finally united as an independent country, under Communist Party rule, at the cost of between three and four million Vietnamese lives. [GS/MN]

2. The Soviet Union officially recognized the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on January 30, 1950, over four years after its proclamation. [MN/SS]

3. This was the Geneva Conference on Indochina of the ministers of foreign affairs of the USSR, the Chinese People's Republic, Great Britain, the United States, and France. It took place between April 26 and July 21, 1954. [MN] Khrushchev explains below that the Geneva Conference agreed to divide Vietnam into north and south, allowing the French—later supplanted by U.S forces—to maintain a presence and a puppet government in the south. [GS]

4. Pham Van Dong (1906–2000) was prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) from 1955 to 1976 and then of the reunited Socialist Republic of Vietnam from 1976 to 1987. He was also minister of foreign affairs from 1954 to 1961. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

5. Catherine's (Yekaterinsky) Hall is named after Empress Catherine II. [SS]

6. The victory at Dienbienphu took place in May 1954.

7. Pierre Mendès-France (1907–82) was French minister of foreign affairs in 1954 and prime minister in 1954–55. See Biographies.

8. The war broke out in 1964 and officially ended in January 1973. Vietnam was reunited in July 1976.

9. This conference took place from November 6 through December 1, 1960, and was attended by representatives of 81 parties. The delegation of the Chinese Communist Party was led by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping as chairman and general secretary, respectively, of its Central Committee. The conference was the first occasion on which the emerging Sino-Soviet split came out into the open. [SS]

10. Dolores Ibarruri (1895–1989) was general secretary of the Communist Party of Spain from 1942 to 1959 and thereafter its chair. See Biographies.

11. As Khrushchev states further on, at the end of the conference the Chinese delegation did agree to sign the declaration. [SS]

12. The Chinese (Hoa) constitute Vietnam's largest ethnic minority, concentrated in lowland urban centers in both the south and the north of the country, but its size is difficult to assess. According to the 1979 census, the Chinese numbered 935,000, or about 1.5 percent of the population. However, plausible estimates in other sources range up to 2–3 million. Sources of confusion include the large scale of migrations of Chinese into and out of Vietnam that have occurred at various times, the efforts of many Chinese to conceal their ethnic origin, and the ongoing process of assimilation. Many people are of mixed Chinese-Vietnamese origin.

In any case, Khrushchev exaggerates the importance of the ethnic Chinese minority as a factor in Vietnam's supposed orientation toward China in foreign affairs at the time he was recording his memoirs. The country was not yet united, and the Chinese living in North Vietnam (unlike those in Saigon, for instance) were quite well assimilated and not very numerous. Only a handful of members of the *nomenklatura* of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam were of Chinese origin. Moreover, some of these people—for example, my father-in-law Han Hing Quang, head of the foreign trade office—were in fact hostile to the Maoist regime on political grounds, despite their cultural identification with Chinese civilization. [SS]

13. Le Duan (1907–86) became first secretary of the Vietnamese Workers Party in 1960 and general secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party in 1976. See Biographies.

14. Events in the decade that followed proved Khrushchev's forecast wrong, thereby casting doubt on his assessment of Vietnamese leadership politics in general and on his characterization of Le Duan in particular. The attempts of the Vietnamese leaders not to alienate China, which reflected their sense of vulnerability vis-à-vis Vietnam's huge "northern neighbor," did not have lasting success. In the second half of the 1970s tensions between Hanoi and Beijing grew steadily, the two main bones of contention being the territorial dispute over the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea and Vietnam's intervention in Cambodia in late 1978. The culmination was the armed conflict set off in February 1979 by the Chinese military incursion into Vietnam's northern provinces. The supposedly pro-China Le Duan remained in his leading position throughout these developments. [SS]

ALBANIA

I want to pause now to dwell on our relations with the Albanian government and the Albanian Party of Labor.[1] During Stalin's time no disputes arose in relations between the Soviet Union and Albania or between our Soviet Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labor. Those relations were of a kind that ought to exist among all socialist countries. The USSR did everything it could to help the Albanian government become firmly established after the defeat of Hitler's hordes, and after the Italian armed forces were driven from Albanian territory. At that time the Albanian people had united their efforts with the Yugoslavs, and they were waging a joint struggle against the common enemy—the Axis of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. As Comrade Tito[2] told me, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia rendered great assistance to the Albanian people in organizing the struggle against the fascists. This was only natural because the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was better organized and had richer revolutionary traditions. The Communist Party of Albania, as it was then called, was weaker and needed support, which the Yugoslav comrades gladly gave. Tito told me he had sent his comrade in arms [Svetozar] Vukmanovic-Tempo[3] to Albania, where the latter was involved with the organizing of the Party of Labor.

When the very best relations still existed between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, and Tito had Stalin's absolute confidence, I remember one day when Stalin, in my presence, dictated a telegram to Tito saying that further relations with Albania should be based on the concept of Albania becoming part of a Balkan federation. That telegram was sent. Of course no one in Albania knew anything about it. Stalin was contemplating the idea of establishing a Balkan federation and frequently talked about it in our inner circle. Construction was even begun on a palace for the government of this future Balkan federation near Belgrade. I saw that location when I was in Yugoslavia. A fairly large number of reinforced concrete structures had been erected, but later it was all abandoned. In Stalin's idea of establishing a federation of the Balkan countries, there also existed the idea of including Albania as part of the Yugoslav state, and the two ideas were not seen as contradictory. However, when friendly relations with Yugoslavia were broken off and Stalin developed a hatred for Tito, the idea of a Balkan federation was buried.

I didn't know everything that lay behind the worsening of relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, but I did know something. Stalin distributed several telegrams to us [members of the Politburo], which he had received from Yudin, the Soviet ambassador to Yugoslavia.[4] In these telegrams Yudin portrayed Tito's activities in a nationalist light and did all he could to show that Yugoslavia was not a friendly country, that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia under Tito's leadership was carrying out subversive work against our Soviet Communist Party. I don't remember now exactly what Yudin accused the Yugoslavs of. I was working in Ukraine then and was not involved much in international questions, because I was more or less isolated from those matters and received no documents pertaining to them. Although I was a member of the Politburo of the AUCP(B) Central Committee, the documents that were supposed to be sent to me did not arrive. Stalin held sway in this realm. If he gave orders for material to be distributed to everyone, then it would be sent, but if he said nothing or gave no orders, nothing was sent or distributed to anyone.

After Stalin's death we were left with the legacy of the very worst possible relations with Yugoslavia. We began thinking about how to solve this problem. I would say that I was the one who took the initiative on this matter. Why? I had always been enthusiastic about the operations carried out by the Yugoslav partisans. In their fight against the Nazis, hardly anyone else made as good a showing as the Yugoslav partisans. This is widely known and ought to be generally recognized. They built up an army that had its own centralized command structure and waged a successful fight against the Germans, liberating fairly substantial territories on which guerrilla home bases were established. Besides that, even before the war I had heard about Tito's work. He was well known in the Communist International. As a former soldier in the Austro-Hungarian army, he ended up a prisoner of war of the Russians and went through the experience of the October revolution, a school in which he learned the fundamentals of politics. Because of this I felt a lot of sympathy for him, although I didn't run into him in person very much.

I also met with Tito in Stalin's time. I was in Moscow on one occasion when Stalin said a Yugoslav delegation was coming. He said that with an expression of sympathy and joyful expectation, as though to say, "Look who's coming for dinner!" But I didn't stay in Moscow long enough for that particular delegation to arrive; I returned to Kiev instead. Then Stalin called me and said that Tito was going home by way of Kiev and made the following request: "Take good care of Tito and the other comrades, all right? They're our good friends." That's what I did. Tito, Kardelj,[5] Djilas,[6] and others arrived [in May 1945]. We did everything necessary: we showed them the city and its surroundings, went to collective farms, attended the theater, and had conversations. What we talked about of course was life in Ukraine and the work of the Ukrainian Communist Party's Central Committee, but we didn't touch on any other questions. Our life then was inspired by the concept that when new socialist countries emerged some sort of unified body ought to be formed immediately, to deal not only with political and party matters but also with economic questions—something like a council of workers' deputies on an international scale to serve a worldwide union of Soviet republics. We had all been raised on such ideas. That's why we had an attitude of love and confidence toward every new country that took the road of building socialism, and especially toward their Communist parties. For every such country we did what we would do for ourselves. We held the view that our strength in the fight against world capitalism involved uniting all our material, technical, scientific, and party cadres. I thought that such united action was proof of the great inner worth of all those who held Communist views.

But when the split [with Tito] occurred everything changed all at once. Stalin was virtually ready to invade Yugoslavia. I remember on one occasion the Ukrainian minister of state security [Sergei Savchenko][7] reported to me that a large number of people were being sent secretly to the Balkans from Odessa. They were being sent by ship apparently to Bulgaria. People who were involved with organizing this operation reported to me that military units had been formed, and although they were traveling in civilian clothing, they had military uniforms and weapons in their luggage. It was reported to me that some sort of military blow against Yugoslavia was in preparation. Why it didn't happen I just don't know—especially since I never heard anything at all from Stalin himself about this operation. The people who reported it to me were carrying out his orders; they were the ones making the arrangements to get these people onto ships and send them off. These organizers were in an aggressive mood. They said: "Our guys are going to give it to them, but good! We've already sent them off, and soon they'll be going into action." They expressed no regrets about what was happening.

Why am I focusing attention on Yugoslavia now when I was getting ready to talk about Albania? Because the two questions are intertwined. Why was it me rather than someone else who showed an interest in improving relations with Yugoslavia? That ought to be clear to anyone who thinks politically even a little bit and knows what those times were like. When our relations with Yugoslavia went sour, I was in Ukraine, and although I was part of the leading nucleus of the AUCP(B), I had no direct involvement in this "dirty business" against Yugoslavia. Why couldn't Molotov, Suslov, Voroshilov, or others have shown some initiative [on improving relations with Yugoslavia]? It's because they had been too close to Stalin. And right here I would say not only close to Stalin, in the sense that they were in Stalin's close vicinity physically. What I mean is that the entire anti-Yugoslav policy that Stalin followed went through their hands, and they were the ones directly involved in carrying out that policy, especially Molotov. On such matters Molotov was Stalin's right-hand man.[8]

Stalin had trained these people to think from the standpoint of great power chauvinism, and that was the yardstick they used to apply to all Communist parties, including, of course, the Yugoslav party. Therefore they didn't understand the necessity for improving our relations and eliminating the conflict with Yugoslavia. They had no desire at all to bring up the matter. When I brought it up, I encountered support and understanding most of all from Anastas Ivanovich Mikoyan. He thought we ought to take the kind of measures I was advocating. Molotov, Voroshilov, and Suslov didn't agree with me. Their vision was clouded by the thought: "How could we, a great country, which defeated Hitler's Germany, go bowing down before a country like Yugoslavia?"[9]

By that time our loud-mouthed falsifiers, having lied once, and then having repeated the lie many times, began to believe their own fabrication—namely, that Yugoslavia was a capitalist country. That it didn't have anything socialist about it. That it had taken a position equivalent to betrayal of socialism and had established ties with imperialism. It's interesting that China today uses the same line of argument in criticizing our country. In Beijing they proclaim that the Soviet Union has made a secret agreement with the U.S. imperialists, and they utter other stupidities of the same kind. Unfortunately, twenty years ago we were saying the same kind of thing about Yugoslavia. Stalin made this all up. And the journalists joined right in. A great deal of paper and ink was wasted. This heavy weight from the past bore down on all us back then, and it was not so easy to begin moving in a new direction.

For that reason I made the following proposal: "Comrades, let's form a commission of scholars and assign them to study what type of state Yugoslavia is today—whether it's capitalist or socialist. If it's capitalist, then what exactly are the elements providing evidence that it is not a socialist country?" I can't recall now who was on the commission, but I do remember quite well that Shepilov,[10] the chief editor of *Pravda,* was part of it. The commission felt compelled to acknowledge that Yugoslavia could not in any way be considered a capitalist country and that all the elements of a socialist system were present in the state structure of Yugoslavia. There was no private ownership of the major means of production. The banks were not privately owned. All of that belonged to the people. Trade and commerce were also in the hands of the state for the most part. The only problem that had not been solved [on a socialist basis] was agriculture. Hardly any collective farms existed there, and privately owned farms predominated. However, the same situation existed in other countries that had taken the path of socialist construction, so that Yugoslavia in this respect hardly differed at all from such countries as Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. And I'm not even talking about the German Democratic Republic.

Of all the countries that had taken the road of socialist construction, the one that engaged in the shrillest anti-Yugoslav propaganda was Albania. For a certain time this was looked on with favor in the USSR and encouraged. But when we decided to take steps toward normalizing Soviet-Yugoslav relations, taking the first initiative ourselves to begin paving the way toward consolidation of the revolutionary forces, at that point the position of the Albanians became a harmful obstacle for us. Before taking concrete measures toward normalizing Soviet-Yugoslav relations, we consulted with the fraternal Communist parties. I don't remember now who reacted how, but the majority agreed with us. And we were quite persistent in trying to achieve this end. Albania, however, was an exception. The leaders of the Albanian government and the Albanian Party of Labor responded very negatively to our proposals. They began arguing that the Yugoslavs were hopeless people, that they were not Communists. There was a malicious hissing in the way they said this. Enver Hoxha[11] was especially indignant. He is a man of harsh and abrupt character, and when he talks about something that he doesn't like, his face starts to twitch all over, and he can barely keep from gnashing his teeth.

We calmly argued in reply that a wise and understanding attitude should be taken toward the way international relations were organized, that normalization would be to the advantage of both Albania and Yugoslavia, as well as the socialist camp as a whole. What did we need this divisiveness for? It should also be kept in mind that many Albanians were living in Yugoslavia, and although the socialist countries sometimes juggle the statistics when it's to their advantage, Tito later told me that there were more Albanians living in Yugoslavia than in Albania itself.[12] I'm not implying that there's anything bad about that, especially if there are friendly relations between countries. Albania was forced to agree with us—not because we had convinced its leaders but because they had no choice.

A Soviet delegation made a trip to Yugoslavia [May 26–June 4, 1955] (about which I will speak separately [in the next section]), and we normalized our relations. It's true that even after normalization our relations didn't run smoothly. There were warm embraces, and there were times when relations grew cool. But at any rate the kind of thing that happened under Stalin was not repeated. We sought to strengthen good relations and took steps toward uniting our efforts both politically and economically. This aroused even more indignation in Albania. At that time the attitude we took was that of an older and wiser comrade: “Well, what can you do if they don’t understand? They’ll grow up and come to understand that there’s actually nothing to be alarmed about.” We explained our point of view so that the Albanians would understand it as well as possible.

The relations we established with Albania were not just fraternal. After all, fraternal relations are relations on an equal footing. But from the point of view of the aid we supplied, our relations were like an elder brother toward a younger brother. We gave of our resources on a very large scale to help Albania. The aid we gave to other countries was based on favorable credit terms, but the aid we gave Albania was on a different basis; it was mainly given as an outright gift. On the whole, we paid entirely for the maintenance of the Albanian army. We gave them uniforms, food, guns, and ammunition, and all of it was free of charge.

Why? There were reasons for this, and anyone with common sense who understands the situation we were living in then can grasp them and find full justification for our actions. It must be kept in mind that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) had already been established at that time. Albania occupied a good strategic position on the Mediterranean coast, and we regarded it as a naval base for all the socialist countries. A dilemma was therefore posed for us. To put it crudely, should we send our troops there, or should we help the Albanians build their own powerful army? Of course Albania could not maintain more than a small number of troops with its own resources, and that number would have made no impression on an enemy. They produced practically no armaments of their own. Probably the only thing they made was rifles. So we decided to provide material assistance in establishing as numerically large an Albanian army as possible, but of course not one so large that it would be a burden to the Albanian economy. It should be an army that could make a threatening impression on a potential adversary and that would be supplied with the most up-to-date weapons and equipment. So we gave it tanks, artillery, and the most modern types of infantry weapons. I’m not even talking about uniforms and food supplies. If Albania had allocated resources from its own budget to provide for this army, it would have had nothing left for other needs, such as the development of its economy, industrialization of the country, and reorganization on a socialist basis. So we took an understanding attitude toward Albania’s needs.

When relations between the USSR and the capitalist countries became strained again after World War II, we didn't rule out the possibility of an open military conflict. From the positions it held, Albania could seriously threaten NATO's Mediterranean operations. So we agreed with the Albanians to provide them with a submarine fleet. We did this in the interests of all the socialist countries. The decision was made to deploy twelve submarines there. Twelve submarines in the Mediterranean is a fairly substantial force—one that our adversaries would have to take into account. We also intended to turn these submarines over to Albania. Our naval personnel went there with all the necessary surface vessels and repair equipment. They were supposed to train the Albanians, and as Albanian submarine crews became fully trained the submarines would be turned over to them. This shows with what confidence, I would even say with what love, we related to our Albanian comrades. Albanian delegations came to our country several times, headed by Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu. The very best relations were established between us, not to mention the good relations with ordinary Albanians.

The Albanians asked us many times to send a high-level delegation from our party and government to their country. It was decided that I would head up such a delegation, and in [May] 1959 we set off for Albania.[13] Before leaving we informed our Albanian friends that during our visit we didn't want them to make any public criticism of Yugoslavia or its leadership. Albania had very strained relations with Yugoslavia then, and the Albanian press was engaged in constant verbal duels with its neighbor. In my view that was harmful. That's why, after consulting among ourselves, we informed Enver Hoxha that we didn't want this press campaign against Yugoslavia to continue while our delegation was present in Albania. We warned them that we didn't want to be dragged into any such debates at public meetings either. We didn't want the Albanian comrades to bring up this subject at a public meeting and thereby force us to react in some way. Naturally we couldn't support this ongoing duel, especially with high-level representatives of both Albania and the USSR present. That obviously wouldn't contribute toward improving relations with Yugoslavia and could be taken as a declaration of ideological and political war between our countries and peoples. That's not what we wanted, and we asked the Albanians to take our wishes into account.

During our visit the Albanians did refrain from criticizing Yugoslavia at public rallies and other such gatherings. But it was noticeable how difficult this was for them. In discussions of a confidential nature, the Albanians kept trying to convince us that there could be no reconciliation with the Yugoslavs, that the Yugoslavs were not Communists, that they were no-good so-and-sos, and so on. We couldn't agree with them, although we didn't approve of everything going on in Yugoslavia. We had even expressed such opinions publicly, but that was in our own country, and we didn't want to do that in Albania. For example, we absolutely could not agree that the Yugoslavs were not Communists or that Yugoslavia was not a socialist country. That stage was already behind us. We had gone beyond that in our understanding of the world. On specific questions we still sometimes tossed insults back and forth [that is between the Soviets and the Yugoslavs], but fundamentally we considered them Communists, even though they interpreted certain specific theoretical and practical postulates of Marxism in their own special way.

During our stay in Albania, the Albanians behaved as friends, and we encountered no rough spots in the relations between us. They said nothing about Yugoslavia at public meetings, as I've already mentioned, and thus they avoided placing us in the position of people who either had to keep our mouths shut or begin arguing with them. And we didn't want to be put in either position. We spent several days there, visiting their capital of Tirana and other cities, as well as villages and ports. Everywhere we encountered a hearty welcome for the Soviet Union, for our people, and for our party—coming from the working people of Albania and from Hoxha and Shehu. I saw no storm clouds gathering—no gloom that would overcast the sun of friendship, under whose bright rays we wished to enjoy life and further develop fraternal relations between the Soviet Union and Albania. No conflicts arose between us.

To speak from the point of view of our needs, we had nothing especially to complain about: Albania was too poor, and they didn't have anything that might interest us in the way of resources. Our economic relations were based entirely on the interests of Albania. We even bought from them the miserly amount of petroleum they had begun to extract from the earth with our help. The quality of this oil was so low that it couldn't be sold on the capitalist market, and we were obliged to accept their oil as payment for some of the materials we delivered and to try to think how we might use it in our economy. We did that because if we hadn't taken the oil, no one would have bought it. And that would have meant the collapse of oil production in Albania. Later we gave the Albanians tractors. The territory of their country is not large, and they have little arable land. But we wanted to help them restructure the Albanian economy, bringing it to a modern level, thus making Albania, as it were, a precious gem that would attract the rest of the Muslim world toward Communism, especially in the Middle East and Africa. That's what our intentions were and the kind of policy we were pursuing.

We proposed to Albania that a powerful radio station be built that could serve the aims of propaganda. We wanted to use this radio station to promote our ideas, our policies, and the policies of all the Communist parties, the goals we all had in common in the struggle for socialism and communism. We also built a large commercial port in Albania. In short, we gave Albania everything it needed, and we did it all with the aim of making Albania a worthy member of the socialist commonwealth, so that Albania would become a vivid example for countries gaining their freedom from colonial oppression, thus demonstrating the advantages of the socialist system.

Our conversations with the Albanian leaders proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship. I'm not even talking about our meetings with the people. The people expressed strong feelings of friendship and gratitude toward our delegation and through us toward the Soviet Union and our policies. The people made a correct assessment of the aid we had given them, which was evident everywhere you turned. Everything new in Albania had been introduced with our aid, on the basis of our credits, specialists, and skilled workers. This was obvious to everyone, and the people greatly appreciated this aid and our friendly attitude toward their needs. Albania is a small country, but its small population lives in an interesting geographical location, where various contradictory tendencies in European history intersect, and Albania has many enemies.

In the talks we held with the Albanian leaders, they often raised the question of the Greeks. They had some territorial disputes with Greece. I don't remember now exactly what form they took.[14] Where there is the desire, one can always find ways of keeping alive disputes with one's neighbor, because no border has ever been drawn that pleases everyone. Someone can always find grounds for demanding that a borderline be changed. It's necessary to be guided by reason—to suppress such desires and instead to take a serious and understanding attitude toward one's neighbors, creating conditions in which one can live in friendship and peace with them. This is possible only if there is a mutual desire. If there is no such mutual desire, and if one country wants the existing borders while the other country doesn't want them and refuses to recognize them, then no matter how much one may wish to live in peace and friendship, unfortunately it won't happen.

Things were calm along the Albanian borders. Along the Albanian-Yugoslav border there was no cause for alarm as far as we were concerned. We didn't believe the Yugoslavs were planning anything against the Albanians. I don't know how sincere the Albanians were. But it seemed to me that they were taking an understanding attitude toward the border question, even though the existing border with Yugoslavia didn't really suit them. In our talks they said that a great many Albanians lived on the territory of the Yugoslav state, but these were historical discussions, so to speak, and they weren't making any claims or hinting that they had any plans in mind and wanted us to support them. The Albanians didn't bring up any such discussion, although they were not actually satisfied [with the situation across the border]. In their view, the Albanians in Yugoslavia were suffering and being oppressed. These were internal matters that concerned only Albania and Yugoslavia. The Yugoslavs claimed that the Albanians in Yugoslavia enjoyed all the rights of the various nationalities in that country. And I think that was true.

There was another episode connected with the borders of Albania. I don't remember what year it was, but the Greek foreign minister or some other prominent public figure came to the Soviet Union. I also received this visitor.[15] The Albanians were very mistrustful. They had the impression that we were having talks with the Greeks about changing the Albanian-Greek border to the advantage of Greece. Of course no such question was raised by any visiting Greek, and they were quite sensible not to, because the position we took was to defend the interests of Albania. Just imagine! To think we might hold talks with the Greeks to the detriment of Albania's territory! Why the very idea! This was sheer stupidity, an inability to think clearly, the product of a sick imagination! Unfortunately, the Albanians did express such thoughts to some of our people. And later, when relations between us went sour, they officially and openly stated that we had been talking with the Greeks about detaching part of Albania's territory for the benefit of the Greeks. These are the delirious ravings of madmen! How could we detach some of Albania's territory? Even if the Greeks had expressed such demands and some madman on our side had agreed with them, questions like that are not decided without war. And who would go to war over such a thing? Did they think we would fight on the Greek side against Albania? This is simply delirium! But the Albanians expressed such delirious ravings.

Of course during our visit [in 1959] these questions had not yet come up. It was as though they didn't exist. In short, our delegation's stay in Albania went by pleasantly. The talks we had were without exception friendly, and we returned home in a good mood and with a good opinion of Albania's accomplishments. The Albanians actually had achieved great successes. And we were happy about that. This small country was energetically reorganizing its economy, although the Albanian peasants looked very, very poor. Poverty and a primitive existence were prevalent everywhere. But that was not the fault of the Albanian people or of the Albanian Party of Labor. Things had taken shape historically that way, and a lot of effort had to be exerted to overcome poverty and raise the living standards of the people. That was the position we took, and we therefore gave all possible aid to Albania.

At the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, we gave a report on the abuses, distortions, and unjust executions carried out by Stalin. We of course stood sincerely in favor of democratizing our life, although not everyone took that position, as became clear later on. Some wanted to turn the wheel of history backward and put the brakes on the exposure of Stalin's crimes. Here I am talking about many comrades with whom I was working as part of the collective leadership. But the path we took was to democratize public life in the Soviet Union. Many other Communist parties followed our example. Some sincerely shared our point of view, and some agreed under pressure from public opinion, both from party members and from people who were not in the Communist Party. And so the process of democratization of public life proceeded.

There was stormy discussion of all these questions at party meetings in the countries of Eastern Europe. However, in Albania things took a peculiar turn. People in our embassy staff in Tirana told me back then that at a party meeting in Tirana great passions were stirred up. The meeting was extended over a period of several days, and Enver Hoxha was literally hanging by a thread. He was criticized sharply, and the question was raised of replacing Hoxha, Shehu, and Beqir Balluku,[16] the entire ruling threesome. I don't remember who else was subjected to criticism from among the leading party cadres at that party meeting in Tirana. I am calling attention to this fact because it evidently had decisive significance in the subsequent development of relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Albanian Party of Labor and between our governments.

In spite of everything, Hoxha resurfaced; he wasn't swept away. He and Shehu and Balluku remained in the leadership. But this episode filled them with mortal fear. Of course they were terribly shaken. They had thought of themselves as the big chiefs, the infallible authorities. How did people dare raise their voices at that party meeting and challenge their authority? Not only was their leading position shaken; they just barely managed to avoid being removed from their leadership posts. When Mao Zedong began to pursue an anti-Soviet policy, a policy line aimed at breaking with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, you didn't have to be especially wise, as the saying goes, to understand, that Albania could easily become Mao's ally in this policy. Mao invited a delegation from the Albanian Party of Labor to China. It was headed by Mehmet Shehu. I have already spoken about this in passing, and evidently I will be repeating myself somewhat, but there's nothing to be done about it, because the various actions we were involved in were inextricably interconnected.

At one time we had criticized the Yugoslavs, hurling unkind epithets at them, accusing them of being revisionists, renegades from Marxism, and so forth. I won't go into these questions now. For me that is a bygone stage. Later our relations went through different phases, and there were times when relations became strained. But on the whole, friendship prevailed in our relations with Yugoslavia, and until the end of my activity [in the leadership] the very best relations were established with Comrade Tito and other leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party. I had great respect for them. But the Chinese began to make use of our criticism of Yugoslavia and our later reconciliation with the Yugoslavs, which developed into friendship between our parties and between the leaderships of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The Chinese cleverly supported the Albanian criticism of Yugoslavia as a fight against revisionism, a fight against Tito as the carrier of all sorts of antisocialist and anti-Communist "bacilli." There could be no friendship with such a person as Tito.

These seeds fell on fertile ground. No special effort was required on the part of the Chinese, because the Albanians themselves were looking for support. China is a huge country with an enormous population and a great future. They had the cards in their hands, as people say. The thinking of the Albanian leadership was that here was their chance to get revenge. But I think they are limited people who do not see very far ahead. They began to decide their policies on the basis of arithmetic. It doesn't require great knowledge of mathematics. It's enough to know the four basic operations of arithmetic to determine what the size of the Chinese population is and what the size of the population is in the other socialist countries is. All the other socialist countries put together didn't have as large a population as China by itself. Consequently it would seem to be the bellybutton of the world. Evidently that's how Hoxha and Shehu decided the line they would take. They joined in wholeheartedly with China's fight against the Soviet Union and against the CPSU.

It's in this connection that I call attention to the fact that at the party meeting in Tirana where Hoxha's fate was decided [that is, when he barely managed to stay in the leadership] many party activists had spoken out against him. The Albanian leaders eagerly accepted the anti-Soviet policy proclaimed by Mao. No special effort was needed to instill it in them. They were ready and waiting for it, no less than the Chinese, because of the dangerous situation that had arisen for them after the Soviet party's Twentieth Congress. They understood the essence of the condemnation of the cult of personality, the condemnation of one-man rule, and the condemnation of antidemocratic practices in Soviet life and in our party and country. All this frightened the Albanian leaders, and not only them.

Some other leaders also became alarmed. Of course democracy's a good thing, but it's a difficult task under democratic conditions to hold onto power if you don't take the people into account and don't listen to those you are leading. A lot of good sense is needed in such conditions. One has to know how to understand the tasks facing one's country and to listen to those one is supposed to be leading. One has to always be aware that one is dependent on the rank and file. You're in the leadership, not just because you want to lead; you have to understand that you can lead only on the condition that you are doing what the people under your leadership want. And that's only possible under one condition—namely, that the leader is the flesh of the flesh and the blood of the blood of his people and of his party, that he proceeds from the interests of the people and not from his vainglorious personal aspirations. One must possess the necessary knowledge, modesty, and ability to live and work as part of a collective, to do the kind of work that corresponds to the social and political position that one holds by the will of the party. You are not above the party! No, you are a servant of the party and can remain in your post only as long as the party supports you and is satisfied with you and what you are doing.

None of this corresponded in practice to what Hoxha, Shehu, and Balluku were doing. When relations between us became strained and later developed into hostile relations, several Albanian comrades came to visit us, and tears were literally pouring down their faces as they told about the situation that had developed in their country and the disaster they had been plunged back into. Tito told me that a very good comrade had previously been first secretary of the Albanian Communist Party. The Yugoslavs knew him and supported him. He himself was of working-class origin. He actually had been the founding organizer of the Albanian Communist Party.[17] However Hoxha, Balluku, and Shehu organized a conspiracy against him. They say that Shehu personally strangled this man to death. Other grisly incidents soon became known to us. One person was strangled; another was killed secretly in some other way. They worked out a system among themselves. If someone was to be punished, and that was decided by Hoxha, Shehu and Balluku, they handed down the sentence as a threesome. It was sufficient for the three of them to agree that a person was harmful, and then they would find some means to eliminate him secretly. This person would soon disappear.

All this was very similar to the system Stalin had introduced. He operated the same way through Beria and others like Beria. Thus, many good and worthy people were destroyed by Stalin. The same kind of situation took shape in Albania. This was the result of their fear of the democratization of the country, fear of democratization in public and party life. But in my view that path is inevitable. That's what the split between us was really about. How did this split develop? Through what stages did it pass? First, we found out that the Albanians were holding talks with the Chinese that were aimed against the CPSU and other fraternal parties. Before that we had no other information [that is, no indication of an imminent split with the Albanians].

At that time, as I related earlier, the Albanian delegation was returning from China by way of the Soviet Union. An Albanian woman came to our Central Committee offices, a member of the Albanian Politburo, Liri Belisheva, a very honorable person. I think they've killed her by now, the poor thing.[18] The Gestapo didn't kill her, but her own "party brothers" dealt with her and did her in because she was a sincere Communist and as such came to our Central Committee and told us what the Chinese had been talking with the Albanians about and that the Albanians had agreed with the Chinese. For our part, out of naiveté, as soon as we learned of this we ran over to talk with Shehu, who was in the hospital in our country. We told him everything and asked how it could have happened that such conversations were being held in China. Shehu literally leaped out of his hospital bed and immediately flew back to Albania.

The final split [with the Albanians] took place in Bucharest at a regularly scheduled congress of the Romanian Communist Party [in June 1960].[19] We decided to hold a gathering there and to have an exchange of opinions on international questions, including the question of relations among Communist parties and, more specifically, the relations that were taking shape between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the other Communist parties. I'm not just talking about the CPSU and the CCP. No, this question concerned other fraternal parties as well. When we gathered together, the Albanians spoke out openly against us and in support of China—a development that for me was quite unexpected.

I don't remember now the name of the representative of the Albanian Party of Labor at the conference in Bucharest. But I asked him: "What's going on?"

He answered: "Comrade Khrushchev, I myself don't understand anything. But I have received orders to support the Chinese."

We thought that perhaps not all was yet lost, and we wanted to do everything we could to restore friendly relations with the Albanians. But despite our efforts we got nowhere. In [November] 1960 an international conference of all the Communist parties and other fraternal parties gathered at the Kremlin.[20] Hoxha gave an accusatory speech against the Soviet Union. He bared his fangs even more than the Chinese themselves. At that point Comrade Dolores Ibarruri, a revolutionary of very long standing [a former Communist Party leader from Spain who had been known as "La Passionaria" because of her fiery speeches during the Spanish Civil War] gave a good speech. She was a person entirely devoted to the Communist movement. She said: "What is this? Hoxha's speech is like a dog biting the hand that feeds it." Her speech was right on the mark. Thus the conflict with Albania arose strictly over questions of principle. The Albanian leaders, with their methods of killing their opponents both secretly and openly, had created a party that could be maintained only on the basis of fear. They couldn't accept the decisions of the CPSU Twentieth Congress. Therefore in their fight against the CPSU, like the Chinese, they glorified the name of Stalin. They held Stalin up as an ideal! Stalin, they said, is a true Marxist-Leninist, and all the rest are revisionists. That is, a revisionist is someone who speaks out against secret and open murders, who advocates democratization of life in the Communist Party and in society. The Albanian leaders didn't want to go down the same road as such "revisionists." This of course is a great tragedy for the Albanian people. No right-thinking person could suppose that a leadership like that had the confidence and respect of its own people and party. The people and the party were forced to put up with them. After all, there was nothing they could do! It had been the same for us under Stalin. Stalin carried out a policy of exterminating leading cadres of our party, and that cost us the heads of thousands of honest people. Yet everyone was shouting, "Long live Stalin! Stalin is the best friend of the people. Stalin is the father of the people!"

So far, apparently, such epithets are not being used for Hoxha. He's still young, but this is the kind of thing he wants. According to his understanding, this can be achieved only by keeping the party and the people in a state of fear, keeping them subordinated to himself through threats and violence. Mao is pursuing exactly the same policy. Sometimes you turn on the radio these days and you hear, "This is China speaking," or "This is Tirana speaking." The languages are different but the essence is the same. Their leaders base themselves on the same concept—namely, that the people are manure and the leaders are geniuses. Consequently, for them the leaders are not there for the people but the other way around; the people are there for the leaders. Back when I used to meet with Mao and talk with him, when our relations were still the very best, I simply couldn't understand him in many respects.

Back then I attributed his outlook to some sort of special Chinese way of thinking, to particular historically determined traits of the Chinese national character. Some of Mao's arguments or ways of discussing seemed to me greatly oversimplified and schematic, and on other occasions he got into very complicated argumentation. I've already referred to the slogan, "Let a hundred flowers bloom." That is, let all different cultural trends develop. Today it's clear to everyone that this was merely a provocation. This slogan was tossed out to encourage people to be candid and open. Later these "flowers" were dealt with if their color or the scent they gave off was considered unsuitable.

There was another slogan voiced by Mao that was picked up by Hoxha: "We should not fear imperialism—imperialism is a paper tiger." That is, it was a tiger that was not dangerous. This was incomprehensible to us. This slogan was put forward at a time when we still had good relations. We couldn't just ignore the slogan back then; we had to give it some consideration, because our friend Mao, leader of the Chinese people, had put the slogan forward. They paraded this "paper tiger" slogan around for a long time, but now it seems to have died down somewhat, and they no longer repeat it. I don't know if they've dropped the slogan or have just gone on to other slogans, having used it enough. But it's really an incredible slogan to say that American imperialism is a paper tiger. After all, a tiger is a rather dangerous predator, and the United States is not made of paper.

After my retirement I heard on the radio one day an interview given by Chen Yi[21] to some American writer. The interviewer asked a direct question, saying: "On the basis of statements by Mao, the United States thinks you want to start a war. Is that true or not?"

Chen Yi answered: "No, we do not want war, and we will go to war only in the event of a direct attack on the territory of the Chinese People's Republic."

That cut me to the quick. Why, this was an unambiguous call for American imperialism to attack North Vietnam. And that's what happened. The Americans understood Mao correctly and unleashed war directly upon North Vietnam.[22] China didn't intervene. Its soldiers did nothing to defend Vietnam. Although the United States was a "paper tiger," they knew that a tiger like that could seriously rip at your throat. This kind of provocative statement by Chen Yi emboldened the American aggressors and encouraged them to carry out their direct attack on North Vietnam.

Hoxha held exactly the same position. What else can be said here about Albania? When you talk about Albania nowadays you can't keep from speaking about China. Albania's policies are a reflection of the policies China is pursuing toward the West. Let's take another one of Mao's slogans: "The wind is blowing from the East. It will overcome the wind blowing from the West." It might seem that this was a strictly climatic or geographic concept. But it instilled fear of China in everyone; after all an east wind can blow with great force.

I will relate one more episode about our conflict with Albania. As I have said, we gave it twelve submarines. When our relations became strained, we decided to take back all the submarines and the equipment that accompanied them, which we had given to the Albanians. The Albanians objected. It seems that the submarine crews on three of the submarines were already completely Albanian, and one or two submarines had mixed crews. We succeeded in bringing back eight or nine submarines, but three or four remained in Albania. We were not able to take them back. But we expected that aggressive actions might even be carried out by the Albanians when our submarines were being removed, and so we had our warships, I don't remember how many, cruising off the shores of Albania in case of any eventuality. If the Albanian authorities had tried to use force to hold on to our submarines, our warships were intended to intimidate them.

Thus a complete break occurred between our country and Albania. I don't know if the Albanians gained anything from this. I think they lost rather than won. We stopped giving them aid. All our aid programs were cut off. I don't know what difficulties may have arisen at that time in Albania, but we heard rumors that the Chinese had decided to take on the task of aiding Albania. Later they did provide aid, but I don't know if it was on the same scale that we had provided. I hardly think so, because very difficult conditions had arisen in China itself by then. Of course the relative weight of Albania's needs compared with China as a whole were very small, so that the Chinese could have done something. I'm unable to say anything even approximate about this now, because our embassy in Albania was isolated and Albanian citizens stopped coming there altogether. If anyone did, they were exterminated. We were deprived of the possibility of obtaining any information.

Well, how should things be in the future? I think that every effort should be exerted so that the conflict that the CPSU and other Communist parties now have with the Chinese can be narrowed down. We should try to achieve a situation in which the world Communist movement becomes monolithic and unified. That should be our main goal. Everything should be done to ease the tensions in our relations and subsequently turn them into friendly relations. That would be in the interest of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the interest of all the peace-loving people of the world, in the interest of the Chinese people, and in the interest of the struggle for peace and for peaceful coexistence. The Chinese leaders have many times denounced the Soviet Union and the CPSU for this slogan, "peaceful coexistence." But when the bourgeois journalists pressed Mao with questions he himself repeated that China also stood for peaceful coexistence. The Bandung Declaration was adopted [at the Bandung Conference in April 1955] with the participation of China, and its text indicates that the authors stood in favor of peaceful coexistence.[23] But you can't always grasp what the Chinese are saying. It's easy to miss their meaning. As we say in Russian, it's like trying to hit a small granule with a pestle in a mortar; you pound at it but don't connect. One minute they're speaking in favor of coexistence and another they're against it. And as for Albania, it just trundles along in China's baggage train.

1. The Albanian Party of Labor was the official name adopted by the Communist Party of Albania in 1948.

2. Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980) led the Communist wing of the Yugoslav resistance against German occupation during World War II. After the war he was the leading figure in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia until his death. In 1935–36 he worked for the Comintern in Moscow. See Biographies.

3. During World War II Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo was sent on missions to help organize the Resistance to German and Italian occupation in Bosnia, Macedonia, and Albania. After World War II he was deputy minister of national defense. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

4. Pavel Fyodorovich Yudin was actually editor of the main publication of the Cominform (Communist Information Bureau), which had its headquarters in Yugoslavia; he was not the Soviet ambassador to Yugoslavia. See Biographies, note 4 in the chapter "Mao Zedong" above, and note 4 in the next chapter, "Yugoslavia." [GS]

5. Edvard Kardelj (1910–79) was deputy prime minister of Yugoslavia. See Biographies.

6. Milovan Djilas (1911–97) was vice president of Yugoslavia and head of the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. See Biographies.

7. Sergei Romanovich Savchenko (1904–66) was people's commissar (minister) of state security of Ukraine from 1943 to 1949. See Biographies.

8. The protocols of the sessions of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee held on May 23, May 25, and June 8, 1955, which have now been published, confirm that the main opposition to the effort to improve relations with Yugoslavia came from Molotov. The majority of Presidium members supported Khrushchev. Voroshilov supported Molotov at the first two of these sessions, but lined up with the majority on June 8 *(Prezidium TsK KPSS. 1954–1964,* 44–46, 51–54). [SS]

9. Actually Khrushchev was not the first to take initiatives toward improving relations with Yugoslavia. Beria, in May–June 1953, before his arrest, had begun to probe this possibility in talks with his counterpart in Yugoslavia, Aleksandar Rankovic, head of the Yugoslav equivalent of the MVD. (On Rankovic, see Biographies.) On June 30, 1953, diplomatic relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia were restored. Beria took no further steps, and after his arrest no new attempts were made to establish friendly contacts with Tito until Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia in May–June 1955. In his memoirs, Khrushchev left what happened in 1953 out of the picture. [SK]

10. Dmitry Trofimovich Shepilov (1905–95) was chief editor of *Pravda* from 1952 to 1956. See Biographies.

11. Enver Hoxha (1908–85) was first secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labor. See Biographies.

12. At the time referred to, out of a total of 2,500,000 Albanians more than a million were living in Albania itself and roughly 900,000 in Yugoslavia. [MN] The ethnic Albanian population of Yugoslavia was concentrated mainly in Kosovo and Macedonia. [SS]

13. This trip took place from May 25 to June 4, 1959. [SK]

14. The recurrent territorial dispute between Albania and Greece concerns an area in southern Albania near the Greek border inhabited mainly by ethnic Greeks. The Greek minority was in a difficult situation under the Hoxha regime. See Basil Kondis and Eleftheria Manda, eds., *The Greek Minority in Albania: A Documentary Record (1921–1993),* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1994), 119–24. [SS]

15. The Greek foreign minister at this time (since 1956) was Evangelos Averof-Tossitsas (1910–?). However, there is no official record of Khrushchev's receiving Mr. Averof-Tossitsas during the period 1958–60. During this period Khrushchev received four prominent Greek visitors: the

publisher Christos D. Lambrakis (May 4, 1958); Spyros Markezinis, leader of the Progressive Party (April 27, 1959); Ioannis Pasalidis, chairman of the United Democratic Left (June 29, 1960); and Sophocles Venizelos, leader of the Liberal Democratic Union (June 10, 1960). [SK/SS]

16. At this time Shehu (see Biographies) was a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labor and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania. Lieutenant General Beqir Balluku (1917–75) was a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labor, army chief of staff, and minister of national defense. He was arrested in July 1974 as a member of a "very dangerous antiparty group" and is assumed to have been executed. [MN/SS]

17. Khrushchev probably has in mind here Koçi Xoxe (pronounced "Kochi Dzodze"; 1917–49), a former tinsmith who in the immediate postwar period was vice premier, minister of internal affairs, and organizational secretary of the Albanian Party of Labor. He was regarded as the principal rival of Enver Hoxha. Together with a number of other Albanian officials, he was found guilty of being a Yugoslav agent on June 10, 1949, and was executed the next day. [GS/SS]

18. Khrushchev is mistaken. Liri Belisheva was released in 1991 after 31 years in detention. See Biographies. [SS]

19. At this time the Romanian Communist Party was called the Romanian Workers Party. The reference is to its Eighth Congress, which took place between June 20 and 25, 1960. At the same time, on June 24, a meeting was held in Bucharest of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries who were present as guests at the Romanian party's congress.

20. The conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties (Moscow, November 1960).

21. Chen Yi (1901–72) was minister of foreign affairs of the Chinese People's Republic from 1958 to 1966. See Biographies.

22. This is apparently a reference to the massive bombing of North Vietnam, which began in 1968. [GS/SS]

23. The reference is to the "Declaration on Promoting Universal Peace and Cooperation," which defined five principles of peaceful coexistence: mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, nonaggression, noninterference in other countries' internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

YUGOSLAVIA

I didn't know Comrade Tito personally before World War II. I only knew of him from a distance as someone who worked in the Communist International (Comintern). But I, of course, was far removed from Comintern work. On one occasion after World War II, I heard favorable comments about Tito in a conversation with Manuilsky.[1] Manuilsky was closely acquainted with Tito. I really first heard about Josip Broz Tito when the fame of the partisan fighters in Yugoslavia, who were waging an energetic struggle against the Nazis, gained widespread attention. Reports about their struggle appeared regularly in the Soviet press, giving very favorable assessments of the partisans and their operations, led by Tito. I would assume that there is not a single Communist Party in the world that would take offense at me for saying that in the earliest stages of World War II the strongest guerrilla movement, involving all the people, arose precisely in Yugoslavia. The primacy and mass character of the Yugoslav guerrilla movement are indisputable. The Yugoslav people and their Communist Party should be given credit for this.

I actually made Tito's acquaintance after World War II when he visited Moscow. Stalin also spoke about Tito a great deal—and had only good things to say about him. Tito made a strong impression on Stalin, who gave Tito the credit he deserved as a major organizer of the partisan movement. On one occasion [in 1945] Stalin called me in Kiev and said that Tito was visiting the USSR as a guest, along with Comrades [Edvard] Kardelj, [Milovan] Djilas,[2] and others. "They're going back to their homeland, and the train will take them through Kiev. Organize a good reception for them. Look after them and get Tito favorably disposed toward you." I replied: "Everything necessary will be done."[3] We made a big display of hospitality in both the Russian and Ukrainian style. It's true that the housing we had for our guests was not very good. Economic reconstruction, after the ruin and destruction of the war, had not yet been completed. But we did everything we could, and they were satisfied.

Tito wanted to visit a collective farm. Although the farms were still poor and there wasn't especially much for us to show them, Tito was satisfied in this respect as well. Then we invited them to attend the opera. Tito seemed to become softer and gentler in that setting; he spoke with us warmly and was delighted with the excellent acting and voices of the performers.

I won't hide the fact that in those days we measured everything by our own yardstick, and we thought that at some stage all countries would unite in a worldwide union of Soviet republics. That's why we especially wanted to show Tito the successes of Soviet Ukraine. We wanted to demonstrate that Yugoslavia would only gain by uniting with us. During the course of this contact with Tito, I took a liking to him as a lively and unaffected person. I also took a liking to Kardelj. Today our assessment of Djilas is different, but back then he also made a very good impression not only on us but on Stalin as well: he was an intelligent, lively person with a sense of humor. I remember during the intermission between acts at the opera he told all sorts of anecdotes. For example, he told the following anecdote: "In a certain city lived a cow, a dog, and a donkey, and life was hard for them. They decided to move to the mountains and live in a cave. After a while they got bored. Even though they had been starving in the city, they still had a yearning to take a look and see what was going on there. They thought about it for a while and decided to send the dog, who had good legs, and so it would be easy for him to run there and back. The dog soon returned.

"Well, what's going on there?"

The dog replied: "Things are bad, but it's possible to live there. Nevertheless, I ran away and came back here. How in the world could I, a dog, live in a city where barking is prohibited?"

The three of them continued to live in the mountains. After a while they decided to send the cow to reconnoiter. She didn't bark, and so they thought she might enjoy living in the city. In a little while the cow returned.

"Well, how was it?"

"Impossible to live there. No sooner had I arrived in the city than everyone rushed at me, grabbed at my udder, milked me, and dragged me around, but no one fed me. I barely managed to get away. They nearly tore off my udder."

Some time went by, and they sent the donkey into the city. Soon the donkey came back as well.

"Well, how was it?"

"It's impossible to live there. I came to the city, and they were holding elections. They wanted to elect me to Parliament. I barely got away."

At that point Tito looked sternly at Djilas and said: "What are you telling anecdotes like that for? Are you saying we elect asses to parliament?" He was also joking when he said that, and everyone laughed together. We liked the anecdote. I think Djilas made it up himself. I'm telling about this to show the kind of relaxed atmosphere that existed during their visit to Kiev. When I went to Moscow I told Stalin about it all. Stalin was very pleased that Ukraine had made a good impression on Tito. He was sure that fraternal relations would develop between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

However, a little while later some information about Yugoslavia was distributed to members of the Politburo. Our ambassador, the philosopher and academician Pavel Yudin,[4] described a session of the Politburo of the Yugoslav Communist Party in detail. At that session people voiced all sorts of witticisms, making fun of the USSR, of our officers, and our engineers, who had been sent to Yugoslavia to provide assistance to that country.[5] Statements were quoted that were very disrespectful, even insulting [to the Soviet Union]. The document was fairly lengthy and consisted entirely of negative comments and observations. Then new and further denunciations began to arrive from Belgrade. Various individuals were characterized in these reports, and different points of view were described, but they all had one trend in common—they were against the USSR. They made fun of Soviet citizens, describing them as not very cultured, some sort of semi-savage or Asiatic people, and a particular meaning was attached to the term "Asiatic." The Yugoslavs contrasted themselves to us. They were Europeans, people of the West, people with a higher culture.

All this was related with specific reference to individuals. This one had said such-and-such and that one had said so-and-so. Some had spoken against the Soviet Union and others had spoken in favor. Some of these conversations occurred during encounters at the Soviet Embassy [in Belgrade], which was visited by many different people, who held various political views. Many of these people were our friends. Because of their friendship with us, they were expelled from the Communist Party of Yugoslavia [whose official name was later changed to the Yugoslav League of Communists], and some people even paid with their lives. The conflict with the USSR gradually took on such force that people in Yugoslavia began to be arrested not because they were our friends but because they merely spoke in opposition to the line of the Yugoslav Communist leadership. This is understandable. If the Yugoslav government had taken a position of confrontation with the USSR, and our friends were fighting for the maintenance of friendly relations with us, it's not surprising that repressive measures would have been taken against them.

With every report from Yudin,[6] relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union became more and more strained, and the atmosphere became more and more charged. Exactly what expressions Yudin used in the coded messages he sent I simply can't remember now after so much time has passed. But some day they will become accessible to historians and the general public.

Today it's my opinion that Yudin was not objective, that he was very negative and picky toward the Yugoslavs and displayed insufficient understanding of their views. He should not have tried to give orders, should not have regarded himself as Stalin's commissar in Yugoslavia, but should have taken a kind and tolerant attitude toward a fraternal Communist party and a fraternal people and tried to build a relationship with them based on mutual trust and mutual respect, not based on issuing commands and dictating orders. The Yugoslavs are people with a sense of dignity. They don't tolerate being dictated to, especially those who fought a glorious guerrilla war and passed that difficult test with honor, but Yudin communicated with them by bellowing at them. This is fully understandable. His boss Stalin wanted the leaders of the fraternal countries to hang on his every word and to swallow everything he handed them, regardless of the form in which it was presented. But Tito proved to be a different kind of person. The Yugoslavs were not the kind of people you could treat like that. Thus, Stalin himself gave them grounds for dissatisfaction. If Stalin had called Yudin to order—this man Yudin, who was sitting in Belgrade issuing commands—perhaps a great deal would have turned out differently.

Things ended up with the Soviet Union recalling everyone who had been sent to aid Yugoslavia, including military personnel. There were a huge number of people! Both Tito and Rankovic[7]—and Kardelj too—later told me that in Belgrade, when they received the report that Soviet advisers were being recalled, an atmosphere of mourning set in. Both ordinary people and leaders of the country were greatly aggrieved and could not understand what the reason for this was, why this step was being taken that would lead to a split. This decision was a complete surprise to them. When they told me about it, they put all the blame on Yudin. They tried to convince me that even Yudin's last name was derived from Judas the Apostate. In their opinion, Yudin played the same role in relation to Yugoslavia as Judas the Apostate had played [in relation to Jesus Christ], that he had done everything he could to bring about a break in relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia. There was also a great deal of subjectivity in this conclusion that they drew. Why would Yudin set himself such a goal? He was sent to a friendly country to carry out duties of a particular kind. Of course, a great deal did depend on him personally, and his subjectivism could have played a negative role. Various interpretations can be applied to one or another fact.

However, the orders were being given by Stalin, and Yudin was only carrying them out.

Stalin, in those days, to put it crudely, had got it up his nose so much that he no longer even felt the ground beneath his feet. The main thing for him was that the Soviet army was now the most powerful in the world. Of course he still had to take the United States and its allies into account. But did he have to be considerate toward Yugoslavia? Or Poland or other countries like that? No. From them he demanded absolute obedience. In the case of Poland, no insubordination could have occurred. The people in the government there were of a different character [from those in Yugoslavia]. Besides, our troops were stationed there. The same kind of situation existed in Romania and Hungary. Czechoslovakia also was in a subordinate position, although it was not literally in the same situation [that is, no Soviet troops were stationed there in the late 1940s]. Yugoslavia's fate took a different course. We helped Yugoslavia by liberating Belgrade, but the Yugoslavs themselves had a powerful and well-organized army at that time, which had been fighting Hitler's forces successfully. And so we should have spoken differently with the people in that country.

I think the Yugoslavs sincerely wanted friendly relations with us. Stalin himself alienated them. He conducted himself as though no one in the circle around him was his equal. He thought that everyone should bow down to him and carry out his slightest caprice or whim. If anyone showed some independence, it could lead to tragic consequences. This despot showed many times what foul deeds and atrocities he was capable of, and in every case without exception he thought that if someone didn't agree with him, that person should be removed by any means necessary. When I went to Moscow on one occasion, Stalin was telling about documents he'd received from Yudin and about the situation that was supposedly taking shape in Yugoslavia. He lifted his hand and separated his little finger from the other fingers and said: "All I have to do is wiggle my finger, and Tito will be no more." This kind of "wiggling of the finger" became his main goal in his relations with Yugoslavia. He didn't search for any means of reaching agreement, although he could have easily prevented a split, because Tito, after all, is not Mao Zedong. I believe Tito and the other Yugoslavs were telling us the truth in saying that they wept when Soviet advisers left their country.

Later in our press there appeared headlines in which Rankovic was depicted in the most incredibly repulsive poses and caricatures.[8] Rankovic, as minister of internal affairs, who carried out Tito's orders, apparently did allow unjustified reprisals to be carried out. A public squabble between two socialist countries and two Communist parties began. Stalin accused Tito of not being a Communist and claimed that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had renounced socialist ideas. Yugoslavia was accused of every possible sin: that it was taking the road of restoring capitalism and so forth. But when Stalin saw that the internal forces in Yugoslavia on which he had hoped to rely in his intention of dealing with Tito by any means possible—when he saw that they were not strong enough, he tried to remove Tito by other means, but that didn't work out either. Soviet agents were sent to Yugoslavia [to assassinate Tito], but they were unsuccessful.[9]

Two international anti-Yugoslav conferences were held. One was held in Prague, as I recall, and it seems to me that the reporter at that conference was Malenkov. The second was in Bucharest, and Gheorghiu-Dej[10] gave the main report. I know that Dej was only being used by us. I know this from conversations in Stalin's inner circle. The report he gave was composed by our people. Suslov and Malenkov wrote it. The reason Dej gave the report was to show that not only the CPSU and the USSR but also the countries that had just taken the road of socialist construction were opposed to Yugoslavia. After Stalin's death Dej told me about this himself. Not until 1955 was there a noticeable change in our relations with Yugoslavia. We put together a delegation to travel to Yugoslavia to try and restore our previous good relations and eliminate the artificially created tensions between our two countries.

Before that question was decided, there were some rather sharp discussions among us. It was a long time before this question came to a head, and we finally decided to try to establish contact and eliminate the tension and hostility created by Stalin between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

My main opponents on this point were Molotov, Voroshilov, and Suslov. Shepilov's position did not contribute to a correct understanding of things either. There was a reason for this. For a long time he had been editor of *Pravda* and had written a great deal on the subject [of Tito and Yugoslavia] from Stalin's point of view. Therefore it was hard for him to arrive at a correct and objective solution to the problem right away.

Mikoyan spoke in favor of restoring good relations. Malenkov took his usual position, looking to see where the majority stood so that he could join it and not have to guess. That was his misfortune. On sharply disputed questions he always took the position of looking around to see how things might turn out.[11] Malenkov was more involved in trying to guess than wanting to search for the truth. A widely circulated argument in the USSR was as follows: "How is this possible? After all, the Yugoslavs had reverted to capitalist positions. Their economy had been swallowed up by American monopoly capitalism. Privately owned banks had been restored. Private ownership of industry existed, and so forth." In my opinion, we had departed so far from reality that we ourselves began to believe these stupidities.

This reminds me of an anecdote. A mullah is walking through a village. People ask: "Where are you coming from?"

"From the other end of the village."

"What's new over there?"

"They're giving out free food over there," he said, making it all up. People begin running off to the other end of the village. Now the mullah begins to ask them: "Where are you running off to?"

"They're giving out free food over there." And the mullah joins the crowd. He, too, starts running [believing there really is free food].

Our attitude toward Yugoslavia was similar to this joke. We had made this stuff up and started to believe it ourselves. I proposed that a commission be established, that party officials and economists be included in it, and the necessary information be gathered and analyzed, category by category, to determine whether Yugoslavia was socialist or had already become capitalist. You can't just take a voluntarist position in trying to answer a question like that. You can't just say, "This is the answer I want." The question of what kind of country exists depends on the presence inside it of particular economic and social elements. Shepilov was also part of this commission. The commission reported to us that there was no basis for considering Yugoslavia capitalist. The means of production were in the hands of the state, as were large-scale trade and commerce. The peasantry had private ownership of the land, but there were also collective farms in the countryside. The banks were in the hands of the state. State power was based on the dictatorship of the working class, and the government itself was of s socialist type. All the accusations that had served as the basis for our conflict with Yugoslavia proved groundless. It all collapsed like a house of cards. That's when we decided to restore contacts with Yugoslavia.

Other Communist parties and socialist governments had earlier been drawn into this conflict as well, so we had to coordinate our actions with them. We sent a letter to the fraternal parties and socialist governments, including those in the West. I remember precisely that we addressed ourselves to the Communists in Britain, France, and Finland [among others]. All the answers we received expressed agreement. I was assigned to head the delegation as first secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU. We requested Yugoslavia to receive us. The Yugoslav comrades responded with agreement. And we flew there. We were received in a way that's customary for the reception of foreign delegations of such rank, although our hosts did not display any particularly fraternal feelings. A sense of guardedness and restraint was evident both among the people and among the leadership. Tito spoke first to those who had gathered at the airport. Then I was offered the microphone. My speech had been worked out in advance in the collective leadership, expressing the opinion of the CPSU Central Committee. Tito said: "There's no need to translate. Everyone in our country knows Russian." In my opinion that too was a manifestation of guardedness. Tito didn't want my speech to be translated right there on the spot. After all, it's not true that all Yugoslavs could have understood my speech in Russian. Take me for example. Even though I know Ukrainian, if a speech was given rapidly in Ukrainian, I wouldn't be able to catch it all and convert it in my mind from Ukrainian to Russian, and Ukrainian is closer to me [that is, to the Russian language] than Russian is to the Yugoslavs.

I was somewhat disappointed, I must confess, by the trick Tito used on that occasion. After all, there were groups in our country who had expressed opposition to restoring good relations, and they were fairly strong, so that a cold reception in Belgrade might be taken as a hostile sign, and it could have thrown us all back. But what was to be done?

We were taken to our lodgings and then shown around Belgrade. On the next day there began an exchange of opinions in detail. We laid out for the Yugoslav comrades our understanding of the situation. This meeting took place at our initiative, and it was up to us to speak first. When I had first raised this question in the Presidium of the Central Committee, about restoring relations with Yugoslavia, voices could be heard proposing that the comrades be invited from Yugoslavia to come hold talks in Moscow. But I objected because I didn't think the Yugoslavs would come. After all, the break in relations had occurred at our initiative. We were the first to publicly attack the Yugoslavs, and it was only after that that the Yugoslavs began to reply in the same vein. My thinking was this: if Yugoslavia took the risk of sending a delegation to our country and didn't arrive at agreement, then it would look as though Yugoslavia had come to us bowing down as though it were beseeching us and that we had refused to accept their offer [of friendship]. The Yugoslavs would steer clear of any such thing; they would not be the first to make a move. It was up to us, a huge country with a huge Communist Party, to take the initiative. Even if we didn't come to agreement, the visit to Yugoslavia would prove useful for further reconciliation in the future. I was absolutely convinced that we would be able to arrive at a common understanding.

So then, we set forth our position, but it had a shortcoming. What was it? Well, at that time we had not yet exposed Stalin's abuses of power. The Twentieth Party Congress was still in the future. In 1955 we had not matured to the point where we could speak words that correctly described the state of affairs that had been created in the party under Stalin. On the contrary, we were still trying to whitewash Stalin to the extent that that was possible. His authority was still high. All our misfortunes were being blamed on Yezhov and above all on Beria. This corresponded to reality only to a small extent. It was not Yezhov or Beria who dreamed up Stalin and put the ax in his hand to chop off people's heads. It was Stalin who dreamed up Yezhov and Beria and turned them into instruments of arbitrary rule.

Which of them was better? I think you could say that all of them were villains. The more resourceful of the two, I would say, a man who could make a display of humane magnanimity, even of sympathy with his victim, and then go ahead and kill him—that was Beria. Yezhov was more of a blunt and direct person.

But we were dumping all the blame on them back then. And we presented that line of argument. That was the position we took inside our party and in the Soviet press, and that was the position we now presented to the Yugoslavs. It was precisely from the Yugoslavs that I first heard a candid characterization of Stalin. It grated on me at that time. And I got into an argument over it. [Koca] Popovic[12] and [Edvard] Kardelj were the main attackers. Popovic was especially harsh in his assault on our position. We asserted basically that Stalin didn't know about the crimes that were committed. Popovic argued that Stalin was the main murderer and had organized it all himself. It wasn't that somebody else misled Stalin, so that he became a victim of deception. No, he himself was the main organizer of the slaughter.

I understood that myself, inwardly, subconsciously, but I was still so much under the influence of Stalin's authority then that I was incapable of calling things by their real names. A duality of consciousness existed in me. We still ardently defended Stalin's name at that time and got into a verbal battle with the Yugoslavs. In spite of that they expressed willingness to discuss restoring relations between us. Then they organized a trip through their country for us along with some public meetings here and there. The people displayed restraint. When we traveled through the streets, it was evident that people didn't come pouring out spontaneously to greet these strange creatures who had arrived from the Soviet Union. Instead everything was all tightly organized. Sometimes shouts of an unfriendly character could even be heard, and reproaches. The main thing we heard was "Long Live Tito!"

On the whole the Yugoslavs decided in favor of normalizing relations. Normal relations were not restored completely. But we couldn't expect anything more at first after such great tension, which had nearly led to war among socialist countries. It was impossible to arrive at full confidence and trust at a moment's notice as soon as we had sat down at the table to drink a glass of wine. The Yugoslavs agreed to begin trying to build friendly relations again. They showed where they stood on specific matters. They took us to various factories or enterprises, and showed us the graveyards where our soldiers who had given their lives in the struggle against Hitler and for the liberation of Yugoslavia lay buried. They treated the memory of our warriors with dignity. The monuments were in good condition, and there were panels with the names of those who had fallen.

We agreed to reestablish embassies in Belgrade and Moscow. We also restored economic relations.[13] They had been broken off under Stalin, and no economic relations whatsoever existed, but Yugoslavia remained heavily in debt to the Soviet Union, which had supplied a great deal of equipment to Yugoslavia and also a large quantity of arms. This bill was presented for repayment to Yugoslavia at full value. Yugoslavia, however, had no possibility of repaying such a large debt and asked us to write it off. We didn't insist on payment, and they didn't state firmly that they would never pay; they simply referred to the difficulties they were experiencing. Besides, the Yugoslavs argued that part of the debt was the result of war against a common enemy. I felt sympathy for them and their problems, but we couldn't decide the question on our own. It had to be discussed collectively. We said: "We will make a study to see what elements contributed to the total sum of this debt and the circumstances in which they arose, and then we will let you know our opinion on this question."

Mail from the Soviet Union was brought to us every day. An IL-12 airplane was flying back and forth from Moscow to Belgrade. The flight took many hours, with a refueling stop in Budapest. We asked Yugoslavia to designate an airfield we could use for our TU-16 bomber, which could bring the mail more efficiently. In those days the TU-16 was considered the best in the world. To be sure, its flight range didn't extend beyond the borders of Europe. Later the TU-104 passenger plane was developed on the basis of the TU-16.[14]

The Yugoslavs agreed. Our plane began to arrive every day. It made a very big impression on them. I won't deny that we used this plane to arouse the Yugoslavs' interest. We wanted to demonstrate that the USSR had a mighty army and modern weapons, including powerful aircraft. The Yugoslavs understood what we were doing. The rumors reached my ears (our agents kept us informed) that they took it as a demonstration of our military might. We gave them the opportunity to see that our new plane corresponded to the most advanced level of development of science and technology. Gradually our meetings and conversations, which continued every day, became warmer. The ice that had frozen our relations began to thaw. There were fewer caustic remarks during our conversations, and our talks began to take on a comradely flavor. But a certain degree of guardedness remained on both sides.

Comrade Tito showed an understanding of the situation more than the others. He did so not only as the head of his delegation. Of course he had more opportunity to choose the time for making his replies. Evidently roles had been assigned and distributed among them for these negotiations. It had been decided who would present what arguments in order to heap the blame on us for the bad relations that had developed. They weren't blaming us personally, but Stalin. And of course here they were correct. We took the same position when we posed the question of normalizing relations. But I will repeat that we were not yet inwardly prepared for this development. Spiritually we had not yet freed ourselves from our slavish dependence on Stalin.

In general Yugoslavia made a favorable impression on me. I liked its people a lot. I didn't pay any particular attention to the critical comments addressed to us, or to the excessive glorification of Tito. We understood the techniques of such things. The same thing had happened in our country, where people were also assigned to stand in certain places, and the details were worked out as to who would shout "Hooray, Stalin! Our dear father!" and so on. It was all worked out according to the scenario of the party leadership. If dissatisfaction was supposed to be displayed when some report was being given against world imperialism, that too was all worked out in advance. Who would do it and in what form. Performances of this kind were orchestrated with special frequency in the 1920s, when we were engaged in the struggle against the opposition. Although many people then were sincere, this stage-managed type of operation gradually became predominant. I myself took part in such operations and carried out such roles. In those days we believed that Stalin expressed the interests of the people, and when we engaged in these operations our intentions were honorable. I transposed my experience in such matters to Yugoslavia and assumed that everything was being played out according to a previously prepared script developed by the leadership.

I liked the people, but I couldn't help noticing how poor they were. We ourselves of course were not rich, but the Yugoslavs were even poorer. But that didn't surprise us. We felt compassion for them. We understood that so far this was still a peasant country, and many years of war had brought it ruin. Agricultural implements were primitive, and they had virtually no tractors. Tito said: "The capitalists have been helping us, but on ruinous terms. They've been charging high interest rates for the money they loaned us." [Svetozar] Vukmanovic-Tempo[15] made a strong impression on me with his manly directness and natural manner. He spoke out against us very sharply, but I don't think that should be held against him. His rough manner was part of his character. When everyone had cooled down a little, he told about having visited the United States to hold talks on obtaining loans. Yugoslavia was suffering then from very difficult conditions. During the months when relations with the USSR were at their worst, there was famine in Yugoslavia because of a poor harvest. In response the United States offered onerous terms [for its loans]. They thought Yugoslavia would have no alternative but to accept what they were offering. Conditions of a political nature were also proposed—which would have turned Yugoslavia back toward capitalism. "We'll die before we accept those conditions," said Vukmanovic-Tempo. "I walked out and slammed the door," he recalled. "The Americans then resumed negotiations with me and made some concessions after all. Apparently they were afraid that if they refused, they'd lose the chance to break Yugoslavia loose from the socialist camp."

But Vukmanovic-Tempo also lambasted me, and at one session he used such harsh expressions that I was obliged to counter them right there and then. I said: "If one were to set oneself the task of creating strained relations with any country, the best candidate for such a job would be Comrade Vukmanovic. You wouldn't have to pick and choose." Tito looked at me and laughed a little. It was only later that Vukmanovic and I became quite close.

I had great respect for this man and considered him a genuine Communist. His roughness and toughness were justified by the severe conditions in which Yugoslavia found itself. Subsequently he began to lose his place of prominence. I don't know what role, if any, he now plays in the Yugoslav government and party, but regardless of that I maintain a good attitude toward him. Vukmanovic-Tempo was speaking out as a defender of the honor and dignity of his country and party. At the end of our meeting we drew up a joint statement. In this statement there remained questions that had not been cleared up—questions one would have to begin with to ensure full restoration of fraternal relations. But we had already cleared away the rough spots, the chief obstacles to establishing normal relations. The declaration we adopted was a starting point for restoring our friendship.[16] What basic propositions were included in this statement? Noninterference in internal affairs, and recognition of the right of each party and each country to independence and the possibility of expressing its will without interference and without outside pressure. They insisted on this, and we agreed, sincerely believing that relations should be based on trust and not on dependence. Is it possible that each of us had a different interpretation on some points? Well, that happens even inside a single party. Lenin allowed for this reality. Discussion and debate went on with the aim of arriving at an opinion in common. But a unanimous opinion was not always arrived at as the result of debate and discussion. In such cases the views supported by the majority were accepted. And that became the party line, to which everyone was obliged to adhere. Different points of view are even more likely to occur in relations between countries and between different nationalities. Without mutual understanding, without mutual respect, and without a mutual commitment to nonintervention in the internal affairs of another party or government, normal relations cannot be maintained. At the same time, we agreed on certain views that we did hold in common on questions of political principle, problems of theory and practice. After all, concessions cannot be made on the most fundamental questions of Marxist-Leninist doctrine. That for us is the foundation of all foundations.

When we returned to Moscow, we reported on how our meetings had gone, what issues each side was most concerned about, and what our overall impressions of Yugoslavia were. Everyone agreed that Yugoslavia was a country that had taken the road of building socialism. It was experiencing great economic difficulties, but it was stubbornly seeking to achieve its aims and stood firmly on Marxist-Leninist positions. The people in that country were solidly united, and so was the party. We said that in the interests of the international Communist movement the unpleasant situation left to us as a legacy after Stalin's death should be immediately eliminated. All members of the Central Committee Presidium agreed with our conclusion. Later we raised this question at a plenum of the Central Committee [July 2–12, 1955] and informed our fraternal parties. In the letter that we sent to fraternal Communist parties a certain loophole was left as a kind of insurance, as if to say, what if things didn't work out between us later on? This formulation became known to Tito later, and that caused a worsening of relations once more. But the main problem was not that formulation, because our relations were disrupted by the Hungarian events of 1956.

Let me go back to the formula that we inserted for insurance purposes in the informational letter we sent to fraternal Communist parties. The Americans obtained a copy of this letter from the Hungarians and made it available to the Yugoslavs. Here's how this came about.

The Yugoslavs were interested in obtaining information from anyone, no matter who, and it was to the Americans' advantage to provide such information. This was in keeping with the policy of the United States aimed at causing disunity among the socialist countries and thereby achieving the aim formulated by [John Foster] Dulles—to roll back socialism in Europe to the borders of the Soviet Union, to eliminate the socialist foundations on which society was being built in the Eastern European countries.

In Moscow we discussed the economic questions the Yugoslavs had raised and decided to write off part of the debt. This created a good basis for developing further ties. The Yugoslavs also asked us for credits, specifying a fairly large sum [$30 million]. They wanted to build a metallurgical plant [to produce aluminum] with equipment that we would provide, based on credits supplied by us. We granted these credits on the condition that the equipment delivered would be regarded as credit. We were satisfied and so were the Yugoslavs.

Now I will tell again how events unfolded in Poland and Hungary and how Tito reacted. He surprised us somewhat by the support he gave us. In our view he took a good position, a party-minded position. This strengthened and confirmed our opinion once again that Tito was a good Communist and a man of principle. However, as events unfolded in Budapest, the Yugoslavs lent a hand that resulted in a worsening of our relations with Hungary. They supported forces in Hungary that were working against the Soviet Union and against our Communist Party. A fairly complicated situation took shape there. Both the Hungarians themselves and the Yugoslavs were waging a struggle against [Matyas] Rakosi.[17] Rakosi had done a great many bad things in Hungary on orders from Stalin. Repression, arrests, executions, and so forth had been carried out on Stalin's orders and on the orders of the advisers he sent to work with Rakosi. I've already talked about this, but Rakosi also served as Stalin's club against Yugoslavia. Naturally the Yugoslavs were "burning" with hatred, intolerance, and hostility toward Rakosi. When Rakosi's authority was shaken and the Communists in Hungary began to wage a campaign against him, the Yugoslavs lent a hand and exerted their efforts in support of those forces. Thus the efforts of the anti-Rakosi forces inside the Hungarian Communist Party merged with the efforts of the Yugoslavs. These forces came out against us as well, because we had supported Rakosi earlier. Thus, once again, we ended up clashing with Tito. In this case the clash became public. I spoke a couple of times against Yugoslavia, against Tito, and against his policies. And they paid us back in the same coin.

Comrade Tito aspired to a special role for Yugoslavia. He apparently flattered himself with the hope of weakening the influence of the CPSU on the fraternal Communist parties and strengthening the influence of the Yugoslav League of Communists. He did achieve something along those lines. At that time Togliatti, of the Italian Communists,[18] did not give clear-cut support to the policies of the USSR, and Togliatti spoke about the special role of Yugoslavia in the Communist movement. He formulated the thesis that different roads were possible to achieve one and the same goal. In principle this formulation was correct. It did not contradict Marxist-Leninist doctrine, but in the altercation then going on it seemed to be directed against the CPSU. I don't think Togliatti meant it that way, but it created an opening for forces that wanted to weaken the role of the CPSU. And on this basis the Yugoslavs tried to strengthen their influence. Naturally when two forces are battling, one will grow weaker while the other grows stronger. Of course it's true that most frequently both sides grow weaker. Each side tries to expose the shortcomings of the other, and the combined result is to lower the authority of all in the eyes of the masses.

After a while Tito proposed that we meet again and restore good relations. He proposed a meeting on neutral territory: on a ship sailing on the Danube on the border between Romania and Yugoslavia. We agreed. We decided to meet confidentially without any press coverage. But Tito suggested: "Let's meet publicly and announce it in the press." He also suggested a different place for the meeting—Bucharest. Again we agreed. Talks were held. We discussed things and good relations were restored. What does that mean "restored"? It's easy to issue a declaration. Truly good relations are restored more slowly than merely the issuing of a declaration or statement after a meeting. Because of the strain in our relations, we backed away from our agreement regarding credits. A stop was also placed on other measures. Many things that could have served to strengthen relations between our countries were disrupted.

We had no reasons for conflict with Yugoslavia. After Stalin's death, we no longer aspired to hegemony [in the world Communist movement], and we adhered to principles of noninterference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia.

On the other hand, in the struggle of antagonistic forces on the world arena, the battle of capitalist countries against the socialist countries, Yugoslavia took a special position, one they referred to as nonalignment with military blocs. This didn't always fit in well with our foreign policy, and it annoyed us. There were occasions when this position of the Yugoslavs' even made us angry. This spark remained unextinguished between us also because of the fact that Yugoslavia refused to join the Warsaw Pact, although we proposed that they do so. All the European socialist countries had joined in this pact, but Yugoslavia wouldn't join. Yugoslavia held a special position in regard to trade with the West. What this amounted to was that the West gave credits to Yugoslavia and allowed companies in the United States, Great Britain, and other countries to trade with Yugoslavia, but at the same time, trade with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was banned.

It's not so much that this annoyed us as that it gave us grounds for grumbling—after all, the imperialists don't give gifts because someone has such pretty eyes. If they banned trade with our country, but allowed trade with Yugoslavia, that meant America and Yugoslavia had some sort of special relationship. There were many in our country who were hostile to Yugoslavia. The accusations they made against Yugoslavia were sucked out of their thumbs. In our view, the correct policies to follow in this situation differed completely [from these wild accusations]. It was to the advantage of the imperialist forces to disrupt united efforts by the socialist countries aimed against capitalism. They wanted to break up our monolithic unity, and they did everything within their reach to further such a policy.

Naturally there were grounds for irritation when the capitalists singled out Yugoslavia in the contacts they maintained with socialist countries, while refusing to allow appropriate trade with other socialist countries. It would have been to our advantage to purchase certain items, especially machinery and equipment—and to buy them directly from the United States—but they wouldn't sell them to us. They did sell them to Yugoslavia. If the United States had traded with us as it did with Yugoslavia, we would have been very pleased. But why should we direct our anger at Yugoslavia for taking advantage of opportunities that we ourselves would have liked to have? I personally saw no grounds for dissatisfaction in that.

Relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia had also been spoiled by territorial disputes. The border between the two countries divides the Macedonian nationality. Some of the Macedonians live in Yugoslavia and some in Bulgaria. The Bulgarians claimed that all Macedonians were Bulgarians and that their land should be part of the Bulgarian state. When we met with the Bulgarian comrades, we criticized them for these views, explaining that this was really not ethical. The question of changing borders between socialist countries should not be raised nowadays. Insuperable conflicts would then arise, which would not contribute to consolidating the unity of the socialist countries. This would divide us. It would intensify the disputes between Bulgaria and Romania over the Dobrudja region, between Yugoslavia and Hungary over the Vojvodina region, and between Hungary and Romania over Transylvania.[19] Such debris was not worth digging into. Nothing good would come of it, no matter what. The only thing that would happen is that we would get into arguments, and good relations among the socialist countries would be nullified.

The Yugoslavs had reason to think the Bulgarians were acting with the support of the USSR. After all, the very best relations existed between the USSR and Bulgaria. I think that such relations should be preserved and strengthened, but in this situation the Bulgarians had taken an incorrect position. Also, the Romanians and Yugoslavs had decided to build a hydroelectric plant at the narrow rapids on the Danube River called the Iron Gate.[20] The Bulgarians wanted to wedge themselves in and become part of this construction project. I expressed my opinion to the Bulgarian comrades that their claims had no foundation. There was no Bulgarian territory there. [This was a stretch of the Danube that formed the border between Romania and Yugoslavia.] If, as a result of this construction, Bulgaria was somehow affected, if a flood or something else resulted [then they might have some claim], but so far there had been no damage! The Bulgarians argued that they were a country on the Danube River and therefore had a right to part of the electric power from this hydro-engineering complex. At this point I said to the Bulgarians: “If we built something like this in the Soviet Union, for example, we wouldn’t recognize anybody else’s claims [to part of the proceeds].”

The Bulgarians made their claims official. This offended the Romanian and Yugoslav comrades greatly.

When we explained our point of view to the Romanian comrades they were surprised.

Dej looked at me and said: “What did you say?”

I repeated what I had said.

They were pleasantly surprised because they thought that the Bulgarians were acting with our consent and possibly even on our advice. In the same way questions that did not depend on us created conditions of mistrust toward Soviet policy in relations with Yugoslavia.

But whatever the ups and downs of our relations, in general they tended toward improvement. It's simply that at different times there were varying degrees of warmth in our relations. Nevertheless, life took its own course. We invited the Yugoslavs to visit the Soviet Union with a delegation headed by Tito, and he often come to our country. On one occasion we invited him to the Crimea, and we vacationed there together and hunted together for several days [September 28–-October 5, 1956]. Hunting is an ancient form of social intercourse. Of course the hunting itself wasn't the main thing. There would be discussions of questions that had come up between our two countries. That's how we made use of our meeting in the Crimea. And the time passed in an atmosphere of friendship.

The Yugoslavs also invited us. Several times I headed Soviet delegations on trips to Yugoslavia. The meetings there were always very warm. We visited factories, including a shipyard at which ships had been built for the USSR at one time. Even now, as I see, most of the orders received by Yugoslav shipbuilders are from the USSR. On one of my visits, in 1963 [August 20–September 3], the Yugoslav comrades proposed that we visit a tractor factory on the outskirts of Belgrade. I readily agreed. The whole world knows that Yugoslavia sought to take new initiatives in the forms of transition from capitalism to socialism. The forms they have chosen for managing their economy are more democratic than ours. They involve the public in managing the economy, including blue-collar workers, white-collar workers, and scientists. Previously we had spoken out against this. Now I wanted to look into the matter more closely, to understand how these new forms expressed themselves, to what extent they were correct and could be used in our conditions. At the tractor factory I tried to get an answer to the question of how the plan was established. Was it a one-year plan or a five-year plan? They explained it to me. The factory director, representatives of the trade unions, and representatives of the party organization all spoke. But I still couldn't grasp the particular features of this system. I formed the impression that some sort of sham or window dressing was being used to cover up the reality. Supposedly there was public participation, but all the while the plan was essentially being determined by the government, and the government was overseeing fulfillment of the plan.

I then made this assertion openly. Half the Yugoslav comrades agreed with me. Still, they continued to argue that the Yugoslav form of managing the economy was more attractive to the people, because it suggested that the economy was not being managed by a bureaucratic upper echelon, as in the USSR, but by the people themselves. These arguments deserve consideration to some extent. Of course in our country we didn't have anything like this in our factories other than the so-called production conferences,[21] but the production conferences had a strictly advisory function. Management was not obliged to report to the workforce at the place of production or to answer to the workforce for the way the factory was run. I think the centralized management of the economy that existed in the years when I was working [in the leadership] was correct. Only in the later years [when still in the Soviet leadership, roughly 1962–64] did I feel the need for some changes: to make the management more dependent on the workers at the enterprise, and to involve the working people more actively in elaborating the economic plan. I would argue that in the future this situation [involvement of the workers] will unavoidably come about. And the workers should be more actively involved in monitoring fulfillment of the plan. This means that there was a useful kernel of truth and correctness in the Yugoslav form of managing the economy [workers' self-management]. And that should not be denied. Of course we didn't state that openly at the time; instead, we criticized the Yugoslavs for not having a government body that would carry out the functions of the State Planning Commission [in the USSR] as a central planning body. When all economic planning is done through the government, and when the market relations that exist in the capitalist world have been abolished, some sort of government body must exist to replace the anarchy of production with planning.

The Yugoslavs decided to allow their factories to have direct access to the market. They even had the right to export their products to the West. This we didn't understand. It was more than just that we didn't understand! We didn't agree and we criticized their position. The Yugoslavs argued that they were emancipating the factories from bureaucratic restrictions and creating a better basis for the all-around development of their economy and for satisfying the needs of their consumers, but that was not always so. On one occasion I was talking with Tito when we were traveling together, and he told me: "We also see the negative features [in this system]. I think that in our country we have people who occupy managerial posts at our factories and maintain [illegal] private bank accounts in the capitalist countries. They're stealing." The Yugoslav government developed a campaign to fight against the phenomena that Tito told me about. In the resulting situation some Yugoslavs [factory officials] failed to show up to receive goods that had been shipped to them by mail from the West [so as not to reveal that they had illegal money in

Western banks]. I don't know what forms exist there for the anonymous shipping of goods or what document one may have to show in order to take delivery of a shipment. But things got all messed up. Tito said that such goods remained unclaimed at the customs offices, especially automobiles and other valuable items of personal consumption.

Of course in all this they are searching for new ways. Not everything from the Yugoslav experience has been justified in real life. Nevertheless, one cannot reject everything the Yugoslavs have worked out. They have achieved some positive results. We should take a calm attitude toward all this and make use of that which has been confirmed by life itself. In our relations [that is, between the USSR and Yugoslavia] everything proceeded in an atmosphere of mutual accusation and denunciation. Each side claimed exclusive knowledge of the truth. Only what its side did was true Marxism-Leninism, and the rest was opportunism, capitalism, and so forth. I think the positions taken on either side [in the various disputes over building socialism] were not always correct. People had good motives; they wanted to find the truth. However, on matters of practical construction in the building of socialism there can be a great many different organizational forms. To claim to have the only reliable patent is wrong, and to stubbornly insist on it is stupid. This applies to politics and official policies as well.

In his day Stalin had in mind the formation of a Balkan socialist federation. I was working in Ukraine then and I don't know the details. The proposal was that Georgy Dimitrov would head the federation. It would be made up of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania. This was not just so much talk. A second phase in the development of this idea had begun. Dimitrov gave an official report about the establishment of such a federation, and a material base began to be laid for it. On the outskirts of Belgrade, on the shores of the Danube River, construction began on a building for the government of the Balkan federation. The expectation was that Yugoslavia and Bulgaria would play the leading role in establishing the federation. But when Stalin turned against Yugoslavia, everything fell apart. The construction site was overgrown with weeds, and all that was left was the building's skeleton framework of reinforced concrete. Such was the fate of one more idea that departed from the norm.

When I used to visit Yugoslavia, I traveled around the country a lot, observed the life of the people, and visited factories. I got to know many interesting things. On one occasion I visited the construction site for a factory that produced synthetic fiber. The equipment was very interesting. It had been purchased in the United States. Completion of this construction project promised a great deal.

Tito told me that in 1963 they earned $70 million from tourism. For countries like Italy, Switzerland, and Sweden this is a miserly sum. They earn much more from tourism. But for us it seemed a substantial sum. Tito said: "We are building hotels for tourists, and we've paved a number of new roads. We are implementing measures to attract foreign currency, which we need for trading with the capitalist world."

I felt a positive kind of envy and asked him: "How are you going to accomplish this?"

He answered: "First of all, we'll build roads, then hotels and restaurants. We'll send our people to the capitalist countries to study how to welcome guests properly, prepare food properly, and provide all other hotel services, to be sure that tourists from the West enjoy their stay in Yugoslavia."

I visited their tourist hotels. They gleamed with freshness and cleanliness and provided good service to their guests. Yugoslavia is one of the most beautiful places in Europe. Before I visited there I thought that the Crimea and the coastal region of the Caucasus were the chef d'oeuvre of the world. But when I saw Dubrovnik and other remarkable sights in Yugoslavia I realized that we ought to show some modesty.

I asked Tito: "How do you solve the problems that come up when so many Western tourists arrive in cars to cross your borders? In our country we have big bureaucratic obstacles, and not every tourist is willing to go through them."

He laughed: "Here's how we solved that problem. Spies don't always enter a country by crossing the border in a car. They have various ways of getting in, but most often they fly in comfort on a plane. There are various means for combating espionage, but at our borders we've established free passage. The guards at our borders carry out a minimum of checking and examining. In practice people come and go quite freely. The official procedure takes only a few minutes."

When I returned home [in September 1963], I reported on the practices they followed and proposed that our comrades make use of this experience from Yugoslavia. We undertook a big program of building hotels for tourists and sought to involve new people in the program. Our country had many charming spots for tourists to visit: Siberia with all its beauty and the availability of hunting for a wide variety of game; the Crimea; the white nights in the summertime in the north of Russia; a wide variety of climatic conditions; the exotic features of Central Asia, and so on. How many fine places for sightseeing we have, which, with good organization, ought to attract large numbers of tourists! But first of all, we need to have hotels and train people who can provide good service for the tourists.

I asked Tito: “I would like it if you would allow us to send our people to your country to learn from your experience.”

Tito replied: “Please do. Everything that would be of interest is open to you. We are willing to show you everything and tell you everything. What kinds of tourists come to our country? They aren’t rich people, not big capitalists, who light their cigars with dollar bills. It’s mostly working-class people that come to our country, especially industrial workers. A great many tourists come in their cars from West Germany and other countries, too. Mostly we have middle-income tourists. They don’t bring large amounts of capital to leave here in our country. But they do come and enjoy our services and pay for them, and that is to our advantage. They leave foreign currency here, which we need for trade purposes.”

I never had the opportunity to monitor how things went in this area subsequently, because of my retirement. But I see from the press that something has been done in our country. Many years before my retirement I raised the question of exploiting a beautiful part of our country, Pitsunda [on the eastern shores of the Black Sea, in Abkhazia]. Exceptional conditions exist there that would be attractive to vacationers. I proposed that many vacation facilities be built there. Splendid conditions exist for vacationing there. When Mikoyan and I used to vacation in Pitsunda, we walked around the entire cape, viewing the fine forest, the attractive beaches, and the nearby mountains. From there you can travel easily to the beautiful blue Lake Ritsa. The capital of Abkhazia, Sukhumi, is nearby, as are the resort areas of Novy Afon and Gagra. All the facilities that we built there were for Soviet vacationers. I don’t know what direction things have now taken. But what we had in mind back then was that a person would come for a short stay, alone or as a family, take a room in a hotel, have a short vacation, and then travel on.

These resort areas were designed by the architect [Mikhail] Posokhin.[22] He impressed me with his constructive, artistic taste. At first he designed low buildings, and later we decided to increase the number of stories, since that was more justifiable economically. We wanted fewer built-up areas, but each such area should have greater capacity. The first phase of the complex was planned for 5,000 people, with the next phase accommodating up to 10,000 vacationers at one time. The plans provided for both steam heat and hot water. Later we decided to build structures with electrical heating systems, which would be more economical and, it seemed, more cultured. I can’t say now how it all worked out. The construction took an exceptionally long time. But if they built those facilities well, a veritable pearl of the Caucasus seacoast must be the result.

With every year Yugoslavia built up greater strength, which was evident from the way its economy developed. This was even evident in its outward appearance: beautiful buildings, streets in good repair, and the people dressed more elegantly. In our country women who chase after the latest fashions often pursue tourists from abroad and plead with them next to the hotels where they are staying, begging them to sell something. In Yugoslavia there are also quite a few idlers like this, and the purchase of such goods goes on there, too. I asked Tito: "How do you solve this problem? A lot of tourists come to our country, and we observe the shameful scene of our people buying or begging for things from foreigners."

Tito said: "Here's what we do. When some item becomes fashionable, we buy a factory that can produce it and try to make the goods ourselves, satisfying domestic demand through our own production."

That's not so easy for us to do. While the factory's being built consumer tastes may change. The buyers may be chasing after some other items by then. And we're not always in a position to buy a factory. When I shared my impressions of Yugoslavia with the comrades I proposed that we put an end to the shameful situation in our country. We should try to guess how fashions were going to change and produce the consumer goods in advance. The people would be pleased and satisfied with that. We shouldn't regard the chasers after fashion as some sort of alien beings that we don't have to take into account or say insulting things to them like, "May God have mercy on you because I don't like you."[23]

We're not living in the Stalin era now. When I was a young man people's tastes were not all that developed. But young people are always chasing after fashion. We had dandies then, and they'll always exist. Can this problem be dealt with under Soviet conditions? Without a doubt. We have tremendous possibilities. As time passes we will start buying factories abroad. But we have to rack our brains ourselves, trying to foresee changes in fashion and in consumer demand, adapting in order to satisfy them.

I had an interesting talk with Tito about agriculture. This is what he said: "When the break between us and the USSR occurred, we even took administrative measures to carry out collectivization, so that we wouldn't be accused of being renegades from socialism. We used pressure to carry this out, but we did achieve success in numbers. Then we found ourselves in a difficult situation as far as agricultural production went and satisfying the needs of the urban population. We abandoned collectivization, and we now consider it a primary task to organize state farms, not collective farms." A rather high percentage of the land ended up with state-run agricultural enterprises for grain, vegetables, meat, and dairy products. Tito continued: “We have a land shortage, and we bought land for the state farms from the peasants. The majority of the peasants are now also industrial workers at state enterprises. So we buy the land from these peasants, who are now more or less inwardly divided, being farmers and industrial wage workers at the same time. They willingly sell their land, and on that land we organize state farms, similar to the *sovkhozy* in the Soviet Union.”

I would argue that this is also a socialist form of rural development. If we are to talk about cooperatives among the peasants, Gomulka took approximately the same position in Poland. We accused him of following a policy opposed to collective farms, but Poland didn’t take the same road we did in forming cooperatives among the peasants. In principle I think Lenin’s road of peasant cooperatives is correct. But if we were to start anew to carry out the formation of peasant cooperatives, we would in no case do what Stalin did. The losses were too great, and for a long time we were marching in place, going nowhere. Even today the production of agricultural goods in the USSR has not been placed on a correct footing, as it should be. There are not enough potatoes or vegetables. Our country suffers from a severe shortage of meat, eggs, and poultry. Milk is the only item, it seems, of which we have an adequate supply. Poor organization of production is evident here. But there are apparently other factors also that are holding back development.

It’s hard for me to tell from the newspapers now what’s going on. When the sowing, harvesting, and procurement of vegetables is under way, the newspapers and radio are full of reports about the plan being fulfilled and overfulfilled by two or three times. So you ask yourself, “Where are the agricultural products?” They’re not in the government stores. I’m not even talking about having a wide selection of different types of products. It’s not even a question of having a choice; you have to make do with what you can get. People buy what there is in the stores, not what they would like to buy, and in the provinces the situation is quite bad. We criticized Yugoslavia back then for not forming peasant cooperatives in the countryside, as we had, and we criticized Poland, though not publicly, just in confidential discussions. Recently some Poles came to visit me. They said: “We have any agricultural products you might want, and as much as you’d want.” The Poles export potatoes to the USSR. So who turned out to be right? The Yugoslavs and Poles apparently. After Stalin’s death we corrected our agricultural policies drastically. In the virgin lands, for example, at first we took the standard approach and tried to resettle collective farmers there. This created terrible difficulties. It was not easy to persuade a family to leave their accustomed, established location, to tear themselves away from the graves of their ancestors, and resettle Ukrainians, Russians, and Belorussians thousands of kilometers away from their native lands. This required incredible effort and huge material expenditures. Then we called on the young people and began building homes for the youth, providing them with credit, helping them build their homes themselves. This made our situation much easier. Especially when we all realized there was no point forming collective farms on the virgin lands, artificially organizing them with resettled collective farmers. The resulting farms were not profitable. It was more profitable to form state farms.

We followed the line of forming state farms. A collective farm is a rare thing now in the virgin lands. Mainly state farms are operating there, and the grain they produce is the cheapest for the government. I'm talking about the time when I was in the leadership. How did we reach that decision? I took a trip to the virgin lands on one occasion. I had gone there often before that, traveling through the provinces and acquainting myself with the work of state farms and collective farms. In one district I met an agronomist from a machine and tractor station (MTS), a man well on in years, an experienced man who knew agriculture well.

He asked me: "Comrade Khrushchev, I work as an agronomist at the MTS, and we provide services for the collective farms. I want to tell you what the MTS work consists of and what the collective farm work consists of. The area covered by the MTS where I work produces grain. We have no other types of crops; hardly any livestock are even being raised. The MTS plows all the fields and does all the planting; later it does all the reaping and threshing. Then I go to the chairman of the collective farm and ask him how much grain he has coming to him, even though I myself know, but what I actually ask him is where should I put the grain? I don't know why we're giving them grain."

The government discussed the matter at that point and made an abrupt change of direction. These collective farms seemed to be there just for the outward show. So we organized state farms. That MTS was already a state farm [in embryonic form]. Together with the land that it worked it was transformed into a full-scale state farm.[24] There were collective farmers present on the virgin lands, but in fact they didn't work at the collective farms with the exception of the tractor drivers. But even the tractor drivers and combine drivers also worked for the MTS. I don't even know what these so-called collective farmers were doing at the farms where all the work was carried out by the MTS's. So we turned the collective farms into state farms, which was a more progressive form of agriculture in the virgin lands situation.

Say you have a bare field with no people [as in the virgin lands]. We bring in MTS workers, build homes for them and other service facilities, and we build a factory for processing agricultural goods. [In contrast,] in areas where private farmers are already present [as in European Russia, where for centuries peasants had lived and worked on the land], the process is more complicated. There an alternative path is possible, the one chosen by Gomulka for Poland.[25] The Poles also steered a course toward state farms, but they organized farmers into so-called agricultural circles—associations that were a kind of primary nucleus for agricultural producers. They had machines that worked the land on a contract basis. It was something similar to what in our country was called the TOZ *(tovarishchestvo po obrabotke zemli*—literally, "association for cultivating the land").[26] But the Poles called them agricultural circles [instead of TOZ's]. Their main function was to buy surplus agricultural products from the peasants and sell them under contract to government enterprises. Things didn't go badly in Poland [using this approach]. This approach was also economically profitable because agriculture in Poland was on a high level. Today the Poles fully meet their own needs, even for grain, not to mention sugar or potatoes.

I often had friendly confidential chats with Gomulka when he appealed to us to help him with grain. We sold it to Poland, but they were using it to feed their hogs to produce bacon for export. They used their own grain to make bread. It's true that the Yugoslavs didn't buy grain from us when I was in office, nor did they ask for any.

The last time I visited with Tito was in summer 1964 [June 8], when he was returning from Finland. I went to meet him in Leningrad. We had friendly talks, for which I am very happy. I think the Yugoslav comrades are gradually coming to the conclusion themselves that centralized planning of the national economy is necessary. Otherwise it can't be balanced. And then you have to turn to the market, and you end up not with socialist relations but with elements of capitalism.

In general I think there are many possibilities and different ways of building socialism. It's impossible and foolish to try to establish a single standard model for all countries. It's no less foolish to denounce as antisocialist anything that doesn't conform to that model. We need to display tolerance and allow each country and each party the possibility of choosing its own path, based on local conditions: historical, economic, ethnic, and so forth. Only the basic means of production need to belong to the state, which should be based on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Those are the fundamental conditions! The people of Yugoslavia, let me say again, made a good impression on me. But in the ranks of Yugoslavia Communists, there were some distortions, which weakened the foundations of party discipline. Tito talked with me about that in our private conversations. Now, as a pensioner, I read that he has given a speech warning that sometimes things move in a direction there that could shake the foundations of the party. Every Communist party should protect the unity of its ranks. What role Tito himself or Vukmanovic, Popovic, Rankovic, et al., are playing in this situation I don't know.

Comrade Tito showed that he was a first-rate Communist during the war when he organized the partisan detachments and fought against the Nazi invaders. He also showed himself to be a first-rate Communist in the peaceful construction of socialism in Yugoslavia. People may object, saying: "But how come you publicly criticized him many times?"

I would reply: "Yes, I publicly criticized Comrade Tito. And even today I would not renounce the criticism I made of Yugoslavia's political positions. Nevertheless, I thought then and still think now that fundamentally Tito deserves recognition and respect as a leader."

Regarding the other leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, I will mention Rankovic. I don't know what has happened to him, what he was accused of, or what his status is now.[27] I can say something about Rankovic because I met with him when I visited Yugoslavia and he came to our country for several conferences of Communist parties. He was representing the Yugoslav Communists then, and it was always pleasant for me to meet with him. He always made it known that he was closer than the others to an understanding of our policies. He had a respectful attitude toward our party, our people, and our reality. I repeat: I don't know what he is now accused of, but this man was brought to the fore by life itself, and he successfully passed all the tests he faced. I can only repeat that I regarded him with respect.

Popovic. He also made a good impression on me. He was a very candid person, very ardent, and he too passed through the test of the war. He commanded a division, as I recall. We got into shouting matches with him on some occasions, which is inevitable among people who take positions of principle. This is not the same thing as a clash between enemies. No, what is involved here is a desire to sort things out, to find a position that will serve as a basis for agreement.

Vukmanovic. I've already spoken about him. I don't know what post he now holds. Nothing is reported about him in the press. I have no doubt that he's devoted to the cause of Communism, and, despite his hot-headedness, he's worthy of respect. I had a respectful attitude toward him, especially because of his candor and directness. Sometimes he could express himself so harshly it was unpleasant to listen to, but you do have to take other people's opinions into account. A person expresses his views, and if those views come into conflict with other views, you have to search for a common ground, some position you can arrive at in common.

I should add something about the position the Yugoslav Communists took at the international conferences of Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow in 1957 and in 1960. They attended in the capacity of observers, taking part in the discussion of various questions, but they didn't sign the final document. This annoyed us. I couldn't understand their position, but there was nothing we could do. The Yugoslav comrades didn't want to take on any responsibilities. I think this had to do with the special position their country was in. When we talked about it with Rankovic, he said: "We can't change our position now. In the present international situation we want to remain nonaligned, outside of any military bloc." That is, the Yugoslavs wanted to represent the countries that were more or less in an intermediate position between the capitalist world and the socialist world, and also the countries being newly liberated from colonial oppression. They wanted to be leaders in that sphere.

Later I found out that the Yugoslav delegates had met with Mao Zedong. Mao said to them: "You haven't signed the document? There's nothing terrible in that. It's true that our hosts have become somewhat irritated, but everything will get smoothed over and become normalized. Don't be distressed." As for the Chinese Communist Party, it did sign the final document, and in conversations with us the Chinese representatives made aggressive remarks against the Yugoslav representatives. It turned out that in fact China seemed to be playing a game with the Yugoslav Communist Party. They were telling the Yugoslavs that the CPSU was being too demanding toward them, while the Chinese were more liberal. There's an example for you of how to conduct an argument on a principled basis! What kind of loyalty to principles do you see here? China and we were supposedly supporting the same document, but meanwhile it was giving its approval to another party that refused to sign the document. It's true that the time is past when the Comintern could act as manager of the international Communist movement and make pronouncements that were obligatory for all Communist parties. Today that kind of thing doesn't and can't exist. A more tolerant attitude must be taken now toward positions held by various parties. But that doesn't mean it's permissible to go beyond the bounds of principle. If that were to happen, the movement would no longer remain Communist.

We had more in common with Yugoslavia than we had differences, especially on questions of principle. Sometimes we parted ways on practical questions of socialist construction, but that is entirely permissible and allowance must be made for it.

1. Dmitry Zakharovich Manuilsky had been a prominent figure in the Comintern; he was then foreign minister of the Ukrainian SSR; for more on Manuilsky, see Biographies. [GS]

2. On Josip Broz Tito, Edvard Kardelj, and Milovan Djilas, see Biographies.

3. The Yugoslav delegation visited Kiev in May 1945. [SK]

4. As Khrushchev has made clear above repeatedly, in his four chapters on Mao Zedong and China, as well as in the previous chapter, "Albania," he considered Pavel Yudin responsible in a major way for the Soviet break with Tito's Yugoslavia. Khrushchev consistently makes the mistake of calling Yudin the Soviet ambassador to Yugoslavia, although he was not. Yudin was based in Belgrade and was an important emissary of Stalin's in his capacity as editor of the main publication of the Stalin-dominated Cominform (Communist Information Bureau), whose headquarters were in Belgrade up until the Stalin-Tito split. Later Yudin did become Soviet ambassador to China, and perhaps that is why Khrushchev constantly misremembers him as "ambassador" to Yugoslavia as well. For more on Yudin, see note 4 in the chapter "Mao Zedong." The reports that Khrushchev describes in this chapter clearly came from Yudin in Belgrade, not from the Soviet ambassador there. Yudin's prominent part in the Stalin-Tito split is confirmed by Yugoslav sources (as Khrushchev also mentions here). Khrushchev says: "they [the Yugoslav leaders] put all the blame on Yudin. They tried to convince me that even Yudin's last name was derived from Judas the Apostate. In their opinion, Yudin played the same role in relation to Yugoslavia as Judas the Apostate had played [in relation to Jesus Christ], that he had done everything he could to bring about a break in relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia." Khrushchev also says that "Yudin communicated with them [the Yugoslav leaders] by bellowing at them."

Yudin's role at the Cominform office in Belgrade is described by a leading Yugsolav Communist (and biographer of Tito), Vladimir Dedijer, as follows:

> Cominform headquarters were in Belgrade and its newspaper was published there; [but] down to the very last detail . . . Moscow ran the show.
>
> The entire business [of running the Cominform's main publication] was in the hands of Soviet citizens—Yudin, his two assistants, and the head of the editorial board, Pashkov. Representatives from other [Communist] parties simply carried out orders. . . . Working with Yudin were a number of Russian journalists who attended editorial meetings for no reason whatsoever. . . .
>
> Also, "the Soviet representatives in the editorial offices reserved the best rooms and furniture for themselves, at the expense of the other 'fraternal parties.'"

(These excerpts are from Dedijer's book *The Battle Stalin Lost*[New York: Viking Press, 1971], 119–20.) [GS]

For the information of readers, the men who actually did serve as Soviet ambassadors to Yugoslavia were as follows. [SS] During the period of good relations with the new Yugoslavia (1945–46), the Soviet ambassador to Belgrade was Ivan Vasilyevich Sadchikov (1906–). He was subsequently ambassador to Iran, a senior official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and director of the Moscow office of the International Labor Organization. From 1946 to 1949, the ambassador was A. I. Lavrentyev (1904–84), previously people's commissar of foreign affairs of the RSFSR and subsequently deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Iran, and a senior official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was succeeded in Belgrade by G. P. Shnyukov as temporary chargé d'affaires, who remained until 1953. From 1953 to 1955 the post of ambassador was occupied by V. A. Valkov (1904–72). Previously he had been ambassador to the Netherlands and a senior official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; subsequently he returned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and became a researcher. From 1955 to 1957 the ambassador was Nikolai Pavlovich Firyubin (1908–83), previously ambassador to Czechoslovakia and subsequently deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR. From 1957 to 1960 the ambassador was Ivan Konstantinovich Zamchevsky (1909–79), previously and subsequently a senior official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 1960 to 1962 the ambassador was Aleksei Alekseyevich Yepishev (1908–90), who had previously been ambassador to Romania and subsequently became head of the Main Political Administration of the army and navy. From 1962 to 1967 the ambassador was Aleksandr Mikhailovich Puzanov (1906–), who had previously been ambassador to North Korea and was subsequently ambassador to Bulgaria and Afghanistan. [MN]

5. The information was conveyed to the Soviet embassy by a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, S. Zujovic.

6. Here again Khrushchev mistakenly calls Yudin "our ambassador." [GS]

7. On Aleksandar Rankovic, see Biographies.

8. Official Soviet positions on the Yugoslav question were embodied in resolutions of the Cominform adopted on June 29, 1948, and November 29, 1949.

9. Detailed accounts of the plans to assassinate Tito are given in a book by a former Soviet secret-police official, Pavel Sudoplatov, *Spetsoperatsii: Lubyanka i Kreml, 1930–1950 gody* (Special Operations: The Lubyanka and the Kremlin, 1930s–1950s) (Moscow: Olma-Press, 2003), 526, 528–30. [SK]

The assassination was to have been carried out by a Soviet agent by the name of Yosif Romualdovich Grigulevich (code name Max), who had infiltrated himself into the position of emissary of Costa Rica to Italy and Yugoslavia. Four scenarios were considered. According to one of them, for example, Grigulevich was to seek a personal audience with Tito and expose him to pneumonic plague bacteria that he would release from a noiseless mechanism hidden in his clothing. However, Sudoplatov succeeded in quashing the proposal by pointing out that the agent did not have the necessary experience as a terrorist. Another author remarks that "this saved the life not only of the Yugoslav leader but also of Grigulevich, [who] returned to Moscow, entered academic life, wrote a number of books, and got elected a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences" (Leonid Mlechin, *KGB: predsedateli organov gosbezopasnosti* [The KGB: Chairmen of the State Security Organs] [Moscow: Tsentropoligraf, 2002], 343). [SS]

10. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (1901–65) occupied the leading position in the Romanian Communist Party (from 1948 the Romanian Workers Party) from 1945 until his death in 1965, except for an interval in 1954–55. See Biographies. [SS]

11. The Russian expression used here, *kak by chego ne vyshlo,* is also translated as "You never can be too careful." [GS]

12. Koca Popovic (1908–80) was Yugoslav foreign minister from 1953 to 1965. Previously he had been chief of staff of the armed forces. See Biographies.

13. Diplomatic relations were broken off in 1948 at the time of the Stalin-Tito conflict and formally restored in July 1953 (see note 9 in the preceding chapter, "Albania"). During Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia in May-June 1955 agreements were made for increased contacts between the two countries. [SK]

14. The TU-16 cruised at 900–950 kilometers per hour (560–590 miles per hour) and had a maximum speed of 1,050 kilometers per hour (660 miles per hour). With a standard load of 3,000 kilograms (6,600 pounds) its flight range was 5,800 kilometers (3,600 miles). [SS]

15. On Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo, see Biographies.

16. A declaration on the results of the negotiations held between governmental delegations of the USSR and Yugoslavia from May 27 to June 2 was issued on June 2, 1955.

17. Matyas Rakosi was general secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party from 1945 to 1956. See Biographies. [SS]

18. Palmiro Togliatti was general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy from 1926 until his death in 1964. His view regarding the multiplicity of possible national roads to socialism was connected to his advocacy of "polycentrism" in the world Communist movement. See Biographies. [SS]

19. Dobrudja (Dobrogea in Romanian) lies between the Danube River and the Black Sea and is divided between Bulgaria and Romania. Its population includes Ukrainians and members of other ethnic groups as well as Bulgarians and Romanians. Vojvodina in northern Serbia and Transylvania in western Romania belonged to the Hungarian part of the Austro-Hungarian empire before World War I and still have Hungarian minorities. [SS]

20. The Danube River is 2,900 kilometers (1,780 miles) long, making it the second longest river in Europe (after the Volga). It rises in Germany's Black Forest and flows through Austria, Slovakia, Hungary, Croatia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Ukraine to the Black Sea. The Iron Gate is a mountain gorge formed by the Danube's flow through a mountainous region between the southern end of the Carpathian Mountains and the northern end of the Balkans mountain chain. The gorge is about 15 kilometers (9 miles) long and is located downriver from the Romanian town of Orsova. This is the place where in 1964 Yugoslavia and Romania, with Soviet assistance, built a navigation system (a bypass canal had been in operation there since 1898) and a hydroelectric power plant with a capacity of 2.1 million kilowatts [GS/MN/SS]

21. The production conferences *(proizvodstvennye soveshchaniya)* were convened to discuss technical problems that had arisen in the production process. [SS]

22. Mikhail Vasilyevich Posokhin (1910–89) was the chief architect of Moscow from 1960 to 1982. In 1970 he was awarded the title of people's architect of the USSR. From 1963 to 1967 he was chairman of the Committee for Civil Construction and Architecture under the USSR State Construction Committee [Gosstroi] and deputy chairman of Gosstroi. Among the buildings in Pitsunda referred to here that were constructed partly in accordance with his designs was a vacation center for 3,000 guests with seven high-rise buildings along the seashore.

23. The Russian phrase is: *Na tebe bozhe, chto mne ne gozhe.* [GS]

24. In the Russian original, Khrushchev states: "*Ta MTS uzhe byla sovkhozom. Na zemlyakh, kotorye ona [MTS] obrabatyvala, ona i preobrazovalas v sovkhoz*". Khrushchev may view the MTS as an embryonic state farm because both the MTS and the state farm are based on state ownership, as opposed to the collective farm, which was based in theory on group or collective ownership. [SS]

25. Wladyslaw Gomulka was first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party from 1956 to 1970. See Biographies.

26. The TOZ's existed mainly in the 1920s. [SK]

27. In 1966 Rankovic was accused of abuse of power, removed from all official positions, and expelled from the Yugoslav League of Communists. [SS]

GERMANY

Nazi Germany was defeated by the joint efforts of the Allies [above all, the USA, USSR, Britain, and France].[1] As a result new borders were established, and later the German Democratic Republic made its appearance. Of course that was after the Western countries—no longer our allies—had founded the German Federal Republic (later in our country it was called the Federal Republic of Germany, or FRG).[2] Judging from the conversations I heard in Stalin's inner circle, after the defeat of Germany he did not take up the task of creating a democratic republic in Germany. At first Stalin and the other leaders of the AUCP(B) assumed that a strong Communist Party would revive in Germany; the entire working class would unite around it, and it would take the place it deserved in building a new Germany. These hopes were not justified. The reactionary forces in Germany succeeded in preventing the destiny of Germany from taking that course, and the Communist Party was not able to reestablish the kind of influence it had had before Hitler came to power—not in any of the Western-occupied zones. Evidently it had lost a lot of its members, and its leadership had been stripped of effective cadres. Of course the United States, Britain, and France began making every effort to see to it that Germany would remain capitalist and would not become an ally of the USSR. To our regret, they succeeded in accomplishing this, first of all in the western parts of the country. Why am I talking about this?

When I visited France and had talks with de Gaulle [in March–April 1960] I insisted on a fundamental solution to the German question. De Gaulle said to me at the time: "It's not necessary to unite Germany now. At one time I even proposed that Germany be divided into several separate countries, but Mr. Stalin did not support me." Stalin had his own reasons for that. As far as current policy was concerned, de Gaulle grandly promised: "Mr. Khrushchev, I declare to you that France will never fight against Russia. But on your side you should not try to change the existing situation. Let's take a sober look at the situation that has taken shape. Let the GDR [East Germany] live as part of the Warsaw Pact alliance, and let West Germany be part of NATO." He didn't want to disrupt the balance of forces that had emerged after World War II.

Immediately after the defeat of Germany and the signing of the Potsdam Agreement, for all practical purposes I had no sense of a clear line coming from Stalin on the German question. It was not clear to me whether he had any serious intentions of establishing a socialist government in the zone occupied by our troops. It was not accidental that everything of notable value was removed from there and shipped to the USSR by way of reparations. Subsequently, the German Democratic Republic paid us reparations for a long time—the share of reparations assigned to it on the basis of the Potsdam Agreement, which was a fairly substantial amount.[3] I know the situation our country was in after the war and the losses we had suffered from Germany's invasion, our poverty, misery, and hunger. We had to use ration cards to obtain food and consumer goods, and it was not possible to obtain everything—not by far. The conditions we lived under were nightmarish. It's hard to imagine now the terrible conditions our people found themselves in. And of course great efforts were needed to restore our country and continue the building of socialism in the USSR.

However, once we began the struggle for the hearts and minds of the German people, above all those of the working class, the question of providing for them materially and improving their standard of living acquired great importance for us as well. When we took reparations, we dismantled factories and equipment in the eastern occupation zone and shipped them to the Soviet Union. Sometimes we shipped off damaged equipment that was completely unusable. Some machinery could still be used on the spot [that is, in the eastern zone], but when we dismantled it and shipped it to our country, and it was reassembled somewhere, nothing useful resulted. We took a lot of equipment like that, especially metal structures that we could use for building factories in Siberia. In the extreme cold of Siberia many of these structures simply cracked and fell apart.

A disparity quickly developed between the living conditions of Germans in East Germany and those in West Germany. Hardly anything was dismantled in West Germany, and with the consent of the Western Allies, the West Germans paid us hardly any reparations.

Besides that, the United States made a big effort to help revive the economy in the western occupation zones. The Western countries granted major credits to West Germany and gave it assistance in the form of consumer goods and machinery. In this situation it was very difficult for us to create conditions in East Germany that would be more attractive for the people there.

Consequently, West Germany achieved better results. The Communist Party in the Federal Republic of Germany found it difficult to build up any strength. Its influence was limited. On the other hand, the other political parties were reestablished successfully, not just the Social Democrats and the regular bourgeois parties, but even more right-wing parties. Their entire propaganda apparatus was directed against the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the Communist parties in the GDR and the FRG. Then West Berlin also became a stumbling block in relations among those who had been allies in the fight against Nazism. Through West Berlin the West began carrying out subversive activity in East Germany. They could do this quite easily because there were Germans on both sides, with the same language, culture, and physical appearance, so that there was no problem about such things when agents crossed the border. Moreover, there was free passage and communication between West Berlin and East Berlin. There was no boundary line. Of course East Germany also had the possibility of sending its agents into West Germany, but the Western side took more advantage of this opportunity.

The question was: How could we combat Western influence? The most normal and proper way of fighting is to win over the hearts and minds of the people by developing a high level of culture and politics and creating more favorable living conditions, so that then people would have the opportunity to make a free choice. But in the existing conditions there was no real free choice. West Germany was wealthy, with a large industrial potential, with adequate raw material and production capacity. On top of that it could rely on the industry and finance of other Western countries, including the United States, which had not been damaged by the war. The West pursued the aim of transforming West Berlin into a showcase of the good life under capitalism, in order to lure people from East Germany over to their side and draw them into the struggle against the socialist measures carried out in the GDR. This would seem to be a permissible method [of struggle]. Each person has the possibility of choosing according to his or her own convictions, and the struggle for hearts and minds goes on. But in fact the ground was not equal [that is, it wasn't a "level playing field"]. The USSR itself was in desperate need of the most elementary necessities. There were many ruined cities and villages that we had to restore. Our machine-building plants, metallurgical works, coalmines, and housing had been destroyed. The hurricane of war had blasted our economy to bits. Thus we couldn't compete with the West on an equal basis, considering the contrast between our material resources and those of the West.

West Germany became more attractive than East Germany, especially for people like engineers, doctors, teachers, and highly skilled workers. A section of such people were drawn to the FRG. Others simply went in search of their former employers, who had fled to the West; the small fry tended to follow in their wake. Living conditions in East Germany grew worse. Stalin decided to cut off this flow of people by establishing a blockade of West Berlin, cutting off all land communications. He wanted to "put pressure" on the West, to establish a unified Berlin, and seal the borders between East Germany and

West Germany. When access to East Berlin was closed to the West, this created an extremely tense situation. The West mobilized all its forces. The United States established an "air bridge," shipping in everything by air that was necessary to maintain the former conditions of life in West Berlin.

Relations between the former Allies now became highly charged. Stalin did not exclude the possibility that the confrontation might develop into an armed conflict. The Soviet army was placed on combat alert. At any moment the antiaircraft guns surrounding Moscow might be given the order to open fire; they were in constant readiness to repel an enemy air attack. At that time Stalin suddenly began to fear an attack on Bulgaria from Turkey. The Bulgarian leaders were immediately summoned and told to force the pace of preparations to counter such an attack. Our military was planning the types of measures that should be immediately taken. At that point Stalin didn't feel very sure of himself at all; he didn't think that if a conflict broke out, we would be able to cope with all the difficulties. It was not a question of offensive operations against the West but of defensive operations on the border between the Soviet Union and Turkey. Over the airwaves and in the press the Cold War was being waged at full blast. No resources or efforts were being spared for this war.

Later on Stalin saw that the "air bridge" had been effective, and he decided to sound out the possibility of starting negotiations to eliminate the conflict over West Berlin. The West agreed. Specially authorized representatives were sent through diplomatic channels. They signed an agreement and the blockade was lifted. After Stalin's death, when we began to take up the problem of West Berlin, it became clear to us that the conditions inscribed in this new agreement were worse for us than the Potsdam Agreement. The West had been able to take advantage of the tense situation and impose conditions that were more favorable to the FRG than to the GDR. By that time the GDR had already taken the road of building socialism. The division of Germany was deepening.

There is no question that the more advanced part of society, the more advanced sectors of the working class and intelligentsia, understand the historic significance of Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the possibilities that this doctrine has offered and still offers for all countries of the world, but unfortunately, at a certain stage the question of ideology is decided by the "belly"—with people peering in store windows, looking at prices, and seeing how much is paid in wages and salaries. We were unable to compete with the West in this respect, especially with West Berlin, where capitalism simply threw in free gifts in order to create a sharper contrast between the material level enjoyed by West Berliners and that of the people who lived in East Germany.

We ran head-on into these difficulties for the first time in June 1953, when disturbances occurred in East Berlin and other cities of the GDR.[4] We were forced to use tank forces [to restore order]. No guns were fired, but our combat equipment was out on the streets. After that the West began to say openly that government policy in East Germany was based on the armed forces of the Soviet Union. To some extent, of course, that did reflect the existing situation. But not entirely. For example, there were East German party leaders who happened to be in the West when those events occurred, but they did not want to seize the moment [to defect to the West], and they returned to East Germany.[5] The coalition between the Socialist Unity Party of Germany[6] and the other East German parties continued in effect. It was a gratifying thing that the other parties in East Germany also enjoyed the confidence of the people. A certain section of the German people, basing themselves on Western propaganda, did wage a struggle against socialism in the GDR, but these people's efforts had no success, and the actions they undertook failed.

I had occasion to visit East Germany several times. I traveled through its cities, visited its factories, and went to the rural areas and state farms. I must confess that I was pleasantly surprised by the warm attitude of the Germans toward our country. During my first visit in 1955, Walter Ulbricht[7] and I, along with other comrades, rode in cars from the airport. On the streets of East Berlin there were a great many people. I confess I didn't expect that. After the bloody war that had been waged between our peoples, I thought it would be a long time before the Germans could forget it. Although Hitler was to blame, Hitler wasn't there any more, and the people still felt the suffering and the losses they had experienced. I think every household in Germany lost someone in the war. I ruled out the possibility of any anti-Soviet demonstration, that is, any open expression of hostility, but I considered it inevitable that we would be greeted with silence and cold looks. But what I saw was a different picture. The Germans gave us a warm greeting, and I would say they did so sincerely. People smiled at me pleasantly and openly. There were also hostile looks from beneath furrowed brows, but those were few in number. And that made me happy. It meant that good relations could be established between us, and they could develop into friendly relations.

Another time we [Ulbricht and I] traveled around the country together with Otto Grotewohl.[8] It was in the summer, in August 1957. We met with farmers out in the fields and visited a chemical plant. About a hundred people gathered at the workers' club at the plant. An engineer gave a report about production operations at the plant. Ulbricht told me this engineer was a talented man who had a correct orientation and was working honestly in behalf of socialist Germany. When the official talks ended and we were sitting at small tables, more freewheeling discussions began. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the Germans asked us all sorts of questions, and of course at that time we were still an occupying power. One of the questions raised was this: “What are the long-term prospects for the development of the GDR and the establishment of a united German state?” The intelligentsia in the GDR had strong aspirations for national unity. The people who brought up these questions were not taking the socio-political conditions of the two different systems into account. West Germany was developing in capitalist conditions, and East Germany had decided to build the foundations of socialism. These people glossed over the social question and put the national question in the forefront, posing the goal of creating a unified German state.

We explained, and I include myself, that unification of the two Germanys was our main goal. However, on what basis would this take place? If unification on a socialist basis could be achieved, not only would there be no objections on our part, but on the contrary, we would use all our strength to make that happen as quickly as possible. However, the leaders of West Germany took an opposing stand and were seeking unification on capitalist foundations. Therefore we had to weigh carefully who would lose, and what they would lose, in such unification.

In this connection I remember another meeting where some women were also present who didn’t work at the factory but lived in the town. My words distressed them. Apparently they felt no special attachment to the building of socialism and were afraid that Germany would be divided for a long time or permanently. They all had relatives and friends in West Germany and understood that a time would come when they would no longer be allowed to communicate with them. Nevertheless, a substantial number of those present supported us. Of course I understood that the people at the meeting were mainly activists from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, so that this reaction didn’t particularly surprise me.

Comrade Ulbricht made a proposal: “Let’s invite people from West Berlin for a discussion.” There were no clear-cut boundaries between the two parts of Berlin at that time, and there was no difficulty in having such a meeting. Contact existed with members of the public in West Berlin, and in the evening about a hundred people gathered. We arranged that coffee would be served, and there was also beer. As was usual at meetings in Germany, those who wished to were smoking. Ordinary manual workers, as well as those engaged in mental labor, came to the meeting, and there were many Social

Democrats. A discussion began. I sensed that the people at the meeting recognized that the existence of the GDR was a progressive phenomenon. The Social Democrats said that the GDR was opening a new path for the entire German people. One older woman said this: "I've been a Social Democrat since such-and-such a year, a member of the party for so many years, and I'm glad that I've lived to see the time when our ideas are becoming a reality on German soil and that socialism is being built on the territory of Germany. Therefore, although we live in West Berlin, we will exert every effort for the successful development of socialism in the GDR."

I remember another visit to the GDR. I headed a Soviet delegation visiting the Leipzig Fair in 1959. Incidentally, that fair was splendidly organized. The companies attending were not only from the socialist world but also from the Western countries. The fair made a powerful impression; it was a lavish event. Then a large public meeting was held in the city. Of course we had learned how to put on such rallies quite well, but it was pleasant to hear the remarks made at that rally recognizing the progressive foundations that had been established by the existence of the GDR and the USSR. Soon Comrade Ulbricht again proposed that we meet with Social Democrats and unaffiliated workers from West Berlin. We were invited to a large room in a cultural center. The meeting was well organized. Each sentence pronounced by a speaker was immediately translated and reached the listener through earphones. Blue-collar workers took the floor, including Social Democrats. All of them ardently supported the GDR. This pleased me greatly. I think that among those present there were also opponents of socialist construction in Germany, but they didn't take the floor. The conditions under which the meeting was conducted were completely democratic, so that they could have taken the floor, but I didn't hear any oppositional speeches.

Of course I understand now and I understood then that the majority of the population in West Germany is pro-capitalist. That is reflected in the small number of members of the Communist Party of Germany.[9] Even when the Communist Party was allowed to exist legally in West Germany, it polled an insignificant number of votes. Everything indicates that capitalism has taken a firm hold on people's minds there and is well able to get them to follow its lead, to string them along. Nevertheless, our meetings showed that the progressive forces in Germany were gradually growing.

In my opinion the comrades in East Germany carried out collectivization well. It was quite a complicated political operation to carry this out under German conditions. German agriculture has always been on a high level, and the German farmer finds it difficult to digest the idea of cooperative farming.

It was hard for the authorities to demonstrate to the farmer that it was necessary to renounce individual farming and switch over onto the socialist track. Despite the social difficulties and particular national features of the situation, I would say that the German comrades coped brilliantly with this task. I will compare it with collectivization of agriculture in the Soviet Union. In our country that operation was accompanied by the arrest of kulaks and other means of administrative pressure. The Germans didn't have any place to send kulaks off into internal exile, and in general they didn't deport anyone. The German farmers themselves gradually joined the cooperatives, which began to work well.[10]

The political situation in Europe remained unstable. This instability was transmitted to the GDR. Any variation in temperature in the world political atmosphere found expression there first of all, because the contradictions between the two sides were concentrated there. Above all this meant West Germany and East Germany. They served as a kind of barometer of world politics. We sincerely wanted to achieve a peace treaty with Germany, and we thought we could reach that goal. We decided to work out the terms for such a treaty and propose that it be signed—a treaty that would confirm the actually existing situation. The Potsdam Agreement on Germany had been considered a temporary arrangement; it was time now to work out something permanent. The new arrangement should affirm the status quo, so that both parts of Germany would be recognized as independent, the capitalist part and the socialist part. As for West Berlin, let it exist separately with the special status of a "free city."

I forced the pace in regard to this matter, holding personal talks with Comrade Ulbricht. But when I presented my proposals to him, including the terms I was proposing for the signing of a peace treaty with the Western powers, he took a skeptical attitude, especially toward the proposal for a "free city." I replied that I myself thought it a very difficult position and that possibly if peace talks were held, this proposal would not be adopted; but we had no alternative proposal. We could not retreat and renounce the gains we had made, allowing a united Germany to be established on capitalist foundations. And of course the other side would not accept socialism. We had to reason the matter out realistically based on the existing conditions, taking a rational approach toward solving the problem and arriving at a final decision together with the West. Ulbricht answered: "There was a precedent. Danzig was once a 'free city', but what came of that?"

I said to him: "Something must come of this now! A lot of things won't work out for the time being. We might not win full agreement from our former

Western allies with the terms we propose. But we must search for a rational and mutually acceptable basis. We must guarantee the independence of West Berlin, have that written into the treaty, and obtain the consent of the United Nations for that. Let West Berlin become a neutral city with its social and political arrangements dependent on the wishes of its inhabitants. Complete noninterference in the internal affairs of the free city must be guaranteed by both sides."

West Berlin survives on the basis of the gifts given to it by West Germany and the United States. Its inhabitants can't live solely by their own resources, can't maintain the necessary economic level by themselves. We proposed that we would undertake the obligation of placing orders for goods to be produced by West Berlin's industry. The earnings from such production would ensure a high living standard for the people of West Berlin. In addition we proposed that the headquarters of the United Nations be moved from the United States to West Berlin. As a result, West Berlin would gain a large additional source of income. Besides, it would acquire a kind of political insurance. We were accused of trying to take away West Berlin's independence. With our proposal we wanted to show that we were pursuing no such aim. We were proposing to link West Berlin with the United Nations, and as members of the United Nations we would have to respect and abide by the commitments we had made. Having discussed this [with Ulbricht], we came to agreement.

After that we proposed that the foreign ministries of the USSR and the GDR jointly work out specific proposals. We undertook the main work ourselves, but we thought it would be better if the German comrades undertook the elaboration of the specific proposals. They had a better sense of the specific local conditions. What we were interested in was that the German comrades not only approve our proposals but also take part in working them out. Then we sent our proposals to the United States, France, and Britain—and also to West Germany— and we asked that they be discussed.[11] The West did not agree with our proposals and rejected them. Thus, nothing solid resulted. We didn't succeed in establishing a more stable situation in Central Europe. West Berlin remained a source of disputes and tensions between the socialist and capitalist countries. Thus a ticking time bomb, that is, West Berlin, could not only cause unpleasantness for our countries but also could lead to a worldwide conflagration. The unintelligent policies of our counterparts [in the capitalist countries] became evident. Unfortunately, none of our arguments had any affect on them, and in spite of everything they kept West Berlin with the status that it still has today.[12] No one can say when this bomb might go off, but the consequences could be quite serious.

Then we began thinking what we should do next. Probably it was necessary to take more energetic action. We set the date for a meeting on the German question and declared that if certain countries did not want to begin negotiations on Germany, we would negotiate with those who had an interest in solving the problem and wanted to eliminate the dispute left over as a legacy from World War II. We made a very big display of activity through our press and television. But from all indications it was evident in advance that the Western powers would not agree to this solution to the problem. In an attempt to put pressure on them, we threatened that if the West didn't sign a peace treaty with East Germany, then the socialist countries, and all those interested in solving the problem, would sign a separate peace treaty. Then the status of East Germany would change, and the question of access to West Berlin would be decided thereafter by the German Democratic Republic. Of course that would create difficulties for the Western powers. Again a blockade would result. It's true that we said that we would not organize a blockade in the future, and we guaranteed freedom of movement to and from West Berlin. But we wanted the terms of such movement to be discussed and worked out by all the interested parties, including the terms of passage through the territory of the GDR. Consequently, a country that wanted to have links with West Berlin would have to enter into diplomatic relations with the GDR and come to an agreement with that entity on the terms of access to West Berlin.

Immediately, Britain, France, and the United States issued a declaration that our proposals were unacceptable and warned that they would defend their rights based on the Potsdam Agreement.[13] By that time West Germany had built up great economic power, had become a member of NATO, and had established armed forces that were numerically large. Of course they were in no way equal to ours. Nevertheless, the changes that had occurred had to be taken into account, because West Germany had become the most powerful country in Western Europe, having caught up with both France and England, and it was playing a prominent role in the economics and politics of Western Europe. The economic boom in West Germany was then called the "German Miracle." In the press it was attributed to Ludwig Erhard,[14] who at one time had headed the government of West Germany and had a lot to do with economic policy. The wages of industrial workers increased substantially by comparison with wages in East Germany and other socialist countries. Workers from Italy, Yugoslavia, Turkey, and other countries were drawn to West Germany. Of course people from East Germany were also drawn toward West Germany, especially the most highly skilled. Members of the intelligentsia began to flee across the borders. Many of them were doctors and university students, and there were even students who had just taken their high school graduation exams. They received their education in East Germany, but found work in West Germany. Quite a few engineers fled across the border.

The economy of the GDR was also progressing, but it couldn't compete with the economy of West Germany. The difficult situation that resulted from this kept getting worse. Under these circumstances we continued the struggle for a peace treaty with the two Germanys. When the deadline for the signing of a treaty arrived, we understood that nothing was going to come of it. We were seeking to establish firm foundations for peaceful coexistence, but instead things were potentially heading toward an armed conflict. I personally didn't expect a military clash, even if we signed a unilateral peace treaty with the GDR. (Of course there were no disputed questions between the GDR and us, because we had a common understanding of the [socialist] path of economic development. Besides, both countries belonged to the Warsaw Pact.)

But it didn't make sense to sign a peace treaty unilaterally unless we wanted to strain relations with the West to an extreme degree. After consulting among ourselves we postponed the signing of the treaty to the indefinite future.

The East German comrades presented us with the problem of their extreme shortage of labor power. The gates to West Berlin were wide open. Even farmers began leaving; discipline at the state farms was weakened, and they began to function more poorly. This was making Ulbricht's position quite shaky. When we met with him I sensed that he had become uncertain about the future. To try to solve the problem somehow, he asked whether we could provide him labor from the USSR.

I asked him: "Tell me, Walter, what kind of workers do you want? We don't have that many skilled workers in our country. And we need them ourselves. That's hardly what the GDR needs, is it?"

He said: "No, what we need are menial workers."

I objected: "Walter, try to understand our situation. We waged a painful and difficult war against the Nazis, who destroyed our industrial centers, our cities and villages. They reached as far as Stalingrad and the northern Caucasus. We suffered huge losses. And now, are we, the victors, supposed to clean the toilets in Germany? That would offend our people's national pride. We could never agree to that."

Ulbricht agreed: "Yes, I understand that that would be difficult for the USSR."

"No, not just difficult, but impossible. We have to find some other alternative."

We sat and talked for a while but parted without having decided anything. We agreed to think things over thoroughly. For a long time I searched for a solution. The simplest solution, and the one that would be most pleasant for all of us, would be to move ahead of West Germany economically: to achieve a higher productivity of labor and a high level of income and wages in the GDR. That would make life in the GDR more attractive and provide a healthy basis for competition between the two systems. Unfortunately, such competitive conditions did not exist. Time was needed to achieve that. The same problem still confronts us today. Even now, unfortunately, we can't say that we have moved ahead of the capitalist world in all sectors of the economy. We are developing, but capitalism is also progressing.

A quick, concrete solution was required. Since we couldn't solve the problem through economic competition, the path of political initiative remained. The necessity arose of establishing government regulation over the movement of people into and out of the GDR. Even a peace treaty would not have given us much on this level. After all, in the draft peace treaty that we had prepared, it was stipulated that West Berlin would be a free city. That would mean its gates would be wide open. It might turn out that West Germany itself would regulate migration, deciding whether or not to allow GDR citizens into West Berlin or West Berlin citizens into West Germany. All Germans would begin to enjoy equal rights [to travel]. This would have put a heavy burden on Ulbricht's shoulders.[15] If everything had continued as before, I don't know how it might have ended!

Other countries had their borders and border laws and were free to decide internal and foreign affairs in the interest of their country. The German Democratic Republic had no such rights. It didn't have the possibility of resolving its domestic problems, and it had an economically more powerful adversary right next to it. On top of that, they too were Germans. They lived in West Germany, but they had the same language and the same culture.

Some comrades have a short memory. Such people might say that I'm laying it on too thick. No, I'm not! Gradually a thought matured in my mind as to how to close this loophole into West Berlin. An agreement was in force that people could travel freely into and out of any zone of Berlin. However the city had been divided into four sectors with four commandants: a French, a British, an American, and a Soviet. I myself took advantage of this free passage in 1946 when I was in West Berlin. I didn't stop anywhere or get out of the car, but I had my own private peek out the car window at the face of the capitalist world. So what were we to do? I called up our ambassador, Pervukhin,[16] asked him to get hold of a map of Berlin, study it, and mark off specifically where the boundary line passed between the GDR and West Berlin, and then to send that to me, observing the strictest secrecy. I received this map (being on vacation in the Caucasus at the time), but it was difficult to comprehend. I had to ask for another map. I had to ask our military people for a map prepared at the headquarters of Soviet troops in Berlin, with Ulbricht's opinion about the map attached. Ulbricht fully agreed with the idea of marking off a firm dividing line between the two Berlins and was overjoyed at the idea. I already told about this when I talked about my meeting with President Kennedy in Vienna.[17]

Then I established more precisely the places where control points with gates could be set up, and I summoned specialists from our foreign ministry in Moscow to come see me. I often asked various specialists to come see me while I was on vacation, when an exchange of opinions on one or another question was necessary or documents had to be prepared. In particular I summoned Gromyko and his deputy in charge of German affairs, who at that time was Semyonov.[18] He had a good understanding of the situation there. We worked out the necessary proposals and I returned to Moscow. Later we discussed them at a closed session of the CPSU CC Presidium. No alternative opinions were put forward, because at that time a huge number of people had left the GDR to go to the FRG, approximately a million, if not more. The losses for our side were quite painful and severe. What people call the cream of the crop had left. Old people and unskilled workers didn't go anywhere, and of course I'm not talking about the Communists. For them the ideological aspect of the matter took precedence. I'm talking about people who made the decision to leave, not on the basis of their political worldview, but from considerations of economic advantage. And there were quite a few such people. Unfortunately, even today there are quite a few. Even in the Soviet Union such people can be found.

In August 1961, at a conference of secretaries of the Central Committees of fraternal Communist parties and chairmen of Councils of Ministers of Warsaw Pact countries, a conference held in Moscow, we presented the problem as we understood it. Everyone agreed with us and expressed enthusiastic assurance that we would take these measures successfully and the Western countries would have to swallow this hedgehog, even though we were obviously departing from the procedures established under the Potsdam Agreement. One particular line of argument gave us the right to expect an understanding of our action by wide sections of Western public opinion. Our actions were being carried out in the interests of strengthening peace. We would not be violating existing borders. Military personnel of the Western powers would still have the right to pass through the checkpoints into the territory of the GDR and into the eastern sector of Berlin. But from now on, civilian population movement would be controlled as we and the GDR saw fit. In the relevant clauses of the Potsdam Agreement there was no reference to the civilian population. These clauses spoke only of the right of the victorious powers, and we were not violating those rights. Granting or denying permission to members of the population of the GDR or East Berlin to cross the borders was an elementary part of the exercise of government sovereignty. It should be carried out by normal methods, as is customary in world diplomatic practice. We were not introducing anything new here, merely extending it to the GDR. The Western countries had not yet officially recognized the GDR, although they had been trading with the GDR for many years. That's why we assumed that everything would go smoothly for us. There might be tension and strain, but things would not reach the point of armed conflict.

We worked out our tactics. I was the one that proposed them. All the blame was pinned on me for this action at that time. But even today I think our actions were correct and I take pride in them. Yes, I take pride because what we did was aimed at consolidating and strengthening peaceful coexistence and strengthening the positions of the socialist German Democratic Republic. According to the plan, the East Germans were to have military units ready along the borders, selecting the very best soldiers for this duty. This is a very special kind of border in the middle of a city. German would come up against German in the conflict over this border. We did not want Soviet troops stationed at the border. The Germans themselves would carry out these tasks. By that time most of the functions that the Soviet Union had previously implemented as an occupying power had been transferred to the German Democratic Republic, including the guarding of the borders. The West Germans also guarded their borders.

Our troops were stationed to the rear, and those are the positions they still hold today. As I have said, we proposed that the Germans occupy the area immediately adjacent to the border. A row of fully armed Soviet troops would stand behind the Germans. Let the West see that even though a rather thin row of German troops was in the front line and that line could be broken without great effort, troops of the Soviet Union would then step forward.

At the checkpoints, we had arranged in advance that everything would be closed down quickly, with movable barriers so that representatives of the Western powers could go through if they had passes. Our officer was stationed next to the barrier, which could be raised or lowered, and he allowed Western representatives to go through without any delay. As soon as everything had been done, our commandant in East Berlin informed our former Western allies of the new procedures established at the GDR border.

With some trepidation we waited to see how everything would unfold. August 13, 1961, is a memorable date for me. Things unfolded quite smoothly. Representatives of the Western powers were able to cross the border without any obstacle, but we set the condition that the GDR would monitor their coming and going, and the GDR state security services would maintain surveillance over why they had come and what business they were on. Of course this was unpleasant for our former allies, but they had made things unpleasant for us. They had refused to sign a peace treaty and had remained stubborn, although—if we look at the bigger picture—they certainly didn't need West Berlin.

Besides, illegal sessions of the West German Bundestag had been held in West Berlin. This was a political demonstration, an assertion of a de facto claim to West Berlin and for its inclusion in West Germany, a demonstration against the Warsaw Pact countries. One good turn deserves another.[19]

Our expectation was that one day would go by, then another, then a third, and the situation would become stabilized. The West would be forced to accept the new situation on the border. Of course there was a great to-do. The Western newspapers and radio stations tried to intimidate us, demanding that our troops be "rolled back" and so forth. But we were sure that this was just a war of words and that the West had no reason to carry matters to the point of all-out war. Besides, by that time we possessed armed forces that would force our opponents to think carefully about whether they really wanted to try to solve disputed questions by means of war. We had atomic and hydrogen bombs and long-range missiles, including ICBMs. We had outgrown our short pants, and if the language of threats was going to be used in this dispute, we had the possibility of answering the West with our own threats. The West understood and stayed within the framework of a war of words. And we answered in kind through our press.

The establishment of border controls for the GDR had a favorable effect on its economy and on the political aspect of things. The GDR derived enormous advantage from the fact that West Berlin had previously used municipal services provided by companies in East Berlin, and now it had to pay for them. Besides, West Berlin residents had previously purchased a whole range of products in East Berlin, where they were cheaper, above all meat, butter, and vegetables. The losses suffered by the GDR were previously numbered in the tens of millions of marks. The demand for products immediately dropped because the population of West Berlin no longer had to be supplied. More people lived in West Berlin than in East Berlin, and now East German products were going only for the population of East Berlin, so the economic situation was alleviated for the GDR. The establishment of a firm border also had a good effect on people's consciousness; it strengthened their assurance that socialist construction in the GDR was not just temporary, as Western propaganda claimed. Germans everywhere love things to be orderly, and now they saw that the East German government was concerned about controlling its border, strengthening work discipline, and consolidating state power.

Incidents occurred of course. Attempts were made to cross the border from the GDR to the West illegally. Some incidents ended unpleasantly. But a border is a border, and when a border is violated, border guards and border troops take appropriate measures. Another difficulty was that workers employed in West Berlin who lived in East Berlin ended up unemployed. But since East Germany had a labor shortage, it was easy to cope with that problem. They were given the opportunity to find work in East Berlin. I don't remember how the question of the subway that ran through both parts of the city was solved. Previously this underground railway extended to all parts of the city. All I know is that the GDR government coped with this problem as well. Thus a new order was established, and everyone had to abide by it.

I will say something separately about air travel. At first Western aircraft freely used an airport on GDR territory [near East Berlin]. When control was established over use of the airport, the Western powers avoided the problem by using only the airports in West Berlin. Unpleasant incidents also occurred in the air. Even when Stalin was still alive Western planes frequently violated Soviet airspace. Our fighters buzzed these violators and demanded that they land; those that refused were shot down. Angry exchanges occurred in the press and were even expressed in diplomatic notes. I think we showed the correct firmness, forcing the Western powers to take us into account and respect the sovereignty of the USSR. After Stalin's death several violations of our airspace also occurred, and again the aircraft in violation were shot down. The Americans drew the correct conclusion and ordered their pilots not to cross the border into East Germany. This order was printed in the public press. They again began to violate Soviet borders when they developed the U-2 plane, which flew at a height we could not reach with our antiaircraft weapons or fighter planes. They flew as far as Kiev and even farther. These were spy flights. We issued statements of protest several times, but then stopped protesting because it produced no results. On the contrary, it encouraged the enemy. They saw in our protest statements a sign of weakness, and taking advantage of their impunity, they replied to us mockingly that no such flights had occurred. We couldn't provide proof. If we had shot down one of these planes, we could have presented it as evidence, but we were unable to. Planes from West Germany also flew over Czechoslovakia, but they were not the high-flying U-2 spy planes. They were within the reach of our antiaircraft weapons, and we ordered our antiaircraft forces to open fire. Those flights also stopped. There was an incident in which an airplane belonging to some British company violated the border over Bulgaria. It was a passenger plane. The Bulgarians shot it down and a huge incident was created. But the Bulgarians were correct when they said that they had not known whether it was a passenger plane or not. It flew into their territory without advance notice, entered an unauthorized zone, was ordered to land, and failed to follow orders. In such a case a country that defends its airspace has the right to open fire. Unfortunately a lot of people died in that incident. Apparently the airplane strayed off course on its way to Turkey, but that was not the Bulgarians' fault. It was the fault of the pilot who had lost his bearings, but also failed to follow international regulations.

I'm telling about all this because the Western powers in general conducted themselves quite arrogantly. Where they felt their arrogance could go unpunished, that we were unable to intercept them, they paid no heed to our sovereignty and had no respect for our national pride. We were forced to swallow the bitter pills they handed us, mainly the United States. But even when we strengthened our control of the borders of East Germany, we didn't withdraw our proposals for a peace treaty with Germany. At the same time we gave all guarantees that we would maintain the existing internal system and free way of life in West Berlin with its special status as a free city. We continued to insist on our proposals. The West continued to reject them and demanded that the structures blocking the borders be removed.

What countermeasures might they take? We did not rule out the possibility of the use of force. They might send bulldozers and clear away the barriers we had set up. Immediately after we had established the new border controls, some trucks broke through, coming from their side at full speed, knocking down barricades, and rushing through the area that had been cordoned off. More solid fortifications were built so that such things would not be repeated. Any attempt to destroy these would have had serious consequences. In the American press some articles began to appear containing the seeds of sensible thinking and a commonsense approach to the situation. These articles warned that nothing could be achieved by threats, that the use of force could only lead to serious consequences, and that it was hardly expedient to risk a military confrontation. Some Western writers, who linked my name to everything that happened then, wrote along the following lines: "Khrushchev has been trying to have a peace treaty signed. The West has refused, and as a result of the controls established on the East German border, the East has obtained everything it wanted and even more than it could have if a peace treaty had been signed." And this was absolutely correct. Therefore we were satisfied in a moral sense, having created the conditions that a government enjoying sovereign powers ought to possess.

Critics in bourgeois society might say that sovereignty in this case was maintained only by the establishment of closed borders and not as a result of the free choice of the people; people were forced to live in a "paradise" they wanted to leave but couldn't because the borders were guarded by troops. Yes, I understand that this is a shortcoming of ours. But in my opinion it was a temporary shortcoming. We want very much to establish free passage across the border in any direction, but under what circumstances can that be done? When there is a dictatorship of the working class no absolute freedom can exist. In other countries also, where "complete freedom" is proclaimed, if you look more closely there is no such freedom. But we actually did want to create such conditions if we had the material resources to do so, because no one should feel oppressed, unfree, or morally restricted. A more fully developed understanding of the idea of human freedom is required. For the time being most people judge the amount of freedom or lack of freedom by how much they can buy and what it costs. Unfortunately we cannot compete with the West on that level. Some of our "clever" Communists will say that here I am belittling our great accomplishments. Let's look soberly at the facts! If we had great material resources at our disposal and could ensure the satisfaction of material needs for people, there's no question that they would not go looking elsewhere for the good things they already had. My dream was to improve living conditions in the GDR to the point where it could become a showcase for socialism, facing directly on the Western world and attracting people to socialism in moral, political, and material respects. Of course I'm talking about working people, not capitalists. Unfortunately, we had not yet built up such capabilities, and we had to keep feeding people on promises alone. But it will come about some day; I'm sure of that, though obviously it won't be soon.

Meanwhile in the USSR the time was drawing near for the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU [October 17–31, 1961], and we had set a date for signing a peace treaty with Germany. We warned the West that if it refused, we would sign a separate peace treaty with the GDR and would proceed on the basis of that treaty's terms in dealing with questions of GDR sovereignty and procedures for access to West Berlin.

The border had been closed off solidly and was being guarded and controlled, but we never stopped trying to convince our former allies in the war against Nazi Germany to sign a peace treaty. We tried to convince them that this would be beneficial for both sides as a step toward establishing normal relations between states. We supported trade between the two Germanys, cultural exchange, travel by tourists, and so forth—everything typically found in normal relations between sovereign countries, especially between neighbors. At the same time we never renounced the use of pressure tactics—although of course such tactics took the form only of public statements in our press, radio, and other means of mass communication.

On June 29, 1961, the State Council of the GDR addressed appropriate proposals to the FRG, and on July 6, the People's Chamber of the GDR did the same. On August 13 the barriers went up on the border with West Berlin. In fall 1961 Grotewohl sent Chancellor Adenauer new proposals for normal relations between the two German states.

By that time President Kennedy was already in the White House. He decided to make a show of force and sent reinforcements for U.S. troops in West Berlin. We correctly understood that this was just for show and that absolutely nothing would come of it, that the West did not want a war. For a while the Western press extravagantly praised Kennedy for taking this action. The entire propaganda machine of the West went to work against us, but we were not intimidated, and we worked out measures to reply to Kennedy's action. I have told about this before.[20] Our [Twenty-Second] Party Congress was going on at the same time, as I have said. During the sessions of the Congress Marshal Konev reported to me that the Americans had stopped threatening us at the border with West Berlin. Thus the intimidating actions of the West ended with no results. They had wanted to test our responses when facing the barrels of guns. When they saw that we were ready to take up the challenge they pulled back their troops.

At that point we decided to do a little probing ourselves through journalists and other unofficial agents of ours in the West. Many agents operate under the appearance of being journalists or people with other authorized business, but in fact they are carrying out confidential assignments. The West has such people and so do we. Through such channels we received a suggestion from the West: "Let's consider this dispute over with, and let everything remain as it is." Later this point of view began to be expressed openly in the Western press. Mutual accusations were toned down. This was also a big victory for us, which we won without firing a shot, a duel that took place only in the propaganda media.

A little while later Ulbricht came to Moscow together with his foreign minister, Comrade Winzer.[21] He began the conversation with me by proposing that the USSR cancel the orders it had placed for the building of fishing vessels in the GDR. His motivation was that the work was not profitable; the East German shipbuilding enterprises were losing money on the project; they were working at a loss. This was correct thinking, since it was based on economic considerations. Ulbricht suggested that East Germany could switch over to producing some other goods for us. I sensed irritation in his tone, as though he were accusing us of paying less than it cost the GDR to build the ships. I replied that we were paying a price that made it possible for them not only to cover costs but also to make a profit. As proof I pointed out that the same types of ships were being built for us in West Germany and in other countries. The capitalists [in those countries] accepted such orders from us with pleasure, but they wouldn't undertake such jobs if they weren't profitable. We too would refuse to accept orders that were unprofitable, because you can't take on work that is going to cause losses for an enterprise or for a government. Why then was West Germany ready and willing to take our orders and had taken them with pleasure in the past, yet East Germany was losing money on this same kind of job? This didn't add up. I said to Ulbricht: "You should look for some other explanation for this problem. If you eliminate the production [of these fishing vessels], for which you already have an established manufacturing process, and if you begin trying to master new manufacturing processes for other products, that will require a great deal of expense, and you still don't know whether it will be profitable. But it's your business. Do as you wish, but I think you're making a mistake."

One circumstance in this situation was that after tight controls had been established on the border of West Berlin people who formerly had been employed in West Berlin went to work instead at enterprises in the GDR. And they did so with a high productivity of labor. When the GDR workers saw this, they began to threaten the former West Berlin workers and to denounce them for their good work, because with their high productivity they were forcing the East German workers to meet the same standards, to achieve a higher productivity of labor. I asked Ulbricht: "Is this true [what I've heard]?"

He was disconcerted. He said: "Yes, that's true."

"Well, then that's the problem, not that one order should be changed to another. With that kind of labor productivity if we placed a new order you'd lose money on it also. You need to speak directly to the workers and say: 'If your labor productivity is substantially lower than that of workers in West

Germany, the result will be overall failure, and you won't be able to compete with the West or even with the other socialist countries.'"

I went on: "These are the results of a low level of organization of labor and of low labor productivity, and we can't help you by paying higher prices or paying bonuses just because you are a socialist government. How can we compete with the capitalist world if we ourselves admit that the productivity of labor in the socialist countries is lower than in the capitalist ones? If we want our people to have a higher standard of living than in the capitalist world, there is no other road we can take. In order to live well, we have to work well. Otherwise we'll doom ourselves to disaster." Ulbricht understood what I was saying. And he left. Actually for a certain number of ships—that is for the prototypes—we did increase the amount we paid the GDR, after all, but we set the condition that, for the rest of the ships, the price would remain what we had originally agreed on.

The socialist system can be victorious in the world only on the condition that it achieves a higher productivity of labor than exists under the capitalist system. If we don't achieve this, we cannot provide the kind of living standards that the old capitalist mode of production provides. This problem confronts all the socialist countries, not just the German Democratic Republic.

Our productivity of labor today is lower than in West Germany, France, Britain, the United States, and Japan. How many years have we been working on this problem? Our country has such vast spaces and resources, and yet we cannot in any way produce the reserves of wealth that we need. Our state reserves are constantly on the verge of exhaustion—for a number of different reasons. That is a fact that cannot be denied. Of course people can have an influence on the course of production. [That is, some people may be further developed and have better skills than others.] Nevertheless, even with people at different levels of development we ought to be able, over the vast spaces covered by the Soviet Union, to establish regular and consistent production of agricultural goods, even if the orders and directives handed down from the upper echelons are insufficiently intelligent. If production were organized at the appropriate level at our state farms and collective farms, even stupid orders from above would not lead to disastrous consequences. Stupid orders simply wouldn't be carried out by those in charge of production [on the local level].

Unfortunately, when I read the newspapers nowadays [in 1970], I constantly see that our livestock herd is growing smaller and the productivity of labor is dropping. I just read an article about how things were going in one of the districts of Kirovograd province.[22] Our customers have trouble finding food products in the government stores, and major difficulties have arisen in regard to meat. Moscow today is a privileged city, but in other cities it's hard to find the products you need, or you can't find them at all. Productivity of labor for the socialist countries remains the problem of problems. You can't draw the people along behind you only with arguments about Marxist-Leninist doctrine. If the government and the social system don't provide the people with more and better material and cultural goods than the capitalist world provides, it's useless to call on the people to march forward to communism.

The United States provides a vivid example. How many years has the dirty war against the Vietnamese people been going on? And yet the absolute majority of voters in America are workers, working people [the implication being that these voters are supporting or going along with the war]. I repeat, the absolute majority. The highest development of capitalism, and the greatest concentration of capital, is in the United States. I don't have the statistics at hand, but it would seem that under these conditions the division between exploiter and exploited would take the sharpest possible form. But that's not what we observe. That kind of situation exists not only in the United States. The same situation exists in Britain, France, and other highly developed capitalist countries of Europe. I'm not talking about the underdeveloped countries, where the Communists also have not won sufficient recognition. When voting occurs in a country like Britain—and it's a highly developed capitalist country—the Communist Party is unable to win even one seat in Parliament. This testifies to the fact that we have something to think about here. We need to make an effort so that the most progressive doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, and the socialist system will provide better living conditions for working people. However, more than 50 years have gone by [since the socialist revolution of 1917], and still, even on the basis of our progressive Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the working class has not won a victory through elections by parliamentary means, not in a single country.

This is a problem that we must think about. Of course if you tell our philosophers, our economists, and our theoreticians to do so, they will find thousands of arguments and thousands of explanations for this.

In the countries of Eastern Europe the working class came to power as a result of the defeat of Nazi Germany, with the support of the Soviet Union. I am referring to Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and to a certain extent Yugoslavia. The same kind of revolution was carried out in Albania. Socialism was victorious in those countries, and the economy and the life of the people is now being built there on a socialist basis.

In the other [European] countries, which remained beyond the reach of the Soviet Army after the defeat of the Germans, capitalism reasserted itself.

So which is the right road? The road of war? Victory for the armed forces of the socialist countries and the establishment of a new socialist system? That is the position the Chinese take—but only the Chinese. Or should we take the road of peaceful coexistence? But that means peaceful competition with capitalism. Socialism should show that it's more attractive in all realms of activity and in all spheres of life for working people. This means satisfying all the material and cultural needs that human beings have.

The statisticians will immediately start doing the necessary computations and demonstrate that the Soviet Union and the Soviet people have achieved enormous advantages compared to the conditions we lived in before World War I. There's no denying that. We are progressing every year, building up our productive capacity and solving problems in the provision of cultural services and the satisfaction of material needs. Nevertheless, we still are not a "showcase" that inhabitants of the capitalist countries would look at and see an attractive example for themselves, so that they would want to unite their efforts with ours and achieve the same results, that is, establish a socialist system in the capitalist countries.

That's why the question of all questions is the struggle to increase labor productivity and manage the economy more efficiently in the socialist countries with the aim of accumulating the necessary material resources for fully satisfying the consumer needs of the people, to establish areas where the superiority of socialist production and socialist society over capitalist society becomes obvious, to create the conditions for the victory of our Marxist-Leninist doctrine everywhere on earth. This is the key question, and it can be solved above all by better organization and by increasing the productivity of labor.

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1. In this chapter Khrushchev restates or amplifies points he made about Germany in earlier chapters, particularly in the chapters on the Geneva summit meeting of July 1955, on his talks with Eisenhower at Camp David in September 1959, on his talks with de Gaulle during the visit to France in March-April 1960, on the failed summit meeting in May 1960, and on John F. Kennedy and the Berlin Wall. [GS]

2. The German name is Bundesrepublik Deutschlands.

3. The Potsdam Agreement, signed on August 1, 1945, stated that the Soviet Union could extract unspecified reparations from its own zone of occupation (the future GDR) and from "appropriate German external assets." In addition, it was to receive 25 percent of the reparations extracted from the western zones of occupation (the future FRG)—15 percent in exchange for various commodities and 10 percent without payment (http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/episodes/01/documents/potsdam.html). [SS]

4. The disturbances broke out on June 17, 1953.

5. The chairman of the Christian Democratic Union in East Germany, Otto Nuschke, was in West Berlin when the disturbances in East Berlin began, but later he declared he had been kidnapped and returned to East Germany. [SK]

6. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany (Sozialistische Einheits-partei Deutschlands, or SED; English initials, SUPG) was created in 1946 by merging the Communist Party of Germany with the Social Democratic Party of Germany in the Soviet zone of occupation. The process was a difficult one and occurred under pressure from the Soviet military administration. The SED became the ruling party in the German Democratic Republic, which was proclaimed in 1949. In 1990 the SED was reconstituted as the Party of Democratic Socialism, which remains active in eastern Germany. [SS]

7. Walter Ulbricht (1893–1973) was at that time general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (1950–53), then first secretary (1953–71), and thereafter honorary chairman of the SUPG.

8. Otto Grotewohl (1894–1964) joined the Social Democratic Party of Germany in 1912. He became chairman of its Central Board in 1945 and a member of its Secretariat in 1946. From 1946 to 1954 he was one of two co-chairmen of the newly formed Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG). In 1949 he became a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the SUPG and prime minister of the GDR (East Germany).

9. In 1946, members of the Communist Party of Germany joined the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, which became the ruling party in East Germany. In West Germany the Communist Party of Germany was given a new organizational form in 1948. In 1956 it was banned in West Germany. In 1968 a new party called the German Communist Party was founded.

10. Recommendations to create cooperatives on a large scale in East Germany were issued at the Third Conference of the SUPG in March 1956. There arose cooperatives of various types. The organization of peasants into production cooperatives was completed in 1966, although its completion had been announced earlier.

11. On March 10, 1952, the USSR presented the governments of the Western powers with a note about the principles of a peace treaty with Germany. On August 15, 1953, the USSR sent the Western powers a note about the convening of a peace conference to conclude a peace treaty, create a provisional all-German government, and arrange free elections in Germany.

12. At a conference of the ministers of foreign affairs of the USSR, the United States, Great Britain, and France held in Berlin between January 25 and February 18, 1954, the Western powers rejected the Soviet proposals.

13. The reference is to that part of the proposed agreements that defined the main features of a common policy of the victorious powers regarding Germany, regarded as "a single economic and political whole."

14. Ludwig Erhard (1897–1977) was chairman of the Christian Democratic Union in 1966–67 and federal chancellor of West Germany from 1963 to 1966. See Biographies.

15. In 1960, while remaining leader of the SUPG, Ulbricht became chairman of the State Council of the GDR.

16. Mikhail Georgiyevich Pervukhin (1904–78) was Soviet ambassador to the GDR from 1958 to 1962. Previously he was first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and a member of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee, but in 1957 he was removed from top-level positions as a supporter of the so-called antiparty group of Molotov, Malenkov, and Kaganovich. See Biographies. [SS]

17. Ulbricht had himself proposed building a wall earlier. See the chapter above entitled "John Kennedy and the Berlin Wall." [GS/SK]

18. Vladimir Semyonovich Semyonov (1911–92) had many years' experience of dealing with German affairs as a diplomat and political adviser. He was a deputy minister of foreign affairs from 1955 to 1978 and Soviet ambassador to West Germany from 1978 to 1986. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

19. The idiom that Khrushchev uses here is, in Russian, *dolg platezhom krasen,* which might be translated literally as "A debt is made beautiful by paying it off." The point Khrushchev was making with this idiom, which might also be translated as "What goes around comes around," is that since the West violated an international agreement by allowing a Bundestag session in West Berlin, it was being paid back with a similar infringement, the establishment of tight controls on the border, with a wall erected between East and West Berlin. [GS]

20. See the chapter entitled "John Kennedy and the Berlin Wall." [GS]

21. Otto Winzer (1902–75) was head of the chancellery of the president of East Germany from 1949 to 1956. From 1956 to 1959 he was a deputy minister of foreign affairs, from 1959 to 1965 first deputy minister of foreign affairs, and from 1965 to 1975 minister of foreign affairs. See Biographies.

22. Kirovograd (Ukrainian name Kirovohrad; until 1924 called Yelizavetgrad) is an industrial city in south-central Ukraine. [SS]

POLAND

We have had a special relationship with the Poles. We know each other better and have had more interaction [than other neighboring countries]. At one time the Polish state was partitioned by Russia, Prussia, and Austria.[1] A large part of the Polish population became part of the Russian empire. People from Poland worked at factories throughout Russia, and Russian workers often came into contact with them. Before the revolution I met Poles frequently when I worked at the Bosse machinery factory and at the Uspenskaya mine, both near Yuzovka (now Donetsk). You could say that ever since childhood I've come into contact with Poles. The Poles are like every nationality. There are good people among them, and bad. Many Poles were friends of mine, and I was quite close to them.

At the Bosse plant we had a one-day strike to protest the shooting of workers in the Lena River goldfields in spring 1912.[2] One of the leaders of the strike was a Pole, the metalworker Czerniawski. The comrades respected him highly, not only for his activism but also because he was a highly skilled worker. Immediately after the strike the authorities began to persecute him. He soon quit and left town; I never saw him again. I remember another Pole, also a metalworker, Leonid Borowski, a remarkably cheerful and pleasant young man.

In principle, relations between Russian and Polish workers always remained comradely, and it could not have been otherwise. We worked for the same employer, working conditions were the same for all of us, and there was no basis for disputes among us. What about the national question? No, in our working-class milieu I simply never heard of that being a problem in relations with the Poles, nor did I feel or notice anything like that in my childhood and youth. After the October revolution I ended up working in Kiev. There, too, I came into contact with Poles. In Ukraine generally there was always a large Polish population, in Kiev province, in Zhitomir province, and in other provinces. But there too there were no collisions between Poles and Russians based on nationality, no differences arising out of everyday living conditions, and in general no misunderstandings among workers [of different nationalities]. After the revolution I got to know a newspaper editor in Kiev who was Polish, a man named Skarbek.[3] At one time he had headed the Polish department of the CP(B)U CC in Kharkov, but later it seems he worked in Moscow in the propaganda department [of the AUCP(B) CC]. He was a highly respected comrade and an honorable Communist. I was the head of the [organizational] department of the party's Kiev district committee, and personnel questions were part of my concern. When we selected personnel we didn't consider nationality: whether a person was Polish, Jewish, Russian, Ukrainian, or anything else. That question didn't come up. People were selected only on the basis of their personal capacities. When a comrade was assigned to one or another duty, we took into account his nationality and his language skills. In Ukraine, after all, the majority of the population was Ukrainian, so that Ukrainians were given preference for such posts, where fluency in the native language [Ukrainian] and knowledge of the local way of life had particular significance. But that's in the nature of things. The newspaper Skarbek edited was not a Polish-language newspaper. He was a well-trained individual and everything was normal on the job under his editorship.

I happened to come into closer contact with some Poles once I had moved to Kiev. In the late 1920s, Pilsudski [the anti-Communist Polish nationalist leader in Warsaw] decided to call for a world congress of Polish people.[4] At that time relations between the Soviet Union and Poland were extremely bad. We always remembered that Pilsudski had fought against Soviet Russia in 1920[5] and had subsequently pursued a hostile policy toward the USSR. Therefore avenues were closed to us for any real communication with Poland or with Polish people in general beyond the borders of our country. But we wanted representatives of the Polish population of the USSR to attend this world Polish congress in Warsaw, so that they could raise their voices in behalf of Soviet Poles.

A commission was established, and I was included in it. Although I was a Russian, I was in charge of a department of the Kiev province committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party. The commission's job was to select cadres, to study the question of which cadres might be best to send to Warsaw. We also had to be sure they had official authorization papers and would not be detained at the border by the Polish government. Skarbek was part of this commission, which was headed by Krinitsky,[6] a well-known Polish Bolshevik, who at that time headed the department for propaganda and agitation of the AUCP(B) CC. Subsequently I met with Krinitsky quite a few times and had enormous respect for him. Unfortunately, he came to a tragic end, like so many others. It seems he was sent to Saratov to be secretary of the party's territory committee, and during the time when Stalin's "meat grinder" was at work he was arrested and shot.

[Back in 1929] in the course of the work of the commission [on the world congress of Poles] we discussed various candidates, looking closely at their records. But nothing was accomplished by all our work, because Pilsudski refused to allow any Soviet Poles to go to Warsaw.

When Stalin began the extermination of party and government officials and cadres [the "Great Terror," mainly in 1936–38], not only did Skarbek and Krinitsky perish but a great many other Poles as well. I suffered greatly when I heard that Skarbek had been arrested and destroyed. He had seemed to me a very decent person. It also distressed me that I had worked together with him for a number of years in the party's Kiev district committee and on the commission I mentioned, where we literally interacted every day, and I had valued him highly. Now it turned out that Skarbek was an enemy of the people! When I heard that Krinitsky had been arrested I was dismayed. What the heck was this, and how could this have happened? How could it be that Comrade Krinitsky turned out to be a traitor!

Now everyone knows what kind of "enemies of the people" they really were. But in reply to my questions back then, it was explained to me that Skarbek had been an agent of Pilsudski. I knew that at one time Skarbek had illegally crossed the Soviet-Polish border. Formerly he had belonged to the Polish Socialist Party (Polish initials, PPS), but then he had become an active member of the AUCP(B). What they told me was this: he had crossed the border [into Soviet Russia] on orders from Pilsudski in order to worm his way into our confidence and engage in espionage for the benefit of "the Poland of the *pany*" [large landowners]. Of course such things happen in life. Intelligence agencies have used such methods more than once, wherever they could. Theoretically Skarbek could have been an agent; there would have been nothing incredible in that, and so I took a trusting attitude toward this explanation. On the other hand, I was displeased with my own behavior: how shortsighted I had been if I had had such a high regard for an enemy agent.

Later when I worked in Moscow I made the acquaintance of another Pole, a former comrade-in-arms of Dzerzhinsky—Stanislaw Redens.[7] He was the authorized representative of the OGPU for Moscow province. Before the revolution he had been an electrical worker at a factory in Kamenskoye (now Dneprodzerzhinsk [in Ukraine]), and he had worked for factory owners who were also Polish. My relations with Redens were good, and I treated him with deference, although from my point of view he was by no means free of shortcomings. But there weren't many people who didn't have shortcomings. I had complete confidence in Redens in political respects. He was married to Anna Alliluyeva, the sister of Stalin's wife [Nadezhda Sergeyevna Alliluyeva]. At family dinners at Stalin's home I often sat next to Redens. All of Stalin's family used to gather for such dinners in those days. Redens ended his life like many others: he was arrested, sent into internal exile, and later executed. His wife Anna suffered greatly over the death of her husband; in fact she went out of her mind with grief. This was a terrible tragedy in the Alliluyev family. Nadezhda Sergeyevna [Stalin's wife] was then no longer among the living; she had died earlier.[8]

So then, I am sorting through my recollections of various encounters with Poles, people I had worked with and befriended. I remember them with warm feelings, and at the same time I shudder to think about the era when Stalin "heightened our vigilance"—costing the lives of thousands of people. Did Pilsudski send agents into our country? Probably so. What about other intelligence agencies? Undoubtedly, because intelligence agencies always send their agents into other countries, but the wisdom of a statesman consists precisely in not confusing honest people with agents. Otherwise things will turn out the way they did, alas, in our country. As a result we stripped bare the front lines of our society, and the best people who had deservedly come to the fore during the revolution and after it and who held commanding positions in the party, army, government, and economy were exterminated—and the Poles were exterminated first of all.

They paid for the unwise policies followed by the head of the Polish government, Pilsudski, an enemy of Soviet power. In 1936, 1937, and 1938, a real witch-hunt unfolded. It was hard for a Pole to hold his ground anywhere, and there was no question of a Pole being promoted to positions of leadership. All Poles in the USSR came under suspicion. These sentiments were intensified by the fact that as the international situation grew worse the Polish leaders deepened their anti-Soviet line.

The same policies continued after Pilsudski's death [in 1935]. Stalin called me in Kiev once and warned me: "Pay more attention to your border with Poland. I would advise you to go out and visit the border area yourself more often." He called up a second time to call my attention to Kamenets-Podolsky.[9] He said: "According to information obtained by Soviet intelligence, the Poles are getting ready to seize Kamenets-Podolsky and develop an offensive through that city in the direction of the Black Sea." How realistic was this warning? Should we have believed it? It's hard to say. Today it's obvious that such plans were dubious, if not unlikely. Poland had no real capability of doing such a thing. In general Stalin remained acutely distrustful of Poland. In part this was justified and confirmed by the facts when World War II began.

However, Stalin directed his mistrust of the leaders of the capitalist-landlord system in Poland against all Poles in general. He imagined that these people were thinking of nothing else but how they might harm our state and where they could do that. When the reprisals against "enemies of the people" began, the atmosphere heated up to the point that representatives of the

Communist Party of Poland in the Comintern were all arrested and destroyed, and the Polish Communist Party itself was dissolved by a resolution of the executive committee of the Comintern.[10]

I was working as first secretary of the party's Moscow committee at the time, and I remember after the arrest of one more group of political leaders known to everyone, a wave of public meetings condemning these people swept through our area. Poles were categorized as agents of Pilsudski, whose efforts were constantly aimed at undermining the Soviet Union. Every Pole was "our enemy." This became a battle cry. They had all been sent into our country by Pilsudski. Just as the Black Hundreds[11] had once shouted: "Beat the Jews and save Russia," so too the cry now went up: "Beat the Poles and save the Soviet Union!"

When there were no more Poles, they began attacking people in prominent posts who happened to catch their attention [who "might be" Polish]. I came to a Politburo session one day. Yezhov and I were sitting together, leaning our backs against the wall. Stalin walked into the room and immediately headed toward us. He came up to me, poked me in the shoulder, and asked: "Your last name?"

"Comrade Stalin, I have always been Khrushchev."

"No, you're not Khrushchev." He always spoke in that harsh way. "You're not Khrushchev." And he uttered some Polish name.

"What are you saying, Comrade Stalin? My mother is still alive. The factory still stands in the [mining] town where I spent my childhood and where I worked. My native village is Kalinovka in Kursk province. It can be verified who I am."

Stalin replied: "That's what Yezhov is saying" [i.e., that his real name was not Khrushchev and that he had a Polish name].

Yezhov began to deny these insinuations. Stalin immediately summoned Malenkov as a witness. He claimed that Malenkov had told him that Yezhov had suspicions that Khrushchev was not Khrushchev, but a Pole. Malenkov also began to deny this. That's the kind of turn things had taken. People began hunting for Poles everywhere. And if they didn't find Poles, they made Poles out of Russians.

In Ukraine, where I began to work in 1938, there were Poles working away like all other Soviet citizens. The workers and peasants were all living their everyday lives, doing their honest day's work regardless of nationality. Meanwhile the USSR was heading toward war. After the treaty with Hitler was signed [on August 23, 1939] we came right up to a time of military operations in Poland. As early as August, Hitler had sent a message to Stalin through

Ribbentrop[12] that the Germans were going to begin an offensive against Poland on September 1. The decision was made in Moscow that the Red Army would also begin military operations to seize territory that, under the treaty of August 23, was assigned to the Soviet sphere of influence. The western Ukrainian territories that had previously been part of the Polish state went to the Ukrainian SSR, and western Belorusssia went to the Belorussian SSR. There was also mention of the fates of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland [in the treaty], but I'm talking specifically now about the Poles.

On September 1, with the German attack on Poland, World War II began. We had drawn up our military forces along the border with Poland, but they were not yet ordered into action. I learned from Stalin that Hitler had sent him a reminder through the German ambassador in Moscow: "Why aren't you taking any action as we agreed?" Stalin replied that we were not yet ready. We began operations on September 17. Timoshenko[13] commanded the troops in this western campaign. I was there, too, among the troops. The cavalry division that carried out the offensive against Tarnopol was commanded by a good general. I can't recall his last name right now. He distinguished himself later during the war. He was an outstanding fighting man who had come from the ranks of the coalminers. The night before the beginning of military operations he reported to me that within a few hours he would be in Tarnopol. And that's how it turned out. As far as the military operations go, I would say that you could only call them that theoretically. The Red Army moved forward, encountering no resistance, not even from the Polish border troops. When Timoshenko arrived in Tarnopol in the evening, our cavalry was already there.

This was the first time in my life I had been abroad [outside the Soviet Union]. There was no one visible on the streets, even though the population of Tarnopol was predominately Ukrainian. Only along the border were there some Polish inhabitants, the so-called *osadniki*—Poles who lived in areas from which Ukrainians had been artificially removed. The land had been cleared away for these Polish settlers, who were supposed to function more or less as guards along the borders with the Ukrainian SSR. They showed no hostility toward our troops. No fanaticism was encountered among the Poles in that area; by no means did they rush to engage in combat with our Soviet forces. The operations in the direction of Lvov were commanded by General Golikov.[14] I went to see him. Golikov had established his command post under a stack of straw. I drove up to his command post, and he reported to me that he had sent General Yakovlev, commander of artillery for the Kiev military district,[15] to negotiate with the German commander on the question of our troops occupying

Lvov. Yakovlev had been chosen because he knew German. He didn't have a perfect command of the language, but he could make himself understood.

Yakovlev was a good general. During the war he worked with the artillery, and he worked well. But that didn't save him. After the war, Stalin put him in prison all the same.

We and the Germans had reached the approaches to Lvov at the same time. Under the treaty [of August 23] Lvov was part of our zone. It had been assigned to the Soviet Union. But the Germans were rushing toward the city, apparently wanting to plunder it.

Yakovlev returned and reported that the German army commanders agreed with us [on our understanding of the treaty terms] that we could take Lvov. The Germans said they would not bring their troops into the city.

We occupied Lvov and immediately came into contact with the Polish population. Around Lvov the population was Ukrainian, but inside Lvov the absolute majority were Poles.

It was a stormy time. Military operations had ended. To tell the truth about the Soviet role [in the occupation of western Ukraine], our units did not actually conduct military operations. We simply advanced to the border that had been established by the treaty with the Germans.

If we are to speak about satisfying the national aspirations of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, they considered the border to lie farther to the west. The Ukrainians' preference was the Curzon Line, but the new border was farther to the east.

Thus the charges against the Soviet Union that it occupied Polish territory are not quite accurate. Our troops occupied territory that historically belonged to Ukraine, and it was ethnically Ukrainian in the composition of its population. The entire rural population, except for a few people, was Ukrainian.

For me that was the best of times and the happiest of times. We celebrated unification of the Ukrainian lands into a single Soviet republic, and the same for the Belorussian lands. People were in a festive mood. We held conferences, congresses, and other public gatherings, and political activity developed at a swift and stormy pace. Spirits were high in Ukraine, and the Ukrainian intelligentsia had an especially triumphant response to the incorporation of the western parts of Ukraine [into the Ukrainian SSR]. At that time, in my capacity as first secretary of the CP(B)U Central Committee, I relocated to Lvov, for all practical purposes, and mainly concerned myself with the work in those western provinces. I rarely showed up in Kiev.

We invited representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, mainly writers, to come to Lvov to help set things up and make relations run smoothly with the intelligentsia in Lvov. Lvov became the central city of western Ukraine, and all the conferences dealing with the newly incorporated provinces of Ukraine were held in Lvov. A large Polish population with many Polish intellectuals remained in Lvov. This included intellectuals who had retreated eastward under the blows of the Germans and who had arrived in Lvov. Wanda Wasilewska was one of those who arrived with the retreating Poles. There were Poles of various types in Lvov at that time. And their attitudes toward our country varied. We felt uneasy. The fact remained a fact—we had signed the treaty with Ribbentrop.[16] The anti-Soviet propaganda machine went to work, the main accusation being that we of the Communist Party had made a deal with the Nazis.

It was difficult, very difficult, to answer this seemingly easy question. The difficulties lay not in the essence of the matter but in the form, because in the essence of the matter there could not be anything in common between the Communist Party and the fascists, and consequently no real agreement could exist, but formally speaking this treaty existed and the new border was determined by it. All this became known to world public opinion when Germany was defeated and the German archives fell into the hands of the Americans.

The main difficulty was that we couldn't talk about the fact that it was just a maneuver, that we had no alternative. We were forced to agree to this treaty, and the Poland [of Pilsudski] was actually to blame. It was also the fault of the French bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie of Great Britain. Those countries had refused to unite their efforts with the Soviet Union against Nazi Germany [at the time of Munich, in 1938]. But we couldn't tell the Poles that, and we couldn't even say that in our own country, in Ukraine.

These were not the only difficulties that arose in Lvov. For the Poles it was especially painful that they had been deprived of their native land. Poland had been occupied. Warsaw had been crushed. Again, we could not speak openly; we couldn't take the position that logically followed from our worldview and our ideology. Before the signing of that treaty [the Stalin-Hitler pact], we had conducted open propaganda against Hitler, against Hitler's policies, and against the German and Italian fascists. But now we couldn't talk like that, because [technically] they had become our allies. I would say that the situation for our propaganda people was literally tragic.

In the Ukrainian Communist Party at that time there were hardly any Poles. If they existed, they didn't hold any sort of prominent position in our party. Stalin had destroyed all such people.

When I arrived in Lvov I was told that the writer Wanda Wasilewska[17] was a firm and decisive person who evaluated the situation realistically and that we could rely on her. I was assured that she understood us and would work with us.

She was expected to arrive in Lvov at any moment. I was looking forward to her arrival, so that, together with her, we could begin work on organizing the Polish intelligentsia in Lvov. We wanted to restrain them from anti-Soviet activity and win them over as allies in the struggle to normalize the conditions of life. In the other parts of western Ukraine, mainly inhabited by Ukrainians, we had no need for Polish people [to help us]. The situation was further complicated by the fact that most western Ukrainians were fiercely anti-Polish, because the Poles had been the dominant nationality and had pursued the unintelligent policy of oppressing the Ukrainian population. The mood was strongly anti-Polish, especially among the Ukrainian intelligentsia.

We didn't want an intensification of [ethnic] conflict [between Ukrainians and Poles]. This situation had come about as the result of a long history. Poland and the Ukrainians had fought each other for many centuries. Everyone knows about the times of Bogdan Khmelnitsky [the seventeenth-century Ukrainian leader], who fought fiercely against the Poles. Under his leadership Ukraine later became part of the Russian state.[18]

Finally Wanda Wasilewska arrived. We easily came to agreement with her on all questions. She understood our explanations, the conditions under which the treaty had been signed with the Germans, and why we had moved our troops into the eastern parts of Poland.

It was not I who spoke with her in regard to the treaty, but the Ukrainian writers who came with me, namely [Aleksandr] Korneichuk and Mykola Platonovich Bazhan.[19] These were the most active people, and they were close to me. Through them I provided orientation for our propaganda and our policies among the activists of the Polish creative intelligentsia who began to gather around us.

As a writer [earlier in her career] Wanda Wasilewska had taken a highly sympathetic attitude toward the Ukrainian and Belorussian poor. That was reflected in her literary works. She was imprisoned in Poland as a result of her defense of the rights of the western Ukrainians and Belorussians. Even today I recall those books of hers with pleasure.

The names of other Polish comrades have not stayed in my memory. Wanda Wasilewska was alone when she reached us in Lvov. Later other Polish intellectuals who had fled from Warsaw showed up. They took various attitudes toward us. Some were rather unfriendly and some behaved like outright drunkards. Wasilewska set to work immediately and soon became the leader of the Polish intellectuals in Lvov.

Although the Communist Party of Poland had been dissolved by the Comintern, the base-level organizations of that party were still functioning. Perhaps they had not been notified of the dissolution, or perhaps they simply ignored the order to dissolve. Gomulka told me, much later, that he had been working in Drogobych[20] then and still considered himself a party member. I don't know what the condition of the party organization was then in Drogobych, if it existed at all. Probably various individuals still considered themselves Communists, people like Gomulka. [Aleksander] Zawadzki,[21] who later became chairman of the State Council in Poland, told us he had been imprisoned in Drogobych for being a Communist. There were many workers as well as intellectuals among the Communists who had formerly been members of the Polish CP. They wanted to join our party, but that was out of the question.

There was also the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, which was directed from Kiev by the CP(B)U Central Committee. We were allowed to take its former members into our party on an individual basis. We did take some people in. It would have been wrong for us not to, because we saw that they were honorable people, who had proved themselves by their work in the underground. And they knew the local conditions best. Thus, we set about building a local party organization.

It was like being hit over the head when I got the news that our security people had killed Wasilewska's husband. It was an accidental killing, as they confessed to me honestly. But I was very upset. He had been a member of the Polish Socialist Party and had come from the ranks of the workers, although he was less active than his spouse. The question immediately came up: "How would this effect Wasilewska's attitude toward us? Wouldn't she think that we had had her husband removed for some political reason? All sorts of things can enter a person's head when such a tragedy occurs. I asked my Ukrainian friends Bazhan and Korneichuk to explain to Wanda Wasilewska how it had happened, and to explain it honestly without concealing anything.

This is how it happened. Our security people wanted to arrest someone who lived in the same building where Wasilewska lived in Lvov, but on the floor above her. They got the apartments confused. Accidentally they knocked on the wrong door. Wasilewska's husband opened the door and immediately they shot him. I asked them later: "Why did the shooting happen? Of course a mistake was made. You knocked on the wrong door. But, after all, the man opened the door, and you could have talked with him and cleared things up." The reply was that our security officials thought that the person who opened the door was armed and was getting ready to shoot them. Of course this was a cowardly action. There was no gun, and consequently he was not about to shoot them. They killed the man, that's all.

We told Wanda Wasilewska the truth about what had happened and asked her to understand it correctly. Wasilewska believed us when we told her there had been nothing premeditated, no hidden malicious intention behind this incident. With no letup in her activity she continued to work in a manner favorable to us. I maintained the very best relations with her for the rest of her life.

I will not conceal the fact that our encounters with Poles in Lvov were not all gratifying. It was very hard for them to understand our policy, which had led to the loss of their country and the loss of their native city of Lvov, where the Polish intelligentsia held all the leading positions. Poles predominated everywhere: in the municipal economy, at the university, at technical colleges, and in the primary and secondary schools. In short, all the commanding positions in Lvov without exception were in the hands of Poles. Therefore when we set our hands to organizing municipal services, we had to deal with Polish administrators. Even the blue-collar workers in Lvov were mainly Poles. Ukrainians were not even allowed by the Poles to do menial work. The Ukrainians told us: "They wouldn't even give us jobs repairing the streets in Lvov."

While the Poles might not have spoken out openly against us, they inwardly nursed their dissatisfaction with the existing situation. You could read in their eyes what they were thinking, and a look of mourning was imprinted on their faces.

Some sad episodes have remained in my memory.

There was the incident involving the Polish opera singer Wanda Bandrowska.[22] She was fairly well known among opera singers and turned out to be in Lvov. Our people began to court her, offering her a choice of work at the Kiev Opera Theater or the Odessa Opera Theater. While we were negotiating, she came under the influence of German agents, of whom there were plenty in Lvov. At that time we had reached an agreement with the Germans to exchange people who found themselves on territory occupied by their troops or by ours. Ukrainians were allowed to return to the zone occupied by Soviet troops, and Poles from Lvov and other eastern cities of former Poland could return to Poland.

The Germans sent their people to spread pro-German propaganda, urging those who had fled from Poland to return to their country. General Serov was working in Lvov then.[23] One day he came to see me. He was all upset and said: "You know what, Nikita Sergeyevich? Bandrowska is already in Krakow. She crossed the border using false documents. The Germans have announced over the radio that she is in Krakow and gave a performance for officers of the German army."

The lists of people returning to Poland were supposed to be cleared with our security officials. Wanda Bandrowska had not been on any list, but she had left. That wasn't difficult—thousands of people were coming and going, and only superficial checks were being made at the border.

This attitude by a Polish intellectual toward the Germans, who were the enemies of the Polish people, caused me sorrow and anger, but what can you do?

Then I heard even more bitter news from the same Serov. He informed me that there were long lines of people wanting to go to the territory of Poland occupied by German troops, that a registration process was under way, and that the majority of the people in those waiting lines, who had previously fled from Poland's western territories, were Jewish. They were standing there, begging to be included on the list of those being allowed to return to the areas occupied by the Germans. They were even giving bribes to the Gestapo. Some unfortunate Jew, who had a little house in Warsaw or somewhere else in the western part of Poland, or a tailor's shop, an artisan or a small businessman, would give the Gestapo the last remnants of what he had brought with him when he fled. The Gestapo would do him the favor—put his name on the list—and he would go thanking them for doing that. These people were returning to certain death. The Germans annihilated them, the same way they did with Jews on the territory of Germany. But there was nothing we could do. We could not wage a truthful propaganda campaign because we were bound by the Ribbentrop-Molotov treaty, but the most horrible thing was that these people wouldn't have listened to us if we had been able to talk to them. They were obsessed with only one desire: to return to their homes and hearths. They weren't thinking about the fact that their home would become a tomb for them, that returning home marked them for certain death. Probably all these unfortunate people perished.

There were no casualties among Soviet personnel in Lvov caused by any resistance among the Poles. Unless you count the incident in which the correspondent of a Soviet newspaper died as a result of panic. He had fallen asleep at night, heard a lot of noise out on the street, opened the window, stuck his head out to see what was going on, and was shot by our people owing to a misunderstanding. Soviet troops on guard duty thought he might be a sniper taking aim. An armed struggle developed later, but it wasn't begun by the Poles. It was begun by the Ukrainian nationalist supporters of Stepan Bandera.

Bandera was the son of a priest from the western Ukrainian city of Stanislav. At that time he was a student at the Lvov Polytechnical Institute and belonged to a Ukrainian terrorist organization that had been waging a terror campaign against the Polish authorities. He stood for an independent Ukraine. His organization was at one and the same time anti-Polish and anti-Soviet. Bandera was tried and given a prison sentence for an attempt on the life of a Polish government minister.[24] Our troops and the Germans released many prisoners, and Bandera returned to his former activities, which were now mainly anti-Soviet. Subsequently he received assistance from the Germans. His people caused us a lot of harm and sorrow. We suffered many casualties in the struggle against Bandera's supporters.

After the death of her husband, when some time had gone by, Wasilewska became friends with Korneichuk, and they began to live together as a couple. Korneichuk left his former wife, the sister of a well-known Ukrainian writer, Natan Rybak,[25] a very close friend of Korneichuk. The result was a full-scale family tragedy. But the bonds of love between Wasilewska and Korneichuk were very strong, and this connection proved to be solid and long-lasting.

Another new arrival to "our side" was Gomulka. Actually he didn't cross the demarcation line, but had been working in Drogobych [which became part of Soviet territory]. From Drogobych he was mobilized to go to Kiev, where he worked on building railroad tunnels under the Dnieper River. Other "freely hired" *(volno-nayemnye)* Poles worked there, if you understand the term *volno-nayemnye,* not in the sense that they were hired freely, but that their will was taken over.[26] Ukrainians were also working on that project. Everyone there worked on an equal basis, receiving the same pay, with no discrimination in the amount of money earned.

Before the war Stalin had proposed the task of building a more reliable railroad crossing of the Dnieper that would be resistant to bombing. The decision was made to build two tunnels: one north of Kiev and one south of it. He thought we could keep this railroad from being destroyed in the event of war with the Germans. Many years later when Gomulka told me about this period of his life, he was joking, not complaining.

On June 22, 1941, the thunder and lightning of war erupted.

What did evacuation mean at that time? It's impossible to imagine. You had to see with your own eyes the conditions of our evacuation from western Ukraine. Everyone saved themselves in whatever way they could. It was unrestrained flight. The German offensive developed energetically, and from the very first days of the war Lvov was constantly being bombed by German planes. The families of our military personnel, our generals and officers, were in an especially difficult position. Everyone fled from the area in whatever way they could.

But the bulk of the local population didn't evacuate Lvov or the other cities and towns of western Ukraine. They had been influenced by nationalist propaganda, and in spite of all our rallies, exhortations, and explanations, they took a hostile attitude. A certain number of people did retreat with us, but we are talking about scattered individuals, not a mass evacuation.

In 1941 and 1942 no special problems arose for us in relation with Poland. That was more than we could deal with [we had our hands full]. Only in early 1943, the year the tide turned, did we begin to think seriously about using Polish military units on the Soviet-German front.

It's true that an initial, unsuccessful attempt was made in 1942 to form Polish units under the command of the Polish general Anders.[27] As I recall, he was a cavalry commander in Poland who ended up as a prisoner of ours [in 1939]. When the Polish army was formed among the Poles in the Soviet Union, Anders refused to fight against Hitler on the territory of our country. His troops were transferred via Iran to North Africa, where they fought alongside the British. At least, that's what I heard in 1943 at the culminating stage of the battle of Stalingrad.

For the second time there began the formation of Polish troop units in the USSR, this time under the leadership of another general of the Polish army who was also in our country. His name was Berling.[28] For this purpose he was brought from Siberia, where he had been in a [prisoner of war] camp.

As the Polish units were being formed, we began to think about political and patriotic work to be conducted among the Polish soldiers, and at that point Wanda Wasilewska's name again came to the fore. I think that was a result of my frequent conversations with Stalin in which I spoke enthusiastically about Wasilewska, her political merits, her patriotism, and her loyalty to Communist ideas.

The formation of this new military unit was guided by the slogans of the Union of Polish Patriots, headed by Wanda Wasilewska.

Wasilewska's role at that time, as a propagandist and political organizer, was very great. She went to visit the Polish units, and she was already perceived as a leader of the nucleus of a Polish government coming into being on Soviet territory. I was pleased that this role had been entrusted to Wanda. I respected her very much and believed in her sincerity and political intelligence.

I met many times with the Polish comrades who were part of the Polish Committee of National Liberation and who were involved with the formation of a Polish army—I met them in Moscow, at Stalin's office or home, and later in Kiev. They didn't address major questions to me. Everything the Poles needed, above all arms and equipment, went to them on a centralized basis, not through me but through the command structure of the Red Army's supply services, headed by General Khrulyov.[29] The Polish units were being formed in the city of Sumy in Ukraine.[30]

It was decided that the Polish army would operate on a sector of the First Belorussian Front of General Rokossovsky, a remarkable Communist and a splendid military leader.[31] The left flank of the First Belorussian Front was in Ukrainian territory in the Lutsk district.[32] The First Polish Army of General Berling was concentrated there. That's when I made his acquaintance, and we established good relations. Stalin advised me to establish personal contact. Berling and I frequently met in Kiev; I often called him on the phone and took an interest in how things were going for them. I never actually was at the location where his troops were deployed.

One encounter was especially memorable for me. It happened in the middle of 1944. Stalin was being very attentive toward Berling and the other commanding officers of the Polish army. Berling complained to Stalin that the Ukrainians had a bad attitude toward the Polish army. At that time the Polish army had been moved forward to the border with Poland. Stalin ordered that the matter be investigated.

First Malenkov came to Kiev, and a day later Bulganin was supposed to arrive. (At that time Nikolai Aleksandrovich Bulganin was the representative of the Soviet Union attached to the Polish government [a pro-Soviet Polish government having been established in Lublin at about that time].) Stalin relieved Bulganin of his duties as a member of the Military Council of the Western Front and appointed him as a specially authorized representative [to the new Polish government].

I suggested to Malenkov: "We should go to meet Bulganin when he arrives."

Malenkov answered: "It's not worth it. He'll come on his own. Send someone and they'll bring him."

I found myself in an awkward position. I wanted to express my respect for Bulganin [by going to meet him]. I had friendly relations with him. On the other hand, I didn't want to put Malenkov in an awkward position, since he had refused to go meet him. Why did Malenkov display such unfriendliness? He and Bulganin had been friends [in the mid-1930s] when I was secretary of the party's Moscow province and city committees. Later it became clear to me what this was about.

In 1943 the Western Front had undertaken several offensives against the Germans, and those offensives had not been successful. (As I said, Bulganin was a member of the Military Council of that Front.) Stalin got angry and appointed a commission to investigate the reasons for the failure of the offensives. Malenkov headed that commission, and it carried out the investigation.

The commission accused the headquarters of the Western Front of inept handling of the troops under its command and of not making good use of its material resources. Sokolovsky was then the commander of that Front.[33] He was a nice man and unquestionably a knowledgeable military man, while Bulganin was the [political] member of the Military Council. I can't say anything about Sokolovsky's qualities as an administrator or as a commander, but I had a high regard for him as a staff officer.

When Sokolovsky and Bulganin were relieved of their duties, I don't remember if any penalty was imposed on them. Malenkov told me that they were given a written reprimand, as I recall, but somehow it's not clear in my memory. Malenkov, knowing that he had "rewarded" Bulganin in this way, was continuing to treat Bulganin accordingly. I myself had no confidence in the objectivity of the investigation or in the competence of Malenkov. I knew that as soon as Malenkov arrived [at the Western Front] he conducted the investigation exactly as Stalin had told him to. It seems that Stalin was ranting and raving against Bulganin at that time. Consequently, Malenkov was obliged, when he arrived on location, to draw up a memorandum corresponding to Stalin's wishes.

Bulganin arrived [in Kiev], and he had Berling with him. That's when I found out what was going on [in the new dispute involving Berling]. Malenkov had informed me that he had come to Kiev in connection with this matter and would be the main person [that is, Stalin's representative] in this investigation.

I asked Berling: "In what way is the bad attitude of the Ukrainians toward your army expressed?"

He said: "Well, the Ukrainians are constantly expressing their dissatisfaction."

I asked again: "In what way do they express it? Probably your soldiers rob them? Right? Armies are always taking things from the peasants. And then perhaps your horses were put out to pasture on the peasants' fields? Naturally they would express displeasure over that.

"Besides, you should keep in mind that the western parts of Ukraine were part of the Polish state for a long time. The Polish government pursued an unintelligent nationalities policy, discriminating against the Ukrainians and oppressing them. Therefore they have no sympathy for the Poles. History bears witness to the many centuries that the Ukrainians fought against Poland. Ever since the time of Bogdan Khmelnitsky."

He began to feel awkward and replied: "You know, I never expected such a turn of events, and I certainly didn't want this to happen. I actually don't have any complaints. Probably I said something to Stalin without thinking. As a soldier, I myself understand that such incidents are always occurring between soldiers and the civilian population." My attitude toward Berling was quite good. I knew him and valued him as a political figure and a commander of the Polish army, which would be operating on the battlefield alongside our Soviet troops. I wanted to consolidate our relations and have him favorably disposed toward us. I often sent him little gifts: some Ukrainian delicacies, some caviar that I had received from Moscow, and so forth.

The session of this commission [consisting of Malenkov, Khrushchev, and Bulganin, with Berling] ended with a meal, and it was a substantial meal with drinks, as was appropriate for highly placed representatives of a commission. Malenkov was hardly drinking anything at the time. But Ukraine was obliged to demonstrate generous hospitality, and that was done. The investigation into this matter ended with that one meeting. Bulganin flew off with Berling, and a short time later Malenkov returned to Moscow. That's how my first acquaintance with the commander of the Polish army occurred. In 1944, if memory serves, some Polish antifascists crossed the front line, and I had a reception for them in Ukraine, organized a dinner for them. Stalin assigned me to provide them with aid and assistance.

In that same year, 1944, the Red Army occupied part of Polish territory, including the city of Lublin. Lublin is a large city, which at one time had been the capital of Poland.[34] Another general appeared and was placed at our disposal—Rola-Zymierski.[35] He had been awarded the rank of general back in Pilsudski's time—although I was told that he was also imprisoned in those years. For some reason Pilsudski lost confidence in him. I don't know what that was all about, and I didn't try to find out more precisely, but I was told that he was accused of being an agent of the Soviet Union. This man was our friend. An intelligent and experienced person. I think the confidence we showed him was well deserved. I don't remember exactly now whether it was Bierut[36] or Wasilewska who continued to head the committee [Polish Committee of National Liberation]—that is, the supreme power in Poland to which everything else was subordinated, including the army commanded by General Berling. Government bodies for Poland began to be formed. They chose Lublin as the location for this new government. It was correct to do that, because Lublin was on Polish territory, a former capital of Poland. Bulganin also established himself there [as the Soviet government's representative to the new Polish government in Lublin].

At the same time, in order to alleviate the bitter memories in the hearts of the Polish people over the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop treaty, Stalin revised the border between Ukraine and Poland and between Belorussia and Poland. This decision was confirmed at the Yalta Conference.

I learned of this new decision when the Polish leaders were informed of it. The city of Chelm[37] and the rural areas adjacent to it went to Poland. These districts were inhabited entirely by Ukrainians, except for a small minority of Poles. Again, a substantial number of Ukrainians were going to be under Polish rule.

The Ukrainians were dissatisfied with the new borders that Stalin had decided on. This dissatisfaction was not expressed openly, but many talked among themselves about the fact that these were Ukrainian lands and that even the Versailles Treaty, which designated the Curzon Line, had granted them to Ukraine. In the 1920s [actually the Polish-Soviet War of 1920] the Poles had violated this line and had advanced substantially farther to the east. Even the 1939 border [resulting from the Stalin-Hitler Pact] corresponded more exactly to the national interests of Ukrainians than the line that was established after World War II.

The Ukrainians were grumbling. Of course no public-opinion polls were taken among the Ukrainians, but the intelligentsia, on whom the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party and the Ukrainian Soviet government relied, reflected the aspirations of their nation. The intellectuals felt deeply pained, and they expressed their dissatisfaction to me.

By his decision, Stalin placed me in a rather painful position in my capacity as chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Ukraine and secretary of the Central Committee. In 1939 the unification [of the Ukrainian lands] was triumphantly celebrated both in Kiev and in Moscow and subsequently was confirmed by a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The national interests of the Ukrainians had been satisfied. For the first time in history the Ukrainian people had been united in one country of Ukraine, and now they were obliged to retreat. But what could I do? Stalin had made the decision.

I think Stalin took this measure in order to alleviate memories about the bitter pill he had served the Poles by the treaty signed by Molotov and Ribbentrop, the treaty partitioning Poland. Now Stalin was displaying "understanding and good will" by ceding part of Ukrainian territory to Poland. When I met with Poles and exchanged opinions with them, they also expressed dissatisfaction with the border. They thought it should be moved farther east.

In my view, this is an insurmountable problem. If you think it over, you can see it's in the interests of both Poland and the Soviet Union to establish good fraternal relations between our countries. Therefore the concession made by Stalin was politically justified, since he was trying somehow to smooth over the bitter aftertaste among Poles left over from 1939. This established good preconditions for the development of mutual understanding and friendship between our peoples.

For the Ukrainian population that would now be living on the other side of the Polish border, Stalin made a simple decision. He proposed that they move to Ukraine. The Poles welcomed this proposal. That was to their advantage. People of Polish nationality living in Ukraine, if they wanted to, could move to Poland, and the Poles agreed to take them. And there were quite a few people who wanted to do that.

Similar terms were announced by Poland in regard to the Belorussian borders and the Belorussian population.

Stalin told me about this decision, and he also told Ponomarenko, who was then chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Belorussia and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia.[38] We were supposed to get into contact with the Polish Provisional Government, conduct negotiations, and establish conditions for an exchange of populations. This was no longer a question for discussion; it had been decided. What we received were orders.

Comrade Ponomarenko and I agreed over the phone on what day we would travel to Lublin. We were met by Bulganin. I flew from Kiev and Ponomarenko from Minsk. We brought consultants with us, who were also supposed to attend these talks. The Poles gave us a very good welcome. Practically all questions were solved quickly, without any problems.

Podgorny was appointed as the authorized representative of the Soviet Ukrainian government to the government of new Poland. He was then working at the Ukrainian Ministry of the Food Industry.[39] Implementation of our agreements went through him.

I remember a dinner given by the Polish government in honor of the representatives of Ukraine and Belorussia. Rola-Zymierski played the role of master of ceremonies at the dinner. As a general of long standing he demonstrated his full superiority over the others. He was very cheerful and did a good job as toastmaster. He knew the manners and mores of high society, and that made an impression on all those present.

The others present were ordinary people. When Ukrainians raised their glasses in a toast, they said "Bud'mo!" [meaning "The best for all of us"]. Similar primitive expressions were in use among the Belorussians, but Rola-Zymierski formulated his toasts in flowery language. He demonstratively displayed his knowledge of proper etiquette from Polish high society. Later a big banquet was organized, and broad layers of the new Polish government were brought in. A conference was also held for representatives of the Polish peasantry.

I was present at that conference and talked with the Polish peasants. Peasants are the same everywhere. They were glad to have been liberated.

There I made the acquaintance of [Andrzej] Witos. His was a famous family name in Poland. His older brother [Wincenty] was a veteran Polish politician, but he had already died by that time. The younger brother was brought in to participate in the work of the Polish Committee of National Liberation.[40] He [Andrzej Witos] was a leader of the Polish peasants. Of course we are talking about the wealthier farmers, and the position he took was in favor of private farming by well-to-do farmers. Witos himself was a fairly wealthy man, not a large landowner, but a prosperous capitalist farmer (kulak). This happened in August [1944], and I decided to treat the Polish peasants with Ukrainian delicacies. I called Kiev and asked that some watermelons and cantaloupes be delivered to Lublin by airplane. These plants didn't grow in Poland, and the Polish peasants were not familiar with such items. The treat made a good impression, but a humorous incident occurred. Witos was very much afraid of collective farms and was afraid we would try to impose them by force. When the melons arrived, it turned out they had brought the variety called Kolkhoznitsa (the Russian word for "woman collective farmer"). These are not large melons, but they are very tasty and aromatic.

I asked: "Mr. Witos, how do you like our Kolkhoznitsa?"

I don't know what he was thinking, but he repeated the question: "This is Kolkhoznitsa? This melon?"

I said: "Yes, Kolkhoznitsa."

"Then why isn't it red?"

Apparently he was trying to needle me, but I didn't get the point of his witticism. He apparently thought I had some special purpose in calling the melon Kolkhoznitsa. I always felt he was strongly opposed to us on the question of reorganizing agriculture on a collective basis, although at that time this question not only had not come up; we hadn't even made a peep about collective farms. In general I didn't engage in conversations about what the political arrangements would be in Poland after the Germans were driven out. That was considered an internal question for Poland, which should be decided after all its territory was liberated.

No information was entrusted to me about negotiations [on this subject], and I didn't interfere in such matters. I had established very good relations with all the Poles then, even though they included people of varying political views.

One person I liked especially—I'm leaving aside Wanda Wasilewska—was Boleslaw Bierut,[41] a pure, sincere, charming, and at the same time intelligent man. It was easy not only to negotiate with him but to simply converse. Rola-Zymierski also made a good impression on me. Compared to the others, he was a man of high culture, even with aristocratic manners to some extent, but it was pleasant to have dealings with him. As for Osobka-Morawski,[42] he undoubtedly held pro-capitalist views on the future Polish state system. In his political sentiments he was a true member of the Polish Socialist Party (Polish initials, PPS). I'm not saying he was a Pilsudski supporter, but he was a supporter of the PPS. For us at that time the term "Pilsudski supporter" meant Polish fascist. As a supporter of the PPS, Osobka-Morawski was opposed to Marxist-Leninist doctrine. The impression he made on me was not favorable.

As I've already mentioned, Bulganin was then the Soviet government representative [for dealing with the incipient Polish government] in Lublin. That made my mission easier. It was easy for me to communicate with Bulganin, and we understood each other well. Bulganin told me how things were going and described the various people involved.

I remember that it was reported to us then that at a German concentration camp near Lublin (I don't remember now what it was called) [Majdanek] graves had been opened revealing the bodies of those killed by the Germans.[43] The Germans had built ovens where they burned the corpses, but they didn't burn them all. Apparently the ovens couldn't cope with the task. They discovered huge pits the Germans had dug that were filled with corpses of the people they had killed.

I suggested to Bulganin: "Come on, Nikolai Aleksandrovich, let's go take a look."

When we arrived, the work was still going on; the mass graves were still being dug up. It was a dreadful sight. A layer of dirt had been removed, and below that half-rotted corpses were lying. The foul smell was unbearable. Bulganin couldn't stand it and left. I suffered through it because I wanted to know more about the details of this inhuman atrocity committed by the Germans. Also, people were working there [despite the difficult conditions], including doctors, and I would have felt rather embarrassed if I seemed to be a pampered softy who couldn't stand the foul smell of corpses.

There were many ovens in the area with remnants of bones that had not been completely burned. They showed us a structure fitted out like a bathhouse, in which camp inmates were gassed to death. They told us that people were ordered into those buildings, supposedly to bathe, but when the room was full the door was closed, the chamber was filled with gas, and all the people died. Then the corpses were dragged out and burned in the ovens.

They also showed us a long, narrow barracks made of boards. Inside it, a dreadful sight met our eyes. It was filled with an enormous quantity of female human hair. Apparently the women's heads were shaved before execution; the hair was tied in bundles, and the bundles were thrown in this barracks, the same way that in the old days the peasants in a village would store pig bristles.

From there we went to another location, a building filled with footwear. There were men's and women's boots and shoes of all sizes, but the quantity was enormous, and it was all sorted out and arranged with the orderly precision typical of Germans.

Before our visit many of our people had been there, and the neat, orderly arrangement made by the Germans had been disrupted somewhat. It made a very painful impression. It was obvious that these boots and shoes came from the poor unfortunates whose bodies were now being dug up by our sappers.

It was not a scene for people with weak nerves. This German barbarism aroused more hatred and indignation than ever against Hitler and the fascists who had committed these atrocities.

Not far from Lublin was the ancient city of Chelm.[44] Bulganin and I decided to go there and have a look at it. Why did I want to go there? My wife, Nina Petrovna, had gone to high school in that city. She had told me about it. Before World War I Chelm had been part of the Russian empire. I wanted to see what kind of city it was, what kind of people lived there. We visited a very old Russian Orthodox cathedral. I don't remember what century it dated from. A church official showed us around. I don't know what his exact title was, but he was a man of middle age. He told us about the cathedral. I don't remember the exact content of what he told us, but his face and eyes are vivid in my memory. There was such sadness, such pain, in the way he told us about the history of this place of worship. His sorrow was caused by the fact that Chelm was going to be part of the Polish republic. Sobbing, he said: "Look, it's a Russian Orthodox cathedral. It was built by Russians. Now it's going to be taken away from us. Again it's going to become a Roman Catholic church." He began telling us about the historical past when this building had been a Catholic church. The Russians had returned and restored it as an Orthodox place of worship. He was actually shedding tears over this. We listened to him but were not about to discuss the matter. What could we do? After inspecting the cathedral we left.

In winter 1945 our troops finally occupied Warsaw. At that point I began to be totally occupied with Polish affairs, organizing assistance in the restoration of Warsaw. Stalin said to me: "Our troops have liberated Warsaw and now the Poles have need of Mykyta." (That is the Ukrainian form of my first name, and he would address me by that name when he was in a good mood.)

Then he assumed a businesslike tone: "You have a great deal of experience restoring ruined cities. You've already done a lot in restoring the economy in Ukraine. Now we have liberated Warsaw. It's been reported to me that there's no water there, no electricity, and the sewer system isn't working. The streets are covered with rubble. In short, Warsaw is lying in ruins. And the new Polish leaders are inexperienced people. They've never been managers or had such responsibilities, and they need help. So you need to go there and help our Polish comrades restore the ruined municipal economy of Warsaw."

I must confess I was very pleased to hear these words. I was very happy with this assignment and was sure that I could help the Poles. I knew from experience that, whatever the destruction might be, it's possible to restore the economy, to obtain the minimum amount of electric power that's needed, to restore the water lines and sewage system, as well as the bakeries and other sectors vital to a municipal economy, without which life in a city is impossible. I replied: "All right, I'll go immediately, but allow me to take some specialists from Moscow with me and also perhaps to summon some engineers from Kiev. It's necessary to have specialists right at hand who have worked with the electric power system, the sewage system, and transport."

"Take whoever you want. You know the Moscow engineers who work in the municipal economy and the ones in Kiev. Take the ones you want. That's up to you."

I formed a brigade of specialists and went to Warsaw. I found it a very pleasant task to help our Polish friends, but I will not hide the fact that I also wanted to see the Warsaw that had been destroyed by the Germans, meet the people there who had survived the Warsaw uprising, and talk with them.

We arrived in Warsaw. I was told that the new Polish government had taken up quarters on the right bank of the Vistula River, in a district of Warsaw that is called Praga. There were still some buildings there that had not been destroyed. But on the left bank (the west bank) most of the city lay in ruins. Everything there had been destroyed. The first thing I did was meet with Bierut, the president, Osobka-Morawski, the prime minister, and Spychalski, the mayor of Warsaw.[45]

I was introduced to a Polish architect, but I've forgotten his name. He had worked out the first plans for restoring Warsaw, and he showed me some of his sketches. When I arrived on that occasion, Bierut introduced me to Berman.[46] As my chief assistant I brought with me Andrei Yevgenyevich Stramentov.[47] I knew him well and respected him. He was a well-trained man, with a splendid knowledge of municipal economics, especially road construction. In this situation I also had great need of his driving energy and organizational skills. I assigned Stramentov to head the brigade of specialists I had formed, consisting of municipal engineers from Moscow. Their first job was to study what was left of the municipal economy in Warsaw and decide what could be restored and how quickly.

It was very difficult work. In Warsaw all the streets and passageways were covered with mountains of rubble and shattered brick. I went up in a plane to view Warsaw from the air. It looked like a vast heap of ruins, not a city. I know no word that is more expressive than ruins, but that word by itself cannot give a picture of the total destruction that I saw, the devastated condition of Warsaw in those days. As I have said, it was not a city but mountains of rubble.

Here's what I saw at one location: a pile of rubble was lying there, and lo and behold, people were coming out from under the rubble. As it turned out, although a building had been destroyed, its cellar remained intact. The people had somehow cleared a way into the cellar and made a living space out of it.

Our specialists reported to me every day about the work they had done. My emissaries for electric power, water supply, and sewer system—the areas that concerned us most of all—came to see me in a cheerful mood.

They said: "You know, the turbines at the electric power plant were not destroyed. They can be restored. The building was smashed to bits. It has to be cleared away. But as soon as we get the building in order, we can start the turbines working and have electric power. We can obtain so much electric power that there won't be consumers enough to use it all."

Delighted by this, I joked with Comrade Bierut. I asked him: "Couldn't we get a little bit of your electric power in exchange for the services we've rendered? In Ukraine we have a power shortage." I was joking. They, too, would be short of electric power as soon as the municipal economy began to function. The first thing was to provide lighting and then get the pumping stations working, so as to create at least elementary living conditions for the inhabitants of Warsaw.

Bierut replied: "Please. Of course we'll repay you for the labor you've put in."

When we started up the turbines, I reported to Stalin and he told me: "Don't leave there until you've created at least minimal conditions for a normal life, restoring all the necessary plant and equipment needed to serve the population of Warsaw. In Kiev they can get along without you for the time being. You have your people there and things are running smoothly. Let them go on working without you. You keep working in Warsaw."

To our delight, we found that the water supply system could soon be restored to operation. The pumps were in good working order. If there were some breakdowns, they could soon be set to rights. The network of pipes supplying water began to be restored. In some places explosions had broken pipes, and freezing had caused some small pipes to burst in the local distribution networks, but the main underground lines were in good working condition or required little effort to fix. The sewage system also proved to be in good working order. We began to bring everything into operation. Half of Warsaw was getting electric supply, water supply, and sewage service. Things were simpler with the problem of bakeries to provide bread. Mobile military bakeries were made available to us. They satisfied the needs of the small population of Warsaw. Many people had left the city after it had been destroyed by Hitler and gone to live in the provinces.

The people of Warsaw began to clean up their city. On a holiday, probably a Sunday, the municipal leaders of Warsaw organized a special turnout to clear away rubble and clean the streets. Comrade Bierut suggested that I take part. He said: "Let's go do some work as a symbolic gesture." He looked at me with a grin. He was always smiling when he talked.

I readily agreed. We took shovels, which were the primary means of production under those conditions, and went to a certain street to which we had been assigned. A relatively large number of people came out. The streets were filled with people, some with shovels, some with wheelbarrows. Some piled in the loads and others wheeled them away. In short, they were working. Of course, the movie cameras were also at work. They were recording for history what shape Warsaw had been in. Today Warsaw has been restored, transformed into a beautiful modern city.

I wanted to visit Lodz.[48] I had heard a lot about it. It was the center of the working-class movement. The workers of Lodz had a rich revolutionary tradition. I asked Comrade Bierut: "How would you regard it if I made a trip to Lodz?"

"That's fine. Please do."

At that point Osobka-Morawski chimed in: "I'd be happy to go with you. You wouldn't object would you?"

"I'd be glad."

We made the trip. The road to Lodz was a hard brick road. It had not been destroyed. It was beautiful sunny weather. We arrived in Lodz. We traveled around the streets and took a look at the city. It was still in good condition. There was not a great deal of destruction. Evening was coming on, and we had decided to spend the night in Lodz and return to Warsaw in the morning.

They put us up in a hotel. It was richly furnished and had apparently been a luxury hotel at one time. At the time when we spent the night there it still looked good. The only thing was: we suffered from the cold. The heating system wasn't working, and we were forced to cover ourselves with whatever we had at hand.

We sat down to have supper. We had our supper in a restaurant to which we brought the food that we had with us: some pickled herring and other items. The restaurant was also luxurious, by our standards. The leaders of Lodz came to visit us, Osobka-Morawski and me. At the height of the dinner Rola-Zymierski showed up. He had not traveled with us, and I don't know if he was in Lodz or somewhere else nearby on business. But he brought great vivacity and animation to our meal when he appeared. He was a very pleasant and sociable person, with a cheerful manner; and he was an intelligent conversationalist.

We had our meal. The leaders of Lodz told about what they were doing. They made a very good impression on me. They were sensible people who took pains to do their jobs well. They were doing everything they could to restore their city as quickly as possible. As I recall, none of the factories in Lodz were working, and the city was half empty. I didn't see any traffic or activity on the streets. The people I saw were walking around dejectedly, with their heads down. Evidently the food supply was in bad shape. Generally speaking, all the cities that were liberated from Nazi occupation looked like that.

The next day we returned to Warsaw.

After my return from Lodz, Comrade Bierut told me more about Comrade Gomulka, who at that time held the post of secretary of the Central Committee [of the Polish Communist Party].

Bierut said: "He's not well right now. He's bedridden at his apartment, but it would be a good thing if you could stop in to visit him."

I replied that it would be a pleasure to visit Gomulka. I myself wanted very much to make his acquaintance. I went to visit him at his apartment. A woman met me at the door—Comrade Gomulka's wife. As I recall she was busy doing laundry at that moment. Gomulka's apartment had a gloomy look to it. It was dimly lit, and the walls and ceiling were covered with soot. Apparently they heated the place with a woodstove or what during the civil war we called a *burzhuika* (a "bourgeois").[49] Gomulka welcomed me warmly. He was up and about, no longer lying in bed. His face was wrapped with some wide black bandage, which gave him a rather extravagant appearance.

We began our conversation. He told about the state of affairs in Poland and gave his assessments. I don't remember how long I spent with him, but I was very pleased with the meeting and with our conversation. Gomulka made a very good impression on me.

On my return from Warsaw I went to Moscow and told Stalin about what had been done. In addition I left a memorandum in which I described in detail the condition I had found Warsaw in, what specifically we had done, and what impressions various people had made on me. I devoted a lot of attention to the meeting with Gomulka, who in fact was a new person for us. Stalin was very interested to know what kind of man Gomulka was. I had only positive things to say about Gomulka. Not only about Gomulka but about the other Polish political leaders. Stalin had met the others earlier, but Gomulka for him was a new person.

Comrade Bierut especially impressed me, and I felt very warm toward him. But I also sensed that his main weakness was softness. It didn't seem to me that he had a flair for organizing or the tough fiber of an organizer. He won people over with his gentleness, his humaneness, and his unquestionable devotion as a Communist; he had such a human approach to people. I sensed these qualities. And for the short time that Comrade Bierut was prominent in public life as the leader of Poland, these qualities were manifested in the discussion of questions that arose between our countries.

Today when I am retired, Bierut's daughter Kristina stops to visit us every year on her way from Warsaw to Tbilisi. She married an architect who lives in Georgia. [My wife] Nina Petrovna and I are glad to have her as a guest, and our meetings remind me about the good times when her father, our friend, was still alive.

After the liberation of Warsaw Wanda Wasilewska's participation in the leadership of the Polish Committee became less active. She was living in Kiev and only went to Warsaw or Lublin on visits. I am running a little bit ahead of myself here, but after Poland was completely liberated I expressed my regrets to her. (I often met with her and Korneichuk and had them over to my residence. We were good friends and I loved to talk with Wanda. It was a pleasure to listen to her.) I expressed my regrets: "Soon, Wanda Lvovna, we will be meeting more rarely."

She was surprised and asked: "Why?"

I said: "Because of your duties. Evidently you'll have to move to Warsaw. And naturally you'll be visiting Kiev less often."

"No!" She was a person who could speak sharply. "No. N. O. No, I'm not going there." She spelled out her "no" and pronounced it so emphatically.

She said she would take up permanent residence in Warsaw only when Poland became a republic of the Soviet Union. Until then she had nothing to do there. I didn't agree with her and expressed my opinion, but she remained adamant.

I don't think the problem was that Poland was not becoming a republic of the Soviet Union. Her reason had more to do with questions of everyday life. She didn't want to leave Korneichuk, to go away and be separated from him for a long time. However oversimplified such an interpretation might seem, I think that factor had great importance in deciding her place of residence after the emancipation of Polish territory from enemy troops.[50]

That's how things worked out. After the complete defeat of the German army and its surrender, Wanda Wasilewska did not go back to Poland. She maintained very good relations with Bierut and the other leaders of the Polish People's Republic, but she continued to live in Kiev.

In Poland people's attitudes toward her varied. Bierut treated her with very great respect and sympathy, but I didn't feel that on the part of Comrade Gomulka. Berman, Minc,[51] and others treated her quite well, but she often commented critically on the Polish leadership. She had a critical streak, which in my opinion reflected certain disagreements with Gomulka. I can't recall now specifically how this was expressed and I didn't ask about it actually. It had nothing to do with me. I didn't want to create fissures that might lead to a split, but to my mind there was a kind of mutual lack of confidence between them, an unspoken reserved attitude toward one another.

Wanda Wasilewska often went to Warsaw. Her aged mother, who she loved very much and of whom she spoke with great warmth, still lived there. Of course as a political leader and as a writer she met with many friends and brought back her impressions of the new Poland.

For Wanda Wasilewska, Bierut was a respected person, and she also respected Cyrankiewicz[52] highly. She told me a lot about Cyrankiewicz. He had just returned to Poland. He had been in a concentration camp in the West. She commented on him warmly and said that he was a very interesting and honorable young man, who could be relied on. She had been acquainted with Cyrankiewicz before the war. He had been a member of the Polish Socialist Party and had worked among their youth.

He was a young, energetic, capable, and intelligent man, a political leader for Poland over the long term.

Subsequently [in 1947] Comrade Cyrankiewicz replaced Osobka-Morawski as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish Republic. Unquestionably agreement on this was reached with Stalin. It was only later that I made

Comrade Cyrankiewicz's acquaintance directly. I don't remember if it was after Stalin's death or before. Cyrankiewicz made a good impression on me. I always felt respectful and attentive toward him and I maintain those feelings today. To be sure, his was not an enviable position. The Communists who were running the country did not have absolute political confidence in him. He was always surrounded by a kind of guarded attitude. Some people expressed it openly: "We don't know who he is really. He is a rather enigmatic individual."

He represented the Polish Socialist Party in the leadership after the Socialists and Communists merged into the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP). His position in the leadership was the result of a political combination whose aim was to attract people [to the new party]. The PPS had been a strong political party, with many members.

All sorts of rumors circulated about Comrade Cyrankiewicz, but thank heaven, this was already after Stalin's death. If it had happened under Stalin, things would have ended badly. Cyrankiewicz loved to drive a car by himself, without a chauffeur, as he himself told me. He was a skillful and fast driver. That was also the source of all sorts of comments. Some say he drove around a lot because he didn't get along well with his wife. . . . I even heard that from Comrade Gomulka, but Gomulka valued Cyrankiewicz highly and considered his presence in the leadership necessary.

In addition, people gossiped that his name really wasn't Cyrankiewicz, that he was not Polish, but Jewish, that Cyrankiewicz was a Jewish name that had been "Polonized." His father had had some sort of small business or commercial operation. In short, his candidacy [for the post of Polish prime minister] was the result of an agreement, the product of certain political combinations, and apparently Comrade Cyrankiewicz, being an intelligent person, understood all this. This left its mark on his personality. He held his tongue most of the time and spoke up only when he felt it was necessary. When he expressed his opinions he did so succinctly. I never heard him say something that was not appropriate to the subject under discussion.

I think Wasilewska gave a correct characterization of Comrade Cyrankiewicz. I always had and still have the highest opinion of him. Wasilewska was on good terms with Berman too. He was another new man who had just appeared on the political scene in Poland. I had not known Berman at all. I had only heard that he worked for the Comintern. He was one of the few who remained alive after the 1937–38 purge [of the Polish Communist Party by Stalin].

Later [Hilary] Minc also came to Warsaw. He was a Polish Communist living in the USSR. Wasilewska had a high opinion of him too.

As for me, I had a high regard for both Berman and Minc. They worked in different areas. Berman was a prominent political figure in the party and a great organizer. Minc was an economist. In the drafting of plans for the economic development of the Polish republic Minc played a major role.

In winter 1945 I went to Moscow, having been summoned by Stalin. There I made the acquaintance of Mikolajczyk, leader of the émigré Polish government in London.[53] Mikolajczyk was fiercely anti-Communist and anti-Soviet. He was Churchill's pet lapdog. Mikolajczyk's government had its own armed forces on Polish territory. They were given orders not to assist Soviet troops but to close ranks and keep their weapons ready for the future, for a struggle that was to come.

There were two Polish governments then, one in London and one in Lublin. I didn't participate in negotiations with Mikolajczyk.

The Western countries were pushing to have Mikolajczyk become the Polish premier. They were trying to get the Soviet Union to recognize him in that capacity. Mikolajczyk was viewed by the West as an anchor who would keep Poland on a capitalist basis following in the wake of Western policies. Their policies were looking far ahead. For our part, as was entirely natural, we were opposed to Mikolajczyk. We wanted Poland to become socialist, to become a friend of the Soviet Union, and we wanted a friendly power to emerge on our western border. We had exerted so much effort and suffered so many casualties in this war, and naturally we wanted to defend our interests. What we were interested in above all was: What kind of government would exist in our neighboring country of Poland, and what kind of policies would it pursue?

I would like to touch on the question of the liberation of Warsaw once again in my memoirs. When our troops reached the Vistula River and came up close to Warsaw, an uprising broke out there under the leadership of General Bor-Komorowski.[54] The Polish government in exile in London laid the groundwork for the uprising. Apparently what it had in mind was that [if the uprising was successful and at the same time] if Soviet troops entered Warsaw, the government located in London would immediately return and thus would establish a capitalist government headed by Mikolajczyk. Regardless of that, unfavorable conditions developed for us in regard to an offensive on Warsaw. In order to prepare for a forced crossing of the Vistula River we needed time to bring up troops and make the appropriate preparations. The Vistula was a substantial natural barrier for that time in history. It would have been difficult to take Warsaw by a frontal assault with a forced crossing of the Vistula. Attacks like that had caused heavy losses to our troops. The best plan was to organize a flanking attack. Our troops already held bridgeheads to the south of Warsaw. The proposal was that our left flank strike a blow [outflanking Warsaw] that would force the Germans to withdraw, thus freeing Warsaw without heavy losses. But time was needed to accomplish that.

The Germans suppressed the Warsaw uprising [August–October, 1944]. They immediately shot any insurgents they captured. They took Bor-Komorowski prisoner. It's hard to say anything for certain now as to the kind of person he was. Usually the Germans had no mercy for prisoners they captured, especially generals who had led an uprising on German-occupied territory. However, Bor-Komorowski was taken prisoner and remained alive. After the war he pursued an anti-Polish and antisocialist policy.

The war was coming to an end. I no longer remember when Mikolajczyk returned to Warsaw from London.[55] Probably it was before the end of the war. Stalin was forced to take his allies into account. Churchill put pressure on Stalin, insisting that Mikolajczyk was a friend of the Soviet Union. In letters to Stalin he wrote about the wrong attitude being taken toward Mikolajczyk. He alleged that Mikolajczyk respected Stalin and our Soviet state, and that he could be relied on fully as head of the Polish government. He had carried out this function [as head of the Polish government] in exile, and all he had to do was transfer to Warsaw and take up the position of prime minister of Poland.

Stalin then wrote to Churchill that elections would be held and the problem would be solved that way. After the defeat of the Germans the time of the elections came. Mikolajczyk and other capitalist figures ran as candidates in the Polish elections.

In the countryside Mikolajczyk's influence was very high, and not only in the countryside. Poland at that time still bore the traces of Pilsudski's leadership and the leadership provided by the PPS [the Polish Socialist Party, dominated by Pilsudski]. The sentiments of many were opposed to the Soviet Union because of its signing of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact. That had left a bad taste in people's mouths. The election process was complicated and difficult. The Poles know how to make pointed and cutting jokes about current political situations. The candidates of the Polish United Worker's Party (PUWP) and the Peasant Party won an absolute majority in the elections. What the Poles said was this: "What kind of ballot box is this? You drop in Mikolajczyk and out comes Gomulka." In Polish this rhymes: *Co to za szkatulka?/ Wrzucasz Mikolajczyka—wyjmujesz Gomulka,* and the political content is cutting and witty. What it meant was that the Polish intelligentsia—and I think they're the ones who composed this ditty—did not believe the elections had been fair and objective. They thought the results had been tampered with by the Communists.

The West, too, refused to believe these had been fair elections. Be that as it may, Mikolajczyk ended up in the minority, with a smaller number of votes. The policies of the left-wing forces began to be carried out more strongly in a socialist direction. Mikolajczyk held some post in the government, not a leading one of course. When he saw that Poland was being reorganized on a solid socialist basis, he fled the country and returned to London.

The flight of Mikolajczyk was an acknowledgment that his political platform had not succeeded. He saw that the majority of the Polish people, especially the working class, after some hesitation, had taken a firm position in favor of restructuring the country [on a socialist basis].

After the war I often met with the Polish comrades when Bierut, Gomulka, Osobka-Morawski, and others came to Moscow. If I wasn't in Moscow, Stalin always invited me to come at the time of their arrival, because among the many questions raised by the Polish leaders were those that affected the interests of Ukraine. Stalin didn't want to get into any altercations with the Polish leaders, so he would toss all the unpleasant responses my way if they had complaints to make or claims to present. As for me, I enjoyed meeting with the Poles, but it was not a pleasure for me to become acquainted with the complaints or claims they might have, because I couldn't always agree to what they were asking. It isn't pleasant to deny something to people you respect. I had been assigned the role, as it were, of "looking out for the interests of Soviet Ukraine." When the Poles would bring up one more in a series of questions, Stalin would immediately reply: "That concerns Ukraine. Let Khrushchev decide. It all depends on him. You'll have to arrive at an agreement with him." And he would give me an expectant look. From his intonation I sensed what he expected of me was to give them a refusal. I tried to deny their requests in as polite a form as I could, not wishing to alienate friends of the Soviet Union.

Several times Bierut, in my presence, raised the question of Lvov with Stalin. Later, when he realized that Stalin would refer all such questions to Khrushchev, no matter what, he began addressing me directly: "Comrade Khrushchev," he would say in his nice, gentle, prepossessing tone of voice. "Let us have Lvov. You have such a big country—Ukraine—and for us Lvov is a major city. For many years it was part of Poland. For the people of Lvov, this is such a painful drama that now they belong to Ukraine. Some have already left Lvov and gone to Poland."

I said to him: "Comrade Bierut, try to understand. There is no way this can be done. I know that Lvov was part of the Austro-Hungarian empire for many years,[56] and its population is actually Polish. But you also know that the surrounding [rural] population is solidly Ukrainian. After all, Lvov was artificially settled by Poles. That began after World War I, with the aim of pushing out the Ukrainians. Your claims to Lvov have no solid grounds. Comrade Bierut, you can't do things that way. You know, Pilsudski thought Kiev should also be part of Poland, and he justified this claim historically by the fact that at one time the Dnieper River had formed the [eastern] border of Poland.[57] Right up to the beginning of the war the Poles refused to drop the demand that Poland should bring under its rule territory stretching 'from sea to sea' [that is, from the Black Sea to the Baltic—territory controlled at one time by the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania in the seventeenth century]. You can't say that Poland had a small appetite. But if you ask Ukrainians, some of them perhaps are capable of fantasizing about taking Krakow."[58]

He expressed surprise: "Hey, what are you talking about? How can you say that?"

I smiled: "I could answer you the same way. How can you say that? After all, you're making claims to Lvov."

We were conversing with smiles on our faces. I don't know how serious Bierut was in hoping that he might win agreement on the return of Lvov to Poland. On the other hand, when Stalin spoke with the Poles on other subjects, he knew how to adopt an endearing tone. The policy he followed was to court their favor, so that they would forget about 1939. Gomulka usually came as part of the Polish delegation, together with Bierut, and the impression he made on Stalin was rather peculiar. After the Polish comrades had left, Stalin often said to me: "I don't understand Gomulka. When I'm having a conversation with him I suddenly notice that he's hanging on my every word and writing it all down in a notebook with his pencil." I sensed that in principle Stalin liked Gomulka precisely because of this [adulatory] behavior. On the other hand, Stalin was capable of assessing this note-taking by Gomulka as the action of an imperialist agent, of concluding that he did this on orders from some foreign intelligence agency, to provide information to his superiors.

Bierut was the complete opposite of Gomulka. He behaved more freely, treated Stalin with respect, and was attentive toward him, but without such servile manifestations as in the case of Gomulka [that is, hanging on his every word and writing down every precious thing he uttered]. Stalin treated him well, but didn't entirely trust him. More than once in our inner circle he asked about Bierut: "What about this Bierut? Where was he during the occupation? How did he manage to hide? Who is his wife and what does she do? How did they hook up together? Was it in the underground?"

The wives of the leaders were of special interest to him. In his view, foreign intelligence agencies could recruit Communists through their wives. And if he had reached the point of asking a question [about such things], that meant disaster was not far off. It would soon follow that an assignment would be given to the Soviet advisers attached to Bierut. They would be ordered to investigate and dig up proof that Bierut was an enemy of the people or the agent of some country. Either way it amounted to the same thing. Unfortunately, such vile actions were constantly being carried out. To my great pleasure, this wasn't done to Bierut.

I'm reminded of another conversation I had with Bierut. In Lvov there was a large, panoramic historical painting similar to ones commemorating the battles of Borodino and Sevastopol.[59] On the canvas in Lvov, Polish artists showed images illustrating the fighting between Poles and Russians during the uprising led by Kosciusko.[60] The painting was well done, in my opinion, but I am not a connoisseur of pictorial art and cannot give a sufficiently knowledgeable appraisal from that point of view. I only know it made a powerful impression on viewers. It depicted an episode in which Polish soldiers were bringing along a captured Russian general. The faces of the soldiers show the high-spirited good humor you might expect, and their exuberant mood can also be seen in their jaunty bearing and the confident way they are walking. This was a tendentious painting and obviously anti-Russian, arousing strong emotions in the viewer. That's why after we liberated Lvov we closed off access by visitors to this panoramic painting.[61] That had been an uprising against the tsarist autocracy. It was an event of the past, but in the present time the painting could arouse unfriendly feelings toward the Russian people and toward Soviet power. An unwanted analogy might be drawn, doing harm to the friendship between Poland and the peoples of the Soviet Union. That's why we closed off access to the painting.

Suddenly Bierut brought up this matter: "Is that panoramic painting in the Round Tower still in proper condition, all in one piece?"

I replied: "Yes, without any question. It was removed from the wall before the war and is in storage. After the liberation of Lvov I was informed that it had survived, although it was in very bad shape. It was in a damp place and suffered accordingly. But it can be restored."

"We would ask you to let us have it."

"With pleasure. We have no need of it. We're hardly going to put it on display for viewers. Putting it on display would not be to the benefit of our relations. It would not contribute to strengthening friendship between our peoples. But how do you plan to use it? If you put it on display in Poland, it will arouse nationalistic and anti-Russian feelings, which is not in our interests or yours. What we should do now is smooth over the hostile relations that existed historically between our two countries. Neither of us should remind people of such facts as that the Poles at one time occupied and held Moscow or that the Russian tsars partitioned Poland in league with the large landowners of Austria and Prussia. Much that was bitter and painful occurred in relations between our peoples. But all that should be smoothed over."

However, Stalin supported Bierut. He said: "There's nothing to be afraid of. After all, in our country we have the opera *Ivan Susanin.*"[62] Stalin said that, based on my approach to this question, we ought to ban *Ivan Susanin* as being anti-Polish. I had to agree that that would be wrong. We handed the painting over to the Polish comrades. Recently an old comrade of ours from Poland, Weronika Gostynska,[63] came to visit us. She asked me: "Is it true what Osobka-Morawski said, that when Bierut raised the question of that painting you objected to handing it over to the Poles?" I had to admit it was true and explain why I objected.

Even today I think I acted correctly. Events of recent times have only served to confirm the correctness of my position. In 1968 a play was produced in Warsaw based on a historical subject, a dramatization of the long narrative poem by Adam Mickiewicz entitled *Pan Tadeuzs.*[64] Mickiewicz's poem sang the glories of the insurgents who fought for the freedom of Poland against the tsarist autocracy. Performances of the play were accompanied by anti-Russian shouts and slogans. A call for a struggle against the occupation was issued from the stage. Of course this production contained historical truth, but in our present circumstances it was interpreting history in a way that was quite unexpected for the leaders of the Communist Party of Poland.

The anger of the audience was transferred from the olden days to the present time, so that a tendentious interpretation was given to the entire production—portraying this literary work as opposed, not to the tsars, but to the Soviet Union. The sentiments thus aroused had their consequences. All of this occurred at a time in which new complicated and difficult developments were taking place within the Polish leadership. The play was banned. That is, the same kind of doubts that I had expressed earlier to Bierut, after so many years had gone by, were confirmed. The effect of this play on Polish public opinion was to dampen feelings of fraternal friendship between Poland and the USSR. In part of the population it even aroused anger, which was expressed in action. While the play was being performed demonstrations were held in and around the theater. Poles expressed solidarity with the ideas of the play, which although they were directed against tsarism, were applied to present-day reality.

I would like to add a few words about Wanda Wasilewska, who was a very interesting person. The fact that she allied herself with, and expressed sympathy for, the poor and working people, and that in her literary works she described the life of poor peasants in western Belorussia and western Ukraine, that is, the eastern regions of Poland, even before World War II—all this gives a positive characterization of Wasilewska. In this she went against her own origins. Her father had been a close associate of Pilsudski. There were rumors that she in fact was Pilsudski's goddaughter. Her father [Leon Wasilewski] had been a government minister under Pilsudski. As I recall, her mother had been educated at an institute for the daughters of the nobility in Saint Petersburg. And yet here was Wanda Wasilewska, a daughter of the nobility, choosing the path of struggle side by side with the working people. Earlier she had belonged to the same party as Pilsudski—the PPS. Then she became a Communist, joining the ranks of the AUCP(B). She became a good and honorable Communist. Her devotion to ideas and high principles and her understanding of the world brought her to us. She was not motivated by mercenary or materialistic interests.

Wasilewska was a blunt and outspoken individual. Sometimes she said things to Stalin that he didn't like at all, but she said them right to his face. Her directness and integrity impressed me. Even the fact that she was somewhat abrasive and rough-edged in dealing with others won me over because of the sincerity of her feelings. She was a woman of principle, who would not make deals with her conscience. She had a daughter who remained in the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, I don't have any possibility now of finding out anything about her, let alone establishing contact with her.

Stalin was favorably disposed toward the Poles [after World War II] and wished them well. We helped them with whatever we could. Sometimes Stalin did this to the detriment of the Soviet Union. I have in mind the terrible famine in Ukraine in 1946–47, the result of the [drought and resulting] disastrous harvest of 1946. Ukraine conscientiously delivered its grain, everything that it could, but still it did not fulfill the plan. The granaries at the collective farms were left empty. Famine began. Instances of cannibalism occurred, and not just in one or two cases.

At the same time, grain that had been taken from Ukraine was being sent to Poland. There was no negative attitude toward Poland in Ukraine, because the population didn't know about this. It was only known to a narrow circle of people. Wanda Wasilewska, when she returned from Warsaw on one occasion, having seen how the people of Warsaw were living, told me the following: "I saw that they were eating white bread and cursing the Soviet government for not delivering enough white bread. It was sending black bread instead of white bread, and the Poles never would eat black bread."[65]

Grain from Ukraine was being sent to Poland, but in our country the people were swelling up from starvation and dying.

The Polish leadership or population cannot be blamed for that. They had made a request. The grain was given to them and they took it. They undoubtedly had no knowledge of what was going on in Ukraine. Even in our country it wasn't known. Even today people don't know about it. After all, who could know? I knew about it as first secretary of the Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers. Stalin knew it, and a few other people knew it. As a result of my raising this question and insisting [on food being provided for the people of Ukraine], I myself fell into disfavor. In response to my direct appeal to Moscow to introduce a rationing system and public facilities [such as soup kitchens] to feed the peasants, for otherwise they couldn't work, I was sharply condemned for having written such a "slanderous" document. In spring 1947 when it was time for people to go out into the fields [to do the spring sowing], Moscow was forced to acknowledge my correctness. We organized public feeding facilities, because the peasants were literally being blown over by the wind. And how many of them died![66]

After the defeat of Nazi Germany our relations with Poland developed on a good basis. But time went by and difficulties began to arise. I learned that there were political forces in Poland expressing dissatisfaction with Gomulka. That happened after our relations with Yugoslavia went sour [in 1948 and after]. I am unable to say specifically what was the origin of the differences that arose inside the Polish leadership. I can make some judgments about this matter only on the basis of scraps of conversation with Stalin that remain in my memory. When I would come to Moscow [from Ukraine], if a conversation began about Poland, Stalin would express his views on the subject. I was not a witness to how Gomulka's fate was decided when the question of his arrest was raised. To me it was incomprehensible, and I regretted that this happened, because I respected Gomulka. The opinion of him that I had formed earlier, when I had first met him in Warsaw, never changed. I always regarded Gomulka as one of the worthiest leaders of Poland, an influential and useful man. However, inside Poland anti-Gomulka sentiment continued to spread.

One of the charges against him was that he supported the Yugoslavs and never expressed sharp criticism of Tito. Besides, just before the split with the Yugoslavs Gomulka had gone to Belgrade, heading a Polish delegation. Sympathy with the policies being pursued by Tito was attributed to Gomulka. I have in mind the independent policy that the Yugoslavs followed in the realm of economic reforms. The economy in Yugoslavia was not organized according to the methods and forms adopted in the Soviet Union. The Yugoslav leaders declared here, there, and everywhere that they based themselves on Marxism-Leninism and were devoting every effort to the building of socialism in their country. Stalin had a different interpretation of what was going on. All scientific and scholarly forces in the USSR were mobilized, and all the pages of our magazines and newspapers were opened up to prove the opposite. The Yugoslavs were called renegades from socialism and allies of the capitalist countries. That all turned out to be lies. But this whole affair ricocheted against Gomulka and he was struck down.

At first people only whispered about it. They also began to say that Gomulka was opposed to collectivization. To some extent that was true. Even today Poland differs distinctly from all the other socialist countries in the special policy it pursues in the countryside. What prevails there are cooperatives that are called "agricultural circles." We had similar cooperative associations in our country in the 1920s. Such a cooperative was called a TOZ (the abbreviation for *tovarishchestvo po obrabotke zemli,* or "association for the cultivation of the land"). In those organizations the peasants remained the owners of the land and of individual farming equipment or implements. Stalin considered it a crime for Gomulka to hold such views. After all, Stalin had eliminated the TOZ and introduced the *kolkhoz* (collective farm).

Lastly, there was one more accusation against Gomulka, that he was guilty of anti-Semitism.[67] It is my supposition on this point that such an accusation would not have discredited Gomulka in Stalin's eyes, not at all. Stalin himself was strongly infected with anti-Semitism. It's no accident that honorable people of Jewish background who had worked together with Lenin [such as Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Trotsky] had been destroyed by Stalin. Of course they were destroyed together with many Russians and people of other nationalities. In this respect Stalin was a thoroughgoing "internationalist."

However, in public Stalin jealously guarded what we might call the "purity of his raiment"; he kept his outer garb clean. He paid close attention not to provide any basis for charges that he was anti-Semitic. Anyone who said that about Stalin would be immediately destroyed if he was within reach. What actions did Gomulka take that were interpreted as anti-Semitic? I myself never heard anything like that from Gomulka. Much later, when I began to meet with him frequently and we had established friendly relations, we exchanged views on this subject. It turned out that he had expressed the desire to change the composition of the Politburo of the Polish United Workers Party. That was the name of the party after the Communists and Socialists merged. There was a fairly substantial group of people of Jewish origin in the Politburo, and this caused a certain negative reaction on the part of ordinary Poles. I take an understanding attitude toward the alarm that Gomulka expressed in this connection. After all, this high percentage of Jews in the leadership could cause unrest among chauvinist-minded people, which could later be expressed in society in a troublesome social form. That's what happened in Poland, and also in Hungary, where a high percentage of people of Jewish origin existed in the leadership as well.

The people Gomulka was opposed to were distinguished Communists, tried and true, with long records, and very capable leaders. We need only mention Berman and Minc. It seems that they overawed the other members of the Politburo because of the superiority of their organizational skills and the fact that they were educated people who had an excellent schooling in Marxism-Leninism.

Berman was an influential man, an intelligent and experienced politician. He had a great deal of influence on Bierut. He didn't push himself forward, but operated through Bierut. I am even of the opinion that without his advice Bierut would never take a single important political step. Minc was concerned with economic questions. He was a distinguished and respected person. He played the main role in shaping Poland's economic plans.

Perhaps the term "envy" is not entirely appropriate. However, the existing situation produced a negative reaction among the other leading members of the PUWP [abbreviation for Polish United Workers Party]. Zambrowski[68] was in charge of cadres for the Central Committee of the PUWP. He was a capable person, but the policy he pursued in assigning cadres was not wise. He didn't take the nationalities question into account.

Zambrowski was a Communist Party political activist of long standing. During the Nazi occupation of Poland he was in the underground. He was accused of having Zionist leanings, although they were not openly expressed. As a Communist he could not have been a Zionist, but he displayed a special attitude toward comrades of Jewish background. In our country, too, undeserved accusations of Zionism have sometimes been hurled at individuals. Zionism and anti-Semitism are blood brothers.

Zambrowski was accused of acting as a patron for other Jewish comrades, promoting them as protégés. As I have said, he was in charge of cadres for the Central Committee. Therefore, so to speak, he had the cards in his hands. He tended to promote Jews to a greater degree than Poles to decisive positions—both political and economic—when there should have been equal treatment of all [regardless of nationality].

His motivation was often well founded. He promoted the most advanced and best-trained people. But such actions took on a political coloration in the eyes of the purely Polish part of the Communist movement, who also wanted to take an active part in the work and hold key positions in the leadership of the country. They felt they were being pushed aside and kept out of key posts, and that created a tense atmosphere and gave rise to muffled unrest. Gomulka perceived these moods of discontent, and his actions reflected that.

The threat of arrest was hanging over his head. People thought—though it wasn't so—that it was mainly Berman and Minc who were demanding Gomulka's removal. In my presence Stalin said out loud that the Poles wanted to arrest Gomulka, but he said: "I don't understand why they want to arrest him or what evidence they have for doing that." I don't know what personal conversations Bierut might have had with Stalin. Stalin didn't mention Bierut specifically by name. In the end Gomulka was arrested. Later on, Stalin said that Bierut had called him on the phone and made such a proposal [that is, that Gomulka should be arrested]. Stalin's answer to him was: "Decide that for yourselves, as you find necessary." Gomulka was put in isolation and placed under special conditions, not in an ordinary prison, but he was kept locked up.[69] Many others were arrested, including Spychalski, Loga-Sowinski, and Kliszko.[70] I am just naming the most prominent people now, but in the lower ranks of the leadership the supporters of Gomulka were also arrested.

It turned out that the most devastating blows were struck against cadres in the Polish leadership who were of Polish nationality. This created an absolutely abnormal situation in the PUWP. When Stalin died, I often asked Bierut: "On what charges are you keeping Gomulka imprisoned?" Bierut was a well-meaning man of mild disposition. He usually had a smile on his face, and he answered me as follows: "I myself can't give a sensible explanation for it."

"But if you yourself don't know why he's being held, release him!"

Nevertheless, some forces continued to exist that kept the pressure on Bierut, or he himself was concealing his motives. I formed the impression that it was precisely these people—Berman, Minc, and Zambrowski—who were keeping the pressure on him. I came to the definitive conclusion then that Zambrowski did not understand the national question at all correctly.[71] And he was abusing the confidence that had been placed in him.

At that time in Poland, leadership cadres of Jewish nationality predominated. Zambrowski didn't understand that by promoting primarily Jewish cadres, and by abusing the number of such people promoted compared to Polish people, he was giving rise to a vicious and very dangerous form of anti-Semitism.

No anti-Semite could do more harm than a Jew who was in charge of personnel assignments and promoted Jewish cadres to the detriment of cadres from the main nationality in the country where he lived. And so this affair dragged on. Bierut would not release the above-mentioned prisoners, although he could give no convincing arguments that these people "deserved" to be imprisoned.

Bierut was an easygoing man, who gave in to the influence of others, and Gomulka's imprisonment continued.

When I was vacationing with Comrade Bierut in the Crimea on one occasion in calm circumstances I said to him: "Gomulka has been imprisoned, and rumors have reached us that there are forces in Poland who are dissatisfied with the national composition of the top leadership bodies in the party and government. To a significant extent, policies are being decided by comrades who are not of Polish nationality, but Jewish, although of course these are worthy people and they don't arouse any doubts or suspicions. As for Berman and Minc, those are two names that do not give rise to any doubts on my part. I don't know what positions they hold now,[72] but I do know they are entirely honorable and devoted activists of the Communist movement, who have done a great deal since the defeat of the Germans to build a socialist Poland."

In reply to this Bierut looked at me with the gentle smile characteristic of him and said: "Comrade Khrushchev, you know this is difficult and painful for me. I myself know that it is causing dissatisfaction, but after all, Berman is a brilliant man.

"Berman edits all our documents on political questions, and Minc does the same on economic questions. The speeches I give are also edited by them. I need helpers like that. You say yourself that they're honorable men."

"That's true," I replied. "But this may be planting the seeds of anti-Semitism. And later on you'll encounter difficulties as a result."

I was not in a position to insist and I didn't want to. And everything remained as before.

Then Bierut died. This happened immediately after the CPSU Twentieth Congress [in February 1956]. He fell ill while he was in our country and died in Moscow. A coffin with his body was returned to Poland. I was assigned to travel with a delegation from the CPSU to participate in the funeral.[73] I respected Bierut despite the fact that he had taken such a bad position on this question. The funeral ceremonies were conducted with grandeur. People were terribly downcast, mourning his loss, all in tears. I consider this a sincere expression of their feelings because Bierut, a full-blooded Pole, impressed the people of his country as an intelligent, attentive, and accessible individual. After his funeral the question was posed of who would be promoted to the post of first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee. The Poles asked me not to leave for Moscow right away. To tell the truth, I also wanted to remain on the spot to see how the question would be decided. It was by no means a matter of indifference to the USSR who would end up in the Polish leadership.

I did not attend sessions of the Polish Politburo, because I didn't want to provide any basis for charges that Khrushchev was applying some sort of pressure. In spite of that, the opinion became widespread later that I had supposedly influenced the Polish comrades. I repeat: I absolutely was not present at sessions where the question of the new leadership was being decided, neither at plenary sessions nor at any others.

The Poles decided to separate the two positions: head of the party, and head of the government. Previously the two posts had been combined in the person of Bierut. There were two aspirants for the post of first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee: [Eduard] Ochab and [Aleksander] Zawadzki. We didn't interfere, although I will not hide the fact that Zawadzki impressed me more. After a stormy discussion the choice of the CC members fell on Ochab.[74]

I was informed that Comrade Ochab was being promoted to the post of first secretary. At that time Gomulka was still imprisoned. We had no objections to Ochab. He was a comrade who had been tested in the struggle; he had passed through the school of the Polish prisons, and he was a genuine Communist. His wife was also a Communist activist, but I was less well acquainted with her. A big struggle flared up around the question of who to appoint as secretary in charge of cadres for the PUWP Central Committee. However, Comrade Zambrowski, the former secretary for cadres, had good connections with the secretaries of the PUWP's province committees, and they gave him solid backing.[75] Thus, once again Zambrowski was assigned as he had been under Bierut. However, it was no secret to him that Moscow had not supported his candidacy, and as a result his supporters worked up a feverish campaign against us, especially against me.

I didn't hide my opinion. I openly said that the person who should be promoted to that post should be a worthy Communist of Polish nationality so as to eliminate the widespread accusations among Polish Communists that supposedly Jews were being assigned to all the key posts and that it was virtually impossible for Polish cadres to break through and be given a leading position in the party.

Aleksander Zawadzki became chairman of the State Council, that is, president of the country.[76]

There was nothing disturbing to us about the candidacy of Ochab. He was our friend and correctly understood the meaning of that friendship. But when

I returned to Moscow I learned that the struggle inside the Polish leadership had not died down. Apparently the comrades were dissatisfied and felt that after Bierut's death nothing had changed as far as the ethnic composition of the leadership was concerned. Communists of Polish and Jewish nationality continued a hidden struggle. They didn't speak out openly, but each side kept working away inside the party as much as it could. There's nothing worse than to have something like that tearing away at a party internally. The situation was complicated further, later on, by the fact that in Poland, as well as in the other fraternal countries, and in fact throughout the world, an intensive discussion began around the question of the Stalin personality cult and the abuses of power connected with it. The main question that disturbed the Polish party was this: "On what basis was the Communist Party of Poland dissolved [by the Comintern] before World War II?" This subject was mentioned at the Twentieth Party Congress, and Bierut had received a copy of the report I gave at the Twentieth Congress [the "secret speech"]. This confidential copy then fell into the hands of people who wished us harm. They may have been direct agents of the capitalist countries; it's hard to say now. My report was duplicated and distributed widely even beyond the borders of Poland. The capitalist press made extensive use of it.

A difficult situation was shaping up in Poland. My report at the Twentieth Congress, Bierut's death [immediately after that Congress], followed by the internal conflict in the PUWP—all of this together had a profoundly disturbing effect on Polish public opinion, especially the intellectuals and the youth. Events kept building up. Ochab turned out to be an insufficiently authoritative leader. He didn't enjoy the respect of public opinion either inside the party or outside it. Few people paid any attention to his opinion. Meanwhile when I had been at Bierut's funeral, I had again raised the question of Gomulka and Spychalski and asked all the members of the Polish Politburo what their attitude was toward my opinion that Gomulka should be freed. All of them, as though with one voice, tried to prove to me that it couldn't be done. Ochab and Zambrowski argued more heatedly than any of the others.

Zawadzki and Cyrankiewicz took the same position. And I'm not even talking about Berman and Minc. In short, the entire leadership held the view that they had no basis for freeing Gomulka and no desire to. I was sincerely distressed, but I couldn't do anything. After all, we had no right to insist.

The further things went, the worse they got. The desire to remove Cyrankiewicz from the leadership arose on the part of Ochab. I tried to demonstrate as much as I could that this should not be done. They had to remember that their united party had been formed mainly from two other parties: the

Communist Party and the PPS. Comrade Cyrankiewicz represented the PPS, and if he was removed the result would be the collapse of the coalition. On the organizational level everything might remain as before, but if they did this they would be turning a large part of the Polish United Workers Party against themselves. They argued that Cyrankiewicz was weak as a leader.

In response I tried to persuade them: "Comrades, you should understand, after all, that he behaves this way because he doesn't sense support from you; that's why he seems indecisive. If Comrade Cyrankiewicz had the possibility of really heading the government and holding first place in it with support from the party and the people, you would see what capabilities he would display. If you remove him, you will do great harm to the Communist parties of all the socialist countries. The Western Social Democratic leaders would then say that the Communists had made merely a 'marriage of convenience' with the Social Democrats, that once the Communists had consolidated their hold on the merged party they threw out the former leaders of the Social Democratic party."

If Poland "threw out" Cyrankiewicz, that would have a fatal effect on the German Democratic Republic. There Otto Grotewohl,[77] a leader of the Social Democrats, also was the head of government. Analogous situations existed in other socialist countries. We were looking farther ahead, and we could see that a unification of left-wing forces was needed [in many countries]. Something like a left front should be created. Even today in some countries the Communists and Social Democrats unite their efforts in parliamentary elections and have achieved fairly positive political results. This was a question of principle having not only to do with Poland.

But let me return to the problem of Gomulka. After a little while the Polish comrades came to visit us when we were vacationing in the Crimea. In the conversation with Ochab I again touched on the matter of Gomulka. He continued to adhere to his previous position, but he couldn't give any convincing arguments for keeping Gomulka confined. He only argued that if he was freed it would create difficulties in the leadership.[78]

Meanwhile, inside the PUWP itself the opinion was growing stronger that Gomulka was being kept "in isolation" groundlessly [that is, although he was not guilty of wrongdoing]. The explanations given by the Polish leadership to party members were no longer having any effect. But the disturbances inside the party remained beneath the surface and had not yet become visible, because all the main newspapers were in the hands of the people opposed to Gomulka.

A wave of protests developed and grew stronger, especially among the students and intellectuals. The movement for the release of Gomulka [or more accurately for his return to the leadership] became broader.

From time to time, in the name of the Soviet leadership, I tried to promote Gomulka's cause. By then quite an unpleasant situation had developed in Poland: forces hostile to us had united in support of Gomulka. The new leadership, if it wanted to retain its authority, would have to give Gomulka freedom of movement. But they refused to acknowledge what was going on; they pursued the same old discredited line and continued to keep Gomulka imprisoned. [Actually he had been released in 1954 or 1955.] Finally, under pressure from without, and not by their own free will, they released Gomulka [that is, lifted whatever remaining restrictions there were on him].

During the first few weeks after he was free Gomulka was ill and made no public appearances. At that time Ochab and a Polish delegation had traveled to China and on their way back stopped in Moscow, where I had a talk with them [in September 1956].[79] I suggested that they tell Gomulka he could come and have a vacation in the Crimea and that we would arrange good conditions for him. Ochab objected that that should not be done and declined to have a conversation about it. I didn't insist. We were happy that Gomulka had been freed [or was no longer under restrictions]. But the way this had happened concerned us. It happened not only under pressure from his supporters but under a banner of anti-Sovietism. The opinion was widespread that Gomulka had been arrested at our insistence, although there were no grounds for such assumptions.

At the same time tensions were increasing in Poland. Demonstrations were being held, and things were seething. And this turbulence had an anti-Soviet tone. Demonstrators were demanding withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland and making other demands.

Suddenly [in October 1956] we got word that in Warsaw a plenum of the PUWP Central Committee had gathered and a stormy session was under way. Gomulka was taking part in the proceedings, and a sharp struggle for power was unfolding.

We learned that the question of relieving Ochab of his duties and replacing him with Gomulka was being discussed at the PUWP CC plenum. There were also heated debates on other questions. This concerned us, especially the removal of Ochab, although we didn't object to Gomulka at all. The problem was that we regarded any such decision by the PUWP CC as an action directed against us. The same people who had been arguing about the need to keep Gomulka imprisoned were now giving the impression that previously they had been unable to give him freedom of movement and promote him to a leading position [because of alleged pressure from the Soviet leadership].

I made a phone call to Warsaw and had a conversation with Ochab and asked him whether the information we had received from the Polish embassy was accurate. He confirmed it. Then I asked if it was true that stormy expressions of anti-Sovietism were occurring in Poland and whether Gomulka's coming to power was based on anti-Soviet forces. I immediately added that we would like to come to Warsaw and talk with Ochab on the spot.

Ochab replied: "We'll need to consult among ourselves. Give us some time."

Later he called up and said: "We would ask you not to come until the CC session has ended."

This would have seemed to be a perfectly correct response—if you trusted the person you were talking with. But at that time our trust in Ochab had vanished. Of course it would have been better for us not to show up at that CC plenum of the PUWP, but now we wanted to be there precisely in order to exert appropriate pressure. Ochab's refusal aroused even greater suspicions in us because anti-Soviet sentiments in Poland were increasing and they could develop into actions of such a nature that it would be difficult later on to correct the situation.

It was necessary to tell Ochab that we were coming anyway. We told him openly that Poland had great strategic importance for us. There was no peace treaty with Germany. Our troops were deployed in Poland on the basis of the Potsdam Agreement of 1945. Our troops protected our lines of communication through Polish territory. We told Ochab firmly that we were coming to Warsaw. We formed a delegation. It included Mikoyan, Bulganin, and me.[80] We made our flight. When we landed, we were met at the airport by Ochab, Gomulka, Cyrankiewicz, and other comrades. The welcome was unusually cold. We arrived in a very disturbed state of mind, and I barely said hello at the airport before I expressed my dissatisfaction with what was going on: "Why is everything going on under an anti-Soviet banner? What is the reason for that?" We had always advocated the release of Gomulka and had never been opposed to his returning to the leadership. When I had talked with Ochab in Moscow, after all, I had suggested that Gomulka should come and have a vacation in the Crimea, that we would talk with him, that he would recuperate, and during that time we would explain our views to him.

I personally think that my comments at that time put Ochab on his guard in the sense that he might think that we wanted to remove him from his post and replace him with Gomulka. On the whole, however, we were not opposed to Ochab, but he had proved himself to be a weak leader. We valued Gomulka more highly. Probably Ochab sensed that.

In reply to my tirade Ochab simply waved his hand and pointed at Gomulka: "You have to talk to him now. He was elected first secretary of the CC."

We were housed in the Belvedere Palace.[81] Usually we stayed there whenever we came to Poland. The palace is situated in a picturesque location and is very spacious. It had been occupied at one time by the viceroy of the Russian tsar in Poland [Grand Duke Constantine], the brother of Tsar Nicholas I. We only had time to go in and put down our suitcases, as the saying goes, and immediately left for the PUWP CC. A session had begun.

The proceedings of this session were very stormy even with us being present. We also made comments, which did nothing to reduce the tension, but instead poured more fuel on the fire. To be sure, everyone who spoke expressed support for maintaining friendly relations with the USSR. Comrade Zawadzki made an especially strong impression on me. Amid all the difficulties and complications he remained our closest friend. That's what he remained until his death, and as a legacy he left a deep impression on our memories as a true friend of the Soviet Union.

It was understandable to me that Comrade Gomulka showed no respect for Zawadzki. Gomulka knew that Bierut was not the only one to blame for his arrest, and Zawadzki had held by no means the lowest position in the leadership.

Cyrankiewicz took a special position at that session. He also spoke in favor of maintaining friendly relations, but he expressed this in his own special way. He adopted an orientation completely in favor of Gomulka and condemned the former leadership, of which he himself had been a part, but he had not played a leading role and had not had much influence.

In general, as I have said, the proceedings were very stormy. The question was posed bluntly. Are the Poles for the Soviets or against? The discussion was coarse and crude, without diplomacy. We presented our complaints and demanded explanations for the actions that had been aimed against the USSR.

The Polish army was commanded at that time by Rokossovsky, who was also a marshal of the Soviet Union. In Poland he was considered a pro-Soviet man. And of course that was so. Although he was Polish by birth, he was more a Soviet man than a Pole. It was at Bierut's request that he was promoted to be minister of defense of Poland. Stalin in my presence suggested to Rokossovsky that he take the post of minister of defense of Poland. Rokossovsky categorically refused: "I serve in the Soviet army. I do not wish to go to Poland." Stalin started trying to persuade him. Finally it was agreed that Rokossovsky would take Polish citizenship while maintaining Soviet citizenship and keeping the rank of marshal of the Soviet Union. Only on those conditions would he agree to go to Poland and take the post of Poland's minister of defense.[82] The Poles gave him an additional rank, that of marshal of Poland.

During a break in the session at lunchtime, we received information from Rokossovsky that troops subordinate to the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs had been placed on combat alert and had been brought to Warsaw. Rokossovsky said: "I have been placed under surveillance, and I can't take a step without it being known to the Polish minister of internal affairs."

It should be kept in mind that this minister of internal affairs had been in prison together with Gomulka and naturally was completely on his side. Rokossovsky's remarks aroused our suspicions more than ever. Demands were already being made openly to send Rokossovsky back to the USSR on the grounds that he could not be trusted, that he was pursuing an anti-Polish policy.

The minister of internal affairs was directing all his actions against the Soviet Union. This was expressed concretely in the fact that Polish military units were placed on combat alert and that Rokossovsky was placed under surveillance. Also there was a feverish campaign against Soviet specialists working in Poland. Gomulka was coming to power on a wave of protests of this kind. This anti-Soviet wave produced correspondingly guarded attitudes on our part, although we did think it was something like froth on top of the water, which had been formed as a result of the former incorrect policies of Stalin. It was not only a question of the destruction of the Polish Communist Party before World War II but also of other actions we had taken after the war, which infringed on the national sensibilities of the Polish people. Under Stalin certain decisions were made that were harmful to the economy of the Polish state. All this came to the surface now, and added to it was anti-Semitism. In our view the flourishing of this anti-Semitism was a temporary phenomenon.

A more complicated problem was that of the presence of our troops in Poland. We decided to defend their presence. It was a result of the Potsdam Agreement and consequently was sanctified by the authority of international law. The necessity for our troop presence in Poland was determined by the lines of communication—roads and railways—that linked our country with our troops in East Germany.

I asked Rokossovsky: "How are the troops behaving?"

He replied: "Not all Polish troops are obeying my orders now, although there are units (and he named them) that do carry out my orders." He said he would issue orders only when we told him what orders to give. "I am a citizen of the Soviet Union, and I think sharp measures need to be taken against anti-Soviet forces that are trying to make their way into the leadership. In addition, it is vitally important to maintain the lines of communication with

Germany through Poland." Actually, the Soviet armed forces in Poland were not very large. Marshal Konev[83] had come with us to Warsaw. At that time he was commander-in-chief of Warsaw Pact forces, and he seemed to us to be an indispensable person to have in Warsaw. Through Konev we ordered our troops in Poland to be placed on combat alert. Later, as an additional measure we ordered that a tank division be brought up to Warsaw. Konev reported that the troops had started out and the tank division was already headed toward Warsaw.

Meanwhile a turbulent and nerve-racking session was continuing. We were arguing bitterly with the Poles. I saw Gomulka get up nervously. He headed toward me. He sat down for a moment and then stood up again. His eyes expressed, not hostility, but great anxiety. I had never seen him looking like that. Finally he came over to me and stated irritably: "Comrade Khrushchev, a Russian tank division is heading toward Warsaw. I ask you very strongly to give the order not to let those troops come into the city. In general it would be better if this division didn't come close to Warsaw, because I am afraid something irreparable may happen." Gomulka is a very expressive person. At that moment he even appeared to foam at the mouth. The expressions he used were very harsh. We began denying everything. We claimed that nothing of the sort was going on. I decided not to tell him that the order had been given to Konev to move Soviet troops toward Warsaw. Corresponding orders had been given to Rokossovsky, who had taken some measures using Polish troops that he could rely on. A little while later Gomulka raised the same question again. Having had time to verify his information, the Polish minister of internal affairs had reported to him, the same one who was keeping an eye on the movement of our troops.

Among the Poles there were people who even in such a difficult and complicated situation did not lose their level-headedness, but remained cool. The chairman of the State Council was our good friend, who had served many years in Polish prisons, Zawadzki. His wife was also a veteran Communist who had gone through the prisons and was also our friend. Like her husband, she spoke out sharply against those who took an anti-Soviet position. Zawadzki informed us that anti-Soviet propaganda was being conducted among workers in Warsaw, that workers in some factories were being armed, that the minister of internal affairs had given out weapons. Warsaw was getting ready to resist our troops. A painful situation was taking shape. As for us, we ended up being prisoners, because Warsaw was under the leadership of people taking an anti-Soviet position. The CC plenary session continued. Gomulka took the floor. He spoke heatedly and the words he pronounced won me over. He said: “Comrade Khrushchev, I ask you to stop the advance of Soviet troops. Do you think that you are the only ones who need friendship? As a Pole and a Communist, I swear that Poland needs friendship with the Russians more than the Russians need friendship with the Poles. Don’t you think we understand that without you we could never continue our existence as an independent state? Everything’s going to be all right in our country, but you must not allow Soviet troops to enter Warsaw, because then it will be extremely difficult to control events.”

A break in the session was announced. Our delegation gathered off to the side and discussed the situation together with Rokossovsky. I was now filled with a sense of confidence in Gomulka, although even before that I had trusted him completely. Despite his heated manner of speaking, his words had rung with sincerity. I said to the others: “I trust Gomulka as a Communist. Things are difficult for him. He can’t do everything at once, but if we express confidence in him, return our troops to where they are stationed, and give him time, he will gradually be able to cope with the forces that are now taking incorrect positions. Of course there are class enemies among these people. They want to get the Soviet people and Polish people fighting each other. Having found an opening, they are trying to drive wedges into it. But I think we ought to support Gomulka.” Everyone agreed. We gave Konev the order to stop the advance of Soviet troops toward Warsaw. Then we explained to the Poles that our troops had not been heading toward Warsaw at all, but had been conducting military maneuvers, and according to those maneuvers they were stopping at a point that had been designated under the plan for the maneuvers. Of course no one believed our explanations, but they were all satisfied that the troops had stopped.

At that point Gomulka calmed down. It had been reported to him immediately that our troops had stopped moving. The situation was defused. The Poles understood that it was possible to come to an agreement. I think if our troops had been brought into Warsaw, an irreparable situation really could have developed. It could have caused such complications that it’s hard to imagine to what lengths things might have gone. I think Gomulka saved the situation when he expressed his views so convincingly. Everything after that proved to be secondary.

We had no objections to the promotion of Gomulka to the post of first secretary, and our further presence in Poland turned out to be unnecessary. We said goodbye and flew home. We had no absolute assurance of how things would turn out then, but I believed Gomulka meant what he said, and even today I don't repent for having trusted him. This confidence later proved to be justified. In this whole story a very active role was played by Zambrowski, the secretary for cadres in the PUWP CC who I have mentioned above. His son, who was either a writer or a member of their Academy of Sciences, was also particularly active. I was told that he even published a special pamphlet in which he denounced the Soviet Union and the CPSU. My person was singled out for a special thrashing in that pamphlet. Why do I bring that up? Zambrowski had always been considered one of Bierut's men, who had put Gomulka in prison. Gomulka had ended up a victim of Bierut. Now Zambrowski had become an active supporter of Gomulka in the struggle for power. Thus he revealed his total lack of principle.

Time went by. Anti-Sovietism in Poland continued. We understood that it could not all be stopped by a wave of the hand. Time was needed for people to gain confidence in us, for those who had been led astray to become convinced by our actions that we were friends of the Polish people and that our friendship provided Poland with security and assured the inviolability of its western territories. If the Poles had been left to face the Germans one to one, there would have been no question of the Poles holding onto those territories. Gomulka himself had said: "Our intelligentsia fears the Germans most of all. They are a threat to Poland, especially if there's a breakdown in our friendly relations with the USSR."

Therefore among politically minded people in Poland there was a dual psychology. On the one hand they were dissatisfied by things we had done; on the other they understood that by relying on friendship with us they could hold onto the borders they had gained as a result of Hitler's defeat. A parallel question arose, one that for me was quite unexpected. It turned out that at some point a treaty had been signed under which Poland would deliver coal to the USSR at reduced prices. A huge sum had accumulated—the amount Poland had been underpaid for its coal relative to world prices. We began to investigate the matter. Sure enough, all the charges were confirmed. On the Polish side the agreement had been signed by Cyrankiewicz as chairman of the Council of Ministers and on our side by Mikoyan. We invited the Poles to correct the problem.

I asked Mikoyan: "How in the world did this come about?"

"That's the order Stalin gave."

"But what about the Polish side? [That is, why did they go along with it?]"

A representative of the Poles spoke up in reply, saying: "What was the Polish side supposed to do? We signed the text on the terms dictated to us by the Russian side."

I said to him: "Then why are you blaming us for this? I, for example, am a member of the CPSU CC Presidium, but this is the first time I've ever heard about this agreement."

Nevertheless the fact remained a fact. We had to agree to repay them for what they had been underpaid and to revise the agreement so that trade between our two countries would be based on world market prices from then on. The amount we had to pay to make up the difference added up to a very large sum. After another meeting with Mikoyan I understood what was going on. The Poles had been given Silesia [that is, they had regained it from the Germans][84] thanks to us. It was a region rich with coal. Stalin regarded coal from Silesia to a certain extent as repayment for the blood shed in liberating Poland. But considerations like that have an emotional content only; they have no legal standing. When anti-Soviet frothing at the mouth built up in Poland, this fact [involving Silesian coal] was portrayed as robbery and exploitation of Poland by the Soviet Union. A parallel was drawn with the kind of operations carried out by imperialists in their colonies. This whole affair smelled very foul. We didn't react stubbornly. We acknowledged the correctness of the Polish complaints and expressed willingness to compensate them for their material losses.

Gradually our relations with Poland were normalized, and anti-Soviet agitation began to quiet down there. Gomulka should be given credit for having put an end to it. He was in an advantageous position. He was a person who had suffered and had sat for several years in prison, and, as rumor had it, that was by order of Stalin. Now he began to argue that Polish-Soviet friendship should be strengthened and explained how beneficial it was for the Poles.

A little time went by. The Polish comrades came to visit us [in December 1956]. We invited them to demonstrate to the outside world that our relations had become normalized and the hopes of our enemies [for a Polish-Soviet clash] had collapsed. But the Poles had an important matter on their minds. A difficult economic situation had developed in Poland, and again they needed our help. In the midst of troubled times they had taken credits [from the West] and hadn't thought about the fact that they had to pay for those credits at the proper time. Where could they seek for the means of making those payments? To put it briefly, they turned to us.

We were not about to poke the Poles in the eye or rub their noses in their past errors. It was a past that was unpleasant to us as well.

We had our own difficulties, but we didn't want to abandon our friends and brothers at a time of difficulty. We searched and found some means of helping them and did so. Gomulka and the new Polish leadership were even more favorably disposed toward us as a result. Despite the fraying of relations between us, we nevertheless took a class approach to the problem. Our class interests and state interests required that we provide aid. Thus the foundations were laid for fraternal ties between our countries in the future.

Anti-Sovietism in Poland died down. But it was not eliminated, as later events showed, when anti-Soviet sentiments were expressed, specifically when the play I have mentioned was staged in 1968. Mickiewicz's play was adapted by a modern author. The production emphasized the anti-Russian trend of events. In Mickiewicz's time a section of the progressive Russian intelligentsia had sided with the Polish rebellion. In our present day the anti-Russian words resounding in the theater aroused a new wave of anti-Soviet sentiment. At first this shook the foundations of the state in the new Poland, and then these same [anti-Russian] trends also spread to Czechoslovakia. I have already mentioned this [that is, the staging of Mickiewicz's play, which resulted in protests and repression in 1968].

If we are to speak in general about economic relations between the USSR and the other socialist countries, in theory they were based on equality, so that no one should suffer. If a scrupulous investigation is made of the expenses borne by one or another country, it will be seen that the USSR more than any other Warsaw Pact country has contributed to the common defense. All you have to do is estimate what it costs us to maintain our missiles. Or how much our nuclear installations cost or the cost of maintaining a huge army. This army is a restraining factor [against potential aggressors], on which all the socialist countries can rely. What we spend on this is way out of proportion if we view it from the view of per capita spending in all the socialist countries and from the point of view of ideal fairness or justice.

Even I do not know how much more we, Soviet citizens, pay to maintain these armed forces! On the other hand, the USSR still keeps its troops in Hungary and Poland. I would suggest that from the point of view of defense there's no longer any need for this. Why should we give our enemies grounds for rubbing our noses in this situation? We should withdraw our troops, so that all the fraternal countries would feel that they are taking the socialist road based on their own convictions and not under compulsion from the Soviet Union. Although no intelligent person believes such fabricated notions [about Soviet coercion], some people can always be found who are inclined to believe the propaganda coming from the imperialist side. To my surprise, Gomulka objected strongly to a proposal we made in 1957 that we withdraw our troops. He began to argue that it was necessary and useful for them to remain on Polish territory. I was surprised. After all, I remember how the

Poles had denounced us in 1956 when the Soviet Union was blamed for everything; we were denounced as foreign invaders; people shouted: "Russians go home!" And the demand was made for the recall of Rokossovsky. And Rokossovsky did go back to the USSR. He was given a sendoff with honors and awarded a medal, but Gomulka told me: "Please understand that under present-day conditions we have no confidence in Rokossovsky. It's better for him to return to the Soviet Union." Now this same Gomulka didn't want to hear about the idea of our withdrawing Soviet troops from Poland. Even from the point of view of a joint military strategy among all the socialist countries, the continued presence of our troops on Polish territory is not called for by any military necessity, and the maintenance of those troops is quite expensive for us.

The provisioning of each division in Poland or Hungary costs us twice as much as the equivalent spending on Soviet territory. That also had to be taken into account. Especially because at that time we were searching for every possibility of economizing on arms spending. I explained that we were paying large amounts to the budgets of the countries where our troops were located. That's why Gomulka objected: in the interests of the Polish budget. But what he said to me was this: "There is politics involved, and political advantages cannot be measured by the quantity of material resources expended." Let me add that West Germany pays for the maintenance of Western troops on its territory, for the most part. In other words, the situation in West Germany is the opposite of ours.

As a pensioner I have no influence on the course of events nowadays. But from the point of view of a citizen of the USSR, and as a former government and political leader, I have the right to think that the burden of maintaining the unified armed forces of the socialist countries should be spread out more evenly. It would be fair if there were an equal burden on all these countries, given equal social conditions. The USSR is the wealthiest in its raw material resources, size of population, and total industrial output. By comparison with the level we were on in 1913, all our economic statistics dance before our eyes and gladden the soul. But if the economic indicators are broken down per capita, our riches turn out to be less than those in other countries. In per capita consumption of vegetable oils, meat, and butter, the place we hold is far from being the first. When I was still working in the leadership, I knew that there was no comparison between us and the GDR, for example, where the inhabitants consume twice as much meat. Living conditions in Czechoslovakia are a little worse than in East Germany, but much better than in the USSR. In Hungary, too, consumption levels are much higher than in our country, and in Poland as well. No one receives less as a reward in the form of consumer goods than the Soviet citizen, who has shouldered the main burden in the struggle for socialism! I'm saying this because the Polish comrades had no grounds for accusing our people of pursuing discriminatory policies and using goods produced by the labor of the Polish people to the detriment of the Poles and to our advantage. On the contrary! I often had occasion to discuss such questions with Comrade Gomulka, and almost every year the Poles proposed that we plan delivery of a certain quantity of our grain to Poland, yet we didn't have sufficient grain for our own needs. It was not only the Poles. Bulgaria and Hungary also made the same kind of requests. Only once while I was in the leadership did the Romanians make such a request. As a rule they exported grain.

I knew specifically why the Poles needed grain, and I said to Gomulka: "Why do you want us to supply you with grain when in Poland the availability of arable land per capita is higher than in any other socialist country? You have the possibility of fully supplying yourself with grain. According to the information I have, our grain is being used to feed hogs in your country." Poland produced quality products from its hog farming; its hams and other delicacies enjoyed fame even in the U.S. market. I myself appreciated their skill in this area. It's true that these Polish products are very tasty. "It's a question of foreign currency," I said to him, laying it on the line without any equivocation. "You're taking grain from us that we need ourselves. When we had a bad harvest in 1963, we were even forced to buy grain abroad and pay for it with gold. But you insist that the USSR supply Poland with grain to feed its hogs, which you then export to the United States and receive dollars and gold in exchange. We dig gold out of the ground, but you get it with the help of our grain." Gomulka admitted I was right, but he insisted that this practice should continue.

Other similar questions arose. Most often Gomulka asked that we supply them with increased amounts of high-quality iron ore. Although we didn't have enough of such ore for ourselves, we felt obliged to meet his request. The same thing happened with oil deliveries. Oil is more advantageous than coal, of course. But we didn't produce much of it, and we were forced to share what little we had, to let it be torn away from us.

It was especially unpleasant that these requests were repeated almost every year. We warned them each year that we regarded this as the last time we would fulfill additional requests, and that we would ask them next year to get out of their difficult situation on their own, by using their own resources. But nothing had any effect.

This is an illustration of the fact that we did *not* gain material advantages from our friendship with Poland. We did nothing that might disrupt Poland's harmonious economic development. Our friendship was sincere, based on the slogan: "Workers of all countries, unite!" And we followed this dictum to the detriment of our own economy. I will say in defense of the Poles that they could not forget how their country had been partitioned with Russia's participation [in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries] or the anti-Polish deal made in 1939. But what about after that? We suffered terrible losses in the war, but were the main force that liberated Poland from the Nazis, and yet we are still bearing the main economic burden. Of course the relations between Poland and us are not the same as among the republics of the USSR. Here our resources are held in common; value is produced by the labor of the entire Soviet people, and the distribution of goods is carried out on an equal basis. With the Poles the situation is different. Here we have two separate, independent states. Nevertheless, we are fraternal countries marching shoulder to shoulder down the road laid out by Marx and Lenin. I think all the difficulties will be smoothed over.

Among the socialist countries there always existed contacts that made possible mutually advantageous cooperation of labor and capital on a commercial basis. It was none other than Gomulka who boldly undertook such cooperation. Also Czechoslovakia under Novotny welcomed an agreement to share the profits among participants who invested capital, with the returns going according to the amount invested by each country. The Bulgarians took the same position. I never had any disagreements with the Hungarian leadership on this score; everything was decided smoothly and calmly by economists and financial experts. I would propose that this is the correct way to do things.

It was only Romania that took a very jealous attitude toward its own economic independence, expressing fear of any cooperation, including that which was commercially profitable to Romania.

I think that if each country belonging to the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) fails to regard its CMEA trading partner as an equal, with the terms of trade being mutually advantageous, then sooner or later this positive relationship will invariably turn into its opposite. Instead of mutual relations being strengthened, they would be weakened. Poland is an example of that. When the Soviet Union forced Poland to supply coal at prices below world market prices, the situation in Poland began to heat up, and hostile voices were heard in that country.

The question of cooperation in the use of our material, technical, and scientific resources must be approached openly and honestly, so that it will be to everyone's advantage.

In this connection I recall the following episode. In Poland, with our material aid, our machinery and equipment, and under our technical direction, a major metallurgical complex was built in Nowa Huta. Anti-Soviet elements criticized us, saying that the Russians had imposed this construction on Poland and that Poland didn't need it. Gomulka argued justly that the metallurgical complex served Poland's interests. Poland didn't use all the steel produced there and was able to sell it abroad, thus earning foreign currency. In that case we provided material resources in a fraternal way for the benefit of Poland. When our relations became normalized and people in Poland began thinking with plain common sense, they themselves admitted that their earlier criticism had been stupid, that our enemies had made use of that situation to try to get the USSR and the people of Poland fighting among themselves.

Borders. This question is always painful.

I remember how Poland's western border with Germany was demarcated—along the Oder and Neisse rivers [which were established as the western border of Poland after World War II]. Everyone was happy then. They thought that Poland now had western borders that would be beneficial for the country. The Poles had historical grounds for claiming that at one time those lands had belonged to Poland. I believed the Poles, although I myself didn't see the historical documents [justifying the Polish claim to the region]. I had only one desire—that Poland's borders be moved as far west as possible. The geographical location of the city of Szczecin attracted my attention at one point. It's on the delta of the Oder River, where the Oder runs into the Baltic Sea. But it's on the western bank. I asked Stalin: "The Oder River is being established as the border, but what about Szczecin? Which country is it going to [since it was to the west of the new borderline that had been agreed to]?"

Stalin showed some interest. I told him about the city's geographical location. Later I learned that Szczecin had been included as part of the Polish state. Stalin didn't answer directly when I asked about it. Apparently he wasn't sure he could accomplish that [that is, have the Germany city of Stettin included in Poland as part of the postwar settlement]. Much later when I was in Poland, Comrade Gomulka suggested a trip to Szczecin. The Poles were not eager to settle in those western territories. They didn't want to leave the lands they had lived on before the war, despite the fact that conditions in western Poland were good and the land was good. The Poles weren't sure that those territories would remain part of Poland. Szczecin was half empty. People were not eager to go there.

I was received in Szczecin with great ceremony. There were public meetings and rallies. The Polish comrades spoke and I spoke. Then it was announced that I was being made an honorary citizen of Szczecin. No one had warned me about that ahead of time. I racked my brains wondering why they had done that, why they hadn't informed me beforehand. Later I came to a conclusion that I thought was correct, and I asked Gomulka: "When you gave me that award as an honorary citizen of Szczecin, you were making a hostage of me, right? You wanted to use that as a guarantee that the city would remain Polish and that the Polish presence on that territory would be solidly confirmed. Right? In my position as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, I would play the role of guarantor, right?"

Gomulka looked at me and smiled. He said they had done this simply out of respect for me. He didn't openly confirm what I was suspecting, but he didn't deny they might have had an unconscious desire along those lines.

The situation was different on the eastern borders of Poland. After some of the western Ukrainian lands had gone to the Polish state, including their populations, the Ukrainians there were in no hurry to resettle to the Soviet Union. Their ancestors had lived in the area for centuries. The [Ukrainian nationalists] began a struggle. It was a struggle [on both sides of the border] against Soviet Ukraine and against Poland. The Poles were forced to take armed measures against them. A bloody war began, which took many lives. Then the Polish comrades decided to transfer all Ukrainians who lived in those areas and had behaved aggressively toward the Polish state, resettling them in the western Polish territories. This also testifies to the fact that the Poles themselves didn't want to settle there [near Poland's western borders].

As for the land in the east, Polish people quite willingly settled there. They were sure the Soviet Union would not alter its decisions, and therefore they expected the territory to remain forever Polish—that is, the territory that had been defined as part of eastern Poland bordering on the Soviet Union.

The Poles also felt that the border should be moved farther east. They were dissatisfied. The Ukrainians were also dissatisfied, as I have mentioned.

Well, that's how things turned out, and it's not a subject for discussion now. Why discuss plus or minus, one bit more or one bit less, among friends, as they say. The border changes didn't weaken our state system, neither on the republic level nor on the level of the Soviet Union as a whole. Both Belorussia and Ukraine have long since stopped talking about their borders.

Let's take for example the border between the Russian Federation and Belorussia or Ukraine. When traveling along the roads, not everyone knows where the border is between Russia and Ukraine. There isn't even a signpost. When fraternal relations exist, the border has no significance, either political or economic, because everyone can make use of our wealth and resources in common.

Let me add a few words about the recent tragic events that have occurred in Poland. In our competition with capitalism we cannot allow ourselves to fall behind in production of food products.[85] Our lagging behind is a confirmation to a certain extent of the superiority of the capitalist mode of production over the socialist mode. This gives the opponents of socialism a chance to throw stones in our garden [that is, to make digs at us], and they have justification for that. We actually are lagging behind.

You don't have to go far to see this. That's exactly why the uprisings [workers' protests] happened in Gdansk and the other Baltic cities of Poland. As a result of shortages in food products and other consumer goods, this conflict occurred—or more exactly, this uprising. An increase in prices set it off. The leaders there had become divorced from the masses, had lost their ties with the people, and lost their sense of proportion. When prices were increased so sharply, the kind of events that occurred had to be expected. However, I have nothing bad to say about the people who were in the Polish leadership at that time, and in general I don't know much about those who have now come into power. I respected and still respect Gierek[86] highly, considering him a good Communist and a highly honorable person. The same goes for Comrade Lukaszewicz. But Gomulka was no less devoted to Communism. And the same is true of the others, such as Loga-Sowinski and Spychalski—and that entire group that has now met with failure. They were not just accidental figures. They had been tempered in the struggle, had gone through a harsh school of selection during the struggle against the Nazi invasion of Poland. Yet they allowed such a thing to happen [that is, the mass workers' protests of 1970]. But that is a separate question.

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1. The partition of Poland took place in three stages. In 1772 parts of Polish territory were absorbed by Prussia, Russia, and Austria. Prussia and Russia took additional territory in 1793, leaving a small rump state in central Poland. Finally, following the uprising of 1794 under the leadership of Tadeusz Kosciusko, the whole of Polish territory was divided among Russia, Prussia, and Austria. [SS]

2. On April 4 (17), 1912, 270 people were killed and 250 wounded (according to official figures) when tsarist soldiers were ordered to fire at a demonstration of striking gold miners at the Lena River goldfields in eastern Siberia. The workers were demanding a reduction in their working day from eleven and a half to eight hours, a 30 percent wage increase, and improved food and sanitation. The dead were buried in a common grave on a river bank. Up to half a million took part in demonstrations to protest the massacre. [SS]

3. Boleslaw Skarbek (original name Szacski; 1888–1934) worked in Kiev as editor of the Ukrainian-language newspaper *Proletarska pravda* (Proletarian

Truth). He had been head of the Department of Culture and Education of the Commissariat of Polish Affairs in Kharkov in 1918. He was in Moscow working in the CC apparatus from 1927 to 1929. He was arrested and executed in 1934, one of the numerous victims of Stalin's purge of officials of Polish ethnic origin. See Biographies. [SK]

4. Jozef Pilsudski was de facto dictator of Poland from 1926 until his death in 1935, although he formally held a top political position only from 1926 to 1928 and in 1930, when he was prime minister (see Biographies). [SS]

The first World Congress of Poles Abroad was held in Warsaw in 1929; a second congress followed in 1934. About 60 million people of Polish origin live outside Poland. We thank Andrew Savchenko for obtaining this information. [SK/SS]

5. The Soviet-Polish war was launched by Poland in April 1920 with a view to regaining ancient territories. The Polish army initially captured and briefly held Kiev before being driven back. The subsequent Soviet counteroffensive against Warsaw also failed. Peace was established by the 1921 Treaty of Riga. [SS]

6. Aleksandr Ivanovich Krinitsky (1894–1937) was head of the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the party Central Committee from 1926 to 1929. He was appointed first secretary of the Saratov territory (province) and city committees of the party in 1934. He was arrested, sentenced to death for "counterrevolutionary terrorist activity," and executed in 1937. See Biographies. [SS]

7. On Feliks Dzerzhinsky and Stanislaw Redens, see Biographies.

8. Nadezhda Sergeyevna Alliluyeva committed suicide on November 7, 1932, under circumstances that Khrushchev discusses in the chapter "Personal Acquaintance with Stalin" in Volume 1 of these memoirs. See also Biographies. [SS]

9. Kamenets-Podolsky is in southwestern Ukraine, about 50 kilometers (30 miles) north of the point where the borders of Ukraine, Moldova, and Romania now converge and about 417 kilometers (250 miles) from Ukraine's Black Sea coast at Odessa. In the interwar period it was close to the Polish border because much of western Ukraine belonged at that time to Poland. [SS]

10. The Polish Communist Party was dissolved in summer 1938, and virtually all its leaders then residing in the USSR were executed. [GS]

11. The "Black Hundreds" was an unofficial name given to the Union of the Russian People (URP), an extreme, right-wing monarchist organization formed in November 1905. The URP was rabidly anti-Semitic and was considered responsible for many violent assaults (pogroms) against Jewish communities. See Hans Roggot, *Jewish Policies and Right-Wing Politics in Imperial Russia* (London: Macmillan, 1986). [SS]

12. Joachim von Ribbentrop was Hitler's foreign minister. See Biographies. [SS]

13. Marshal Semyon Konstantinovich Timoshenko commanded the Soviet troops in the operation to expel Polish forces from western Ukraine in implementation of the Soviet-German agreement of 1939 to partition Poland. See Biographies. [SS]

14. On General Filipp Ivanovich Golikov, see Biographies.

15. On General Nikolai Dmitriyevich Yakovlev, see Biographies.

16. This treaty is usually referred to in the West as the Stalin-Hitler pact. [GS]

17. Khrushchev has often mentioned Wanda Wasilewska in these memoirs. He first told about her in the chapter "The Beginning of the Second World War" in Volume 1. Also see Biographies. [SS]

18. In 1648 the Cossack leader (Hetman) Bogdan Khmelnitsky led a peasant uprising against Polish rule in Ukraine, leading to the proclamation the next year of the first independent Ukrainian state, the Hetmanate. A series of defeats by the Polish army subsequently forced Khmelnitsky to turn to Moscow for protection. The Treaty of Pereyaslav was concluded in 1654. Although Ukraine was thereby incorporated into the Russian empire, it was allowed a certain autonomy for more than a century. However, this autonomy was whittled away and finally abolished in 1775, when serfdom was imposed on Ukraine. Soviet historiography regarded the union of Ukraine with Russia as "progressive" from a long-term perspective because it facilitated the inclusion of Ukraine in the Soviet Union. [SS]

19. On the Ukrainian writers Aleksandr Yevdokimovich Korneichuk and Mykola Platonovich Bazhan, see Biographies.

20. Wladyslaw Gomulka had joined the Communist Party of Poland in 1926 (see Biographies). Drogobych is about 65 kilometers (40 miles) southwest of Lvov, in Transcarpathia—that is, in the part of interwar Poland that was absorbed into Soviet Ukraine in 1939. [SS]

21. Aleksander Zawadzki had joined the Communist Party of Poland in 1923. The reference is probably to the period of his imprisonment in 1939, following his return to Poland (Transcarpathia) from exile in the Soviet Union. He was freed when Soviet forces took over the area (see Biographies). [SS]

22. Khrushchev told about this in Volume 1 of these memoirs. See the chapter "The Beginning of the Second World War," 243. [GS/SS]

23. On General Ivan Aleksandrovich Serov, see Biographies.

24. Stepan Bandera was one of the leaders of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which fought successively against Polish, German, and Soviet occupations of Ukrainian territory. He was

imprisoned for an attempt on the life of the Polish minister of internal affairs (see Biographies). [SS]

25. Natan Samoilovich Rybak (1913–78) had his first work published in 1931 and joined the party in 1940. He wrote numerous short stories and novels, mostly on military and historical themes. He received the Stalin Prize in 1950. [SS]

26. This is a play on the Russian root word *volya,* which means both "will" and "freedom." [GS]

27. On General Wladyslaw Anders, see Biographies.

28. On General Zygmunt Berling, see Biographies.

29. On General Andrei Vasilyevich Khrulyov, see Biographies.

30. Sumy is in northeastern Ukraine, to the northwest of Kharkov, near the border with Russia. [SS]

31. On General Konstantin Konstantinovich Rokossovsky, see Biographies.

32. Lutsk is in the province of Volynia in northwestern Ukraine, to the northwest of Lvov. [SS]

33. On General Vasily Danilovich Sokolovsky, see Biographies.

34. Lublin is in eastern Poland, about 160 kilometers (100 miles) southeast of Warsaw. One of the oldest Polish towns, it received its charter in 1317. Khrushchev is presumably referring to the fact that several Polish diets (assemblies of the nobility) met at Lublin in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. One of these diets united Poland with Lithuania in 1569. [SS]

35. His real name was Michal Zymierski; Rola was a pseudonym; later he became known by the hyphenated form, his pseudonymous last name thus being linked with his real one, using a hyphen. [GS]

36. On Boleslaw Bierut, see Biographies.

37. Chelm (or Kholm in Russian) is about 65 kilometers (40 miles) east of Lublin, very close to the postwar border between Poland and Soviet Ukraine. [SS]

38. On Panteleimon Kondratyevich Ponomarenko, see Biographies.

39. Nikolai Viktorovich Podgorny was deputy people's commissar of the Ukrainian food industry from 1944 to 1946 (see Biographies). [SS]

40. In Volume 1 of these memoirs (p. 617), Khrushchev also mentions the Witos brothers, but the related note (note 13, p. 635), translated from the Russian edition of the memoirs, does not adequately clarify the matter. Wincenty Witos (1874–1945) had been leader of the Polish Peasants Party and premier of Poland in 1920–21, 1923, and 1926. He was overthrown in Pilsudski's coup d'état of 1926, imprisoned together with other opposition leaders in 1930, and imprisoned again by the Germans during the occupation of Poland. He died shortly after Poland's liberation. The person Khrushchev was dealing with in 1944 was Andrzej Witos (1878–1973), a leader of the left wing of the Polish Peasants Party. He became a vice chairman of the Union of Polish Patriots in the USSR and vice chairman and head of the Department of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform in the Polish Committee of National Liberation. [GS/SS]

41. Boleslaw Bierut was chairman of the National People's Council, the provisional governing body in postoccupation Poland. Later he became the top government and party leader. See Biographies. [SS]

42. PPS were the Polish initials of the Polish Socialist Party, which was a more moderate, more pro-capitalist, and also more nationalistic party than its revolutionary and internationalist rival, the Socialist Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (Polish initials, SDKPiL), one of whose leaders was Rosa Luxemburg. The left wing of the SDKPiL evolved into the Communist Party of Poland, which was also joined by the left wing of the PPS (PPS-Lewica). Pilsudski was one of the leaders of the right wing of the PPS, but there were others in that party who were not so fiercely nationalistic and anti-Soviet as Pilsudski. Eduard Osobka-Morawski, who was prime minister in the Provisional Government of National Unity of 1945–47, was a representative of these currents. See Biographies. [GS/SS]

43. The concentration camp to which Khrushchev refers was Majdanek, situated 4 kilometers (2½ miles) from the center of Lublin in eastern Poland. At the time it was just outside the city; the site is now within the city limits. [SS] Majdanek was liberated by the Soviet army on July 24, 1944. From 1941 to 1944, the Germans exterminated 1.5 million people at Majdanek. The most notorious death-camp complex was at Auschwitz, where 4 million were exterminated. Auschwitz (Polish name, Oswiecim) is in southern Poland, in Krakow province; it was liberated by the Soviet army on January 27, 1945. [SK/GS]

44. Traces have been found of settlement in the Chelm area as early as the tenth century, but the medieval city was established in the first half of the thirteenth century, when the castle was built. Chelm became the center of a Russian Orthodox diocese in 1240. [SS]

45. Marian Spychalski was mayor of Warsaw at this time. Soon thereafter he was appointed first deputy minister of national defense. See Biographies. [SS]

46. Jakub Berman was minister of internal security. See Biographies. [SS]

47. Andrei Yevgenyevich Stramentov was a municipal engineer in Moscow. Before World War II he was engaged in building river embankments in Moscow. Later he also took part in the reconstruction of Kiev. See Biographies. [SS]

48. Lodz is a large industrial city in central Poland, about 110 kilometers (70 miles) southwest of Warsaw. [SS]

49. This was a small, metal wood-burning stove with a pipe leading to a window for smoke to pass through to the outside. Invariably some smoke leaked, blackening the ceiling and walls. During the Russian civil war when workers occupied "bourgeois" apartments, they found such stoves; hence the term *burzhuika.* [SK/GS]

50. In this chapter Khrushchev goes over many of the same points he made in the chapter in the first volume of these memoirs entitled "Forward to Victory" about the final phase of the Nazi-Soviet war, when Soviet forces liberated Poland. But in this chapter he gives more detailed accounts. [GS]

51. Hilary Minc was Polish minister of industry. See Biographies.

52. Jozef Cyrankiewicz was general secretary of the Polish Socialist Party. See Biographies. [SS]

53. On Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, see Biographies.

54. On General Tadeusz Bor-Komorowski, see Biographies.

55. Mikolajczyk was persuaded by Churchill to go to the talks held in Moscow in June 1945 to form a Provisional Government of National Unity. He returned to Warsaw to take up the posts of minister of agriculture and second deputy prime minister in this government, which Britain and the United States recognized on July 5. In August 1945 he established the Polish People's Party. In 1947 he secretly fled Poland. [GS/SS]

56. Lvov is the Russian form; the Ukrainian form is Lviv and the Polish Lwow. Under its German name of Lemberg, the city was part of the Austro-Hungarian empire from 1772 until World War I. However, it did belong to Poland from the fourteenth century until 1772 as well as between the two world wars. [SS]

57. Kiev was part of the Grand Duchy (or Kingdom) of Poland and Lithuania from 1362 to 1654, when it was absorbed by the Russian empire. However, the Grand Duchy was not in fact a clear or direct precursor of present-day Poland—or, for that matter, of present-day Lithuania. Its heritage may be claimed with at least equal justification by present-day Belarus, its language having been closer to modern Belorussian than to modern Polish or Lithuanian. [SS]

58. It is hard to see on what historical basis a Ukrainian nationalist could lay claim to Krakow. Even if Kievan Rus is regarded as a precursor of present-day Ukraine, its borders never extended as far to the west as Krakow, which was the capital of Poland from the eleventh to the sixteenth century. (See map at end of George Vernadsky, *A History of Russia. Volume II: Kievan Russia* [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1948].) [SS]

59. At the battle of Borodino in 1812 the Russian army put up a heroic and desperate fight to stop Napoleon's march on Moscow. The defense of Sevastopol by the Russian army occurred during the Crimean War, when Britain, France, and Turkey invaded the Crimean peninsula in 1854–55. [GS]

60. Tadeusz (Thaddeus) Kosciusko (1746–1817) was a Polish general who fought in the American Revolution on the side of liberty and in 1794, after the second partition of Poland, led a national uprising of the Poles against both Russian and Prussian domination. [GS]

61. Apparently it had been on display in a building or museum in Lvov called the Round Tower. [GS]

62. Ivan Susanin was a local peasant in Kostroma province who was seized by Polish troops and ordered to lead them to the nearby estate and residence of Mikhail Romanov, the future tsar of Russia and founder of the Romanov dynasty. The Romanov estate was at Domnino (some 330 kilometers or 200 miles from Moscow). This was during the Polish occupation of Muscovy in the early seventeenth century, 1612–13. The Poles wanted to capture and presumably kill Romanov. Susanin led the Polish troops astray through marshy forests in the dead of winter, deliberately getting them lost in the wilderness. He did this of course out of patriotic motives. When the Poles discovered his ruse they killed him. Susanin's action became legendary, and a statue to the peasant hero now stands in Kolomna (according to the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia).* The story of Ivan Susanin was made into an opera in 1836 by the first prominent Russian musical composer, Mikhail Glinka (1804–57). The opera was given the title *A Life for the Tsar* at the personal suggestion of Tsar Nicholas I, the ruler of Russia in Glinka's time, and of course a direct descendant of Mikhail Romanov, whose life Susanin had saved. In the Soviet era the opera was known as *Ivan Susanin,* not as *A Life for the Tsar.* [GS]

63. Weronika Gostynska (Khrushchev uses the Russified form Gostynskaya) was a Polish woman from the Chelm region who in 1926 became a friend of Khrushchev's wife, Nina Petrovna Kukharchuk. Both women had been active Communists in the tumultuous period of the Russian civil war. Gostynska and Kukharchuk met while studying at a teachers' college in Moscow: Gostynska was being trained to teach Polish Communists and Kukharchuk to teach Ukrainians. As William Taubman, who interviewed Gostynska in 1993, reports: "After graduation in 1928, both were sent to Kiev (Nina Petrovna to lecture at the Kiev party school, [Gostynska] to prepare teachers for local Polish-language schools)" (*Khrushchev: The Man and His Era* [New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2003], 69). Gostynska lived with the Khrushchev family in Kiev in their apartment on Olginskaya Street, not far from the Kreshchatik. She was arrested in 1937 during the Stalin-era witch-hunt against Poles and not released until after Stalin's death. She then returned to Poland but kept up her friendship with the Khrushchevs. She used to visit us even after my father's retirement and talk about life in Poland. In 1995 she was still alive. [SK] She was one of the

visitors who conversed with Khrushchev as he was recording his memoirs (see Sergei Khrushchev's history of the creation and publication of these memoirs: Vol. 1, p. 724). [SS]

64. Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855) is generally acknowledged as the great national poet of Poland. Khrushchev confused one of Mickiewicz's most famous works, *Pan Tadeusz,* with another of the Polish poet's best-known works, the drama *Dziadzy* (Forefathers' Eve). A production of the strongly nationalist and anti-Russian *Dziadzy* was suppressed by the Gomulka government in early 1968, leading to widespread protests and eventually a fierce government campaign of repression against Polish intellectuals and dissidents in general. For a detailed account of the March 1968 events, including the texts of protest documents, see Peter Raina, *Political Opposition in Poland, 1954–1977* (London, 1978), 112–46. [GS]

65. In Russia, black bread is traditionally the bread of the poor; more prosperous people eat white bread. White bread is made from wheat, black from rye, which grows at more northerly latitudes. [SK]

66. See the chapter "The First Postwar Years" in Volume 2 of these memoirs. [SS]

67. Many of Gomulka's opponents in the Polish Communist Party leadership were of Jewish origin, most notably Berman and Minc. [GS]

68. On Roman Zambrowski, see Biographies.

69. Apparently Gomulka was kept under house arrest from 1951 to 1954 or 1955, and after his release he was kept under certain restrictions up to the point when he was reelected as party leader in October 1956. For more on Gomulka's imprisonment, see note 78 below. [GS]

70. On Marian Spychalski, Ignacy Loga-Sowinski, and Zenon Kliszko, see Biographies.

71. The point here is that Berman, Minc, and Zambrowski were all of Jewish origin. For a historical-sociological study of the relations between Jews and ethnic Poles within the Communist movement in Poland, see Jaff Schatz, *The Generation: The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communists of Poland* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991). [SS]

72. After being expelled from the party in 1957 Berman worked for a publishing house until his retirement in 1969. [SS]

73. Boleslaw Bierut (1892–1956) was the head of the Polish United Workers Party, which had been created in 1948 by having the Polish Socialist Party (Polish initials, PPS) merge with the Polish Communist Party (officially called the Polish Workers Party). Bierut attended the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, February 14–25, 1956, at which Khrushchev gave his "secret speech" denouncing Stalin's crimes. While in Moscow Bierut fell ill and was taken to the Kremlin hospital, where he died on March 12 of a heart attack (myocardial infarction). A plenum of the PUWP Central Committee was held on March 19–20, 1956, at which Eduard Ochab (see Biographies) was elected to take Bierut's place as party leader (first secretary). A Soviet delegation was in Poland for Bierut's funeral, from March 15 to March 21. The delegation consisted of Khrushchev, Mikhail Yasnov, Nikifor Kalchenko, Vasily Kozlov, Yustas Paletskis, Marshal Ivan Konev, Nikolai Bobrovnikov, and the writer Wanda Wasilewska (see Biographies). Khrushchev remained in Poland for the election of the new first secretary of the Central Committee of the PUWP. [SK]

74. On Eduard Ochab and Aleksander Zawadzki, see Biographies.

75. The expression in Russian means literally, "They stood up for him like a mountain." [GS]

76. Zawadzki occupied this post from 1952 until his death in 1964 (see Biographies). [SS]

77. On Otto Grotewohl, see Biographies.

78. Wladyslaw Gomulka (party name, Wieslaw). See Biographies.

The information about the timing and circumstances of Gomulka's arrest and release is somewhat obscure, and Khrushchev seems to be unclear about some of the circumstances.

Some sources say that Gomulka was not in prison, but under "house arrest." However, it seems that the "house" in which he was confined was not his own home, but a secret-police villa, and the conditions of his confinement were the equivalent of prison—although he was not held in a large institution with many other inmates.

In fall 1949 Gomulka and his political allies, Marian Spychalski, Zenon Kliszko, and Ignacy Loga-Sowinski, were publicly expelled from the Central Committee of the ruling Polish Workers Party—and secretly expelled from the party, then arrested, though not all at once. (They were accused of "rightist deviation" and sympathy with Tito.)

Gomulka himself was not arrested until August 1951, after or during a public "show trial" in which his political ally Marian Spychalski, who had been tortured at a prison in Warsaw, was forced to give false testimony against Gomulka. The latter was then taken by secret-police officials to a villa outside Warsaw, in Miedzeszyn. This villa, and an adjacent one, in which Gomulka's wife was confined, belonged to the secret police. He was held there in a room with barred windows, with guards outside his locked door, keeping him under observation around the clock.

Gomulka was held there for more than three years. He was released as the post-Stalin "thaw" gained momentum in both the USSR and Poland, either in late 1954 or the first half of 1955, but his release was kept secret. Five different sources give five different dates for his release, ranging from September 1954 to April 1955.

Not until April 1956 was it officially stated that Gomulka had been released. This happened after Eduard Ochab succeeded Boleslaw Bierut as leader of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP). As

Khrushchev indicates, Bierut died in Moscow in March 1956, right after Khrushchev's "secret speech" exposing Stalin's crimes. Ochab, in a speech of April 1956, made it public that Gomulka had been released, and that he had been wrongly imprisoned. But Ochab still asserted that Gomulka's political views were erroneous and had to be fought.

At first, after April 1956, Gomulka and his political allies, Kliszko and Loga-Sowinski, as well as Spychalski, were not allowed to rejoin the PUWP, nor were their views or activities given publicity. But that quickly changed as post-Stalin ferment and protest increased in Poland, especially after the events in Poznan in June 1956, when masses of workers demonstrated against the low standard of living. Violent clashes with police and troops ensued, with about sixty workers being killed. At the October 1956 plenum of the PUWP Central Committee, Gomulka and his allies were restored to the PUWP Central Committee and Gomulka was elected first secretary.

(The information in this note comes from Nicholas Bethell's *Gomulka: His Poland, His Communism* [New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969]; and Peter Raina, *Gomulka: Politische Biographie* [Cologne: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1970].)

For more on Marian Spychalski., Zenon Kliszko, and Ignacy Loga-Sowinski, see Biographies. [GS]

79. They had been in China to attend a congress of the Chinese Communist Party held September 15–27, 1956. [SK]

80. The delegation that went to Poland on October 19–20, 1956, consisted of Kaganovich, Khrushchev, Mikoyan, and Molotov. [SK]

81. The Belvedere Palace was built in 1764 as the residence of King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski. It also served as the residence of presidents of twentieth-century Poland. [SS]

82. Konstantin Konstantinovich Rokossovsky was minister of defense of Poland from 1949 to 1956. [MN] Within a year of Rokossovsky's arrival in Warsaw, 40 of the 52 generals in the Polish army were Soviet army generals. Each year about 100 senior Soviet officers were transferred to the Polish army. [SS]

83. On Marshal Ivan Stepanovich Konev, see Biographies.

84. Silesia was ruled by princes of the Polish Piast dynasty from 1102 to 1675. [SS]

85. Khrushchev is here referring to the workers' protests in the Baltic cities of Poland in summer 1970 that were suppressed with the use of deadly force by Polish troops and police. [GS]

86. Eduard Gierek was first secretary of the CC of the PUWP from 1970 to 1980. See Biographies. [SS]

HUNGARY

The report at the closed session of the CPSU Twentieth Congress on Stalin's personality cult and abuses of power had especially painful repercussions in Poland and Hungary. It's not surprising. The Hungarian Communist Party had also been badly battered [by Stalin's abuses of power].[1] Bela Kun, leader of the Hungarian Communists, was shot [in Stalin's purges in Moscow in 1939].[2] Many other Hungarian comrades who worked in the Comintern fell victim to repression. After the defeat of Nazi Germany, Rakosi came into the leadership of the Hungarian Communists.[3] Rakosi was an honorable man, deserving of confidence and even respect despite a number of shortcomings. Everyone has shortcomings. He was loyal to Communist ideals and served time in the Hungarian prisons for many years. Later he was exchanged and went to the USSR [from Hungary].[4]

I met with Rakosi a number of times when I was working in Kiev; he came to visit there. I received him and had conversations with him. In 1945, when he left our country again and went back to Hungary,[5] he began to carry out the same work other Communists were doing in other "people's democracies."

International reaction accuses us of imposing Communism in the countries we occupied after Germany's defeat. That's true, but the same accusation can be made against the Western capitalist countries. The most flagrant example was that they literally unleashed a civil war in Greece.[6] Who was it that organized the war in Greece? The West! And Churchill in person. In his memoirs he describes riding in a tank in Salonika and observing British troops taking reprisals against Greek patriots and democrats.[7] In various forms reactionary forces undeniably relied on the presence of U.S. troops to strengthen the capitalist system in France and Italy.

So then, isn't that a just accusation [against the Western powers]? We don't deny that as Communists we gave assistance to the progressive forces. The Communist parties of those countries stood at the head of the progressive forces. We did all we could to support progressive initiatives in the countries we occupied. Subsequently they organized their own governments. They were officially recognized and became independent countries with their own independent national governments.

As head of the Communist Party Rakosi carried out a unification with other progressive political forces in Hungary. Unfortunately, he was complicit in the extermination of loyal cadres. It's true that in the first years after the war he did resist Stalin. When Stalin gave him the names of the latest in a series of "enemies of the people," among whom were members of the Hungarian Communist Party, Rakosi didn't agree with him. He argued that they were honorable people and that he trusted them. But Stalin immediately sent his "advisers," mainly Chekists [that is, secret police], to all the fraternal Communist parties. Many of them had already "distinguished themselves" in the USSR with the bloody methods of repression they used on whoever fell into their hands. Such "advisers" showed up in Hungary, too. Any such agent is bound to want to justify his existence by showing off his "good work." And what does his work consist of? Finding enemies of the people and showing Stalin how perspicacious he is, how skilled he is at uncovering and exposing enemies, thus justifying his assignment and the material benefits that accompany his position. Such agents were provided for very well by comparison with the incomes of other strata of working people or other social strata.

When Rakosi would come to Moscow, it was not a matter of him reporting to Stalin about enemies of the people in Hungary; rather, it was Stalin who pointed them out to him. He would say, here, this one is doing such-and-such, and you don't see it. You're blind. A blind man will bring our cause to ruin and bring himself to ruin. Rakosi would defend himself. This happened once in my presence. All the members of the AUCP Politburo were present, but we couldn't say a word. After all, intelligence information about the "people's democracies" was reported only to Stalin, and he decided what was necessary or not necessary for Politburo members to know.

Did Stalin trust Rakosi? He did and he didn't. He sowed seeds of doubt about Rakosi. That was typical of Stalin.

Once I heard Stalin say: "Rakosi always comes to the Soviet Union when I'm on vacation. He finds out that I'm in the Caucasus and comes there to have a rest, too. That means he has some secret informers."

This was a foolish supposition. Not only Rakosi but everyone else knew when Stalin went on vacation. All he had to do was call up Poskrebyshev at Stalin's secretariat and find out where Stalin was on vacation.[8]

Imre Nagy also enjoyed Stalin's confidence. He had been a Communist since 1919. He came to the fore in the Hungarian revolution of 1919, which had been carried out under the leadership of Bela Kun. He held a leading position in the government and in the Hungarian Communist Party.[9]

[Erno] Gero was a man of a different makeup.[10] He was more concerned with theoretical work, political education of the masses, and the work of political enlightenment. He was better trained theoretically, and his character was such that he was inclined to stay closed up in his office, at his paperwork. In my view Gero deserved respect and confidence. I don't know where he is now or whether he's alive. It seems to me he's alive and well, living somewhere in the Soviet Union. I have nothing bad to say about Gero. Only good things.

Janos Kadar[11] was a young man compared to the cadres of the Stalin era. He came to the fore after the Hungarian revolution of 1919. He was a product of the underground work of the Hungarian Communist Party. After the defeat of the [1919] revolution Kadar headed the Communist Party of Hungary for a time. Later the Communist Party was dissolved. He was secretary of the Central Committee, and the decision to dissolve was made with his participation. Kadar himself ended up in prison [in Hungary]. The Hungarian reactionary forces arrested him. After the defeat of the Germans Kadar was promoted to the government, where he held the post of minister of internal affairs. When the pogrom began [that is, Stalin's assault on "enemies of the people" inside the Hungarian Communist Party], Kadar was one of those who fell into the meat grinder. He too was arrested. That was the work of Farkas—a long-standing member of the Communist Party who proved to be a person of the Beria type, a careerist and a person with abnormal inclinations, a kind of sadist.[12] I was later told what scorn and contempt Farkas displayed when he interrogated honest people. And as if that wasn't enough, he dragged his own son into the bloody maelstrom. He made his son one of the butchers and executioners, too. Farkas became Hungary's real boogeyman, the embodiment of terror and death. And Kadar personally experienced all his mocking cruelty.

Kadar never returned to the subject of what he had experienced back then, and I didn't want to ask him. I didn't want to aggravate his unhealed wounds.

As for Ferenc Munnich, it's simply a miracle that he avoided the sweep of the grim reaper's scythe wielded by Farkas.[13]

I had known Munnich since 1930. When I was a student at the Industrial Academy I was called up for military refresher training as part of the Moscow Proletarian Division,[14] and I met Munnich there. He was working in a [Soviet] foreign trade organization, carrying out some sort of party functions. In the Moscow Proletarian Division he and I lived in the same tent, belonged to the same platoon, and ate out of a common kettle. He was a cheerful fellow, a former officer of the Austro-Hungarian army. He knew a lot of soldiers' jokes and was an excellent bedtime storyteller. He seemed to me a good comrade. Rakosi had a certain distrust of him. To rid himself of Munnich's presence in Hungary in the late 1940s Rakosi constantly sent him off to be ambassador to one or another country. Thus he ended up in the Soviet Union again [as Hungary's ambassador there]. It was an honorable form of exile, of a special kind. When I encountered him at official receptions I sensed that he was suffering a lot at being torn away from his homeland.

Let me return to 1956. In Poland a struggle developed in the top echelons of the party, but in Hungary the entire party organization of the capital city was drawn into the struggle. The clashes were sharper than in Poland. Political prisoners began to be set free. Kadar was freed and was immediately elected secretary of the Budapest city party organization. At the same time relations between Rakosi and Imre Nagy became more strained. There had been enmity between them for a long time, and we tried from Moscow in all sorts of ways to reconcile them. Rakosi accused Nagy of belonging to the right wing and considered him someone who had degenerated and was no longer a Communist. They came to the Soviet Union together once. Rakosi accused Nagy over the question of collectivization in Hungary, and Nagy rebutted him not only harshly but even viciously, and tears glistened in his eyes. But Rakosi continued to hurl political accusations against him. However, Stalin didn't have Nagy arrested. They say that was because Nagy had helped Stalin destroy Comintern cadres in the USSR. I don't exclude the possibility that he was an NKVD agent back then[15] and that Stalin considered him one of his own.

Meanwhile in Hungary events were developing at an extremely rapid pace. The Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers Party and Rakosi lost their influence. Not only could Rakosi no longer issue any orders that would be followed or influence the activity of Communist Party members, but also his name acquired the connotation of something despicable. In Budapest normal life was disrupted. Shooting incidents began to occur, mainly against Hungarian Chekists. They suffered substantial losses. Then, too, large demonstrations developed. This movement was headed by Nagy. People were demanding: "Give the leadership to Imre Nagy! Down with Rakosi!"[16]

Rakosi turned coward and appealed to us by phone to send an airplane right away to get him out of Budapest. He was afraid reprisals would be taken against him. And we did help him. Now the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers Party was headed by Erno Gero. Such turmoil and trouble, such hurly-burly *(zavarukha)*, developed in Budapest that Gero couldn't cope with it either. He was denied recognition as leader of the nation and was regarded as merely a cohort of Rakosi. They were accused of having committed atrocities, having carried out unjust arrests and executions and other sins [which they actually had committed]. Of course the responsibility for those belongs to the Soviet Chekists, the so-called advisers, and to Farkas and his people. Gero was soon forced to resign as well. And Nagy came into the leadership. We still had a glimmering of hope that he would preserve Communist leadership in the country since he himself was a Communist.[17]

However this man was now marching behind the mob, with immature young people as his main base of support. High school students were especially active, or so our people in Budapest reported. Mikoyan, Suslov, and other prominent Soviet officials went there.[18] Anastas Ivanovich [Mikoyan] reported: "I went to see Nagy. We started a conversation. Suddenly a group of youngsters burst in, high school students, all carrying weapons, and they reported to Nagy that they had done such-and-such and were going to do so-and-so. Then other young people of the same kind came in." We soon saw that an anti-Soviet campaign was raging under the leadership of Nagy. Slogans were being shouted such as "Down with the Soviets," "Down with the Soviet army," "Russians get out of Hungary." Shooting incidents in the streets increased in number. Our troops didn't intervene for the time being on either side. We wanted to maintain neutrality. Internal questions having to do with the Hungarian people should be solved by the social forces in that country through their own efforts. But then they began shooting at our people, too. The situation was getting white hot. Andropov[19] was then Soviet ambassador to Hungary. He coped well with his tasks as ambassador and had an excellent understanding of the events. He reported about everything to us with his good knowledge of the local conditions and gave useful advice that flowed logically from the existing situation.

During those days, after our trip to Warsaw [on October 19–20], the situation in Poland was becoming stabilized, mainly thanks to the position taken by Comrade Gomulka. But meanwhile a full-scale war over the Suez Canal broke out in the Middle East [on October 29].

Moscow had to react to the British, French, and Israeli aggression against Egypt. Meanwhile bloody slaughter was unfolding in Budapest. Others had now joined the student youth, including workers. Armed detachments made their appearance, and there was fighting going on with the use of artillery, especially antiaircraft artillery. Apparently the insurgents had raided military arsenals.[20] The peasants remained completely on the sidelines in these events. They continued their daily work in spite of the anti-collective farm appeals issued by Imre Nagy.

Nagy demanded that we withdraw Soviet troops from Hungary. But the Warsaw Pact existed, after all [and Hungary was a member state]. In our view only a legal government could make such a demand, but Nagy had come to power as the result of a coup. The Hungarian parliament had not discussed this question, and we felt that this demand did not have legal validity. A witch-hunt was unfolding against Communist Party members in Budapest, especially against Chekists. Party committees and secret police organizations were being smashed. People were being killed and hung by their heels, and other savage executions were committed. We withdrew our troops from the capital city, in order not to complicate the situation. In part they were based at a nearby military airfield. But our ambassador and other people were still in Budapest, and from them we knew what was going on there.

The Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee came to the conclusion that it would be unforgivable for us to observe neutrality and not provide aid in the struggle against counterrevolution, which was beginning to manifest itself along many different lines. White émigrés were returning to Hungary; some came by plane directly from Vienna to Budapest. The NATO countries were also wedging their way into the situation, contributing to civil war, with the aim of eliminating the revolutionary gains in Hungary and putting it back on the capitalist track. In order to decide on the spot what specific actions should be undertaken, Mikoyan and Suslov flew back to Budapest.[21] During the day they were in the city, and they spent the night at the military airfield where our troops were located.

We wanted to be correctly understood. We were not pursuing selfish aims but were striving to act in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. In connection with this point of view we thought it necessary to consult with the fraternal countries and parties, first of all with the Chinese Communist Party.

We addressed a request to Mao Zedong that the Chinese send someone—anyone they found it possible to send—to Moscow for talks on the question of the events in Hungary. Without our support much proletarian blood would be shed there. China responded quickly. Liu Shaoqi flew into Moscow and with him were Deng Xiaoping and Kang Sheng. It was proposed that Ponomaryov[22] and I represent our side in the talks. I don't remember who else might have been part of the delegation from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

We held our sessions at one of Stalin's former dachas, a place called Lipki [meaning "Linden Trees"]. A vacation resort is located there now. We sat together all night long. We weighed, from every angle, all the pros and cons of using armed force. From one moment to the next we each took opposing positions. At one point Liu Shaoqi proposed that we should wait and see, that the working class of Hungary would regain its strength, realize that the uprising was counterrevolutionary, and deal with it by itself. We agreed with him. Then we began to discuss further, and doubts arose. There was a danger that by now it would be difficult for the working class to cope with the situation in Budapest. The workers themselves had partly been drawn into the counterrevolution, especially young workers. Therefore we should provide aid, especially since our troops were in the vicinity of Budapest. Again and again we discussed the question and came to the conclusion that we had to give our assistance.

I don't remember how many times our positions changed. Each time when we had come to a general agreement, regardless of whether we agreed to use force or not to, Liu Shaoqi would consult with Mao [by phone]. Mao Zedong approved both the former position and the latter. We ended our all-night session with the decision not to use armed force. I went home. Liu Shaoqi and the Chinese delegation remained where they were. Stalin's former dacha was assigned as the residence for the Chinese delegation.

I arrived home toward morning. I couldn't really sleep. Budapest was like a nail being driven into my head and it gave me no rest. It was a historic moment. What decision should we make? Should we move in Soviet troops and crush the counterrevolution, or should we wait until the internal forces of Hungary could cope with it? It might happen that the counterrevolution would temporarily gain the upper hand, and then a great deal of proletarian blood would be shed. And if NATO penetrated through Hungary into the midst of the socialist bloc of Eastern Europe, things would go hard for all of us. There was plenty to think about. We understood of course that an uprising had taken place and that the government formed as a result of that uprising did not have a mandate from the people. So then, what next? That same morning [November 1] we gathered again to discuss the question at a session of the Central Committee Presidium of the CPSU.

I reported how the discussion with the Chinese delegation had gone, how our views had kept changing, and how in the end we had agreed and came to the common opinion that we should not use armed force. Immediately I reminded the others what might be the consequences if we did not lend a hand of assistance to the Hungarian working class in time, and if the counterrevolutionary elements were able to consolidate. They were already beginning to control the government headed by Imre Nagy. Although he was a Communist, Nagy was no longer speaking in behalf of the Communists but only in his own name. Various émigrés had gathered around him; they had fled from Hungary after the socialist order was established there, and now they had returned. This indicated the direction developments would take if the counterrevolution was victorious. We discussed for a long time. In the end we decided that it would be unforgivable if we failed to provide aid to the Hungarian working class. We decided to use our troops and to lend a helping hand to the working class of Hungary.

We summoned Marshal Konev, who was commander-in-chief of Warsaw Pact troops.[23] We asked him how much time would be needed to restore order in Hungary. He asked for three days. And he was given the order: "Get ready. And you'll be informed further on when to begin." After that [still on November 1] we went to the airport, all the members of the Presidium, and informed the Chinese comrades about our new opinion. There were no arguments. Liu Shaoqi said that if in Beijing it turned out people were thinking differently, he would notify us. The Chinese flew off. And we began to think about consulting further with the other socialist countries, above all Poland. The situation there was not much better [than in Hungary], but things had not gone as far as an armed uprising, and in fact the situation was being stabilized. We agreed to meet with the Polish comrades the next day on Soviet territory near the Polish border. The Presidium assigned Molotov, Malenkov, and me to go to this meeting. Some building or room was assigned to us at a Soviet military airfield near Brest on our side of the border. Soon Gomulka and Cyrankiewicz arrived. We also arranged with the Czechoslovak, Romanian, and Bulgarian comrades that on the same day [November 2]—but later in the day—we would arrive in Bucharest, and we asked that delegations from Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria come there too for an exchange of views on the Hungarian question.

We presented our point of view to Comrades Gomulka and Cyrankiewicz. They listened in silence. I asked the question: "What should we do?" Gomulka expressed his view that although the situation was very complicated, all the same armed force should not be used.

I asked: "What then should we do? Nagy is demanding withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary."

Gomulka said: "No, don't withdraw the troops."

I asked: "Well, what then? The active Communist Party members of Hungary are being exterminated. They are being killed and hanged. Should our troops just stand by and watch?"

Gomulka said: "Nevertheless, we would propose that the troops should neither be withdrawn nor should they be sent into action. We have to allow for the possibility that the government, by taking a counterrevolutionary position, will expose itself. Then the Hungarian working class itself will overthrow it."

I asked: "But how much time would that take?" Thus we failed to arrive at a common viewpoint.

We said goodbye and parted. They immediately flew back to Warsaw. We had arranged earlier that Molotov would return to Moscow and report to the CC Presidium about the position of the Polish comrades while Malenkov and I would fly to Bucharest, where there would be a meeting of representatives of four Communist parties. From Bucharest it was our intention to fly to Yugoslavia, to consult with the leadership of the Yugoslav Communists as well. That was all the more important because at first the Yugoslavs had actively supported Nagy. They had acted more or less as his advisers in the struggle against Rakosi.

In Bucharest representatives from Czechoslovakia with Novotny at their head were already present, as well as representatives from Bulgaria headed by Zhivkov. Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej and his colleagues took part in the discussion on behalf of the Romanian comrades.

We outlined the state of affairs that had taken shape in Budapest as well as our understanding of the prospects. We didn't have to present our position at length because the other comrades were no less well informed than we were. Their embassies in Budapest had also kept their governments informed. Besides, the inhabitants of border regions in Hungary had begun to seek contacts with inhabitants of bordering areas of Czechoslovakia and Romania, to get support from them. Some people had even asked for arms. In Bucharest all the comrades supported us unanimously, without any wavering. They agreed it was necessary to act immediately. The Romanians and Bulgarians raised a question. They wanted to participate in providing aid to the revolutionary

Hungarians with their military units. But we objected that no one should take part in the operation other than the Soviet troops in Hungary. There were enough of them. They were present on Hungarian territory in accordance with international agreements drawn up at the conclusion of World War II and had the obligation to maintain order.

There was no need for others to participate. I made a joke: "The Romanians are eager to go into battle. This is a familiar road for the Romanians. In 1919 they took part in suppressing the Hungarian revolution, and now they want to suppress the counterrevolution." They wished us success and urged us not to delay.

That very same evening we flew to Yugoslavia. We flew in an IL-14.[24] The weather was abominable. Below us were mountains. All around us was pitch darkness. A thunderstorm had begun and lightning was flashing. Without sleeping, I sat by the window of the airplane. I had flown a great deal before that, had used a plane all through the war, but never found myself in such turbulence. The plane was being flown by an experienced pilot, General Tsybin, but even for him the job was difficult.[25] A scout plane was flying ahead of us [whose function was to report, in advance, on weather conditions along the route]. It was also a passenger plane, and to some extent it was lighting the way for us, informing us what the conditions were in the sky ahead of us. But we soon lost contact with that plane and were obliged to orient ourselves somehow from the terrain, from landmarks beneath us. At the airfield where we were supposed to land [near Dubrovnik, Croatia], certain equipment was lacking. It was a primitive airfield from the time of the war, and our plane didn't have radar. It was only Tsybin's great skill as a pilot that enabled us to land safely. We learned that the plane ahead of us wasn't there. Where in the world was it? We were very concerned about the fate of its crew.

A car was waiting for us. We drove to the harbor [at Dubrovnik] to take a boat to the island of Brioni, where Tito lived.[26] We had to ride in a motor launch. From the shaking up he had endured in the plane, Malenkov[27] looked like a living corpse. In general, he suffered badly from motion sickness even when riding in a car on a smooth road. Out on the sea the waves were very rough. We got into a small motor launch. Malenkov lay down and shut his eyes. I even began to worry about him. But we had no choice. We had no time to sit by the seaside and wait for better weather. Finally we reached the island. Tito was waiting for us at the dock. He gave us a warm welcome, and we embraced and kissed, even though our relations with him had been strained previously and were now becoming more and more strained because of the events in Hungary. Our views on the Hungarian question, after all, did not coincide. We went into Tito's residence, told him why we had come, and presented him with the same question.

I must confess that I expected that we would have to put up with an even more complicated and difficult attack from Tito than we had from Gomulka. But we were unexpectedly and pleasantly surprised. Tito said: "It's absolutely correct. Troops have to be sent into action immediately, and the counterrevolution must be crushed." He went on heatedly arguing the necessity for such measures. All the ammunition we had prepared to counter his attacks remained unused. Rankovic was also present.[28] We began a discussion about the Hungarian leadership. We ourselves didn't know who could head up a government. We were interested in Tito's opinion. He looked at Rankovic: "Well, go ahead. Say what you have to say!" he said to Rankovic.

Rankovic pulled out a notebook and spoke the name of a certain Hungarian: "It would be good to include him in a provisional revolutionary government. He's a very good activist."

I replied: "According to reports from our people in Budapest that name belongs to one of our most inveterate enemies. One who fully and completely takes the same positions as Nagy. He in fact is one of the organizers of the bloodshed."

Rankovic named another name, and I said: "He's the same sort, going by the information we have."

At that point Rankovic put his notebook away. His comments had confirmed more than ever our previous opinion that when Nagy began his struggle against Rakosi the Yugoslavs not only supported him but gave him solid assistance, and thus they had been among the organizers of the counterrevolutionary events. But what did that have to do with the situation now? Why were they now taking absolutely the opposite position?

What it amounted to was that the Yugoslav comrades were very dissatisfied with Rakosi, wanted to see him removed, and placed their bets on Nagy. But when they saw that the shooting in Hungary was tending toward the restoration of capitalism and that they consequently could end up having a counterrevolutionary capitalist Hungary as a neighbor, they became frightened. Especially because half a million Hungarians lived in Yugoslavia.[29] All that would create greater difficulties for the Yugoslav socialist government. Its leaders saw that their aims and intentions had been overridden by the counterrevolutionary events. What if those who gained the upper hand in Budapest were not the friends of Yugoslavia but newly arriving émigrés from the West, who were busy with their nefarious work after returning to Hungary? They were already rubbing their hands with glee, calculating that the issue was being decided in their favor. That's why the Yugoslav comrades now not only began to support us but were even urging us on.

Tito asked the question: "Will anyone else from the socialist countries take part in this?"

I answered: "We have agreed that no one else will."

"Well, that's good. That's correct. The other socialist states should not in any way take part in this business. The USSR is a great power. Its troops are already present in Hungary on a legal basis [under the Potsdam Agreement], and they can provide aid to the Hungarian working class."

At that point I told Comrade Tito the joke we had recently directed at Dej. Then I said: "It would be good if we could take a rest now because early in the morning we have to fly back to Moscow."

Tito objected: "No, you should rest for a couple of days; then you can fly back."

He asked: "When were you going to begin operations?"

I answered: "We have made no final decision, but sometime in the near future." I didn't want to tell him the specific day, although before we had flown off we had given Konev the order to complete his preparations within three days. By that time [early in the morning on November 3], two days had already elapsed, so that in fact Soviet troops would begin operations the very next day [November 4]. We thanked Tito and said we had to return to Moscow immediately. Tito of course understood that the day for action had been set but that we simply didn't want to tell him. That's the way it was. After all, we thought that since the Yugoslavs weren't taking a direct part, they didn't need to know. The fewer people who knew, even if they were on our side, the better. Any unexpected leak of information could cost us dearly.

I asked Tito: "How would you see it if Munnich headed the government?" He and Tito had been prisoners of war in Russia together during World War I. They met in 1917. From his instantaneous reaction I understood that Tito had a negative attitude toward Munnich. I don't know for what reasons: "We have also been given advice in regard to Kadar."

Tito was overjoyed: "That would be the correct thing. I know him to be a very good Communist, an honorable and serious man."

I commented: "Our people say the same thing. He was secretary of the party's Budapest city committee and visited the Soviet Union in that capacity. I didn't meet him myself, but others among our people have a very high opinion of him as a man of principle deserving confidence." We mentioned some other names at that point, but today they're not relevant.

By that time Nagy had already formed his own government, and Kadar had become part of the leadership as one who had suffered under Rakosi. Munnich also held a prominent post. Incidentally, even before we had flown out of Moscow, we had informed Andropov to pass on the message that we were inviting Munnich and Kadar to Moscow. They sometimes went to the military airfield near Budapest where our troops were located and spent the night there, considering that less dangerous. In Bucharest we found out that they had indeed gone to Moscow.

When I told Tito that we ought to get a little sleep, he said: "No, let's not go to sleep. Put up with it for a while and let's talk all night. There's not that much time between now and morning, and I'd like to spend these hours with you."

"All right," I agreed. I decided that I could get some sleep on the plane and that for the time being we would summon up our strength and get by without sleep.

I was curious and asked Tito: "Why are you sitting out here on this island? Some airplane could accidentally drop a bomb here, and there would be nothing left of your villa, and you'd be gone along with it. Anything can happen nowadays, with the war against Egypt going on. The British and the French know you have friendly relations with Nasser.[30] That doesn't bode well for you."

Rankovic added: "Yes, for so many years now I've been insisting that he should live in Belgrade. But he doesn't want to."

Tito countered: "I'm not well, and I need to bathe in the seawater." He suffered from either reticulitis or sciatica, and that's why he felt attached to the sea [for the curative effect of the seawater].

We began exchanging views on the events in the Middle East, and I saw that Tito was very alarmed by the situation there. It disturbed him that such a situation had arisen near Yugoslavia, and he was concerned for Nasser's fate. Our conversation was friendly as we sat there until dawn, at which time Tito said: "I'll go with you. I'll drive you there myself." We got in his car, he took the wheel, and off we went to the dock. Our parting was friendly; we kissed, and he wished us a safe trip. We returned by motor launch to the airfield and flew to Moscow. Our planes were still slow back then. It was not until late afternoon, close to evening [on November 3], that we reached the Soviet capital.

The members of the CPSU CC Presidium gathered immediately, and from the airport we drove directly to the Kremlin. Together with Malenkov we reported on the results of our fraternal discussions. Molotov[31] had reported earlier about our conversation on the border [with the Poles]. It was confirmed that a majority were in favor of immediate and decisive action. Right there and then we set about establishing the composition of a provisional revolutionary government in Hungary, consulting with Kadar and Munnich.

Molotov spoke sharply against Kadar. He didn't think Kadar should be promoted to the post of leader of the Hungarian Workers Party. If Molotov was convinced of something, he spoke sharply and even somewhat nastily, to repel those who disagreed with him. He permitted himself to use insulting expressions in regard to Kadar (of course Kadar himself was not present). Everything Molotov said was based on the fact that Kadar had continued to regard himself as a member of the leadership headed by Nagy, and even now, when he had been in Moscow for two days, while Malenkov and I were away, he had begun to display uneasiness and was eager to return to Budapest. I understood Molotov. How could we promote a person if he considered himself a member of the leadership against which we were preparing to strike a blow? After all, he was supposed to be the leader of the fight against the current government. "I vote for Munnich," Molotov said insistently.

I replied: "I also am in favor of Munnich, especially since I know him well. He's a veteran Communist, but he's not suitable for the post of first secretary of the Central Committee. He could be chairman of the Council of Ministers, but he's not capable of playing the leading role in the party, because he doesn't have the necessary qualities. Kadar can manage better!" And I proposed that Kadar be made first secretary and Munnich be made chairman of the Council of Ministers. That combination seemed to me the best. I said: "Let's invite them both here." And we invited them to the Kremlin.

We told them bluntly right then and there that a counterrevolution had begun in Hungary and that it was necessary to move against it, using troops. That was the only possibility of restoring a normal situation and putting an end to the uprising then raging in Budapest. I watched Kadar closely. He was listening in silence. His turn came to speak: "Yes," he agreed, "you're right. To stabilize the situation now your help is needed." Well, but what about Nagy? It was clear to everyone that he was a transitional figure, a threshold beyond which unbridled, openly counterrevolutionary forces stood. They bore the name Nagy on their banner for the time being, disguising themselves with him as a Communist, while they themselves were carrying out anti-Communist work. Only in Budapest was such political activity evident; the other parts of the country remained passive.

Munnich also expressed his support for action with the help of Soviet troops. Both Kadar and Munnich expressed the assurance that the people of Hungary as a whole would support the suppression of the counterrevolution. We began to form a government. Kadar and Munnich were the main ones busy with this, because they knew the people. When the government had been formed they notified us. They had proceeded from the idea of attracting both party members and non-party people on a broad basis, including people who had taken a position that was not at all clear during the uprising. I think they acted correctly, displaying a profound understanding of the moods of the people and the reasons that had caused the explosion. They saw that the uprising was not directed against the socialist basis on which the Hungarian state had been restructured. People had risen up against Rakosi and the abuses of power that had been permitted under him. I personally understood that Rakosi was not the main one to blame, although he did abuse power. Another person who took an active part in forming the new government was Antal Apro, a good comrade and an honest Communist who was involved in matters of economic planning.[32] He had flown to Moscow together with Kadar and Munnich. There were other people present, but their names escape my memory now. Kadar, Munnich, Apro, and the other comrades drafted an appeal to the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia, and to the Hungarian people as a whole, calling on them to correctly understand the necessity to overthrow the government of Nagy and restore socialist foundations. They also drafted an appeal to the Soviet government, asking it to provide military assistance in suppressing the counterrevolution.

It might be said that Kadar had gone to Moscow, that there a pro-Moscow government was cobbled together, and that's all there was to it! But we could throw the same ball back in the direction of those who helped Nagy and the insurgents.

Imperialist circles throughout the world supported him, above all the United States of America. Under whose protection were they prowling around, taking reprisals against people? On whose planes from Vienna did agents of the capitalist countries and reactionary Hungarian émigrés return to the country?

Who was helping them? I'll say it bluntly: of course there was sponsorship and sympathy, and aid was provided. Both sides always support the forces that impress them favorably.

Yes, the Soviet Union supports all revolutionary forces. We do this, proceeding from our international obligations. We wage our struggle under the slogan, "Workers of the world, unite!" We consider it our duty to provide aid when people appeal to us—if we think it's possible to provide such aid. The enemies of Communism do the same, both secretly and openly, depending on the situation. Is that normal or abnormal? I think it's normal. There's a class struggle going on. The question is posed: "Who will prevail?"[33] While we are opposed to exporting revolution, we are also opposed to the export of counterrevolution. At one public rally I said the following: "We have repaid our debt to the Hungarian people. In 1849, when there was a revolution in Hungary, Tsar Nicholas I, at the request of the Austrian government, threw his regiments against the revolution in order to suppress it. The power of the Austrian monarchy was restored, and those actions were a mark of shame on Russia. Today, when the counterrevolution has begun to take reprisals against the Hungarian working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, the workers of the Soviet Union, have lent a helping hand to the working people of Hungary. We consider this a progressive mission, unlike the action carried out by Tsar Nicholas I."

There is no point in making complaints against the forces hostile to Communism. Society is divided into two classes, two sides. One of them exploits the working class and the laboring peasantry. These classes are antagonistic. In this struggle any and every opportunity may be seized. In the capitalist countries we too seek to gain more influence among the masses, spread our ideology among them, and direct social development along the path of socialist construction, the path of establishing workers' and peasants' power. Our opponents operate in the same way against us. They make use of any mistake we make, and in quite a few countries they are constantly searching for a chance to drive us back and strengthen capitalist influence. There's a battle going on. Who will prevail?! The capitalist class rejects the notion that it has outlived its usefulness; in fact it thinks it should rule forever.

We Communists, Marxists-Leninists, believe in our theory. We believe in our ideology. We are convinced that "labor will become the master of the world" [a line from the song "The Internationale"],[34] that victory will go to the working class. But this victory will not come of its own accord. This victory must be achieved through struggle. Peaceful coexistence between differing governmental systems is possible, but there can be no peaceful coexistence in ideology. That would be betrayal of the people by the Marxist-Leninist parties. I am convinced that we will win!

I once let slip an incautious remark in relation to America when I said that we would bury the enemies of the revolution. Enemy propaganda picked up my words and made a great hue and cry over them, claiming that Khrushchev and the Soviet people wanted to bury the people of the United States. Thus they used for their own purposes a phrase that had slipped out of my mouth. At a press conference, when this question was brought up, I explained that it was not we that were going to bury anyone, but that the working class of the United States itself would bury its enemy, the capitalist class.[35] This was an internal matter in each country. The people themselves would decide what road they would take and by what methods they would achieve victory.

The revolutionary workers' and peasants' government of Hungary did not establish itself in Budapest right away. At first it went to Uzhgorod [a city in Transcarpathia in the southwestern part of Soviet Ukraine near the Hungarian border]. From there the new government appealed to the population over the radio, read out its program, and called on the people to support it. Now a new stage of the battle began to unfold. From Uzhgorod they moved to one of the Hungarian cities.[36] Even before our main forces went into action, all the airfields of Hungary were taken by Soviet troops without resistance. Only Budapest remained outside the control of the new forces. The majority of the peasants were not affected by the disturbances. The industrial centers wavered. In each of those a section of the Communists firmly supported the socialist system, though not all the Communists. It was necessary in advance to repel the attacks of those who wanted to make the interpretation that our action went against [the principles of] socialism and Marxist-Leninist doctrine. No! Only the enemies of socialism use such formulations. But they are incorrect!

The further course of events confirmed our hopes. The counterrevolution in Hungary was eliminated.

When we made the decision to use military force in Hungary, Mikoyan and Suslov were not present among us.[37] They were still in Hungary and returned at night [on November 1], before Malenkov, Molotov, and I had made our preparations to fly off to meet the Polish comrades [on November 2]. Mikoyan lived next door to me.[38] When he found out that we were getting ready to leave, he called me and said he wanted to meet. We met at the last minute. I was already dressed to go to the airport.

I told him about our decision. He began to object, fearing that in this way we would undermine the reputation of our government and our party. He spoke in opposition to the use of armed force. I replied: "The decision has already been made. And I also voted in favor!"

Mikoyan became upset. He said: "But we weren't there."

"You weren't there because you were away from Moscow [in Budapest]. We didn't have the option of waiting for you."

He still didn't agree: "I demand that a new meeting be convened."

I said: "The deadlines have been set. Nothing can be changed. Our whole plan would be disrupted. Molotov, Malenkov, and I must immediately be on our way. We have a flight to catch. I consider the decision that was made a correct one and that you are wrong."

Anastas Ivanovich [Mikoyan] became extremely upset and even threatened that he could not vouch for the consequences and as a sign of protest he might even do something to himself.

I said to him: "That would be very stupid, but I believe in your good sense. You will understand the correctness of our decision." With that we parted. I didn't have any talks with Suslov at that time.

Order was restored in Hungary quickly, with the exception of Budapest. Officers of the Hungarian army joined the struggle there, and organized military resistance began. Artillery was dragged inside buildings and was used to fire down the streets. Defensive strong points were established. But even there the fighting didn't last for more than three days. It could have been ended even earlier if the resistance had been crushed in a crude way. But in that case we would have had to use more destructive weapons, and we didn't want to destroy the city. The new government began to function and to win over supporters. We sent Malenkov on an assignment to Budapest. Communications had to be established between the new government and our army. Our troops in Hungary were commanded by General Kazakov.[39]

He understood his tasks correctly and skillfully maintained law and order in the country. The former Hungarian army actually no longer existed, and so our army had to assume the functions of maintaining order. Among other things, Kazakov set up a blocking force along the border with Austria to prevent the border from being used by forces hostile to socialist Hungary. The situation began to stabilize. The Workers Party was renamed; now it was called the Socialist Workers Party. Unfortunately, not all the people brought in to be part of the government and leadership of the party functioned smoothly.

By now the historians probably have sorted everything out and placed it on the shelves. There's no need now to make a great to-do about the disagreements of those days. But not everyone was able to orient themselves correctly at that time in relation to what was going on. They sometimes called the counterrevolution a revolution. Yet if the uprising had been revolutionary, then what should the government that suppressed the revolutionary outburst be called? Many people at that time, as the Russian saying goes, lost their way among three pine trees. In Moscow we regularly received Hungarian newspapers. A number of them continued to discuss the events from incorrect positions. It was said that the Russians had taken action against progressive forces. I called up Malenkov: "Are you aware of how the recent events are being described in the Hungarian newspapers?" I asked him.

He replied: "Yes, I've been following the papers."

"How come you're allowing such things instead of explaining that with such slogans we can never achieve normalization of the situation in Hungary?" I put the pressure on him. "If the slogan is permitted that the movement against Rakosi was a revolution, then what are the actions against Nagy to be described as?"

Malenkov sought to justify himself: "What can I do? I tell them that, but they don't agree."

I insisted: "This is a fundamental question. They don't agree because they don't fully understand the situation. This isn't something we can make peace with. In my view you aren't showing sufficient energy and perseverance."

"No, I'm doing everything I can, but they don't agree. I've discussed this with the new leadership."

At that point the CPSU CC Presidium voted in favor of my flying to Budapest.[40]

I had placed great hopes in Munnich. I couldn't understand how he, a seasoned veteran, "an old wolf," who had gone through the revolution, could fail to understand such things.[41] After all, how many years had he lived in the Soviet Union. You would think that by now he would be trained to have a correct understanding of events. I was met at the airport. I asked that we drive through the streets of Budapest, which I didn't know very well. I had been there in 1946 and had liked the city very much. It's beautiful and picturesque, well designed, with fine architecture. The Danube River is truly the jewel of Budapest, a lovely adornment, as are the mineral baths fed by hot springs located right under the city.

The city had not suffered especially great damage. Only some individual buildings had been destroyed or damaged by gunfire. On the other hand, the streets were full of garbage, which hadn't been collected for a long time.[42] I thought the city might have suffered more because the insurgents had used antiaircraft artillery, and our side had replied with artillery fire at the buildings where the counterrevolutionary forces had entrenched themselves.

Talks began. We gathered in some dimly lighted room. I don't know why. Probably some modernist influence. In the West they used such lighting, and sometimes even candles, for large official dinners. I'm going into this because I clearly remember that the room was not sufficiently well lit. The entire new Hungarian leadership was gathered there. We had our meal. The Hungarians treated us to their excellent goulash. Their wine is also remarkable. At the same time we held businesslike political discussions. I still didn't know Comrade Kadar very well; therefore I addressed my criticism mostly to Comrade Munnich. I did that because he and I had once been close friends, and I was sure that he would correctly understand that in criticizing him I was addressing the other leaders of the Hungarian revolutionary government and party leadership as well. I asked: "Comrade Ferenc, how could you permit such events?"

He said: "You yourself know that I was the Hungarian ambassador to Moscow, and I'm not responsible for Rakosi." That was his brief reply. And it was correct. Then I raised the question of the newspapers.

Munnich again didn't want to go into the essence of the matter. He said: "Comrade Khrushchev, I have nothing to do with the newspapers."

Then another comrade stood up. A tall man with a fine head of hair, the editor of the newspaper we were talking about.[43] He too remained in the leadership subsequently. I consider him an honest Communist. He openly and honorably defended his position, but he didn't understand the problem in its most profound essence. And I thought to myself, "How many people like him did Rakosi 'salt away'?!" Any voice against Rakosi was considered a voice of revolution. That was the tragedy of the situation. Hungary's misfortune consisted in that. Many people acted on the basis of that oversimplified formula. The newspapers also picked up this theme, and they constantly reiterated that a revolution against Rakosi had taken place in their country. I started to speak: "Dear comrades, please understand that you are speaking out against yourselves. How can you rally people around you with such slogans? If your slogan is correctly interpreted, that a revolution occurred, that means that Nagy was heading a revolutionary government. Then what kind of government is yours? The people become disoriented, as do the working class and the Communists. You have to orient people correctly to tell them that a counterrevolution took place. Because if it wasn't a counterrevolution, how could we have used arms against it? Under what slogans did the uprising take place? They were antisocialist slogans. Nagy in fact was transformed into a screen behind which inveterate counterrevolutionaries concealed themselves, reactionaries who had returned from emigration. You have to understand events correctly yourselves and explain them properly to the people in order to organize them under your leadership."

I spoke for a fairly long time. But the Hungarian comrades very stubbornly opposed my opinion. They were worthy people, deserving great respect, but they didn't understand what had happened, and that's why they couldn't explain it all correctly to those who not only didn't understand but were making use of this incorrect slogan [that a revolution had taken place against Rakosi]. In the end, and with great difficulty, we came to agreement. And in the end they themselves threatened one of the editors of the leading newspaper who was present that if he and his newspaper insisted on taking the position [that the movement against Rakosi had been a revolution], they would have to replace him and assign another editor. The threats had no effect on him. He was a man of principle. But it seems to me that he himself came to realize his error. Both his newspaper and some other press publications began to interpret events differently and began to call things by their real names, to say that a counterrevolution had taken place and now a revolutionary government had come into the leadership that was waging a struggle both against the remnants of the counterrevolutionary movement headed by Nagy and against Rakosi's distortions of the correct Communist line.

Many Hungarians, genuine Communists who had firmly defended their convictions, had been killed [by Rakosi, Farkas, etc., and later by the insurgents]. When they fell into the hands of the enemy they refused to renounce Marxist-Leninist teachings. But Nagy, when he began to rule the country, tried to win people over or force them under one pretext or another, to speak into the microphone and make statements expressing their attitude toward the events according to his taste. He tried to extract from them an acknowledgment that he was the leader, and he demanded that they denounce the time of Rakosi and Gero. Some of them unfortunately did make such statements. Some out of fear and others simply because they didn't understand what was going on. Kadar told me about one such instance. Istvan Dobi,[44] who performed the functions of president of Hungary and died about three years ago, was formerly a peasant and an agricultural laborer. Nagy invited him to speak on the radio. Dobi was very popular among the poor peasants. He had taken part in the movement of agricultural laborers under the capitalist system; he was well known as a political figure close to the Communists, but he didn't carry a party card. Kadar explained: "Some Communists, when they heard that this man, even though he wasn't a party member, had rejected Nagy's proposals, should have blushed with shame. He behaved better than some Communists." Some [insurgent] soldiers had taken him off to be shot. And it was only Soviet troops who saved Dobi at the last minute. It was merely a stroke of good luck that his life was saved.

Nagy went into hiding. Later it came out that he had sought refuge in the Yugoslav embassy. Not only he, but many of his leadership group. This was a basis for a renewed cooling-off in relations with the Yugoslav leadership. The Hungarian comrades demanded that those who were hiding in the embassy be turned over to the authorities. The Yugoslavs strenuously resisted. Meanwhile time was passing, and the passage of time worked in favor of the revolutionary government. In the end the Yugoslavs felt compelled to release those who had ensconced themselves in their embassy. So many of them had accumulated in the embassy that great overcrowding resulted, and the ambassador simply couldn’t support them all any longer. The Yugoslavs insisted that assurances of safety for Nagy be given. The Hungarian comrades didn’t agree to that. They arrested him as soon as he was brought to his own apartment. And they were right to do that! Kadar appealed to us and the Romanians, asking that temporarily, while they were trying to learn how to cope with the situation in Hungary and normalize the situation in Budapest, to keep Nagy in some place outside Hungary. He was taken by plane to Bucharest and remained there for some time.

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party under the leadership of Kadar appealed to the CPSU Central Committee with the request that we send aid in the form of cadres, above all advisers to help with the mining industry, because coal production had become disorganized. In order to restore industry and ensure its development, fuel was needed urgently. The restoration of the country’s economy began with coal. We sent experienced people from the Donbas, both party and trade-union officials, who helped them quickly restore the coalmine operations in Hungary. Kadar asked our Young Communist League leaders to help restructure their youth organization, whose cadres had compromised themselves. Some had taken part in the counterrevolutionary uprising; others had been disoriented, behaved passively; and had lost the confidence of the workers. Help was needed to train fresh new people. Then Kadar, when he talked with me, jokingly called the advisers “colonels,” he called the trade-union officials “majors,” and he called the Komsomol leaders “lieutenants.” Generally speaking, he’s a man with a sense of humor.

In the upper circles of Hungarian society great confusion could be observed. The arrests [under Rakosi] had touched many of them, not only in the upper echelons but also lower down. That’s why people listened very cautiously to the latest news. The memory of Rakosi was still very fresh in their minds. When a country experiences such an upheaval, it always has a painful effect. The Hungarian army was also demoralized. It didn’t take part in the counterrevolution, but some individual officers were affected by the agitation—a small number, but they were quite active. Even after the defeat of the counterrevolution some people continued to waver for a long time. The new government demanded that people define their political attitude clearly toward the events and give assurances that they would honestly serve the people and carry out the decisions of the new government. Some officers refused to take such an oath, and in that way a purge of the army took place automatically, removing elements that didn’t fully accept the building of socialism.

The army became smaller in numbers, but in quality it was better organized and stronger.

In spite of the outcries of the capitalist press and the accusations against the USSR that we had suppressed a revolution, life quickly began to flow in normal channels. The Soviet army returned to its barracks. We gave strict orders not to interfere in the internal affairs of Hungary or in the functioning of its government and party leadership. When I went to Hungary [with Malenkov, January 1–4, 1957], I gathered our command staff together and explained the correct line, suggesting the proper type of behavior for our military units, especially for our commanders. After all, the soldiers mainly remained in the barracks, but the officers had greater freedom of movement. We appealed to the officers not to make of themselves an unpleasant sight for the eyes of Hungarians, especially in the first period after the elimination of the uprising, not to appear in the streets, so as not to give our enemies any grounds for agitation.

Meanwhile the USSR had been urgently engaged in providing aid to Egypt and liquidating the military operation carried out by Britain, France, and Israel. We proposed to Eisenhower that the United States and the USSR take joint action against this threefold aggression. At the same time we drafted letters addressed to the British prime minister [Anthony] Eden, the French prime minister [Guy] Mollet, and the Israel prime minister [David] Ben-Gurion[45] warning them that there were countries that could stand up in support of Egypt and provide aid to it, without sending their own troops.[46] Therefore we proposed that the aggression be stopped immediately. They say that Guy Mollet during those days didn't even leave his office to go home for the night and that when he received the message from us he ran to the telephone to call Eden still wearing the underwear he slept in. Whether he picked up the phone wearing his underwear or not doesn't change the essence of the matter. The main thing is that within 22 hours after our warning was received the aggression was ended.

When critical situations developed in Poland and Hungary, creating difficulties for us, some British and French diplomats of secondary rank, when they met with staff members from our embassies over a cup of coffee in the capital cities of their countries, expressed thoughts along the following lines: "We take an understanding attitude toward the difficulties that have arisen for you in Poland and Hungary. And now we are having difficulties with Egypt. Let's come to a tacit agreement. You use whatever means you need to, to eliminate your difficulties, but don't interfere with us." Do you see how the imperialists wanted to take advantage of events, to deny us the possibility of coming to the defense of the Egyptian people against the colonialists? But we quickly coped with the difficulties we had and untied our hands. Our voice in defense of Egypt proved to be so powerful that the aggression had to be called off. We were happy that Eden and Guy Mollet had enough courage to call off the war, which became a kind of historical landmark for the Soviet Union, too. Previously the notion was that the region belonged to Britain. It was no accident that when King Farouk of Egypt[47] appealed to Stalin for help, to provide him with arms to fight against Britain, Stalin refused. He expressed the opinion that that was Britain's sphere of influence and we had no business poking our noses in there. But now we had publicly spoken out against the aggressors, had threatened them ourselves, and had declared that we could not remain indifferent or neutral. Now we had to be taken into account as a force in the Middle East.

Let me return to Hungary. In spring 1958 I went there at the invitation of the government and the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.[48] The weather was already warm. When I arrived Kadar said that a public rally was being organized on a city square. The U.S. embassy was located not far from there. Cardinal Mindszenty, head of the Catholic Church in Hungary,[49] had been living in that embassy for a long time. He held a hostile position toward socialism. He represented the most reactionary wing of the counterrevolutionary forces that had been active in 1956. We therefore gave special importance to this public rally, having no doubt that Mindszenty and the American ambassador would both be observing it and perhaps even listening to the speeches—although they had plenty of agents who would be present at the rally, taking notes on what was said. On the other hand, the public rally attracted universal attention. When it became known that I was going to Hungary, the American journalists began trumpeting that Khrushchev wouldn't dare show his nose in the street. They said that if I dared to walk in the street, as was my custom when I visited other countries, things might go badly for me. The Hungarians would never forgive our use of military force.

The Hungarian comrades opened the meeting. I was there and I spoke. In my speech I criticized the workers of Hungary and the intelligentsia for allowing a counterrevolutionary uprising. I particularly addressed the working class of course. A great many people had gathered for this citywide meeting. Kadar pointed out to me that standing on the balcony of the American embassy was the American ambassador with Mindszenty next to him.

I made a suggestion: "Comrade Kadar, after the meeting ends, let's go down from the speaker's platform and walk among the crowd."

He wavered: "There are too many people."

I said: "That's a good thing—that there are lots of people. Let the Americans have a good look. They say that Khrushchev wouldn't dare stick his nose out on the streets of Budapest. Now let them see how Khrushchev and Kadar come down directly off the speaker's stand and walk among the crowd and mix with it. That will be useful in dispersing the fog and confusion in the minds of many, especially those who don't wish us well. It will help to wash people's brains clean."

That's what we did. The meeting ended; we came down off the speaker's platform and walked directly across the lawn. That made a good impression and had a sobering effect on the journalists who had been trying to arouse hostility and get the USSR and Hungary quarreling among themselves. We gave the enemies of socialism a glorious lesson.

Then a meeting was held at a big plant.[50] I also gave a speech there, to those who came to the meeting, arguing the correctness of our actions. Many Hungarians who spoke at such rallies expressed thanks to the USSR and the Soviet army for carrying out their international duty and helping eliminate the counterrevolutionary uprising that had been caused by abuses of power on the part of the Stalinists. Stalin had committed foul deeds in the Soviet Union and through his "advisers" had pursued the same policy in Hungary. People might say: "Well, what of it? People were specially selected to speak up." But if you judge not by words but by the expression on people's faces, it could be seen that these meetings transpired with great enthusiasm among those who had gathered. People approved the measures that had been taken by the new leadership of Hungary.

Then Kadar and I went to a mining region of Hungary to talk with coalminers.[51] Kadar had worked there once as a party leader in the underground during the war, and he had also been arrested there. A big public rally was held there, but it was of a very special kind. The coalminers had always shown great revolutionary inclinations, and I referred to that when I spoke. I reproached them. I spoke about my own past: "As a former mine worker I'm ashamed for you and for our brother miners of Hungary who failed to understand what was going on and didn't raise their voices against the counterrevolution." The miners had not taken an active part in the uprising, but on the other hand, they hadn't come out actively against it; they had been demoralized. In response many miners took the floor and blamed themselves and repented that they had made a political blunder.

Then we went to a construction site for a metallurgical plant on the Danube being built on the basis of credit we supplied and equipment we delivered.

At that time the city was called Stalinvaros,[52] but later the Stalin part of the name was dropped. There too a public meeting on an open square went along splendidly. And wherever such a meeting was held, we exposed the intrigues of the counterrevolution and of world imperialism, which was trying to restore capitalism in Hungary. We said that the actions taken by the leadership of the new government and the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party headed by Comrade Kadar had been done in the interests of socialism, in the interests of the working class, the peasantry, and the working intelligentsia. Our words met with approval among the listeners.

Kadar asked me to meet with representatives of the intelligentsia also [at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences]. The meeting with them confirmed that the intelligentsia took a rather fastidious attitude toward the necessity for the measures that were carried out. We found less understanding at that time among the intelligentsia. But the clouds that had gathered over Hungary cleared away. When the situation became stabilized, the Hungarian comrades came to agreement with the Romanians, and Nagy was returned to his own country. He was put on trial. Nagy was condemned and paid with his life for the casualties caused by the putsch he led in fall 1956. As a result there was a cooling off in our relations with Yugoslavia again. I regretted that very much, but there was nothing we could do. I don't accuse the Yugoslavs of trying to help restore capitalism in Hungary. No, that would be stupid. The Yugoslavs wanted to get rid of the Rakosi leadership. They wanted a new leadership to establish friendly and good neighborly relations with them. Besides, Tito and his comrades were quite clearly aspiring to a leading role in the Communist movement after the exposure of Stalin's crimes. At any rate, that's how it seemed to me.

Of course when the reactionary forces, pursuing their own aims, wanted to restore capitalism in Hungary, at that point Yugoslavia's interests as a socialist state and a neighbor of Hungary were affected. Therefore when we told them we wanted to take armed action against the counterrevolution, Tito supported us without any second thoughts. A contradiction is evident in the positions taken by the Yugoslavs at different times, but that is a fact.

That's how I evaluate what happened then. Even now, as I'm living out my time as a pensioner, I think that our actions were undertaken correctly, in the interests of the revolutionary movement, in the interests of the Communist movement, in the interests of the struggle against reaction, for socialism and for communism!

Not many Soviet troops still remained in Hungary [within a few years after 1956]. When we undertook to reduce the size of our army (and we reduced it by nearly half compared to the size it had been under Stalin), we also reduced the number of troops we had in Hungary. Then we came to the conclusion that we could remove our troops from Poland and Hungary altogether. We also withdrew "special weapons" [that is, nuclear weapons] from Hungary. We had no troops then in Czechoslovakia, Romania, or Bulgaria. Thus, [if we withdrew our troops from Poland and Hungary,] the only troops we would still have on the previous scale would be in East Germany. It was clear to everyone why they were there.

I had a special talk with Kadar in regard to Hungary: "Comrade Kadar, haven't you given some thought to the question of our troops remaining on Hungarian soil? We think it's possible to withdraw them. Whatever way you decide, we'll act accordingly."

He answered: "Comrade Khrushchev, decide it yourself. But I can tell you one thing: we have had no discussions about the presence of your troops. There are no negative sentiments in that regard. Hungarians are concerned about something else—that you not return Rakosi to us."

At that time Rakosi was living in the USSR.[53] Did there still exist in Hungary people who sympathized with Rakosi and regretted his fall? Yes, especially in the party. I don't know how numerous they were, but they did exist. Here in the Soviet Union it's the same. We condemned the cult of Stalin, but are there people in the CPSU who would now vote for him? Unfortunately, there are. There are people with a slave mentality still living in this world. People who were Stalin's underlings are still alive. And there are cowards and others. They say: "Well, what of it? So what if he had millions of people shot and put millions in the prison camps. The point is that he ruled the country with a firm hand."

Yes, there are people who believe that to rule means to whip and to whip, perhaps even to whip people to death. And in Hungary there were also such people. Fortunately, the absolute majority of the Hungarian people were opposed to any return of what had happened under Rakosi and were opposed to the return of Rakosi himself.

[As I have said,] our troops in Hungary were deployed along the border with Austria.

Kadar asked me: "Where else do you have your troops?"

I answered: "In Poland and Germany. There's no question of withdrawing them from East Germany. We could only withdraw from there on the basis of an agreement with our former partners in the war against Nazi Germany, in other words, with our opponents of today. Such an action could be taken only after a situation had been created in the world that eliminated the possibility of a new world war."

Kadar asked: "What attitude do the Poles take toward the idea of a withdrawal?"

I answered: "I haven't yet spoken with the Poles. We wanted to talk with you first and with the Poles afterward."

We had a discussion on the same subject with the Polish leadership. I had a talk with Gomulka about it, and we made a fairly substantial reduction in the number of our troops in Poland, reducing them almost by half. We could actually have withdrawn them all from Poland. This was especially true because of the further development of transport technology [in particular, more advanced transport planes], and in the event of military necessity we could quickly transport our troops to wherever they were needed. Maintaining troops outside the borders of the USSR has a negative political impact. After all, we don't want people saying that we don't trust the fraternal countries who are our allies. What is at issue is the idea of socialism. The Poles, Hungarians, and others are building socialism in their own interests. That is the main attractive force. It's not a question of fear of Soviet troops. You can't drive people into paradise by threatening them and making them fearful. People themselves must seek the way toward a better future. And they will follow that path. It is not a simple or easy path. It's complicated, but it's the only correct one. In the end it would be useful to bring all our troops home for economic reasons as well. It's very expensive to maintain them abroad. Their withdrawal would make the situation healthier and would strengthen the position of the Communists in Poland and Hungary. People could no longer point to the fact that Soviet troops were stationed there and that the people were consequently forced to put up with the existing government. We wanted to deprive our enemies of using an ace in the hole like that for propaganda purposes.

When I told Gomulka all this he began to object. It turned out that it was to Poland's advantage to receive hard currency from us as payment for the stationing of our troops in that country. I didn't discuss this question with other Poles. If Gomulka expressed such strong disagreement, the question should be withdrawn. We weren't about to force the issue. We didn't want to apply pressure in any direction, creating rough spots in relations with the Polish leadership.

I'm reminded in passing about the circumstances under which we withdrew our troops from Romania. Shortly after Stalin's death we had a discussion on this subject with the Romanian comrades. The Romanian minister of war, as I recall, was Bodnaras.[54] He had a very good attitude toward the Soviet Union. He was a veteran Communist who had gone through the prisons of capitalist Romania. We had absolute confidence in him. He suddenly brought up the question: "How would you react if we asked you to withdraw Soviet troops from Romania?" I reacted in a very touchy way at that time; I even got hot under the collar. We were still under the influence of the ideas spread about as a result of Stalin's policies. This conversation took place before 1956, that is, before we had investigated all the abuses of power committed by Stalin, when we were still bowing down before everything Stalinist. But after some time had passed we returned to this question, which they had raised, and we did withdraw our troops from Romania.

1. The official name of this party was the Communist Party of Hungary from November 1918 to September 1944, the Hungarian Communist Party from September 1944 to June 1948, the Hungarian Party of Working People (after unification with the Social Democratic Party) from June 1948 to November 1956, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party from November 1956 to October 1989, and thereafter the Hungarian Socialist Party.

2. For more on Bela Kun, see Biographies.

3. For more on Matyas Rakosi, see Biographies.

4. According to the main Soviet encyclopedia, Rakosi was imprisoned in Hungary in 1926 and released in October 1940. [GS]

5. The official name of the Hungarian state was the Hungarian Republic from November 1918 to March 1919, the Hungarian Soviet Republic between March and August 1919, then the Hungarian Regency Republic, again the Hungarian Republic from February 1946 to August 1949, the Hungarian People's Republic from August 1949 to October 1989, and then once more the Hungarian Republic.

6. British and later U.S. troops (under General Mark Clark) played a key role in the war of 1944–49 between pro-Western Greek monarchist forces and pro-Communist and left socialist forces in Greece, headed by the National Liberation Front (Greek initials, EAM) and its People's National Liberation Army (ELAS). [GS]

7. Churchill's memoirs describe his riding in an armored car through Athens, not Salonika, during street fighting in which British forces took control of Athens in December 1944, preventing the native Greek forces of EAM-ELAS from taking the city in the wake of the German withdrawal from Greece. See especially p. 315 of Churchill's chapter entitled "British Intervention in Greece," in *Triumph and Tragedy* (sixth volume of his memoir-history of World War II [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1953]). [GS]

8. Aleksandr Nikolayevich Poskrebyshev was Stalin's personal aide. See Biographies. [SS]

9. On Imre Nagy, see Biographies. He was made prime minister of the Hungarian government in July 1953 and began a policy of "thaw," raising living standards, loosening strict police and censorship controls, releasing many unjustly imprisoned persons, and so on. But the Rakosi-Gero-Farkas group remained influential in the ruling Hungarian Workers Party (the name used by the Communists in Hungary), and they removed Nagy from all his posts in April 1955 and later, in September 1955, expelled him from the party. Pro-Nagy elements sought to organize a reform movement inside the party, which was especially strong among writers and intellectuals—one expression being the Petofi circle that emerged in spring 1956, after Khrushchev's "secret speech" against Stalin became known. [GS]

10. On Erno Gero, see Biographies.

11. On Janos Kadar, see Biographies.

12. On Mihaly Farkas, see Biographies.

13. On Ferenc Munnich, see Biographies.

14. The Moscow Proletarian Division was the name of one of the divisions in the Red Army. [SK]

15. Nagy was recruited to work as an NKVD agent in the 1930s. His cover name was "Volodya." [SK]

16. The mass demonstrations that developed in Hungary in October 1956 were demanding more democracy, including curtailment of the secret police. Nagy was not the leader of this mass movement, but its beneficiary. During the large demonstrations that began on October 23, secret police opened fire on the crowds, killing many. In retaliation for that, and for a decade of secret police brutality, the crowds did exact vengeance, killing people on the streets who were suspected of belonging to the secret police or the Rakosi-Gero wing of the Communist Party. [GS]

17. The order of events is somewhat telescoped in the preceding account by Khrushchev. Gero was elected general secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party, to replace Rakosi, on June 18, 1956. It was at that time that Rakosi left Hungary and went to the USSR. He was assigned a residence in Krasnodar territory, not in Moscow. Mikoyan was present at the plenum of the Hungarian party at which Rakosi was replaced. He exerted strong pressure to force Rakosi to resign, even banging the table with his fist.

It is reported that when a mass demonstration led by university students developed in Budapest on October 23, 1956, which was joined by tens of thousands (some estimate half a million) demanding steps toward democratization, Gero ordered the shooting of demonstrators. On October 24, the next day, Imre Nagy became the head of the Hungarian government, and on October 25, Janos Kadar replaced Gero as party general secretary. [SK/GS]

18. At a session of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee held on October 23, it was decided that Mikoyan and Suslov should fly to Budapest. They set off the next morning. They sent back situation reports on October 24, 26, 27, and 30, and returned to Moscow on the night of November 1. [SS]

19. Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov was Soviet ambassador to Hungary from 1953 to 1957. See Biographies.

20. Most of the Hungarian army and regular police actually sided with the protesters and joined them, including the army officer Pal Maleter, who became head of the Hungarian army under Nagy, and Sandor Kopacsi, head of Budapest's regular police force (as opposed to the AVH, or security police). [GS]

21. At the session of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee held on October 30 it was decided that Mikoyan and Suslov should return to Budapest, although they were still in Budapest at the time. Presumably the members of the Presidium knew that they were due to return to Moscow the next day (November 1) and wanted them to go back to Budapest as soon as possible. [SS]

22. Boris Nikolayevich Ponomaryov was at this time head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee. See Biographies. [SS]

23. On Marshal Ivan Stepanovich Konev, see Biographies.

24. The IL-14 was an adaptation of the IL-12 passenger plane, designed for medium-range flights in difficult weather conditions. Its first test flight was on October 1, 1950 and it was approved for batch production in 1953. [SS]

25. Nikolai Ivanovich Tsybin (1909–1984), who eventually rose to the rank of lieutenant general of the Soviet air force, as a lieutenant colonel served as Khrushchev's personal pilot during the Soviet-German war (1941–45). Later he was to be commander of a "special-purpose air division" *(diviziya osobogo naznacheniya,* or DON), which served the leadership of the USSR, and deputy head of the Main Administration of the Civilian Air Fleet of the USSR (Aeroflot) and first deputy minister of civil aviation. See Biographies. [SK]

26. The Brioni (or Brijuni, meaning "Angel") Archipelago consists of 14 small islands—the largest, Veli Brijun, has an area of 5–6 square kilometers (2.2 square miles)—lying off the Adriatic coast of the Istrian peninsula in northern Croatia, a little to the north of the port city of Pula. During the Communist period the whole archipelago was a closed zone reserved for the summer residences of top Yugoslav officials. Tito's personal villa was on Vanga Island (now called Krasnica Island). Over the years Tito received almost 100 heads of state as well as quite a few movie stars. [SS]

27. Georgy Maksimilianovich Malenkov had been removed as chairman of the Council of Ministers in 1955 but remained a member of the top leadership, although his formal position was only that of minister of electric power plants. In 1957 he was denounced as a member of the so-called antiparty group and was removed from all high-level positions. See Biographies. [SS]

28. Aleksandar Rankovic was at this time Tito's second in command in the Yugoslav government. See Biographies.

29. The ethnic Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia was concentrated in Vojvodina, a province in northern Serbia adjacent to Hungary. [SS]

30. On Gamal Abdel Nasser, see Biographies; also see below, the chapter entitled "Egypt."

31. At this time Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov was still minister of foreign affairs. See Biographies. [SS]

32. Antal Apro was minister of industry and a deputy prime minister. See Biographies. [SS]

33. In Russian the question is *Kto kogo?*—with the literal meaning: "Who whom?"—that is, "Who will defeat whom?" [GS] It was a favorite expression of Lenin's. [SS]

34. The themes of the traditional Socialist and Communist song "The Internationale" are expressed in numerous variant wordings in different languages. The lines of the Russian version to which Khrushchev here refers read: *Lish my, rabotniki vsemirnoi armii truda, vladet zemlei imeyem pravo* (Only we, workers in the worldwide army of labor, have the right to master the earth). The German version contains the line: *Diese Welt muss unser sein* (This world must be ours). None of the three English versions of which I am aware contains an equivalent passage. [SS]

35. When Khrushchev said "We shall bury you," he may also have been misunderstood in another sense. In Russian, this expression simply means "We shall outlive you and be at your funeral." It is not a threat of aggression. [SS]

36. The new "Hungarian Revolutionary Workers and Peasants Government" was set up at first in the city of Szolnok, about 100 kilometers (60 miles) southeast of Budapest. [SS]

37. The decision to use military force was taken at the session of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee on October 30, the day before Mikoyan and Suslov returned from Hungary. [SS]

38. Khrushchev and Mikoyan lived in government-owned residences, adjacent to each other, on Vorobyovskoye Shosse (the Vorobyov Highway). [SK]

39. On General Mikhail Ilyich Kazakov (1901–1979), see Biographies.

40. Khrushchev visited Budapest together with Malenkov from January 1 to 4, 1957. They were joined there by the leaders of Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria. The official purpose of the visit was to attend a meeting of representatives

of East European Communist parties (*Pravda*, January 6, 1957). However, the leaders of several East European countries were absent. [SK/SS]

41. Ferenc Munnich, like Tito, had been an Austro-Hungarian prisoner of war in Russia in 1917 and had taken part in the Russian revolution on the Soviet side. [SK]

42. This was probably because of the general strike by Hungarian workers to protest the Soviet intervention. Workers elected their own councils in Budapest and most parts of the country. The workers' councils maintained their activity through most of November and December 1956, but were forcibly suppressed in January 1957. See Bill Lomax, ed., *Hungarian Workers' Councils in 1956* (distributed by Columbia University Press, 1990), which also contains a useful chronology of the events in Hungary beginning on October 22, 1956. [GS]

43. Khrushchev is probably referring to Lajos Fehér, editor of the official party newspaper *Népszabadság*. [SK]

44. Istvan Dobi, a former leader of the Smallholders' Party, was president of Hungary from 1952 to 1967. He died in 1968. See Biographies. [SS]

45. On Eden, Mollet, and Ben-Gurion, see Biographies.

46. This was a threat that the USSR would use its long-range ballistic missiles. [SK]

47. On King Farouk, see Biographies.

48. Khrushchev was in Hungary from April 2 to April 10, 1958. The date given in Volume 3 of the 1999 Russian edition (1957) is mistaken. [SK]

49. Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty, the Catholic Primate of Hungary, took refuge in the U.S. embassy following the entry of Soviet troops into Budapest on November 4, 1956. Although he was offered political asylum, for many years he refused to go abroad and continued to live in the embassy. Finally, in 1971, he agreed to leave Hungary. He spent two months in the Vatican and then settled in Vienna, where he died in 1975. See Biographies. [SS]

50. This was in Csepel, an industrial suburb of Budapest, which has a large iron and steel works. [SK/GS]

51. This was the Tatabanya coal-mining region. [SK] The region is named after the city of Tatabanya, which is about 60 kilometers (35 miles) west of Budapest and has a population of about 90,000. During the Communist period it was a leading mining and industrial center. [SS]

52. Stalinvaros (Hungarian spelling Sztalinvaros) was built in 1950—the first new city established in Hungary during the Communist period—on the west bank of the Danube River about 65 kilometers (40 miles) downstream (that is, south) of Budapest. The site included the village of Dunapentele with a Greek Orthodox church dating to 1696 and ruins of a fort belonging to the ancient Roman city of Intercisa. The new city was renamed Dunaujvaros in 1961. [SS]

The metallurgical plant forged iron and steel using Hungarian coking coals. In 1957 two blast furnaces, two open-hearth furnaces, a power plant, a factory for producing fireproof bricks, and coking and enrichment plants were in operation there. [MN]

53. Rakosi never did return to Hungary. He died in the USSR in 1971. [SS]

54. Emil Bodnaras was an agent for Soviet military intelligence in the 1930s. He was caught and sentenced to ten years in prison. In the mid-1940s he headed the Romanian intelligence service. In the 1950s he was minister of the armed forces and a deputy prime minister. In 1965 he became vice president of the State Council. See Biographies. [SS]

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

I first encountered Czechs in 1915 when I was employed as a maintenance machinist at the electric power plant of a coalmine in Pastukhovka near Yuzovka (now Donetsk). Those working at the mine were mainly prisoners of war from the Austro-Hungarian army, who were highly varied in their ethnic composition. Among them were Czechs, Slovenians, Hungarians, Italians, and Germans. I remember Wehlmann, an Austrian German who was a noncommissioned officer. The conditions of life for the prisoners of war were rather free, the same as for Russian workers. They were housed in large dormitories that the miners called *balagany*.[1] As a maintenance machinist I sometimes needed helpers, depending on the type of work being done. The engineer, whose name was Frolov, would assign the necessary number of helpers, most often prisoners of war. A Hungarian prisoner of war named Albert Pop, a peasant from Transylvania, a good and pleasant fellow, worked with me almost constantly. Pop said that Wehlmann (we communicated by gestures and mimicry and isolated words) was a bad man, that he was writing everything down, and when he returned to Hungary he would report it all to his superiors. In short, Wehlmann was acting as a spy.

The mine was located on territory that belonged to the Don Cossack Host, and so it was Cossacks that served as guards and police. They were on guard duty outside the dormitory, armed with revolvers and swords, and kept some sort of account of the prisoners, rather primitive and not at all strict, because the prisoners actually would go off walking in the fields quite freely, beyond the borders of the miners' settlement. Also they came back when they felt like it. There were no standard times for sleep or rest. There were instances when I would leave the settlement at Pastukhovka to go visit my relatives [in Yuzovka], and a prisoner of war would stay at my apartment. He would spend the night at my place to guard the house so that it wouldn't be burglarized. He might not sleep at the dormitory for two or three nights in a row, depending on how many days I was away. When I visited my parents I walked 25 versts from the house in Pastukhovka. My father was working at the Uspenskaya mine at that time. It was too far to walk all in one Sunday. After all, to go there and back by foot was a distance of some 50 versts.[2] I could allow myself such visits only if I didn't have to work for three days in a row—at Easter and at Christmas, major holidays when sometimes people didn't work for five days in a row.

There were not many Czechs among the prisoners of war, actually only two. They didn't work with me regularly. They were educated men; they had some sort of technical education, and they stood out distinctly because of their outward appearance, their neatness, and their precise and self-disciplined manner. I felt great respect for them. It was easier for me to talk with them because Czech is also a Slavic language. If we spoke without hurrying and with pauses between words we understood one another. It was not only about work that we talked. They themselves saw what needed to be done when they were helping me. These were intelligent and cultured people, and they knew perfectly well how to do the work. We talked about the war, and the Czechs were the main ones who did the talking. They had surrendered voluntarily. They hadn't been captured but had seized an opportunity to cross over to Russia's side. I know of such cases during World War II as well. In that war I encountered a small number of Czechs who had been serving in Hitler's army. For example, I remember an incident I've told about earlier on the Southern Front when a Czech came over to our side of his own accord. Our military reported that they had captured a prisoner. When they brought him in he told me he had decided to come over to our side. One night, taking advantage of the darkness, he had crossed over with a machine gun in his arms, but he had a hard time finding our people. He barely found anyone he could surrender to. Later we joked about the fact that sometimes people claimed to have captured a prisoner when the prisoner himself had been looking for someone to surrender to. But of course in combat conditions they always reported that at the risk of their lives they had captured a prisoner.

The two Czechs I was working with [at Pastukhovka], who had become prisoners of war in 1915, told about the national movement among the people in the Czech regions [mainly Bohemia and Moravia], about the Slavophile[3] sentiments that had grown strong there. They also mentioned the name Masaryk to me.[4] I liked them a lot and enjoyed inviting them to my house and treating them to tea with jam. In response to my hospitality, they proposed: "Mr. Khrushchev, if you wish, we could organize some training sessions at your home and teach you mechanical drawing." As a maintenance machinist such lessons would have been useful for me; in fact, it had been my dream to obtain such technical education and instruction. I replied that I would take advantage of their kindness with great pleasure. They gave me several lessons, but it only lasted a short time because they were soon sent off somewhere when Czech prisoners of war began to be brought together into military units for the organization of a special corps.[5] That's how I lost contact with them, but good memories of them have stayed with me. These people called themselves our brothers and said they didn't want to fight against the Russians. They wanted to live in peace. Of course those conversations were of a broad and general nature, far removed from the concept of an internationalist working-class brotherhood. Their ideas were based more on Slavic kinship.

I must confess that I had never previously heard anything about Slavophiles, although by that time I was already reading proletarian newspapers. My first involvement with reading Social Democratic publications happened when I was working as an apprentice at the Bosse machinery plant. At first I began reading the Bolshevik paper *Zvezda* (Star) and then the Bolshevik paper *Pravda* (Truth).[6]

Later I had direct personal interactions with Social Democrats, but it was more on the basis of an understanding of the need for workers to unite against the factory owners. As for getting into the theoretical fundamentals of Marxist doctrine, on that I was rather weak. In 1922 they wanted to make me manager of some mines, but I refused, because I was asking the district party committee to send me to study at the workers' school in Yuzovka. I had to exert a lot of effort to achieve what I wanted. The secretary of our district committee was Avraamy Pavlovich Zavenyagin, the future deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.[7] I had friendly relations with him, and in the end I convinced him and was released from the obligation of carrying out the decisions of the RCP(B) district committee to take over as manager of the Shcheglovsky group of mines, where I had once worked. I had worked there in 1914 at a mine owned by Gorshkov. The mine was named Albert after his son, and in 1915 I moved 4 versts from there to the electric power plant at the Pastukhovo mines [in Pastukhovka].

During the civil war I learned from the newspapers that Czech military units had been formed. They were used by the enemies of Soviet power against the Red Army.[8] But I didn't encounter them on the front lines. I read some details about them in Furmanov's book *Chapayev*.[9] There were a number of Czech internationalists, however, who supported our revolution. My next direct encounter with representatives of the Czech people was in 1935, when I was working as a secretary of the party's Moscow city and province committees. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International [acronym, Comintern] was held in Moscow that year. I was one of the delegates from the AUCP(B) at the Congress. When the sessions ended, a decision was made by the party's Central Committee that the Moscow party organization should arrange a dinner for the members of the congress. I was a host at the dinner, a kind of master of ceremonies, and I became acquainted with the delegates who were representing fraternal Communist parties.

That's where I first met Klement Gottwald.[10] I knew him before that from press reports, but I hadn't met him in person. To help me preside over the dinner, I proposed that an assistant master of ceremonies be chosen who, first of all, should possess all the good qualities of a Communist, that is, who knew how to stand up for himself and his comrades; second, someone who was well acquainted with the other participants at the dinner. I proposed a candidate who I thought was the best—Dmitry Zakharovich Manuilsky.[11] Everyone applauded, accepting his candidacy. Manuilsky was a very witty man, and I asked him to sit next to me so I could hand over the reins to him. Later when we worked together in Ukraine, where he was foreign minister for the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, he often reminded me of that episode. I always remember Manuilsky with warm feelings. He loved to drink, but he did so in moderation, and I never saw him even get tipsy, let alone drunk.

Cachin[12] came over to that table. I had known of him from a distance, but now we became acquainted. He and Manuilsky embraced and kissed, during which time Cachin made some sort of an argument, and it was obvious that it embarrassed Manuilsky. It turned out that the Frenchman had drunk a little too much and was trying to convince everyone that Manuilsky was really the father of the French Communist Party. I assumed that there was a large proportion of truth in that, because Manuilsky lived for a long time as an émigré in France. He was fluent in French and subsequently carried out assignments for the Comintern, putting his talents to use when the French Communist Party was organized.

Of the foreign Communists who were present, I knew Comrade Togliatti[13] best of all. His articles often appeared in our press, and he often gave reports at our party's Moscow city organization. As I've said, I also became acquainted with Gottwald and his wife at that Comintern congress. She made a somewhat peculiar impression on me. We all lived an ascetic life at that time. That was expressed both in our clothing and our manners. But she showed up wearing fancy ornaments and, in our view, seemed to be under petty bourgeois influence. Gottwald himself, however, enjoyed high respect and solid authority.

The Czechoslovak problem confronted me head on in 1938 when I was a member of the Military Council of the Kiev Special Military District. The USSR had a treaty with Czechoslovakia, under which we were obligated to provide military assistance to Czechoslovakia in the event that France provided such assistance.[14] When the German menace was hanging over Czechoslovakia's head, we were given orders to bring our troops out of the barracks and advance to the Polish border in a state of combat readiness, ready to march in the direction of Lvov. That was the shortest route to Czechoslovakia, through southern Poland.[15] Things ended up at Munich, as is generally known, with the French and British betraying Czechoslovakia, and Hitler soon incorporated that country into his Third Reich without a war.[16] As for Poland, it categorically refused to allow our troops to cross its territory, let alone to take joint action with the USSR against the aggressor. This was a kindness that the Polish government did for the Germans. The Polish foreign minister traveled to Berlin, and Nazi leaders from Berlin arrived in Poland, demonstrating the friendship between Poland and Germany.[17] The tactic of the German Nazis was to destroy their victims one by one, and they put this policy into effect rather skillfully. Czechoslovakia's province of Sudetenland was the first victim. The region had a mainly German population. Then all of Czechoslovakia fell [in June 1939]. And soon the same fate befell Poland [in September 1939].

Our people who were in Prague after it was occupied by the Germans reported on their impressions. The Czechs were walking around dully, like flies in autumn. They didn't raise their eyes from the ground. That's how mournfully they suffered through the situation. Of course our people sympathized with them and understood the disaster that had overtaken the Czechs. Slovakia was made a separate state as an ally of Nazi Germany. And five years later I was fighting side by side with the Czechs, together on the front lines, where a Czechoslovak battalion, operating as a distinct unit and commanded by Colonel Ludvik Svoboda, was fighting as part of the Red Army.[18] It distinguished itself in battle near Kharkov at the village of Sokolovo. After the liberation of Kharkov General Vatutin[19] and I went to visit the Czechoslovaks. A brigade was formed from the battalion and Colonel Svoboda was summoned to Moscow. In his absence we talked with the command staff of that military unit and got acquainted with the fighting men.

That brigade made a good impression on me. It included, in particular, many people who spoke Ukrainian fluently, because they came from Transcarpathia, which before World War II was part of Czechoslovakia, and the Communists of Transcarpathian Rus [also known as Ruthenia] belonged to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Somewhat later I made Svoboda's acquaintance. Under the constitution of Czechoslovakia, the formation of political organizations in military units was forbidden; thus it would seem that the Communist organization in that brigade was functioning illegally. But Svoboda followed a certain standard procedure: he would summon the leaders of the Communist Party organization in the brigade, tell them the tasks confronting their unit, and state what political work should be carried out among the troops. Thus, in fact, the party organization was functioning openly. And it couldn't have been otherwise. After all, this brigade was taking part together with our troops in combat operations against Hitler's forces on Soviet soil. With my own eyes I saw in detail how this brigade, which later became the First Czechoslovak Army Corps, headed by Svoboda, distinguished itself during the offensive in Ukraine in fall 1943, in the liberation of Kiev, and later at the approaches to the Carpathian Mountains.

When our Front had crossed the Carpathians and liberated Transcarpathian Rus, the leading figure in that region was, as I have told before, Ivan Ivanovich Turyanitsa.[20] He was a product of the local Ukrainian population and ardently pursued the line that Transcarpathia should be unified with the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. At a meeting with active party members of the

Transcarpathian region, which at that time was an independent republic—it had not recognized the Czechoslovak government leadership, but was not yet part of Soviet Ukraine—I made the acquaintance of Czech Communists who arrived at the meeting and also insisted that Transcarpathia should be part of Ukraine.[21] Later that is what happened, but the decision was made in Moscow, where an agreement was reached with the émigré leadership of Czechoslovakia. When a new government was formed in Czechoslovakia it traveled to its homeland through Kiev. I received the government delegation there and assisted in its travel through Soviet territory until it reached the Czechoslovak state, which had been liberated by our troops.

Czechoslovakia's ambassador to the USSR at that time was Fierlinger, a Social Democrat who later became a Communist. He understood the need for strengthening solid friendship with the Soviet Union. I don't know what his personal fate was after the events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia,[22] but I considered him a decent and honorable person. However, I remember the following unpleasant episode. Stalin expressed lack of confidence in him. For Stalin the reason was very persuasive. Fierlinger's wife was French. I personally had no doubt whatsoever about his political reliability, but Stalin's distrust hung over his head like a threatening cloud back then. Stalin had mercy on him, didn't have him arrested. But because of Stalin's suspicions, a certain negative aftertaste remained whenever there were meetings in which he participated.

I didn't know Gottwald very well, although I did meet him once in the Crimea. Stalin called me up. I sensed that he was in a good mood. He invited me (which was the same as ordering me) to come to the Crimea: "Come on down as soon as you can. Gottwald is here, and he simply can't live without you. He insists you must come without fail." The next day I was in the Crimea. Stalin was living there in the former tsar's palace at Livadia,[23] where the Yalta Conference of Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill took place in [February] 1945. Gottwald was put up in the Livadia palace, and I was given a room there as well. The huge palace also had an adjacent servant's building, where the tsar's retinue was housed when he came to Yalta. Our discussions were held mainly at dinnertime. Gottwald's wife was also present. The conversations were sometimes casual in nature and sometimes intensely political. Stalin encouraged Gottwald to drink, but even without that Gottwald had a weakness for wine. So no great effort was required of Stalin to get Gottwald to drink. In fact the opposite was true; he had to be restrained in order to guard his health. His wife, a very large woman, knew her husband's weakness, but she herself loved to drink. As a result, when Stalin poured out one more glassful she considered it one too many for her husband and said: "Comrade Stalin, allow me. I will drink it on his behalf and mine." A lot of jokes and humorous remarks started up over that, but that didn't free Gottwald of the obligation to participate in the next round. He often ended up drinking more than he should. His organism had already been weakened, and he rather easily became intoxicated.

Of the conversations that deserve mention, I remember the following.[24] Gottwald asked Stalin the following question: "Why do your people in Czechoslovakia steal our technological secrets? They're swiping everything that's possible to swipe. Of course we see what's going on, and that offends us. We take it as an insult. We have no secrets from you. If you have a need for some technological innovations, designs, or blueprints, just say so, and we'll give them to you. That would be much better. Comrade Stalin, not only do we not wish to keep any secrets from you, but in general we are immediately agreeable to becoming part of the USSR. Let's sign a treaty incorporating Czechoslovakia as part of the Soviet Union." Stalin immediately rejected this proposal. He objected categorically, and I think he was right to do that. As far as the [stealing of] technological secrets goes (and that did take place), Stalin didn't make any particular denials. He simply got around it by saying: "Yes, yes, anything is possible."

On another occasion Stalin began asking me: "Is Gottwald right when he says that they're getting a yield of 250–300 centners per hectare for sugar beets, when in Ukraine before the war the average yield was 150–160 centners per hectare?"

"Yes, Comrade Stalin, that's true."

This information was totally new to him, and he didn't understand how it could be possible.

I explained: "Not only in Czechoslovakia but in Poland too the yield for sugar beets is much higher than in Ukraine. The information from our agronomists is that in Czechoslovakia and Poland a nasty insect pest that devours a large part of our sugar-beet crops—a kind of weevil—does not exist. Besides, Poland and Czechoslovakia get more rainfall in the summer than the beet-growing regions of Ukraine. In their countries, small areas are devoted to growing sugar beets, and the farms are privately owned, better cultivated, and better fertilized. I don't know how much more mineral fertilizer they have for their sugar-beet crops, and that's also an important factor, but they do make wide use of organic fertilizer in the form of manure for their sugar-beet crops."

The main question was the quality of work in the tending of the crops. At collective farms in our country where there were good work brigades, as at the farm of Mariya Demchenko,[25] the yield we obtained was also 500 centners per hectare. That was a fantastically high yield for those times! The people who did that work were awarded the Order of Lenin for their heroic labor, but such yields remained isolated cases in our country. Stalin was irritated by this information. He very much wanted to show Gottwald the superiority of the socialist way of engaging in agriculture and the superiority of the collective farm system. How could these Czechs measure up to what we were doing! So he ordered me to debate with Gottwald on the question of agriculture, but I stated immediately that there could be no debate on this question, because I knew that Czech agriculture was on a higher level than ours and in particular that their sugar-beet yield was much higher.

When we met at the dinner table again, later on, and had an exchange of opinions on this subject, Gottwald was literally beaming over the fact that he had been right and had told Stalin the truth. On top of all that, the highest yields for sugar beets in our country were those we harvested in Ukraine, whereas in the Russian Republic (the RSFSR) with the exception of the Kuban region the yield is only half as much.

At that time Stalin had swept through many of the fraternal countries with the broom of his repression, but so far Czechoslovakia had not been touched in real earnest. Stalin directed his feelings of dissatisfaction along this line, and said to Gottwald: "How do things stand with you in regard to the purges? Your Chekists [security police] are probably not working well, so you fail to see where your enemies are."

Gottwald answered boldly: "Comrade Stalin, we have no traitors in our party, and I will explain why. We had a strong party before the war. It remained a legal party in capitalist Czechoslovakia, so our enemies didn't have any special need to send secret agents into our party. They knew everything about us already. Our meetings were held openly. The work of the party was conducted openly, in the public eye, so that both friends and enemies knew exactly all the steps that the Communist Party took."

That answer upset Stalin terribly, and in Gottwald's absence, in our inner circle, he said: "What a blind kitten that Gottwald is. He doesn't understand that it's impossible not to have enemies inside the party!"

Of course enemies existed, but Gottwald considered the main enemy to be the class enemy; that is, it was clear enough which side people were on in the class struggle being waged in Czechoslovakia, and that struggle would successfully lead to the victory of the working class. However, Stalin proposed that Gottwald accept our Chekists as advisers, stating that they had the necessary experience and could help expose hidden enemies. Gottwald agreed to the proposal, and he could not have disagreed. Such disagreement would have meant arousing Stalin's distrust completely, which would have been even worse. Our "advisers" were sent. They had already "done their work" of destroying innocent and honest cadres in other fraternal countries; they had done that work good and proper. And soon incriminating "materials" against specific leaders of Czechoslovakia began arriving in Moscow, particularly denunciations of Slansky, as well as a number of other comrades.[26] I didn't know Slansky personally, but I did know that as general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia he had enjoyed the trust and respect of the party and the people. And suddenly they made an "enemy of the people" out of him.

When he received that information Stalin was triumphant. He had been proved right, and Gottwald, who had tried to convince Stalin that there were no enemies of the people in the Czechoslovak party, had been proved indeed to have been a blind kitten, incapable of realizing that right under his nose enemy work was going on. At that point Gottwald surrendered, and the "meat grinder" of bloody slaughter began operations in Czechoslovakia, similar to the operations in our country before the war.

Soon Stalin died. A delegation from the Czechoslovak government headed by Gottwald came to Stalin's funeral. At the funeral, Gottwald caught a very bad cold, fell ill, and soon died.[27] Bulganin went to his funeral representing our country as minister of defense of the USSR. The death of Gottwald aroused feelings of alarm in us. After all, he had been the main figure responsible for friendly relations between our parties and countries. We trusted Gottwald and considered him a reliable link. Antonin Zapotocky[28] was named Gottwald's successor as president. He was a veteran Communist, a tried and tested individual. Although a former Social Democrat he aroused no suspicion in us.

However, Cepicka[29] caused us some embarrassment. Cepicka had replaced Svoboda as Czechoslovakia's minister of defense in 1950. He was married to Gottwald's daughter, a circumstance he made skillful use of. He had been educated at a law school. When he was appointed minister of defense (while Stalin was still alive), he made a display of hyperactivism. Stalin trusted him.

Cepicka was a real "go-getter," a man who knew how to get ahead in this world. He had a glib tongue and could present a report skillfully; he knew how to have a "productive" conversation with another person and make an appropriate impression on that person. Meanwhile General Svoboda was relieved of his duties as deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak government. When a new leadership was coming in, in Czechoslovakia, after the deaths of Stalin and Gottwald, we justifiably began to regard Cepicka simply as a careerist. We assumed that he was mainly attracted by the career position of being minister of defense and wearing a military uniform, and we expressed our opinion to the Prague leadership.

A Soviet delegation had been sent to the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [in 1954]. It was proposed that I head the delegation, and during my attendance at sessions of the congress I noticed how weighty was the authority Cepicka enjoyed in the Politburo.[30]

While we were still preparing for the visit, we discussed problems that our delegation might encounter in Czechoslovakia, and I expressed a desire to meet with General Svoboda, because I assumed that he was undeservedly out of favor. He was working somewhere with a job as something like an accountant. Much better use could be made of him. He had been a prominent military commander. He should again be raised to a position of authority and restored to an active part in the work of the government. It would have been simply embarrassing and shameful if I had gone to Czechoslovakia and not met with the man I had fought side by side with as part of the First Ukrainian Front, where I had been a member of the Military Council. He had been one of my subordinates, and was I now suddenly to forget him? He had fought with merit and been awarded an Order of Lenin. Thus, for me not to meet with him would have simply been a lapse of propriety. My colleagues agreed with me, and I was accordingly given official instructions to go visit him, shake his hand, and bring him some typical gifts from our country—caviar and souvenirs of that sort.[31]

[After Gottwald's death in March 1953] the new party leader in Czechoslovakia was [Antonin] Novotny, formerly the first secretary of the party committee in Prague.[32] I had not previously been acquainted with him. He held the post that Slansky had held before the latter's arrest. Good relations were established between him and me, as they were with the minister of internal affairs, Barak, who was a good friend of the Soviet Union. Later Barak was arrested [in 1962] and condemned while Novotny was in the leadership. I must admit that I felt very sorry for Barak, but I could say nothing in his defense because facts were presented at the trial that one could not overlook.[33] Besides, we tried to be cautious in relation to internal policies of other Communist parties. Therefore, if we were informed about something that we didn't agree with, although we would express our doubts, most often we avoided such questions.

For the time being all I said to our Czechoslovak friends was that I wanted to meet with General Svoboda and asked whether they had anything against my meeting him. I began to explain that I felt it would be improper not to meet with him, not to go see him [in the light of our previous acquaintance]. My request was met with a rather energetic protest, and those who protested directed their energy toward demonstrating that Svoboda deserved no political confidence, nor did he deserve being paid any other attention. All sorts of arguments were made. The one who had the most prejudiced attitude toward Svoboda was Cepicka, but his heated arguments did not represent a proof for me. I understood that if Svoboda's authority was revived as a military professional who had fought on the Soviet side against Nazi Germany, it could threaten the position held by Cepicka. But Novotny and Zapotocky also argued heatedly against Svoboda. One of their arguments was that during the 1948 revolution, when the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie wanted to get rid of the influence of the Communist Party and when the working class on the contrary wanted to overthrow the previously existing government, and did so, Svoboda had been minister of defense, and in that capacity had remained a trusted confidant of President Benes and had refused to go along with the aims of the Communist Party.[34]

I then said: "We must approach this question in a cooler, calmer, more collected manner. It seems to me that none of you worked hard enough at winning Svoboda over. I consider it a major merit on Svoboda's part that he didn't bring out the army to oppose the Communist takeover [in 1948]. Consequently, he did not support the bourgeois government and its president [Benes]. Even if he showed some wavering, he did nothing harmful to the revolution carried out under the leadership of the Communist Party. Therefore he should not be isolated; on the contrary, you should try to bring him closer and make him your ally, who would participate in building socialism under the leadership of the Communist Party." When Cepicka, Novotny, and the others again began to sharply object and I saw that they would try to rebut my remarks, I added: "This is your internal affair. I don't want to impose anything on you. But I would ask that you take an understanding attitude toward my personal request. I would like to visit Svoboda, shake his hand, and give him a gift in my name and on behalf of the Soviet Union as a sign of our recognition of his participation in the war against our common enemy." At that point they no longer objected, but their attitude toward the idea was rather cold. This was unpleasant for me, but I went and made the visit anyhow.

They assigned someone to escort me, and we headed for some location in an outlying part of Prague or beyond the city limits. A man in civilian clothes came out of a small house. It was Svoboda, with his wife and teenage daughter. I said a hearty hello, shook his hand, presented him with the souvenir that had been prepared for him, but keeping in mind the attitude of the Czechoslovak leadership toward my visit, I didn't go inside his house. All of this was bitter and offensive for me to see and hear. I didn't have sufficient confidence in what his antagonists had said, and I thought a lack of understanding was being displayed here. Instead of restoring a man like that to a place in the leadership, they were pushing him away. Subsequently Svoboda did join the Communist Party, left his job as an accountant, and began working with the volunteer military association. Evidently my appeal to the leadership of Czechoslovakia and my arguments in Svoboda's favor had some effect.[35]

Let me go back to the conversation with Gottwald in the Crimea that I have mentioned earlier. Stalin at that time raised the question of whether we should send our troops into Czechoslovakia. What reason was there for that? The Cold War was heating up. Good relations with our former allies had broken down, relations established through our joint actions against Nazi Germany. The president of the United States, Truman, did not have a mind that could truly grasp problems of state, and he pursued a spiteful policy in relation to the USSR. His personal qualities can be judged by the fact that he physically struck a journalist who had criticized his daughter, saying she wasn't a good singer.[36] And this from a president of the United States? His country did impermissible things back then. U.S. planes violated the borders and flew over the territory of the USSR, not to mention Czechoslovakia. They flew over Czechoslovakia every day, especially its western borders. That's why Stalin developed some anxiety that U.S. troops might invade the territory of Czechoslovakia and restore the capitalist government that had been overthrown there in 1948. That's what prompted Stalin to suggest that we send our troops into all the "people's democracies." Our troops were already deployed in Poland, Hungary, and Romania, but not in Bulgaria or Czechoslovakia.

Gottwald reacted in a very correct way to Stalin's proposal: "Comrade Stalin, you can't send Soviet troops into Czechoslovakia. Not in any way. Because that would completely 'spoil the porridge' and create unbelievable difficulties for our Communist Party. There is a very good attitude now among Czechs and Slovaks toward the Soviet Union. If troops were introduced, it would create a new situation. It would be as though we were no longer an independent state. Previously we were a dependency of the Germans, part of the Austro-Hungarian empire and part of Germany. And now would we again be losing our freedom? I request very strongly that you not do that. If the Americans were to violate our borders, that would be a different question. That hasn't happened thus far, and so I ask you not to send your troops." Stalin agreed. He had just been probing to see how Gottwald would react. No firm decision had ripened in his mind, and that's why he didn't undertake any action along those lines. I would argue that what he did was correct, because otherwise Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship might have come to an end.

Stalin never again raised that question during his lifetime. We were even less inclined to raise such a question after 1953 during my leadership of the USSR, during the presidency of Zapotocky in Czechoslovakia and after he was replaced in that post by Novotny. The chairman of the Council of Ministers of Czechoslovakia was Siroky.[37] Novotny told me that Siroky was displeased with his post. It seems that there was an agreement between the Czechs and Slovaks that they would take turns; that a Czech would hold the post of president for one term, and in the next term it would be held by a Slovak. When Gottwald was president he was accepted by both Czechs and Slovaks.[38] Then the Czech Zapotocky became president. The Slovak Siroky aspired to that post after Zapotocky. But the leadership, consulting among themselves with Siroky present, again appointed a Czech. Siroky, as I have said, became chairman of the Council of Ministers. My reply to Novotny was that this was their internal affair. Besides, Novotny informed us that Siroky had been in Slovakia when it was an ally of Hitler during the war. He had been a Communist engaged in illegal activity and had been arrested by the Gestapo, been imprisoned, and then escaped. In this connection a certain political distrust of Siroky had developed. But I think if you take a prejudiced approach toward anyone, if you approach a person with the preconception that he is an enemy who has not yet been exposed, and you imagine that he escaped from prison with the help of the Gestapo as a way for him to penetrate the underground movement, if you have such a desire, you can dig up any kind of "confirming evidence." But if you take a trusting attitude, it's a different matter. I never noticed anything bad about Comrade Siroky from that point of view.

We had no grounds to express lack of confidence in Novotny either, especially since he was saying something that was not just his private opinion, but the opinion of a certain circle in the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. I say this to give a more precise sense of the atmosphere that had built up around Siroky when he was expecting to be appointed president. Perhaps he displayed his dissatisfaction somehow, and that was taken personally by the Czech Novotny, who at that time was holding the post of president. This is a complicated question, to which I didn't give much thought at that time. I considered it an internal affair of that country. But wasn't this a factor soon after, when Siroky was relieved of his duties as chairman of the Council of Ministers and Lenart[39] was promoted to replace him? It's true that Lenart was also a Slovak. He later became first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia. He was a young man. I didn't know him personally. But people in the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee knew him because he had studied in Moscow. Naturally we had nothing against him. We liked him, and we considered him a capable political leader for whom we had great hopes.

Now I want to tell about a conversation that occurred between Novotny and me after the CPSU Twentieth Congress. It had a depressing effect on me. During the Twentieth Congress everyone found out that Stalin had abused power, but we still trembled before the authority that Stalin had held in the past, so much so that we were unable to condemn his atrocities at the top of our voices. In this we were going against the Russian proverb that says, "You can't keep washing a black cat until it turns white." Today there's no longer any doubt that the cat was black. Yet back then we still kept trying to wash him clean. We tried to convince ourselves that some devil had led him astray, and that the devil had been Yagoda at one time, Yezhov at another, and Beria at another. We shouldn't have done things that way. I have already told about the big internal struggle connected with the report at the Twentieth Congress. The main opponents of giving that report had been Molotov, Kaganovich, and Voroshilov. Voroshilov has now been buried with honors, in the city of Lugansk. At one time it had been called Voroshilovgrad, and now it has had its old name restored to it.[40] How many people were destroyed as a result of this man's actions, and how many millions perished during the war, for whose deaths People's Commissar of War Voroshilov bears the responsibility? The title "first marshal" has been restored to him.[41] Sometimes things like that happened. I consider that another consequence of the fact that we have not yet freed ourselves from the habit of trembling in front of the figure of Stalin. We haven't got up enough courage to call things by their real names.

Such crimes cannot be forgiven! Forgiveness is like giving a blessing. If you forgive one criminal, you're blessing other potential criminals to go ahead and commit new crimes.

So then, on assignment from the CPSU Central Committee we held talks with representatives of the Communist parties from the fraternal countries, explaining to them in detail our understanding of what had happened in the past, what was being disclosed and how, and we entrusted them with all the materials from the Twentieth Congress. The Polish comrades "helped" us. The text of my speech at the closed session of the Congress about Stalin's abuses of power ended up, to put it colorfully, being sold at farmers' markets in Poland for one ruble per copy. Then people in other countries quickly learned about the content of that document. When I had a conversation with Novotny I was surprised by his reaction. He trembled and had a furiously negative reaction: "No, Comrade Khrushchev, things were not like that in our country. In our country everything was done according to the law. Juridically speaking, the arrests were completely justified, as were the severe sentences."

My reply was this: "Comrade Novotny, we recommend that you take another look because we already have some experience in this matter. We also thought that everything was being done according to law, that the arrests and executions were justified, and that these people actually had been enemies of the people. Today our legal experts have examined the dossiers on the basis of which the trials and executions were carried out, and it is now clear that those people should not have been arrested or even detained."

Novotny said: "No, it was not like that in our country!"

I said: "Well, look, in your country you executed Slansky, the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, along with others. I remember very well that Stalin argued with Gottwald that you must have enemies of the people in your party because even in the Soviet Union there were many enemies. Gottwald replied that in your country there were no enemies. Then Stalin sent Chekist 'advisers' who quickly did find enemies."

Novotny repeated: "No, that was not a matter of Stalin's instructions."

I too, repeated: "Comrade Novotny, this is your internal affair. It's simply that I have been assigned by our leadership to advise you once again to look at everything. Why do we give this advice? Because time will pass, and this question will come up again. Documents will be brought out and everything will turn against you. If you want the truth to triumph, it's better to display some initiative now. Look at all the documents, and if there were unjustified arrests and sentences, you have to tell the party and the people that honestly. I don't know who in your country was guilty of evildoing, but it's better for you personally to take the initiative. You will also have to live through the reaction of your people in connection with those painful events of the past. On the other hand, you would have taken the initiative in exonerating those unjustly sentenced. If you don't do that, the time will come when you will be made to answer for it, and then you'll find yourself in a different situation."

I repeated to him the arguments I had made against Molotov, Voroshilov, Kaganovich, and others during the Twentieth Congress. At that time Voroshilov had objected, saying: "We'll be made to answer for it."

I had replied: "Yes, we'll be made to answer. Anything can happen. But let's honestly and sincerely confess what we knew and what we didn't know. Then the attitude in the party and among the people will be different. Because we told the people everything we knew at that time."

In Czechoslovakia in the 1950s they didn't draw the conclusions they should have, although in all the other fraternal countries rehabilitation and exoneration of all those who had innocently suffered was carried out. Only the leaders of Czechoslovakia held to the old positions. Stalinist positions, if we are to put it bluntly. It was Stalin's advisers who found the "enemies." On the basis of fabricated materials people were arrested and executed. Those decisions remained in force, unquestioned. Novotny didn't understand his responsibility; he didn't understand the significance and necessity to restore human justice and political purity. Novotny didn't make the decision that was needed.[42] And now everyone knows how it all ended for Czechoslovakia in 1968 and afterward. I foresaw that; it could have ended in no other way. I greatly regret that Comrade Novotny didn't listen to my advice then. Siroky has also departed from the political arena. At any rate I'm unable to find out anything about him from the press.[43]

Then Husak[44] emerged on the main arena. What did I know about him? Nothing. I have a vague recollection that Novotny mentioned his name in some conversation, saying that there were some nationalistically minded people in Slovakia, that in general the Slovaks were nationalists and it was very difficult to come to agreement with them. He was suggesting that Husak also was engaged in persistent and active nationalist propaganda and organizational work against the leadership of Czechoslovakia at that time. Was that so? By the way, feelings of Slovak nationalism did not interfere with love for the Soviet Union. The same was true of the Czechs in my time.

I was in Czechoslovakia one summer at some major factories. Novotny and I were walking through a foundry. The conditions of work in a foundry are well known to me, from the time when I worked as a young man at a machinery plant. Silence reigns. The workers are bent over, getting the forms ready for the steel to be poured. As we were walking by, one man suddenly stood up and ran over to the box where his personal effects were kept. As it turned out, a hole had been dug in the ground there, to keep a pitcher of beer cool. He ran back with the pitcher and offered me some beer, the traditional national drink of the Germans and Czechs. Nothing is done there without beer. They even bring it to work and drink it instead of water. In our country that would be considered drunkenness, but not there. I drank a little (after all, Czech beer is the best in the world) and thanked the worker. Other manifestations of a good and friendly attitude toward us could be found everywhere, especially in the countryside.

As you drove through the streets you could tell what people's attitudes were. People immediately give themselves away with the looks on their faces and in their eyes. And how else could people behave toward the Soviet Union, which had done so much for Czechoslovakia? The people knew very well what the Soviet Union had done in 1938, when there was the threat that they would lose their independence and that Hitler would seize the Czech state. They knew that we energetically proposed to France to begin military activities if any moves were made toward occupying Czechoslovakia. The French refused. People in Czechoslovakia know that we asked the Poles to allow our troops to pass through. We brought our troops up to the Polish border and intended to go through Polish territory to provide aid to Czechoslovakia, regardless of what position Poland took. In the concluding stage of the war, when Soviet troops smashed Hitler's forces and took Berlin, Prague had not yet been liberated. The threat of destruction still hung over the city. The Prague proletariat rose up in rebellion. It fought one on one against Hitler's troops. It was an unequal struggle. The workers appealed to the Soviet Union for fraternal aid, and Marshal Konev received the order to move his tank troops from Germany to provide assistance. Assistance was provided. Prague was saved and liberated forever from the Nazi occupation by Soviet troops. The Czechoslovak people knew that very well. They remembered and appreciated it, and they expressed their appreciation in their good attitude toward the Soviet Union and the peoples of the USSR.

I must say that we often conducted ourselves rather clumsily, although sincerely. We had no self-seeking aims in our friendship with Czechoslovakia. I'm talking about the time after Stalin's death. We did everything to help develop its economy. Everyone knows today that raising the economic level in any country can be done only as the result of the extensive and intensive development of science, technology, and invention. If other countries have rich natural resources or wide fields, economic development can be based on that, and a rise in the people's living standards can be assured. However, Czechoslovakia did not posses those attributes. It did not have rich mineral deposits. Uranium had been mined, but, as I recall, that was dying out. Czechoslovakia is very densely populated, and therefore not only could it not export agricultural products; it was forced to buy them from abroad. In short, the Czechs could rely only on their intelligence and ability to organize production. By developing foreign trade they could keep their people's living standards on a high level. That's something the people of Czechoslovakia are fully capable of because they are people with a high level of culture.

The consumer goods and machinery in Czechoslovakia were better than in the other socialist countries. Whenever the question of buying a machine in Czechoslovakia came up, we did so by an exchange of goods in kind *(tovaroobmen)*. If we wanted to buy the same products on the capitalist world market, we would first have to sell goods that would earn hard currency; most often raw materials. Then we used that hard currency to buy a machine from a capitalist country. Such commercial operations were more difficult for us, and therefore we appealed to Czechoslovakia [to supply us with machinery in an exchange of goods in kind *(tovaroobmen)*].

Sometimes Czechoslovakia faced a situation in which it, too, had to sell goods on the capitalist market to obtain hard currency for the purchase of consumer goods that could not be obtained on the socialist market. A conflict of interest between the buyer, the side placing the order, and the seller, the one delivering the goods, could be noted when the Czechoslovaks decided in favor of selling their products on the capitalist market [rather than selling them to the Soviet Union or another socialist country]. In all the socialist countries people did that [sold products on the world market to obtain hard currency], but I sometimes heard comments expressing offended feelings: "Those Czechs—they're really mercenary traders. They won't sell their goods to us. They sell them abroad." The same thing was said about the Romanians.

I always tried to explain, as much as I could, that the reason for this was not an absence of friendly relations or a lack of respect toward some country. It was dictated by the conditions in which Czechoslovakia lived. It had to be understood that, at least for the time being, it could not satisfy its needs at home without trading on the capitalist world market. We could not provide everything for Czechoslovakia through our own market. I said: "One must take a cautious and solicitous attitude toward Czechoslovakia and not lock it into trading only with socialist countries. We should view this policy of the leaders of the Czechoslovak state without jealousy. For now, living standards in Czechoslovakia are higher than in the USSR. But that is the result of history. The line we should take is not to lower their standard of living by exhausting Czechoslovakia's resources, but on the contrary to raise living standards by developing our economy. That will raise living standards for all the peoples of the socialist countries. The task is not to impoverish but to enrich, to have higher living standards by raising the economic levels of those countries that don't have such a high living standard for now. What does that mean—a high standard of living or the opposite? It's a relative concept. A person who is well provided for wants to have more. And that's normal."

I remember that great damage was done to Czechoslovakia by the policies of the Chinese. Czechoslovakia needed customers to place orders. When China began to industrialize, it placed a large load [of orders] with Czechoslovak industry, and the Czechs had a proper appreciation of that. It was to their advantage. But after Mao dreamed up the "great leap forward," China suddenly stopped placing the orders it had previously placed with Czechoslovak industry.[45] Novotny told me that they could suffer a general economic collapse because these orders had been withdrawn. The Czechoslovak factories were not able to sell any goods, and consequently people were not being paid and the entire process of production was disrupted. Novotny therefore flew immediately to Moscow to consult with us on what to do.

After discussing the situation, we instructed the USSR State Planning Commission to look into the matter together with officials of the Czechoslovak State Planning Commission: if there were some items from the canceled orders that the Czechs could not sell on the Western market, perhaps we could purchase them to meet our needs. We took a lot on our shoulders at that time. Production of some of the machinery and equipment they were building for China was close to completion or had been completed, while the rest was at various uncompleted stages. Some of the orders placed by China were unique—items we couldn't make use of anywhere. The Czechoslovak government couldn't sell them on the Western market either, because they were produced on special order from China. This created a difficult economic situation in Czechoslovakia. It seems to me there is no situation to which a solution cannot be found. But the solution is not always economically expedient. This had been a hostile act on Mao's part. A real partner doesn't act that way. But he felt bound to nothing and bound by nothing. He began to pursue an unrestrained policy in which any and all means to an end were acceptable.

Our policy line also dealt blows sometimes to Czech and Slovak honor and self-respect, especially the line taken in our press. You can read in our papers and hear on the radio that such-and-such a machine is being built, which was designed with Soviet aid. You often hear reports that something is being processed in Czechoslovakia with Soviet aid. But there is a total absence of reports that anything is being developed or produced in our country with Czechoslovak aid. There are no reports balancing this one-sided approach. The Czechs of course don't say anything to us, but it must be understood that they're insulted by our lack of appreciation for their technological skills and intelligence. It's well known that the Czechs are good scientists, engineers, and economists. They produced excellent weapons in a number of defense sectors earlier than we did, and we used their ideas and their labor. Suddenly here's such an arrogant attitude, which is totally unjustified, and it wounds people where they are most sensitive. This isn't taken into account in our country. This approach is like the one taken by the old-time merchants, that if you're rich and powerful, you can turn your back on others, not even look at them, and even tread on your partner's toe where he has a painful corn. What does that mean? Get your foot out of my way! Move quicker! It always makes me suffer when they make such irresponsible declarations, especially when broadcast by the radio station Mayak.[46] Maybe it's not intentional, but they have such an uncaring attitude toward our friends. The insults keep piling up, and they may ruin the relations between our countries.

To this day I don't understand how we could have reached such a state of relations with Czechoslovakia. How could we have got into the state of affairs of the events of 1968? I cannot in any way agree that the Czechoslovaks were giving into imperialist propaganda or wanted to restore the capitalist mode of production. I don't believe it! This contradicts all my understandings about the progressive nature of Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Hasty conclusions are drawn by those who think that discontent had affected the broad masses. And then there came the invasion of Czechoslovakia by our troops. Then came the revival of Stalinist practices. On television I have watched sports presentations conducted in Czechoslovakia. A big public meeting was held before a ski jump demonstration. Thousands of people gathered. Using standardized clichés, the official speaker began bowing down verbally before the leadership of the country. Why was this necessary? It's a sporting event, and they begin by referring to Husak, after which there was some pathetic clapping of hands. It was obvious that the crowd that had gathered had no respect for him. But when it was Svoboda's turn to be mentioned, the reaction was more friendly. Once our troops had been sent into Czechoslovakia, reason required that they be withdrawn as quickly as possible. That's the only way a brother country can be made a real friend. Of course troops can be kept there, and any manifestation of resistance can be suppressed by force.

But most people regard our actions as a lack of respect for the sovereignty of the Czechoslovak state, and they base their attitude toward us accordingly. I don't think it requires any special effort to prove this. That public meeting that I saw on television revealed a lot. The presence of our troops in Czechoslovakia is not based on the Potsdam Agreement, as it is in Poland and East Germany. In my opinion this was an expression of irrationality, and actions were taken too hastily. I'm not going to go into this question at length now. History will sort it out. But nowadays the general interpretation is that it was inevitable, unavoidable, and even useful. That it has improved and strengthened the friendship between our countries. But here there can be different understandings of the situation. I belong to the category of people who think that friendship is strengthened not by occupying someone else's country—even though it was all made official and justified by the signing of some sort of agreement after the fact.

In this connection, I remember Comrade Gottwald again. He was an intelligent man. He understood the moods of the Czechs and Slovaks, and when the conversation began about the possibility of sending Soviet troops to Czechoslovakia, he, as I have said, demonstrated to Stalin that it should not be done; that it would damage our friendship. Today, so many years later, it's impossible not to appreciate the correctness of Comrade Gottwald's warning. Even today what he said is correct. I think that, as the saying goes, the mills will grind and there will be flour [that is, everything will turn out all right in the end] and that the people of Czechoslovakia will walk in step with the other peoples of the socialist countries, above all with the Soviet people. Our people and our party are the sincere friends of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and of the Czechoslovak people. We have one goal in common: fraternal cooperation of all people who are fighting for socialism, fighting for communism.

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1. The term *balagan* originally meant a makeshift booth (as at a fair); by extension, it was used for any temporary structure, especially one made of boards. [GS]

2. A verst is approximately 3,500 feet, that is, about ⅔ of a mile or about 1.067 kilometers. [GS]

3. The original Slavophiles were members of a school of social philosophy that arose in Russia in the 1840s and 1850s. They believed that as Slavs the Russians had their own unique civilization and historical destiny, based on Orthodox Christianity and the peasant commune. Their opponents were the *zapadniki* or "Westerners" (a term often translated as "Westernizers"), who adhered to the values of West European civilization. Khrushchev, however, seems to understand "Slavophilism" as a synonym of "pan-Slavism"—a distinct though closely related philosophy that placed special emphasis on the unity of the various Slav peoples (Russians, Poles, Bulgarians, Serbs, Czechs and Slovaks, and so on). [SS]

4. Thomas Masaryk (1850–1937) was the main leader of the Czechoslovak national movement and first president of independent Czechoslovakia, from 1918 to 1935. He is generally regarded as the father of modern Czechoslovakia. From 1900 to 1920 he was leader of the liberal Czech People's Party, later renamed the Progressive Realist Party, which advocated Czech autonomy within the Austro-Hungarian empire. He was elected to the Austrian parliament in 1907. During World War I he lived in exile and headed the Paris-based Czech National Council, recognized by the Allies as the exile government of Czechoslovakia. At that time he also helped organize the Czech Legion in Russia, which in 1918 played a crucial role against the Bolsheviks in the Russian civil war. A philosopher as well as a political leader, an advocate of liberalism and democracy, Masaryk's extensive writings include *The Making of a State* (Eng. tr., 1927) and the pan-Slavic treatise *The Spirit of Russia* (2d ed., Eng. tr., 1955). [GS/MN]

5. This corps was formed during World War I from among Czech subjects of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires and sent to Ukraine as the Czech Legion to fight on the side of the Entente (until the Brest peace of March 1918). [GS/MN] The Czech Legion consisted of about 45,000 men. [SS]

6. The newspaper *Zvezda* was published legally in Saint Petersburg and circulated in much of Russia. It appeared from December 1910 to May 1912 (going by the Western calendar) and was succeeded by the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda.* There were 69 issues of *Zvezda,* of which 30 were confiscated by the tsarist authorities. It began as a publication of the Social Democratic group in the Third State Duma, the parliament allowed by the tsarist regime (with limited suffrage) between 1907 and 1912. The newspaper at first reflected the views of both the Bolshevik and the Menshevik wings of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, but in October 1911 it became a purely Bolshevik paper. Its press run was 50–60,000 at its highest point—at the time of the shooting of striking workers (with 270 killed) in the Lena River goldfields in April 1912. Khrushchev, as an apprentice machinist at the Bosse factory in Yuzovka (now Donetsk), was fired from his job

for raising funds for the families of workers killed in the Lena goldfields massacre [GS]

7. On Avraamy Pavlovich Zavenyagin, see Biographies.

8. Khrushchev is referring to the mutiny of the Czech Legion that broke out on troop trains along the railroad between Penza and Vladivostok on May 25, 1918. [MN]

9. The reference is to the book by Dmitry Andreyevich Furmanov (see Biographies) about the legendary civil war commander Chapayev, published in 1923.

10. At this time Gottwald was general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and a secretary of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. See Biographies. [GS]

11. At this time Dmitry Zakharovich Manuilsky was a secretary of the Executive Committee of the Comintern and a member of its Presidium. See Biographies.

12. Marcel Cachin (1869–1958) was a leader of the French Communist Party and of the Communist-influenced trade union federation, the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT). [GS] In 1935 he was a member of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. [MN]

13. In 1935 Palmiro Togliatti was general secretary of the Communist Party of Italy and a member of the Secretariat and of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. See Biographies.

14. The Soviet-Czechoslovak Mutual Assistance Treaty was concluded on May 16, 1935. [SS]

15. After World War II Czechoslovakia had a common border with Soviet Ukraine, but at this time such was not the case and to reach Czechoslovakia Soviet troops would have had to pass through what was then Polish territory (or, alternatively, through Romanian territory). [SS]

16. In the Munich agreement of September 1938, the French and British prime ministers Edouard Daladier and Neville Chamberlain (see Biographies) betrayed their countries' commitments to the independence and territorial integrity of their ally by allowing Germany to annex the border region of Sudetenland. The Sudetenland was duly occupied on October 1, 1938. Although the rest of Czechoslovakia was not occupied for another few months, the loss of the Sudetenland deprived Czechoslovakia of its only effective line of defense against German attack. [SS]

17. The Polish foreign minister at this time was Colonel Jozef Beck (1894–1944). Khrushchev may be referring to his visit to confer with Hitler at Berchtesgaden on January 5, 1939. Relations between Germany and Poland in the period leading up to World War II were in fact very tense, especially over the issue of Danzig, but the Polish government still hoped to avoid war. [SS]

18. When Czechoslovakia was occupied, Ludvik Svoboda escaped to Poland and there set up an armed Czechoslovak unit to fight the Nazis. When Poland was occupied in its turn, he took his unit to the Soviet Union, where it was turned into a battalion (later a corps) within the Red Army. The battalion was called a "detached" *(otdelny)*, or distinct, unit because it had its own distinct command structure, but it operated, as Khrushchev says, under the Soviet High Command. For information on Svoboda's political career in postwar Czechoslovakia, see Biographies. [GS/SS]

19. On General Nikolai Fyodorovich Vatutin, see Biographies.

20. During these months Ivan Ivanovich Turyanitsa was chairman of the People's Council of Transcarpathian Ukraine and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Transcarpathian Ukraine. [MN] See Biographies. See also the chapter "We Liberate Ukraine" in Volume 1 of the present edition of the memoirs. [GS]

21. The main ethnic group in Transcarpathia (or Transcarpathian Rus) is the Ruthenians, who are closely related to but distinct from both Russians and Ukrainians. Between the wars the region belonged to Czechoslovakia despite the fact that its people are not closely related to either Czechs or Slovaks. It was extremely underdeveloped and neglected by the Czech-dominated government in Prague (see the testimony of my late friend Max Adler, who in the 1930s was secretary for Slovakia of the German Social Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia, in Chapter 7 of his memoirs *A Socialist Remembers,* [London: Gerald Duckworth, 1988]). This may help to explain why Czech Communists did not insist that the region become part of postwar Czechoslovakia. [SS]

22. Zdenek Fierlinger (1891–1976) was Czechoslovakia's ambassador to the USSR from 1942 to 1945, then prime minister (1945–46), deputy prime minister (1946–53), and chairman of the National Assembly (1953–64). From 1964 to 1976 he was chairman of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

23. Livadia is a seaside resort in the Crimea, on the Black Sea, about two miles southwest of Yalta. The Livadia Palace was built in 1910–11 as a summer residence for Tsar Nicholas II. It was designed in Italian Renaissance style by the architect N. Krasnov (1864–1939). [SS]

24. Khrushchev told about this before, in the chapter "After the Twentieth Party Congress," in Volume 2 of the present edition. [GS]

25. Mariya Sofronovna Demchenko (1912–?) was an agronomist at a collective farm in Ukraine, acclaimed for the high sugar-beet yields that she obtained. See Biographies. [SS]

26. Rudolf Slansky (1901–52; see Biographies) had been general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia since 1945. At the Central Committee Plenum of September 1951, Gottwald and his group won supremacy

within the party, and Slansky was demoted to first secretary of the party's Prague city committee. In November 1951 he was arrested. He was held for a year before being tried (together with thirteen codefendants) and found guilty of "Trotskyite-Titoist-Zionist activities in the service of American imperialism." He was executed (together with ten of his co-defendants) on December 2, 1952. Slansky's codefendants included the former foreign minister Vladimir (Vlado) Clementis, who was executed, and Gustav Husak, who was imprisoned but later rose to the top leadership (see note 44 below). In all, 178 people from all sectors of the power structure (party, government, army, and special services) were executed in the purges of the early 1950s, while many thousands were imprisoned. The most prominent of the individuals executed, besides Slansky and Clementis, were the former Central Committee secretaries for the economy (Jozef Frank) and for international ties (Bedrzich Geminder). [SS]

27. Stalin died at 9.40 on the evening of March 5, 1953. His funeral took place on March 9. Gottwald died six days later—that is, on March 15.

At this time Nikolai Aleksandrovich Bulganin was minister of defense and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers (see Biographies). [SK/SS]

28. Antonin Zapotocky (1884–1957) was head of government from 1948 to 1953 and president of Czechoslovakia from 1953 to 1957. See Biographies. [SS]

29. Alexej Cepicka (1910–90), son-in-law of the party leader Klement Gottwald, served in several ministerial posts in the government of Czechoslovakia between 1947 and 1956. He replaced Ludvik Svoboda as minister of national defense in 1950 and became vice premier in 1953. Following Gottwald's death in March 1953 and the exposure of Stalin's crimes at the CPSU Twentieth Congress in February 1956, Cepicka was sacrificed as a scapegoat for the abuses of the preceding period and deprived of all his posts in the party and government in April 1956. In 1963 he was expelled from the party. [GS]

30. This congress of the Czechoslovak party was held June 11–15, 1954. Khrushchev spoke at the congress on June 12. The Soviet delegation was in Prague from June 9 to June 17. [SK]

31. Khrushchev visited Svoboda on June 16, 1954. From 1945 to 1950 Svoboda had been Czechoslovak minister of national defense, and in 1950–51 he was a deputy chairman of the government, but thereafter he disappeared from public view. [SS]

32. Antonin Novotny had been party secretary of Prague since 1945. He was to remain party leader until January 1968. See Biographies. [SS]

33. Rudolf Barak (1915–95) was minister of internal affairs from 1953 to 1961 and a vice premier from 1959 to 1962. He was arrested on charges of stealing foreign currency from a secret fund for which he was responsible, although according to some sources the real reason for his arrest was his exposure of the role that Antonin Novotny had played in the Stalin-era purges. See Biographies. [SK/SS]

34. Edvard Benes (1884–1948) was president of Czechoslovakia from 1935 to 1938, president of the Czech government in exile in London during World War II, and then again president of Czechoslovakia from 1945 until his resignation on June 7, 1948, following the Communist takeover. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

In the free elections of 1946, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia won a plurality of 38 percent of the votes. Together with the Social Democrats the Communists had a parliamentary majority, and their leader Gottwald headed the coalition government. Nevertheless, they feared that they might be pushed out of power, as had recently happened in Italy and France. At the Central Committee Plenum of September 1947 it was therefore decided to prepare a general political strike and create an armed workers militia under the party's control. On February 20, 1948, the government ministers from the bourgeois parties resigned, expecting that President Benes would dissolve the cabinet and form a new government from which the Communists would be excluded. However, on the same day the Communist Party called the planned general political strike, while special armed groups of Communists seized the headquarters of bourgeois parties and key communications and transportation installations. The police did not interfere because the minister of internal affairs was a Communist (Vaclav Nosek). As minister of national defense, Svoboda also ordered the army not to interfere. At this time he was not a member of the Communist Party (or of any other party), although he did have links with Soviet intelligence. [SS]

35. It was probably as a result of Khrushchev's intervention on his behalf that Svoboda was appointed in 1955 head of the Klement Gottwald Military Academy, a post he retained until his first retirement in 1959. He emerged from retirement and returned to international prominence in March 1968, when he became president of Czechoslovakia and commander in chief of the country's armed forces. See Biographies. [SS]

36. Harry S. Truman (1884–1972) was president of the United States from 1945 to 1953. See Biographies. Truman does not seem to have served any time in jail for the assault mentioned by Khrushchev. [SS]

37. Viliam Siroky (1902–71) was chairman of the Council of Ministers (head of government) from 1953 to 1963. See Biographies.

38. That is, as Gottwald, who was most probably of ethnic German ancestry, was not readily identifiable as specifically Czech or specifically Slovak, he was acceptable to both Czechs and Slovaks. [SS]

39. Jozef Lenart (1923–2004) was chairman of the Council of Ministers (head of government) from 1963 to 1968. See Biographies.

40. Lugansk was called Voroshilovgrad from 1935 to 1958 and again from 1970 to 1991.

41. See note 17 to the chapter "From the Nineteenth Party Congress to the Twentieth" in Volume 2 of these memoirs. [GS]

42. In fact, a process of rehabilitation of purge victims was initiated in Czechoslovakia in 1955, when under pressure from Khrushchev the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia decided to set up a commission to review the verdicts of the political trials. The process lasted thirteen years and passed through several stages. Army officers, state security officials, and economic managers were rehabilitated in 1955–56, together with minor party officials, but it was not until 1963 that the verdicts against Slansky and other prominent party figures were quashed. The last rehabilitations took place in 1968. [SS]

43. Viliam Siroky was removed from all his official positions in December 1963 on account of his responsibility for the purges of the early 1950s. [SS]

44. Gustav Husak (1913–90) became the top leader in Czechoslovakia in April 1969, a few months after the Soviet military intervention against the reformist leadership of Alexander Dubcek and his colleagues. See Biographies. [SS]

45. Presumably the Chinese leadership believed that the rapid expansion of heavy industrial capacity expected to result from the "Great Leap Forward" would enable them to produce at home the items previously imported from Czechoslovakia. [SS]

46. Mayak was a popular Moscow radio station. It began broadcasting on August 1, 1964. [SK] The Russian word *mayak* means "beacon." [SS]

ROMANIA

Relations were bad between the USSR and Romania before World War II. First, we had claims against Romania for Bessarabia, which it had annexed after the October revolution, when we didn't yet have a new army. Later relations were strained further because Romania became a place of refuge for bands of White Guards. Makhno's bands also fled across the border to Romania, although Makhno himself made his way to France, by way of Romania, Poland, and Germany. He died in France.[1]

It's hard for me to explain Romania's pugnacious anti-Soviet attitude. When I was working as first secretary of the Ukrainian party's Central Committee [beginning in 1938], I knew about the complicated and difficult situation on the Romanian border [before World War II], and sometimes I went to the border region myself. It ran along the Dniester River.[2] I was warned that provocative shots were often fired at our border troops in that area; therefore I should avoid making myself visible at or near the border. In 1940 we occupied Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina,[3] which was inhabited mainly by Ukrainians. That was one more step in the process of unifying the Ukrainian lands.

This part of the memoirs was dictated in 1970. [SK]

Thus [in 1940] we arrived at the former border between tsarist Russia and Romania, on the Pruth River.[4] In those days I often had occasion to travel from Chernovtsy [Chernovitsy before 1944] to Stanislav [later renamed Ivano-Frankovsk].[5] A military camp with a lot of Romanian soldiers was visible from our side [across the Chorny Cheremosh River]. One day they opened fire from that camp. They weren't firing directly at my vehicle, but they were firing in our general direction. The vehicle was stuck and its wheels were spinning. While we were messing around with it, their commander apparently concluded that we were conducting observations from our side of the river, and he gave the order to open fire to give us a warning. He just wanted to scare us so that we would leave faster.

We never reacted to such provocations. We didn't allow an equivalent response from our side. We wanted good relations with our Romanian neighbor, as with all other countries. But after we had occupied Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina—that is, less than a year before the beginning of the Great Patriotic War—a certain lack of restraint on the part of the pro-Nazi government of Romania became evident. General Antonescu, who was the dominant figure in Romania, became friendly with Hitler. According to the two Soviet-German agreements of 1939, Bessarabia, Bukovina, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland belonged to our sphere of influence, that is, to our realm of interests. If this step that we took is to be categorized in political language, what occurred was that the Soviet Union was drawn into a provocation. Hitler wanted to deceive Stalin by making promises to him and allowing him to occupy the above-named territories. Meanwhile Hitler himself was preparing a devastating blow against the USSR. That's why he made this concession to us, giving us Bessarabia, in order to secure the support of Romania, so that it would take his side in the event of war.

When we occupied Bessarabia, the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Its capital was Tiraspol, a beautiful, clean, white town on the banks of the Dniester.[6] A question came up as to whether the Moldavian Autonomous Republic should become a union republic in its own right. This idea ripened in my mind. I reported on the subject to Stalin and proposed that a new union republic be created—Moldavia, with its capital at Kishinev.[7] A resolution to that effect was adopted. To this day the Moldavian SSR is one of the constituent republics of the USSR. Its economy and culture are developing successfully. I have been to Moldavia more than once, and I was always delighted by the successes achieved by the Moldavian people, a diligent and industrious people who do excellent work in both field and factory.

As Hitler had proposed, Romania became his ally and went to war against us in 1941. During the war, being a member of the Military Council of the Southwestern Area Command (which combined the Southwestern Front and the Southern Front), I often encountered prisoners of war who fell into our hands in the southern part of our country, and I even interrogated some of them. In 1942, Italian and Romanian troops were fighting there as well as Germans. For the Stalingrad Front the largest areas where our front lines were contiguous with enemy front lines were with Romanians, who held the positions along the right flank of Hitler's Stalingrad group—that is, along our left flank in the Lake Tsatsa region.[8] It was in that region that we later carried out our successful operation surrounding the German troops at Stalingrad from the south. Those who remained alive [among the encircled German troops] were taken prisoner, with their commander, Field Marshal Paulus, at their head. There were many Romanians in that region. When we went on the offensive, we struck our main blow precisely at the positions held by Romanian troops. They didn't fight well, and their resistance was quickly overcome. I don't think that's because of any particular national character or qualities of the Romanian soldiers, but because the Romanians didn't really know why they were participating in that war or what they were fighting for. They had no reason to be in the war. Still, many of their soldiers died there and many were taken prisoner.

In 1944, as we approached Bessarabia and fighting broke out on its territory, and then as we approached the borders of Romania itself, it became evident that the pointer on the scale had tipped strongly in the direction of victory for our side. The result was that Romanian troops were even less inclined to resist our forces. Then a coup occurred in Romania. The young King Michael took part in it.[9] [Gheorghe] Gheorghiu-Dej reminisced that he was sitting in prison with his comrades at the time and one day he was taken to the palace in Bucharest for negotiations about the formation of a new government with Communist participation.[10] In Romania a situation took shape in which the sympathies of the people moved to the left, the authority of the Communist Party rose, and the king decided the Communists should participate in the new government that was being formed. I am relating here what I heard from Dej more than once in subsequent times. The Nazis began bombing Bucharest, but our forces had already entered Romanian territory, and Romania turned against Germany and began fighting on our side.

The question of whether Romania would take the socialist path did not come up at that time. The social order existing there was capitalist. Soon a new man became head of the government—Petru Groza,[11] a very wealthy man and a landowner, but one with progressive ideas. He began pursuing a policy of rapprochement with the Soviet Union and later became our good friend. The war ended. For the time being the government remained a monarchy. The Soviet Union awarded the Order of Victory[12] to King Michael. This award was in recognition of Romania's change of policy [turning against Hitler]. At any rate, King Michael wanted friendly relations with us. I knew this from reports that I became acquainted with. General Zheltov[13] was our commandant in Bucharest at that time. I recently saw him on a television program. He is a veteran political official of the Soviet Army. He told about his conversations with King Michael, mainly during hunting expeditions. So it turns out that Zheltov even became friends with the king and took part in his leisure activities.

Subsequently events developed under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party, which became more and more influential among the people. Granted permission by the new leadership, the king quietly left Romania, although he didn't want to. As Dej reminisced, "We told him he could take everything with him that he considered necessary, but he had to leave his kingdom." With that the rule of the monarchy in Romania ended. Later Romania declared itself to be a country that would build socialism.

For a while Dej was minister of roads and railways in the new government. The [general] secretary of the Romanian Communist Party's Central Committee was Ana Pauker.[14] I never met her personally, but I heard many good things about her from Manuilsky, who knew her from the Comintern and valued her highly as a well-trained individual.[15] In general he considered her the best-trained person among the Communists in Romania in theoretical respects, and he felt she could be relied on as a person who stood firmly on the ground of Marxism-Leninism. [Vasile] Luca[16] was also part of the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party. I had met with him earlier, when he was working in the underground in Chernovitsy and consequently became a Soviet citizen when the Soviet Union occupied the part of Romania that had included Chernovitsy in 1940, and we assigned him to continue to engage in party work there. A year later, when we retreated, Luca retreated together with our troops. When we liberated this territory again [in 1944], Luca worked for a while in the same city [which was now called Chernovtsy], but later he was invited to Budapest when the Communist leadership [of the new Romanian government] was formed. He was invited in his capacity as a member of the Communist Party of Romania who had served time in Romanian prisons together with his other leading comrades.

While Stalin was still alive I met Petru Groza. He made a good impression on Stalin, who showed sympathy for Groza. No longer young, he was a rather original figure, not a Communist, but a progressive leader. After the war he personally gave up the property he had formerly owned and turned it over to the government and distributed his land to the peasants. I want to tell now about a vacation Groza took in fall 1951 in Sochi. Stalin was also on vacation there at the time. I didn't want to go there, but Stalin literally dragged me there along with him. Voroshilov[17] was also there. But in those days Voroshilov no longer had any particular influence with Stalin and didn't even enjoy Stalin's respect. Voroshilov simply came there out of old habit. A former dacha of his remained there from the time when he had been people's commissar of defense. He had built it. It was called Kholodny Ruchei (Cold Brook). It had been built with a great deal of pretension, being somewhat similar in layout to the former tsar's palace at Livadia.[18]

I knew ahead of time that Groza was coming there. Stalin found this pleasing, a point he emphasized repeatedly at meals. Everyone was waiting for Groza expectantly. I was occupying a dacha which for those days was fairly modest. Voroshilov was living next to me. In preparation for Groza's arrival Stalin also moved. He went to Gagra[19] to a dacha called Kholodnaya Rechka (Cold Little River), which consisted of several buildings, not just one. A vacation resort is located there now (a *dom otdykha)*. Suddenly Stalin called me on the phone: "Where are you staying?"

I told him.

He said: "But that's a crummy, lousy dacha."

I said: "No, what are you saying? It's very nice. I find it quite suitable, and I like the fact that it's right by the seashore. My wife and I are here together." (Our children were university students at the time and therefore remained in Moscow.)

Stalin said: "I propose that you move immediately with your luggage to my Dacha No. 1 in Sochi. It's much better." (I knew that this was true because I had visited Stalin there a number of times, had stayed overnight, and on some occasions had spent several days there.)

I thanked him but refused: "What would I want that for? It's far away from the seashore." (That dacha was up in the mountains.)

He said: "You can always take a car if you want to go to the seashore. I propose that you move. What are you living in that bedraggled dacha for?"

With that the conversation ended, and I told my wife, Nina Petrovna, about it. Neither she nor I wanted to move. We felt fine about where we were. It was a comfortable little house, and we found it quite suitable. I began to wonder why Stalin was insisting so much in offering me his dacha, with which, of course, mine could not compare in any way. If I refused to move there, he might take a dim view of it, resenting that I responded to his kindness with a refusal. It would be very difficult later on to make myself understood. Stalin never wanted to understand things in ordinary human terms. I felt obliged to suggest to my wife: "All right, let's pack our suitcases and move over there."

So that's what we did. We summoned a car, picked up our luggage, and left. It took us about thirty minutes. We settled in at the new dacha, which was called Stalin's Dacha No. 1. Nevertheless, I refused to take the building where Stalin usually lived, but took the building next to it, which was for visitors, but was also large and luxurious.

We settled in and spent the night. The next day Voroshilov called: "Where are you?"

"At Dacha No. 1."

"Meanwhile I've moved into your dacha. What a crummy one! There are ants in it, and the devil only knows how poor the conditions are here!"

"Why did you move to my dacha from the good one you had?"

"Stalin called up and recommended that I immediately occupy your dacha."

Only then did it become clear to me why Stalin had been insisting so stubbornly. He wanted to free up Voroshilov's luxurious dacha for Petru Groza. Now I understood Stalin's gambit. He wanted to make an impression on Groza and provide the best conditions for his vacation. Of course it would have been simpler to suggest that Voroshilov immediately move over to Stalin's Dacha No.1. Voroshilov would have been ecstatic. But at that time he had fallen out of favor with Stalin, and something like that would have seemed to some extent like being restored to Stalin's good graces. Stalin arranged a more humiliating rearrangement of living quarters, and Voroshilov's pride was wounded deeply. I met Groza at that time during dinners at Stalin's place, but only briefly, in passing. Later I met him again after Stalin's death, in China, at the celebration of some anniversary.[20] Groza was heading the Romanian delegation. There too our meeting was rather cursory.

Soon after the war the exposure of "enemies of the people" began in the fraternal countries [that is, the Soviet-dominated countries of Eastern Europe]. Romania was also sucked into this whirlpool. Luca was arrested. Formerly a worker, they made an "agent of hostile enemy intelligence" out of him. Some pamphlets were even published, "demonstrating" that he had been an intelligence agent. I don't believe the charge at all. It would have been impossible to find real evidence of any such thing, but it could be fabricated. Thus Luca's head rolled. Ana Pauker was also arrested. Dmitry Zakharovich Manuilsky was greatly shaken by this. He told me: "She's the most honorable of persons! Life itself determined which side she would be on. She sided firmly with the working class." She ended up in prison but was later released. That was only after Stalin's death, however. She had contracted cancer, and an operation was performed. The poor woman experienced not only physical suffering but also moral, because at the end of her life she was deprived of the party's confidence in her. When meeting with the Romanian comrades, I heard Dej denounce her up one side and down the other, alleging that she was not a true Communist, that she exaggerated her own abilities and her role in the Romanian revolutionary movement, and so forth.

There were three other prominent figures among the Romanian Communist leaders: Chivu Stoica,[21] a comrade whose last name was Apostol,[22] and Nicolae Ceausescu. All these people passed through the school of the Romanian prisons [before the revolution]. Today Ceausescu is president of Romania and general secretary of the Communist Party of Romania. Dej told us that Ceausescu and he had been in the same prison together. At that time Ceausescu headed the Young Communist League of Romania and was a good, steadfast Communist.[23] He had taken a good position, and Dej felt special respect and confidence toward him.

Among the older generation of Communist leaders in Romania was [Emil] Bodnaras. He had also passed through the school of the prisons. After Stalin's death, when I began to meet with representatives of the fraternal parties, including the Romanians, Bodnaras held the post of minister of defense, as I recall.[24] He made a good impression. He spoke Russian better than the others, and it was easy for me to communicate with him without a translator. I remember that he spoke Russian without a noticeable accent. Good relations developed between us and the Romanian leadership.

Romania was economically backward, more so than the other fraternal countries. It was rather impoverished and was oriented mainly toward agriculture. But it did have some great natural riches: oil, natural gas, and valuable timber reserves; in fact it exported the latter item. Romania occupies a splendid territory in geographical respects, and its land is fertile. Therefore its agricultural production exceeds its domestic requirements, and that became a fairly solid basis for earning foreign currency, a favorable condition for the development of other branches of the economy. Romania evolved into a strong country of the socialist type. The Romanian comrades took the road of combining peasant households into cooperatives, just as we had. Everything went along successfully. Of course they also had disturbances in their country. Uprisings took place in some isolated villages, but they managed to deal with it. The cooperative farms began working well. For our part, we helped them organize tractor production and the establishment of a mechanized basis for engaging in agriculture. We also helped them set up production of motor vehicles, steam and diesel locomotives, oil refineries, and metallurgical plants. In short, everything the new Romania needed and was not able to do by itself, we provided, delivering technology and equipment and sending our specialists and advisers.

As I've related previously, a Soviet-Romanian joint company, a joint operation called Sovrum, was functioning there. In particular it was engaged in mining uranium.[25] Some formerly German-owned factories also were part of this company. In effect this joint operation infringed on Romania's sovereignty, and after Stalin's death we eliminated the company. Later, if any discussion about it came up, Dej would repeatedly intone "Sovrum! Sovrum!" with a bitter look on his face, as though he were cursing.[26] We eliminated joint companies like that in all the fraternal countries, understanding that they were like a sore toe on someone else's foot that we had stepped on, that we were offending their sense of national dignity and bringing dissension into our own camp.

In addition, we had a special conversation with the Romanian leadership concerning the illegal arrests and executions that had taken place under Stalin. Dej reacted in a restrained way, and to the very end, every time we met, he insisted that the arrests had been proper. The Romanian leadership paid special attention to the question of its own national homogeneity, seeking to remove people of non-Romanian origin. Pauker had been Jewish, and Luca had Ukrainian blood in his veins.[27] The only non-Romanian in their Politburo during my time was a Hungarian from Transylvania,[28] a very good comrade and a friend of Dej. Apparently that's why he remained in the leadership. There are many Hungarians living in Transylvania, and it was as though he were representing them in the leadership. That of course was not stated officially anywhere. Those are just my assumptions. But I can't say anything bad about any of those comrades; I consider them all worthy of respect.

In the first years after Stalin's death, we often invited leaders of the fraternal countries to come to Moscow to have discussions on one or another confidential subject. Molotov at that time still enjoyed our absolute confidence, and we assigned him to carry on these discussions as the oldest member of the Central Committee Presidium.[29] However, he conducted himself in an arrogant way, not on an equal footing. He "issued instructions" [handed out orders] to representatives of the other Communist parties. He treated them as though they ought to listen to what he said and do as he commanded. They were offended by this and insulted, and after Molotov had been removed from our leadership, Dej a number of times recalled him with annoyance. As for me, I never tried to invite myself as a guest to visit Romania and only went there when I was invited by our hosts. We came to an agreement in advance about when I would come and what questions our hosts were interested in discussing. However, I couldn't travel from Moscow to any other country without a specific decision to that effect by our leadership. On one occasion we were having a discussion under such conditions, and suddenly Comrade Bodnaras brought up a question that I was not ready for and had never thought about. He asked: "What is your opinion, Comrade Khrushchev? Shouldn't Soviet troops be withdrawn from Romania?"

I was taken aback. None of us had thought about that in those days. On the contrary, we assumed that as long as the Cold War was continuing and as long as we had no assurance of nonaggression on the part of the imperialist powers, we thought it inappropriate to weaken the borders that the socialist camp had in common or allow any breaches to appear in those lines. So far from thinking along the lines expressed by Bodnaras, we were thinking about strengthening the common defense. The proposal that had been made, from our point of view, would have weakened the positions of the socialist countries, because in particular it would have left a large stretch of the coast of the Black Sea unprotected. As far as I recall, I reacted sharply: "What's that? What for? Why, our enemies could take advantage of that."

He replied: "What enemies do we have there? All our borders are with socialist countries. Generally speaking, it would be impossible to invade us without invading other fraternal countries first."

"Well, but what about the Black Sea? And Turkey? An invasion could be carried out through Turkey in whatever direction NATO ordered it."

"Yes, but after all, the USSR is right there next to us."

"Yes, we're right next to you, but in spite of that a certain amount of time would be lost transferring troops, whereas now our divisions are positioned there with their guns aimed at the Black Sea coast. If an enemy landing were made, our troops would go into battle immediately."

"Well, we only wanted to raise the question and find out your opinion."

"Well, what I'm saying here is only my opinion. I don't know what attitude my comrades would take toward it. We'll have an exchange of views on the subject, but I don't think the necessary conditions for this have yet ripened."

Actually, I would hardly have used an expression like "conditions have not yet ripened" at that time. My understanding of things then was fairly solidly fixed on the concept that defenses needed to be strengthened and that the strengthening of defenses was inseparably linked with the continuing presence of our troops on the territories of the fraternal countries. Later we stopped talking about this subject at all. And our Romanian colleagues did not insist. After they found out my opinion they decided to leave everything as it was. Only later did Dej once ask me: “Do you know why we brought up the question about withdrawal of your troops back then?”

I answered: “No, I don’t know why.”

“On one occasion, when we arrived in Moscow for talks, Molotov went after us and began cursing us up one side and down the other. He allowed himself to use monstrous expressions. He said the only reason we remained in power was because of the help given us by the Russian people and that it was only thanks to the presence of Soviet troops. He said: ‘If those troops weren’t there, you wouldn’t stay in power for even one week.’ We were offended and insulted by this. We felt confident that we were in the leadership not because of the presence of foreign troops but as a result of the confidence placed in us by the Romanian people. We wanted to convince you of that, and that’s why we proposed that your troops be withdrawn. We were absolutely certain that even after your troops were withdrawn our position would remain just as solid, because we held power as a result of the confidence of the people and not because of the presence of your tanks.”

We, of course, had not correctly understood their proposal when it was made back then. We assumed that the aim they were pursuing was to free themselves from our influence, that they were displaying lack of understanding of the imperialist threat against the socialist countries.

I don’t remember how much time went by, but that conversation with the Romanians stuck in my mind, especially after another conversation with Dej [on the same subject]. In my thoughts I returned to this problem many times. It seemed that Dej was a sincere person; he was not trying to pull a fast one on me—not trying to use cunning or stratagems with me. I was concerned about the feeling of insult [over Molotov’s remarks], and I continued to reflect on the problem. Gradually we strengthened our position in the world and began to feel surer of ourselves. We no longer looked at the surrounding capitalist world as Stalin had. Capitalist encirclement had always made him afraid, and he lived in constant expectation of war. Nor did we forget about capitalist encirclement, but we knew that our strength had grown. We now had missiles, atomic bombs, and hydrogen bombs. The socialist countries had built up their economic as well as military power. Our armed forces could compete with the armed forces of any country, and everyone had to take us into account. Our military power strengthened our policy of peaceful coexistence, the only possible and only correct policy in humankind’s transitional period on the way to socialism.

For the time being the forces of socialism were less than those of capitalism. But in recent times new forces had appeared that did not belong to either military bloc. These were the nonaligned countries. They were fairly numerous. A struggle for their support lay before us. These were reserve forces [potentially]. To a considerable extent the transition of all countries in the world to the building of socialism would be determined by the question: "On which side would they choose to exert their efforts?" After prolonged reflection the opinion ripened in my mind that the Romanian comrades were right. We should accommodate them and withdraw our troops. We didn't have that many troops there anyhow: just a few divisions. In the western parts of the USSR we had many more troops. In addition to the arguments I have indicated above, there was also the consideration that if we withdrew our troops from Romania and stationed them somewhere in Moldavia or Izmail province,[30] essentially very little would change in the event of an attack by our enemies on Romania. The distances there are not great if we needed to rush to the Romanians' assistance. It wouldn't take much time to overcome those distances. We had powerful aircraft. We had ships and planes armed with missiles, and we had short-range missiles. Also our naval forces were not in bad shape, so that it would be no simple matter for the enemy to try to make a landing on the coast of Romania. From the sound of things the enemy would not have a relaxed, easygoing stroll, but would have to think seriously before undertaking such an action. The political confidence we displayed toward the Romanians would be favorably evaluated by them. It would be a demonstration of equal partnership and a good propaganda argument for us against countries that maintain troops on foreign territory. It was at that very time that we were emphasizing the slogan of "withdrawal of all foreign troops to within their national borders." Even today that's a pretty powerful slogan, and we need to fight to have it carried out. But how can you fight for that if a political leader is advocating détente in international relations, and all the while troops from his country are stationed on the territories of other countries? The reputation of such a political leader would be undermined, and no one would have confidence in what he was advocating. For all these reasons I thought the withdrawal of our troops from Romania would be expedient.

I brought the question up within our leadership, proposed an exchange of views, and suggested we return to the subject of the discussion we had had earlier with the Romanian comrades. We invited the minister of defense of the USSR and asked him his point of view. However, even before that, having brought the question before the Central Committee Presidium, I had had an exchange of opinions with him, and he had agreed with me. Defense Minister

Malinovsky at the session of the Presidium confirmed that the withdrawal of troops would not weaken our military positions. Besides, we would obtain some material relief as a result, because it was twice as expensive to maintain troops outside our borders as on our own territory. We decided the matter then and there and announced our decision to the Romanians.[31] They of course were very pleased. Their idea had triumphed, along with the realization that we treated them with confidence and respect.

It's true that our relations went sour later on. But trying to improve relations by introducing your forces onto the territory of another country or keeping them there is no method at all. On the contrary, while creating the appearance of good relations, such a situation serves, beneath the surface, as a kind of time bomb that at some point will work against good relations between countries.

Back then, immediately after the withdrawal of our troops, relations with Romania continued to develop on especially favorable terms, with mutual assistance being kept in mind. But "mutual assistance" is just a phrase. In actual fact we helped them more than they helped us. Mutual assistance consisted in the fact that our interests and Romania's interests were interconnected in the sphere of international relations.

On questions of internal policy, each country went about its own business and developed its economy in order to raise the living standards of its people. Continuing to cooperate in the economic sphere, we provided all possible support to Romania. In return it paid us with goods and raw materials, the most valuable component of which was uranium ore. We paid for it at world prices, but if it is kept in mind that there was great demand in the world for uranium ore and that it had a particular [military] significance, it can be considered that this was essential aid to us on the part of our Romanian friends. Of course there's another side to this question. The delivery of uranium ore was paid for by goods that we delivered in exchange. Besides, its use for making nuclear weapons was in the interests of both Romania and the USSR, as well as the other socialist countries. I would even say in the interests of all progressive people on earth, those who stand for and have stood for peaceful coexistence and exert their efforts to avoid war.

I traveled to Romania many times—on official visits, for brief vacations, and for discussions in the line of business. I became fairly well acquainted with the life of the country and its natural environment. It made a vivid impression on me. Romania has a splendid climate, good soil, and high yields in agriculture. And the Carpathian Mountains are something indeed to remember! The hunting there is wonderful, with abundant game. The most valuable type of animal to hunt is bear. And there were many bears in those mountains.

The main thing, however, was not the beautiful views or the excellent hunting, but how well the people worked. Romania developed its agriculture quite thoroughly, producing a surplus of agricultural goods and exporting grain and corn. If to that we add traditional export commodities such as oil and timber, which are also very valuable, it becomes clear why Romania's economy developed successfully and why it enjoyed a favorable balance of payments.

Some other socialist countries were offended by Romania and accused it of focusing solely on its own national interests. The chief accusation was that the Romanians, while being very well provided for with the amount of arable land per capita and having a surplus of agricultural products, failed to move in the direction of offering those products to the other socialist countries in exchange for the delivery of goods from those countries. Romania preferred to sell its agricultural products to the capitalist countries. I understood these accusations, but I didn't always agree with them. Romania needed foreign currency, just like every country does. If it sold its agricultural surpluses to the fraternal countries, it would no longer be able to go shopping on the world capitalist market [having no foreign currency for that], and consequently it would not be able to buy the instruments and equipment that its economy needed. After all, it could not satisfy all its needs with goods produced in the socialist countries, and it would end up without any foreign currency. This is a complicated problem, and a sober approach must be taken toward evaluating it. Passions should not be allowed to get out of hand, and the interests of one's partner must be taken into account. In this connection I remember Bulgaria's claims against Romania and Yugoslavia when the latter two countries were holding talks about building a hydroelectric power plant along a stretch of the Danube River called the Iron Gate.[32] Bulgaria took no part in the construction of the power plant, but it claimed the right to receive part of the electricity produced by that plant for the needs of its economy. The Romanians and Yugoslavs had a bad reaction to this claim. They felt dissatisfied, but at the same time they didn't feel comfortable expressing their dissatisfaction, and for that reason they didn't reply to the Bulgarians in the affirmative or the negative. They simply pursed their lips [and said nothing], to use an expression common among the people.

As I've recounted earlier, I noticed that the Romanians also took offense against us. I drew the conclusion from this that they apparently thought the claims made by Bulgaria had been coordinated with the USSR, which was supporting them, although this was not stated anywhere. After a considerable time we had another one of our regular meetings with our Romanian comrades. Our relations had already begun to go bad at that time, and we didn't want them to get any worse. The question of Bulgaria's claims was touched on. We explained that by no means did we share the Bulgarian point of view. On the contrary we had recommended to the Bulgarian comrades, with whom we had always had the very best relations, that they should take an understanding attitude toward the reluctance of Romania and Yugoslavia to satisfy their demands. We thought these demands had no substance to them and that they could not be taken into account because the territory where the dam was being built was not Bulgarian and the plant itself would do no harm to Bulgaria. Consequently there were no grounds for demanding compensation. The Bulgarian claims gave the appearance of intervening in the internal affairs of other countries. There was no basis for demanding that Bulgaria should be given something in this connection or that the fruits of this project should be shared with the Bulgarians if the Bulgarians had not participated in the work. After that conversation the Bulgarian comrades did not insist on their demands any longer, and this question never came up again. The Romanians listened to us very attentively when we told them this, and Dej was watching me especially closely.

He said: "When did you tell the Bulgarians this?"

I answered him. I repeated that in response to the Bulgarian proposals I had stated that such claims could only cause fraternal relations to grow worse.

Dej said nothing and we discussed the question no further.

With the passage of time, however, relations between the Soviet Union and Romania kept growing worse. We received reports that the Romanians were condemning us at closed party meetings and expressing all sorts of negative things against the Soviet Union. I don't remember now exactly what they were accusing us of. Later the unfavorable attitude toward our country began to be expressed by having the names of streets changed. Some streets in Bucharest previously had Russian names, and by no means all of them were the names of prominent political figures in our time. [That is, they were from earlier history.] The streets were renamed. Meanwhile we had been doing everything we could not to infringe on the national feelings of our neighbors and not to do them any economic harm. If our economic relations are examined, it can be seen that they operated in favor of Romania. Our technical aid, construction projects, and scientific information were provided to them free of charge, and goods were supplied on credit at a minimal rate of interest that the Romanians had to pay, and the time allowed for repayment was much longer than is usually the custom in the world. As I recall, the USSR provided credit for the building of factories in Romania charging 2.5 percent interest. If we had used this capital, which we gave to Romania on credit—if we had used it inside the USSR and sold the surplus products from the factories and plants built with this capital—we would have earned much more [than the 2.5 percent]. However, that would not have represented fraternal relations between socialist countries; it would have been the kind of relations that exist between capitalist countries. While trade among socialist countries is sometimes calculated on the basis of world market prices, we felt that in this case, to the contrary, we should provide aid to the Romanian people. It would have seemed that this policy line should have impressed the Romanians. But it didn't turn out that way and we felt chagrined, and so we decided to meet with the Romanian side again, hear what they had to say, and try to speak candidly with them. We wanted them to tell us honestly what they were dissatisfied about and what was needed in order to remove obstacles to normal development and the strengthening of fraternal relations.

I was assigned to head a delegation of the CPSU to a regular congress of the Romanian Workers Party in summer 1960.[33] This congress of the Romanian Party took place at the time when the Chinese Communist Party had already begun its open polemic against us. We wanted to hold a preliminary conference of the fraternal Communist parties and have an exchange of views on current questions. We succeeded in organizing such a gathering. It was not an official conference, but exactly what I have said—an exchange of opinions on currently disputed questions that had become painful, questions mainly being raised by the Chinese. At that time the Romanian Workers Party shared our point of view on these questions, and on this level we did not have any disagreements with them. At the conference it became evident that Albania was taking a pro-Chinese position and speaking out against us. I asked the Albanian representative what was the explanation for this. He replied that he was only following the orders of his leadership.

This was spoken candidly, but for me such an explanation was insufficient. Everything became clear later, although even now, if I was subjected to strict interrogation, I would say that I don't fully understand why the Albanian Party of Labor decided to go along with the Chinese against the CPSU. I cannot give any really intelligible explanations. I suppose that the Albanian Party of Labor itself could not give any intelligible explanations. At the conference in Bucharest all the other parties, aside from the representatives of the Albanian Party of Labor and the Chinese Communist Party, expressed unanimity and adopted a common position flowing from the decisions of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' parties of [November] 1957, held in Moscow. However, we had firm knowledge that the Romanians, confidentially, inside their own party, were conducting "explanatory" work aimed against the Soviet Union and the CPSU. We wrote an official letter to the Romanian comrades asking them to think over all those problems that from their point of view were interfering with our fraternal relations, so that our disagreements could be eliminated. We sincerely stated that we did not understand the source of the unfriendly attitude toward the USSR. We presented the following arguments, along with others: "History had made us neighbors. If we didn't like each other [that was one thing], but no one chooses their neighbors, and it's better to live in peace and friendship with your neighbors; we didn't want our relations to go bad. On the contrary, we wanted them to improve; we had lived peacefully side by side with Romania when it was ruled by a king; we lived side by side with it when Antonescu was carrying out a policy hostile toward us; we wanted our relations to remain fraternal, and we would do everything possible so that they would remain warm and friendly; therefore we called on them to do the same on their side as we were doing." But in reply the Romanians presented no persuasive or comprehensible counterarguments. At that point we decided to make another trip to Romania and look into all these matters right there on the spot.

Within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon), and in our bilateral relations with Romania as well as with other socialist countries, when the various economic plans of each country were worked out matters of fundamental mutual interest were encountered. Each country expressed its wishes about what it wanted to obtain from another country, but such requests were not always satisfied. I would not say that this kind of thing always developed into a conflict. But the majority of countries presented their wishes (I don't want to use the word "claims" because no one had the right to make claims; we were not debtors and creditors in relation to one another)—but they expressed such wishes toward us with the aim of receiving from us more than we were able to give. Our failure to satisfy their wishes left a bad taste in their mouths, which subsequently developed into an unfriendly attitude.

The Romanian comrades agreed to a meeting, and we decided to form a rather comprehensive delegation for this purpose. We included people who dealt with various economic and political questions and had been in contact with counterparts in Romania on such questions. I was assigned to head the delegation. Among the others in the delegation were Kosygin, Lesechko, who was the chairman of the executive committee of Comecon, and Andropov, from the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee.[34] And so we made our trip to Romania. On the Romanian side the entire leadership was present. The meeting was held on their territory and as hosts they received us. The meeting was held outside the capital city in a very lovely spot about thirty minutes from Bucharest. Whenever I went to Romania I was put up at that location. There was a lake, a forest, and a beautiful meadow alongside—among the fairest splendors of Romania. The first meeting was held at a table richly laden with delicacies.

I should note at once that on matters of principle our unanimity became evident. During the course of the discussion, however, I reminded the Romanian comrades that on one occasion we had felt frustrated and hurt by their refusal to respond to a request we had made. On one occasion we had a shortage of pesticides for combating sugar-beet weevils. Romania produced those pesticides. We requested that they supply us with a certain quantity in addition to what we had already purchased. Romania replied that it could provide what we had asked for on the condition that we paid with foreign currency or with goods salable on the world market to earn foreign currency. We agreed, but we felt hurt by their reply. After all, we had provided Romania with a great many types of goods and materials that could be sold on the world market for foreign currency and had never requested repayment in foreign currency. We had received ordinary products in exchange—of a kind that we could have obtained on any market. Dej heard me out and then turned to [Ion Gheorghe] Maurer,[35] asking him if he could confirm my account. My account was confirmed to Dej. Lesechko and Kosygin recalled more details about this incident. The goods the Romanians had asked for in exchange for the pesticides had also been earmarked in our planning for sale on the world market to earn foreign currency, to pay for orders we had placed on the capitalist market. I said that I had given this example in order to show our friends that such cases did occur and were the result of the initiative taken by Romanian representatives. I said: "All sorts of things happen in matters of trade and commerce. Let's come to an agreement, Comrade Dej, that in the future no dissension in our relations will occur and that we will not give each other any reason for dissension. Let's make a separate chart or schedule for all deliveries of goods that are salable for foreign currency, including raw materials and finished products, so that both sides, in advance, can propose goods side by side that will be of equal value. Then no misunderstandings will arise."

Dej replied: "All right, we agree."

It seemed that he was satisfied with my remarks. But the conversation was joined by the chairman of the Romanian state planning commission, a good economist who knew his business. He objected: "I ask that such a decision not be made." And he looked at me with a smile on his face.

I asked him: "Why? That would create equal conditions, and there would be no reason for anyone to take offense."

"That's true, Comrade Khrushchev, but (and here he turned toward Dej) that's not to our advantage, because right now we are receiving many goods from the USSR that can be sold for foreign currency and we're paying for them with goods of a different kind."

I insisted: "It turns out that there are complaints from both sides, and this will give rise to misunderstandings. So that that won't happen in the future, let's agree to keep separate accounts for all goods that are salable for foreign currency."

Now Dej himself replied: "Comrade Khrushchev, I ask you not to insist on that, because that kind of commerce would be very disadvantageous for Romania."

I said: "Right, I understand you. How much copper have we supplied to you? And we ourselves buy it on the world capitalist market and pay with gold. But you pay us with soft strips of wood for making containers to pack fruits and vegetables in." That's because Romania is close to Moldavia, which needs a lot of container packaging for fruits and vegetables. For our convenience in shipping fruits and vegetables beyond the borders of Moldavia, Romania made wooden boxes, and we were paying with foreign currency for these—that is, for scrap wood!

I continued: "Under the new conditions we can't keep doing this. Let our economic managers find some other solution. There are other possibilities open to us. We can start making paper containers or we can supply our own wood for these boxes. We also have the Carpathian Mountains nearby on our territory. Ukraine can supply Moldavia with container packaging."

The Romanian comrades started asking us not to establish such a system of trade on a parity basis.

So I made this proposal: "All right. Let's keep trading in the old way, but then the question comes up, 'What other complaints remain? What is it that is now dividing us? What contributes to the special separate position that we notice being taken by the Romanian comrades?'" We didn't hear anything comprehensible in reply to that.

Subsequently Romania continued its policy of setting itself apart and taking its own special position within the socialist camp, and this was expressed in various aspects of life. I will just give one example. Our young women who had married Romanian students who had been studying in our country [and then had gone with their husbands to Romania] began returning to the USSR. Their husbands were divorcing them, because an intolerable atmosphere had been created around them. Other unpleasant incidents occurred of a domestic character, not to mention openly political matters. As before, inside their country the Romanians continued to conduct propaganda against the Soviet Union. Soon a delegation of theirs went to China (but we were no longer going to China; we were not invited there any more), and on their way back they stopped to vacation in our country. Mikoyan and I were on vacation at Pitsunda,[36] and we invited the Romanians to spend a few days with us. That would give us a chance to hear what they had to say and have an exchange of opinions.

A lively discussion ensued. They told about the situation in China, and we understood from what they said that the Romanians on a whole did not share the Chinese point of view. They said: “The Chinese tried to turn us against you. They said that the USSR had taken Bessarabia from us and had taken Poland’s eastern territories from it and in general pursued an incorrect policy. But we didn’t listen to them because we don’t need Bessarabia.”

What they said impressed itself on my hearing quite strongly. I was not about to continue the discussion on this touchy subject, but I began to reflect. Why did the Romanian comrades suddenly say this to us? At the same time they were fairly soft in their attitude toward China; they didn’t condemn Beijing’s point of view categorically. This left a bad taste in my mouth. Perhaps they were offended after all by the fact that Bessarabia was restored as part of the Soviet state. Before the revolution it had been part of Russia and was snatched away by Romania in 1918. At that time the Red Army had been weak. Soviet Russia had not had the capacity to defend all of its borders at that time. So what happened in 1940 was not that we tore away part of Romania for the benefit of the USSR, but this territory was returned to its homeland with the reestablishment of the former borders. If this matter is looked at from a historical point of view, the left-bank part of Moldavia [that is, the left, or east, bank of the Dniester River] was never part of the Romanian state whatsoever. This hint about Bessarabia remained the only rough spot during our meeting at Pitsunda. And we met with the Romanians many times after that. Outwardly good relations continued. However, I didn’t observe the same warmth and openness as before. Politeness was evident, but it was somehow artificial, not a really fraternal cordiality. Our embassy staff members in Romania also reported the same thing.

Even today I can’t explain what the reason was for all this. I must admit that at that time we decided that this same man, Ion Maurer, might be to blame. I had no complaints about him personally. He was a polite man of good breeding. It was always pleasant to converse with him both on business matters and in a more relaxed atmosphere. He and I went hunting together a number of times. He is an excellent hunter, a good shot, and a good comrade to be out tramping around with. His social background was a cause of concern. He was not a proletarian but from a long line of the intelligentsia. He had a strong influence on Dej. They had become friends ever since the time that Maurer defended Dej as a lawyer when Dej was on trial. But that fact also speaks in Maurer's favor, that he undertook to defend a Communist in Romania under the monarchy! However, it may be that some survivals of the past of a nationalist character remained in him. Having been given a high position in Romania, he began to exert an influence that was harmful to our relations. Could that be? All this is sheer speculation. I had no specific facts or information then and I don't have any now. There was some kind of unfortunate misunderstanding that damaged our relations.

Subsequently, Ceausescu gained enormous influence in Romanian politics,[37] but I can't say anything about him aside from the fact that he was young and nobody's fool. He was a man who had also gone through the school of class struggle. He evidently was not just a chance figure who appeared in the Romanian leadership. Now that I'm retired I observe Romania's foreign policy, and I don't understand everything they do. Some of the steps they take on the international arena don't seem to have any sensible explanation.

On defense matters Romania also took a special position setting itself apart. It didn't always fulfill the plans that had been worked out by the Warsaw Pact countries, plans according to which each country assumed obligations to have a certain number of troops and weapons. Correspondingly, orders were placed for the manufacture of certain weapons.

I remember an incident that I've already mentioned before. According to plans worked out by the Warsaw Pact, Romania was supposed to purchase a certain number of tanks, which it had placed orders for in Czechoslovakia. When Czechoslovakia had completed the production of these tanks, Romania was supposed to pay for them, but it refused to pay. Why do I remember this? Because Comrade Novotny[38] appealed to us in tragic tones: "We spent money on this. We live by foreign trade. And Romania is refusing to take our tanks and won't compensate us for our expenses."

I don't remember what decision Romania later accepted, but this was already a violation of a definite treaty obligation, and such violations are impermissible. If you belong to the Warsaw Pact alliance, if military interests require that a certain level of armaments be built up, and if one or another country cannot produce those armaments itself, an order for production of such armaments is distributed among other countries. This order must be regarded as one that you have placed yourself, because you must receive the goods produced and pay for them.

Other similar incidents took place. Marshal Grechko reported to me that when he was the commander of the unified forces of the Warsaw Pact[39] the Romanian defense minister conducted himself in an improper manner at meetings of the headquarters staffs. Grechko, as his superior in rank, was forced to call him to order. After all, the defense ministers of the various Warsaw Pact countries were deputies to the commander-in-chief [who was Grechko]. But all these incidents were reflections of more profound processes that were eating away at our friendly relations. The roots of these processes remained unknown to me, and to this day I don't know what they were. I think that time will smooth everything over. After all, the interests of all the socialist countries are the same. Unfortunately, in my reminiscences about our Romanian neighbor I have not been able to reveal the most important thing that I wanted to explain—that is, the origin of the cleavage that occurred in our relationship. To this day these cracks and cleavages have not healed, and relations remain cold as before, if not worse.

For a while after I became a pensioner, when I reflected on this problem I attributed the cooling-off of relations to myself. I thought that it might have been the result of some personal qualities or shortcomings of mine. However, it will soon be six years since I ceased to be involved in the world of politics, and not only have relations not improved; they have grown worse. That means it's not a matter of personalities. There are some other factors causing this division between our countries and parties. Unfortunately, I could not then and cannot now say what they are.

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1. Nestor Ivanovich Makhno (1889–1934) was a Ukrainian anarchist (anarcho-communist or libertarian communist) organizer and military leader. Between 1918 and 1921 his Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine fought in turn the German and Austrian forces that occupied Ukraine after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the Ukrainian nationalists, the Whites (in temporary alliance with the Red Army), and finally the Red Army when it invaded Ukraine. As Khrushchev notes, Makhno fled to Romania, thence to Poland and Germany, and ended up in Paris, where he died in 1934. See Biographies. See also: Nestor Makhno, *Vospominaniya, Kniga 1* (Paris: PASCAL, 1929, and Kiev: Izd-vo "Ukraina," 1991), and *Kniga 2–3* (Paris: Komitet N. Makhno, 1936, and Kiev: Izd-vo "Ukraina," 1991); P. Arshinov, *History of the Makhnovist Movement, 1918–1921* (London: Freedom Press, 1987); Voline, *The Unknown Revolution, 1917–1921* (Detroit: Black & Red, and Chicago: Solidarity, 1974), book 3, part 2; and http://www.nestormakhno.info. [SS]

2. The Dniester River rises in the Carpathian Mountains and enters the Black Sea a few miles southwest of Odessa. It is 1,350 kilometers (845 miles) long. [SS]

3. Bessarabia, which overlaps mostly with the territory of present-day Moldova, belonged to the tsarist empire from 1812 to 1917. Northern Bukovina, which since World War II has formed part of southwestern Ukraine, belonged to the Austro-Hungarian empire from 1774 until World War I. Between the two world wars (1918–40) both territories belonged to Romania. [SS]

4. The Pruth (or Prut) River rises in the Carpathian Mountains and flows southeast about 1,000 kilometers (600 miles) to enter the Danube at a

point some 80 kilometers (50 miles) west of the latter's mouth on the Black Sea. It now runs along the border between Moldova and Romania. [SS]

5. These two towns are both on the River Pruth in Northern Bukovina, about fifty miles apart. [SS]

6. Tiraspol was founded in 1792 as a Russian fortress. In 1926 its population was still only about 22,000. The city underwent considerable expansion and intensive industrialization in the period after World War II, so that it can no longer be described as "beautiful, clean, [and] white." It now has a population of more than 200,000 and is the capital of the breakaway Transnistrian Moldovan Republic. [SS]

7. Kishinev (called Chisinau in the Romanian or Moldovan language) was founded in 1436 as a monastery town. When it was absorbed into the tsarist empire in 1812, it was made the administrative center of the gubernia of Bessarabia. By 1904 its population was 148,000. It is now the capital of Moldova and has a population of 920,000. [SS]

8. Lake Tsatsa was a small lake about 30 miles south of Stalingrad. See the chapter "By the Ruins of Stalingrad" in Volume 1 of the memoirs (p. 433). [SS]

9. This was the coup of August 1944 against the dictatorship of General Ion Antonescu, who had been appointed prime minister by King Michael I in September 1940. Michael agreed to dismiss Antonescu and have him arrested with a view to disentangling Romania from its wartime alliance with Germany and coming to an agreement with the Allies before Soviet troops occupied the country. Michael was 23 years old at the time. In December 1947 he was forced to abdicate and go into exile. His citizenship was restored in 1997, and since then he has paid many visits to his homeland. On Antonescu and Michael, see Biographies. [MN/SS]

10. The coalition government, headed by Petru Groza (see following note), held office from 1944 to 1947, when it gave way to a wholly Communist government. [SS] At this time Gheorghiu-Dej was already a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Romania. In 1945 he became its general secretary. See Biographies. [MN]

11. Petru Groza (1884–1958) was the head of the democratic peasant organization "Plowmen's Front," founded by him in 1933. From 1945 to 1947 he was head of the coalition government and from 1947 to 1952 chairman of the Council of Ministers. He was president of the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly from 1952 to 1958. [MN/SS]

12. The Order of Victory was the highest Soviet military decoration. It had been introduced in 1943. [SS]

13. At this time Colonel General Aleksei Stepanovich Zheltov was a member of the Military Council of the Third Ukrainian Front. See Biographies.

14. As a senior party figure well known in Moscow, Ana Pauker (1893–1960) occupied the post of general secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers Party for the first few months after the Soviet occupation of Romania in 1944–45. It was not considered appropriate for her to stay in the top position for very long because she was a woman and a Jew. After ceding this post to Gheorghiu-Dej, she continued to be regarded informally as the most authoritative of the party leaders. She remained one of the Central Committee secretaries until 1952, responsible initially for organizational affairs and then (from 1948) for agriculture. In addition, she was minister of foreign affairs from 1947 to 1952. In 1952 she was arrested on charges of "peasantism" and "right-wing opportunism" for opposing the forcible collectivization of agriculture and supporting higher prices for agricultural products. She survived thanks to Stalin's timely death and was finally released in 1956. See Biographies and also Robert Levy's valuable biography, *Ana Pauker: The Rise and Fall of a Jewish Communist* (University of California Press, 2001). [SS]

15. Pauker worked with Manuilsky as representative of the Romanian Communist Party in the Comintern from 1941 to 1943 and as head of the Comintern's Foreign Bureau in 1943–44. However, Levy suggests that she first made Manuilsky's acquaintance and secured his patronage in 1930, when as a student at the Lenin School in Moscow she was seconded to work in the Comintern's Latin Secretariat, which maintained liaison with the French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese Communist parties (Levy, *Anna Pauker,* 47). [SS]

16. Vasile Luca (1898–1963) was minister of finance and deputy prime minister from 1947 to 1952, when he was arrested and sentenced to death, later commuted to life imprisonment, for "economic sabotage"—that is, for opposing currency devaluation. He died in prison. See Biographies. [SS]

17. Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov was at this time deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. See Biographies. [SS]

18. Livadia is a seaside resort in the Crimea, on the Black Sea, about 3 kilometers (2 miles) southwest of Yalta. The Livadia Palace was built in 1910–11 as a summer residence for Tsar Nicholas II. It was designed in Italian Renaissance style by the architect N. Krasnov (1864–1939). [SS]

19. Gagra is a Black Sea resort in northern Abkhazia (Georgia). [SS]

20. It was the fifth anniversary of the People's Republic of China, October 1, 1954. [SK]

21. Chivu Stoica (1908–75) was prime minister from 1955 to 1961 and president of the State Council from 1965 to 1967. See Biographies. [SS]

22. Khrushchev is referring to Gheorghe Apostol (1913–?), who was first secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers Party in

1954–55 and was appointed first deputy prime minister in 1965. See Biographies. [SS]

23. Nicolae Ceausescu shared a cell with Gheorghiu-Dej in a Romanian concentration camp in 1943–44. It is thought that this is when he became his protégé. Ceausescu headed the Young Communist League after his release, in 1944–45. See Biographies. [SS]

24. Emil Bodnaras was imprisoned in the late 1930s and early 1940s as an agent of Soviet military intelligence. After World War II he was head of Romania's secret intelligence service and then minister of the armed forces. See Biographies. [SS]

25. "Sovrum" (also referred to in various sources as "Sovrom" or "Sovrom-Kvant") is an acronym for "Soviet-Romanian." It is also used in the plural to refer to all the Soviet-Romanian joint companies, of which there were several.

The extraction of uranium ore in Romania started in 1952 at the Baitza Bihorului mine in the Apuseni Mountains, a range in the West Carpathians, near the border with Hungary. The 15,000-strong workforce initially consisted of political prisoners. When most of them had died of radiation sickness, they were replaced by local villagers who were attracted by high wages and did not know what they were mining. In 1960, when the richest uranium ore deposits at Baitza Bihorului were depleted, a new mine was opened about 6 kilometers (4 miles) away. [SS]

26. Dej had been critical of the workings of the Soviet-Romanian joint companies from the start (Levy, *Anna Pauker,* 82). [SS]

27. The Dej faction distrusted almost everyone who was not an ethnic Romanian. Luca was in fact of Hungarian, not Ukrainian, origin. (His first name was originally Laszlo.) He was also distrusted because his wife was Jewish (Levy, *Anna Pauker,* 80, 198). [SS]

28. Transylvania is a large region in western Romania. It was under the rule of Hungarian kings from the eleventh century until World War I, but was transferred to Romania under the terms of the Treaty of Trianon of 1920. Hungarians constitute about a quarter (1.5–2.2 million) of the region's total population of 7.2 million. [SS]

29. Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov remained Soviet minister of foreign affairs until 1956. See Biographies. [SS]

30. Izmail is a port on the Danube, about 80 kilometers (50 miles) from the Black Sea. It was originally (from the twelfth century) a Genoese fortress and later (from the sixteenth century) a Turkish fortress. In 1790 it was taken by storm by General Suvorov. It belonged to the tsarist empire from 1812 to 1917 and to Romania from 1918 to 1940. [SS]

31. Soviet troops were withdrawn from Romania in August 1958. See Sergiu Verona, *Military Occupation and Diplomacy: Soviet Troops in Romania, 1944–1958* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1992). [SS]

32. Khrushchev has already mentioned this power plant in the chapter entitled "Yugoslavia." See note 20 to that chapter for more information on the Danube River, the Iron Gate, and the plant. [GS/SS]

33. The Eighth Congress of the Romanian Workers Party took place in Bucharest between June 20 and 25, 1960. Its main theme was that Romania had created the economic basis of socialism and had entered the period of completing its construction.

34. The delegation spent seven days in Romania in the second half of June 1962.

At this time, Aleksei Nikolayevich Kosygin was the first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Mikhail Avksentyevich Lesechko (1909–84) was permanent representative of the Soviet Union to Comecon, and Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov was head of the department of the CPSU Central Committee responsible for liaison with the Communist parties of socialist countries.

Lesechko was also first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Commission (Gosplan) from 1958 to 1962 and a deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers from 1962 to 1980. He was Soviet representative to Comecon from 1962 to 1977. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

35. At this time, Ion Gheorghe Maurer (1902–2000) was chairman of Romania's Council of Ministers and vice president of its State Council. See Biographies. [SS]

36. Pitsunda is a seaside resort in Abkhazia (Georgia), located on a promontory about 25 kilometers (15 miles) south of Gagra. It is situated on the site of the ancient and medieval port of Pitiunt (Pityus). [SS]

37. Nicolae Ceausescu (1918–89) became general secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party in 1965, chairman of the State Council in 1967, and president of Romania in 1974. In 1989 he was overthrown in a popular uprising that was supported by the armed forces. Following a summary court martial, Ceausescu and his wife Elena were sentenced to death. They were executed on December 25, 1989. See Biographies. [GS/MN/SS]

38. Antonin Novotny (1904–75) was first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from 1953 to 1968 and president of the country from 1957 to 1968. See Biographies.

39. Marshal Andrei Antonovich Grechko occupied this post from 1960 to 1967. See Biographies.

Opening a Window Onto the Third World

INDIA

What did we know about India? I'm talking here about Bulganin and myself. Very little. We followed what Nehru was doing by reading the papers. During Stalin's time we regarded the policies Nehru was pursuing as something close to pacifism. The teachings of Gandhi about nonresistance to evil and his other statements along the same lines, in the spirit of Tolstoy, were not attractive to us.[1] We valued Gandhi's nobility of spirit, but we didn't understand him. In today's world, we felt, it was impossible to win freedom by such methods. Nehru had been Gandhi's closest friend, and we made no distinction on the personal level between Nehru and Gandhi. The political goals that Gandhi had set for himself were pursued further by Nehru, but when they achieved British withdrawal from India, that gave a different resonance to their policies. At that point, whether we wanted to or not, we had to listen more closely to what the leaders of the Indian people were saying.

Our knowledge of India, to tell the truth, was not only superficial but downright primitive. Don't laugh, but I personally drew some of my knowledge of India from an aria sung by an Indian merchant in the opera by Rimsky-Korsakov entitled *Sadko*.[2]

He sang: "Countless the diamonds deep in our caverns of stone." I knew that the weather there was warm, that the sea did not freeze, that the country possessed countless riches, and that the animal world there was something fantastic. There were jungles. The very word made a very big impression on me, much bigger than now, when we ourselves have seen what the jungles of India are really like. They're not at all as exotic as they sound!

Of course we had some idea about the very rich and ancient culture of India, but here too our knowledge was rather remote. In conversations between Politburo members and Stalin, the question of our relations with India was often brought up, but Stalin paid no special attention to India, a disregard that was undeserved. A country like that ought to have attracted his attention. He underestimated its importance and evidently didn't understand the events taking place there. The first time Stalin began to pay close attention to India was after it won its independence in [April] 1947. As for Nehru, at that time he preferred to have dealings directly not with the USSR but with China, Indonesia, Pakistan, and Burma. Although China soon came under the leadership of the Communist Party [in 1949], certain hopes continued to exist among some political leaders of the various countries that the developmental road taken by the new society in China would not be fully socialist. Of course in Beijing they stated quite definitely that they were Communists and were taking the road of socialist construction.

This didn't frighten Nehru at all, apparently, not at that stage of his political activity. I'm not attributing views to Nehru that he openly stated. I'm merely drawing my own conclusions. Soon Tito visited India [in 1954]. He sailed there [in his presidential yacht] and on the way back stopped to visit in Cairo.[3] Tito was the first of all the leaders of the socialist camp in Europe to blaze the trail to India. But Tito's attitude toward India was also different [from ours]. At that time after all Tito was an opponent of Stalin's, and we had labeled him "anti-Communist." Supposedly he had sold out to our enemies, had gone over to the side of American imperialism, and renounced the building of socialism. All sorts of untruths about him were being written at that time.

From the reports about India that happened to appear in the Soviet newspapers it seemed that India had chosen the capitalist path of development. There was nothing to indicate socialist construction in that country. And we felt repelled by that.

On the other hand, Nehru was clearly aspiring to establish a democratic system of government.

Yet we couldn't understand why he took such a patient and tolerant attitude toward the British, who had formerly enslaved his country. British officers continued to serve in the Indian army, and British officials still held posts here and there in India. That put us on our guard. They say that the Russian soul is like this: if you're going to drink, then drink your fill; if you're going on a binge, go all out; and if you're going to fight, then fight till you win. The Indian leaders waged their struggle by different methods. As for the good intentions clearly shown by the policies of Nehru's government, while they did not win our sympathies, we at least became more favorably disposed toward them. Unquestionably the Indian people enjoyed special respect in the USSR because they had formerly been oppressed by the colonialists and had now achieved their liberation. But we were not so favorably disposed toward

India's leadership. We were not impressed very much [at first] when Nehru, Zhou Enlai, and Sukarno, who were representing the three largest Asian countries that had recently won their independence, gathered at Bandung in Indonesia and worked out a common platform, a Bandung declaration. What this statement came down to was that it was necessary to struggle for peaceful coexistence, to exert every effort to avoid war. This Bandung platform was published in our newspapers. Stalin read it and approved of it.[4] I remember once when we were chatting in a relaxed atmosphere, a time when Stalin was in a good mood, he made a kind of passing mention of this declaration, saying: "Not a bad declaration. If they had presented it to us, we would have been glad to sign it."

Stalin was dying. We were not yet prepared to conduct foreign policy on our own without him. In the last years of his life he displayed great dissatisfaction with us. He said that we would perish, that the imperialists would strangle us, that we were mere babes, sucklings, puppies. After Stalin's death it was as though we had been left on a desert island. We had no experience in diplomatic relations with the capitalist countries aside from Molotov. Only Molotov had been initiated into the mysteries of contacts with representatives of the capitalist countries.[5] But his authority with the rest of us was not indisputable, and he certainly couldn't make unilateral decisions about the nature of relations between the USSR and the capitalist states. Now [after Stalin's death] we wanted to be "in the know" ourselves, not to be treated any longer as "beardless youths," not just to hear proposals made by the Foreign Ministry or hear about the specifics of international problems from that ministry [headed by Molotov]. Molotov did remain an authority for us, but one with whom we were not fully satisfied. We wanted to see with our own eyes and feel with our own hands, in order to decide more correctly the nature of our contacts with the capitalist world, which we approached from strictly class positions. We were ready to fight them to defend our motherland. This was a lesson we had learned well, having passed through the painful school of history. Now, however, we wanted to establish closer contacts, taking into account not only theory but the reality that had actually taken shape. We lived in capitalist encirclement, but we had to have contacts and we had to make some arrangements with the capitalist world, to develop economic and diplomatic relations. But how? Among us the only one, other than Molotov, who had ever been abroad was Mikoyan, and even his trips abroad had been of brief duration.[6] He had a better idea of life outside our country than the rest of us, because none of us in practice had actually seen living "Amerikenny." That's what the guerrilla fighters in Vsvelod Ivanov's play *Armored*

Train 14–69 called the American soldier they had captured.[7] It was not exactly the same, but we were similar to those guerrilla fighters in our lack of knowledge of our adversaries. Of course we had seen some of them. We had met Eisenhower, Eden, and de Gaulle. De Gaulle had come to visit us after the war, but we had only seen these people, and we had viewed all those contacts from our own special prejudiced position of mistrust, from the point of view that a new war might be inevitable. Now we wanted something more and different.

Diplomatic relations between the USSR and India were established while Stalin was still alive. Who was the first ambassador from India to our country? As I recall, it was [Sarvapalli] Radhakrishnan, a gaunt, thin man who was already well on in years. Later he became the president of India after the death of then-President [Rajendra] Prasad.[8] Radhakrishnan was an intelligent man and a good friend of ours. He had a degree in philosophy. Good memories have remained with me from our conversations with him in India and later when he came to visit us. As I recall, he was for a time the head of a peace organization, and he looked to our country for guidance on social questions.

During the years when I was in the leadership, the ambassador from India, who I greatly respected and still respect today, was a very fine and decent man, Krishna Menon.[9] He did everything he could so that we would get to know India better, and by the example of his behavior he won our hearts for India and its people. I had many conversations with him and was always pleased by the meetings I had with this extraordinarily likable, pleasant, and intelligent man. He was a true son of his people, and he knew how to establish businesslike relations with the government of the country to which he was ambassador. His wife was also a remarkable person. The very best memories of her have remained with me and my comrades of that time. We met her frequently at diplomatic receptions.

The year 1954 arrived. Since Stalin's death we had succeeded only in signing a trade treaty with India. But at that point Prime Minister Nehru made an official visit to our county [in June 1955].[10] He was accompanied by his daughter, Indira Gandhi, who later became prime minister.[11] We showed Nehru everything that he wanted to see. In doing this, we had certain reasons of our own. We wanted him to see everything as it actually was, without embellishments. Of course we wanted him to see the best things and to have a favorable impression of our Soviet land. We wanted him to see how, guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, we had put that theory into practice, and what results we had achieved in building socialism. After all, this was our opportunity to show him such things concretely. Nehru traveled around and saw a significant part of the USSR, including Central Asia and other places. My impression was that he had a high regard for our achievements.

We also had official talks with him. These went splendidly. Nehru knew how to leave a good impression of himself, and in all contacts with others he showed that he had an exceptional mind. Nevertheless, when we parted, each of us still held to his own opinion about the desirable paths for development of our respective countries, and as a result our former attitude toward Nehru did not fundamentally change. As before, we viewed him with great respect and valued him highly, but in our view he was a man with a particular frame of mind, a particular culture, and particular views, and essentially that was correct. After all, he was not a Marxist. The path he chose for the betterment of his country was a very long and slow one, and no one knew where it would lead. At that time and later, without saying so openly but by our actual behavior, we contrasted the achievements made by People's China to the path [that India was taking]. That is, for all of Asia, including India, China should serve as the example, because in a short time it had achieved so much. The Indians themselves realized that China was moving ahead of them. We wanted India to develop heavy industry and raise the living standards of its people, but not by the methods and policies that Nehru was proclaiming, because such goals were not achievable that way, and the people of India would be doomed for many years to an impoverished existence.

Outwardly our official talks with Nehru went smoothly. He praised Soviet achievements, but not once did he say anything to the effect that our experience might to some extent be transferable to Indian conditions, and he gave us reason to think that this was not what he wanted. For our part, we didn't make a peep about such things because we didn't want to be imposing our view of the world on him.

Later Nehru invited an official delegation from the USSR to visit India. And we went to India in [November–December] 1955.[12] In our country it was winter when we left for India, but in their country hot summer was still blazing away. India after all is India. It is not like the central zone of Russia in the USSR and not even like Sochi [in the semitropical Black Sea coastal area by the Caucasus Mountains]. The hot and humid climate of India varies to some degree in the different provinces of India, but by our standards it is all just unbearably hot.

The invitation from Nehru stated that Bulganin, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Khrushchev, member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, were being invited. We accepted with pleasure. We wanted to visit India, get to know its people, and observe its culture and everyday life. A fairly substantial delegation was put together. It included representatives of our Foreign Ministry and of our Central Asian republics. We wanted the Indians to see Soviet citizens of various nationalities, religious beliefs, and cultures.

We decided to make our trip by plane. The planes we had at that time were not the best. We decided on an Ilyushin-14 (IL-14), a new twin-engine plane and the one able to carry the heaviest loads.[13] Today we know that that was merely a stage in the development of passenger aircraft, a thing of yesteryear. We had nothing to brag about in this respect, because we were lagging behind the West [in the development of passenger aircraft], but we had no other choice. We flew by way of Tashkent,[14] where we refueled, and from there without landing again we came to Delhi. We took into account the timing specified by the Indian government. An official delegation was flying in, and all sorts of government ceremonies had been arranged. Therefore we should arrive at a particular time so as not to disrupt the ceremonies that had been prepared.

In Delhi my first encounter with India made an unbelievable impression on me. It's hard for a Russian to imagine what we encountered. It's a very warm climate, and the people are dark-skinned almost to the point of being black, and there is an endless variety of clothing, differing in costliness and elegance. Some people looked like impoverished beggars, and next to them would be people dressed luxuriously. There were rich colors and styles in the outer garments of every kind. The men's headwear (white or green) made a vivid impression on the observer, as did the beards woven into many little braids. It all seemed fantastic to us, like a theatrical performance.

Our welcome was also incredible, with the warmest, friendliest, most benevolent, and fraternal attitude being expressed toward the new arrivals. We saw nothing like this in any other country on the part of the people and prime minister. We went to the residence assigned to the Soviet delegation, the presidential palace that had been previously occupied by the British governor, the king's viceroy in India. Prasad was the president of India then, an elderly man of gloomy appearance. His gloomy outward aspect apparently reflected his inner nature. We received information that his attitude toward our delegation was very unfriendly. We were told that he was displeased by the fact that we were being housed in the presidential palace. First, we were Communists. Second, he was a very religious man and did not eat meat. His comments were relayed to us: "They have put the Russians there, and they are going to make a foul mess of my palace. They are going to eat meat there, not to mention drinking alcohol." I did see Indians drinking alcoholic beverages, but that was an exception. Apparently some Indians had the idea that Russians were constantly sucking down vodka. So Prasad was expressing his concern. Of course he said nothing about this to us directly. When we visited him, he received us appropriately, but all our meetings with him remained purely official with an emphatically dry tone. Our meetings with Nehru were quite different.

We arrived at the presidential palace, which, as I have said, had been built for the viceroy of India. Everything there was magnificent and solidly built. The square in front of the palace was also remarkable. There were green well-trimmed lawns of the British type all around. Everything in the city breathed of the richness of life and made a powerful impression. This of course was New Delhi. I did not visit Old Delhi.[15] We were not taken there. But some of the people on our staff told us that if you had a look at Old Delhi, only then could you get a better picture of the daily life of the Indian people. After all, we came into closest contact mainly with representatives of the government, well-known public figures, and intellectuals, that is, with people of a fairly high level of culture and personal development, including in the clothes they wore. You could not imagine, judging by them, the disastrous, impoverished situation in which the mass of the Indian people lived.

The number of days we would stay in India had been previously arranged, and correspondingly an itinerary had been worked out. Visits to the cities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras[16] were planned for us; a visit to the Indian Parliament with the right to address that body; a visit to the construction site of a hydroelectric power plant, a coalmining region, and a machine-building plant. It was also proposed that we visit the jungles and even take a ride on an elephant. We agreed. After all, it was so exotic. Maybe getting up on the back of an elephant was something we shouldn't do, but we thought that India without elephants and elephants without India were simply inconceivable. And if we refused the kind offer of the Indian leaders, we would be showing disrespect for local traditions, showing that we were either ignorant or to some extent insulting. We didn't want that. And what would it cost us to get up on an elephant? They put a little stepladder up next to it; we climbed up on the elephant, and then rode for a few meters on its back. It was purely symbolic, not a real jungle expedition.

A number of other meetings were arranged, or what we might call receptions for civil society. At these the hosts spoke first, and then an opportunity for the guests to speak was provided. After the official meetings that we held in Delhi with Nehru and the members of his government, we went for a trip around the country. We were accompanied on our trip by [General Ivan]

Serov,[17] who was responsible for our safety. He established contact with the Indian minister of internal affairs and found his way into various nooks and crannies into which we were not invited and to which it was not appropriate to invite us. Serov said that there were places where hungry and homeless people gathered, where every morning dozens of corpses were picked up from the gutters and taken off for burial, so we shouldn't judge India only by the official receptions and the people we met there. Another India existed, living miserably in slums and dying in them. It was as though there were two Indias, and one was not at all like the other.

Relations of trust were established between Nehru and us. By the way, even Nehru thought that Russians couldn't live without alcoholic drinks. Therefore he decided to "be attentive toward us," providing, so to speak, familiar conditions of existence. On his behalf we were told that since Indians didn't use alcoholic beverages, only cold drinks and juice would be served at banquets, but for those of us who wished, a special room would be available off to the side (they pointed it out to us) behind some curtains with fruit and any alcoholic drinks we wanted from vodka to cognac to champagne. Whenever we wanted, we could go into that little room and take advantage of everything there as we wished. In reply we thanked him and said: "You can shut down that room. We're not going in there. We're very happy to accept your ways and customs." Their customs were very much to my liking, and I addressed the following remarks to Nehru: "The fact that you don't drink alcohol is more than intelligent. It is such a hot climate here that if a person drank alcohol, regardless of how little, I don't know how he could hold up under these conditions." None of us of course wore a path to that little room. I forbade everyone even to look in that direction. In spite of all that we still offended President Prasad because we ate beef and befouled his palace with this forbidden meat.

There are a great many vegetarians among the Indians. We were warned that we would see small red roses on the tables. They were set beside the place of a vegetarian, and those who did the serving, taking note of the roses, brought only vegetable dishes to those places. Subsequently we observed this custom in all the cities where dinners were given in our honor. I don't remember if fish was served to those people. Krishna Menon [India's ambassador to the USSR, Kumar Menon], to whom I have already referred, was very strict in his observance of national traditions. When he was living in the USSR he would not even eat caviar, because it came from a living organism. In this connection I don't remember what his attitude was toward eggs.[18] It's true that most vegetarians I've met were people with good incomes, and they could allow themselves this freedom to choose what they would eat. They were not cutting coal or digging iron ore. When your organism is exhausted by heavy labor, protein is necessary to restore your strength. I don't know if there were vegetarians among Indians employed in heavy physical labor. As everyone knows, Count Leo Tolstoy also became a vegetarian in his old age. Russian workers at the beginning of the [twentieth] century used to make wry comments: "He's a count, so of course he can go without eating meat." He could, if he wished, buy twenty different varieties of cheese. But take a worker, for example. If he didn't buy a pound of meat (which cost about 15 kopecks in my day), he would have had to pay a much higher price for vegetarian foods. I have made a digression, commenting on matters of social class, and departing from the main subject.

After the scheduled meetings and official talks we traveled around India, and the best possible conditions were arranged for us. We managed to see everything they wanted to show us. I'm not saying this because I think they had something they wanted to hide, but because previously we had known really nothing about India and so we had no special desires. We were happy to be acquainted with everything in the order they showed it to us. We relied entirely on Prime Minister Nehru's judgment.

We flew by plane from one city to another, and within each state of India we traveled by car. I was surprised by the low level of agricultural development. It was simply incredible, much lower than what I remember in my native village or in other rural areas of tsarist Russia. In Russia they had iron plows and harrows, and the owners of large landed estates had steam-driven threshing machines. In India we would see a water buffalo or more rarely a pair of buffaloes pulling a kind of wooden plow. The Indian farmer was barely scratching the surface, plodding along behind his buffalo—and that was called agriculture.

I watched rice being harvested. It was not a bad harvest. This was apparently because they plant the rice in the water. Therefore when they dig into the soil and then plant the seedlings by hand, the good climatic conditions take effect. There is plenty of warmth, water, and light, and the result is a good harvest. From the density of the spikes, or ears, of rice grains in each stand of rice plants, it was evident that a fairly good harvest had resulted. How did they do the harvesting? In some places I myself picked up a scythe and did some reaping (though not rice, of course). I wanted to show that we Soviet people are people of labor. We know what labor is, and we can handle a scythe. That made a very big impression on them. I could no longer wield a scythe for a long time, but I knew which end to pick it up from and how to swing it for best effect. Although I'm an industrial worker, I lived for some time in the countryside, and although I was never employed as a reaper, I somehow or other did manage to try my hand at reaping. My general impression of agriculture in India was that it was awful.

We also visited some machine-building plants. They corresponded to modern-day requirements in technology. To me this was understandable. The capitalists know production methods, and competition forces them to make use only of such equipment as is required by necessity in order to make a profit from the capital invested in the business. We also visited the construction site of a hydroelectric power plant [Bhakra-Nangal in the Punjab].[19]

The plant was being built on the basis of technology that was at a lower level than ours, even though a British company was doing the construction. A British engineer explained: "We have [usually] used a higher level of technology when we built hydroelectric plants, not to mention greater plant capacity." But in this case irrigation work was being done. A dam had been built to collect water for irrigation, and it was only incidentally that a turbine was installed to produce electric power.

In this state [Punjab] the chief minister was a Muslim,[20] and the religious adherence of the local officials left its imprint on the way public administration was organized in that state. In India religious superstition is very strong. When we visited the leaders of that state we were made sharply aware that they were Muslims. To be sure, I met no Muslims there who had a disrespectful attitude toward Nehru. He had the sympathy of the people in all the states of India with the exception of Bombay. In Bombay [Morarji] Desai[21] was running things. Nehru was already having difficulties with him at that time. Desai pursued a reactionary policy and aspired to a high position in India's central government.

Then we went to Madras. It's a very clean city, as most seaside cities are in general. It was also covered with greenery because of the huge number of fruit trees and other plants that flourished in that southern climate. We were charmed by all this. We found ourselves in a fantastic world. The only thing that sobered us up was the fact that there was extreme luxury on one side and savage poverty on the other. This sharp differentiation in India struck you in the eye immediately. It's true that many factories have been built there and a section of the people have begun to live better, but millions of citizens of that country live in a state of semi-starvation.

A public meeting or rally organized on the outskirts of a city was engraved in my memory. Bulganin and I went there in an open convertible and were caught in a heavy downpour. The water was not cold, but we were soaked to the skin. As we drove along, the wind cut us like a knife. Nikolai Aleksandrovich

[Bulganin] caught a cold. We made a joke of him. We said you had to have especially good luck to catch cold in the heat of India! Here he was, a man from the north, and he couldn't stand the rain in the south of India! We went there with the governor of the state.[22] Members of the former nobility, or maharajahs, mainly occupied the gubernatorial posts. I have never met such a large fat man as he was. There was barely room in the automobile for him alone, yet all three of us were supposed to sit in it. The governor had us sit out on the edges while he squatted in the middle of the seat. We made a lot of jokes about that too later on when we reminisced about our meeting with this "vast, unencompassable" individual.

All the public rallies proceeded in the same fashion. Our hosts would speak, and then we would be given the floor. Bulganin would give a speech or I would, or other Soviet speakers would take the floor. All the speeches were friendly and welcoming. After the rally the local authorities would organize concerts out in the open. We listened to and saw singers, dancers, and storytellers. Their exotic clothing and ways of dancing and singing were also novelties for us. Neither Bulganin nor I had ever encountered dancing or singing of this type. Sometimes acrobatic performances would be held for us. All this made a powerful impression, but to speak frankly we had a poor understanding of the underlying meaning of what we were being shown. It was weighted down with Hindu symbolism, and since we couldn't follow it, we became terribly tired. In Madras one of the local leaders was sitting next to me at a concert. He later organized a reactionary religious-based political party.[23] I have been told that previously he was a close friend of Gandhi, the "father of the nation." He walked around in a kind of loincloth without a shirt. The color of his skin was rather yellow, and he was tall and thin like a lizard, and his bones stuck out sharply under his skin. His face had an emaciated, ascetic appearance. This ascetic man kept talking to me during the performance, giving me no chance to follow the course of the concert and enjoy it. He even asked me: "Did you want to listen and watch?" I understood that he was just trying to entertain me, and it was awkward for me to tell him the truth, that I would rather he didn't bother me. So I answered: "I'm glad to listen to what you have to say."

He began to give an account of his understanding of India's future path of development. He also told a lot about himself. It turned out he had held a prominent religious position when India was a colony of Britain and later was a governor-general during the transition period after Britain had decided to leave India and grant it its independence. He argued that India should not take the Soviet Union as an example for its development, that large factories could not be built in India, that industrialization in general was not a good thing for India. In his opinion, if large factories were brought into this heavily populated country, the high level of mechanization and automation would result in a mass of working people being driven into the army of the unemployed, and poverty would only increase. He stuck to the Gandhian ideal: the spinning wheel was the only industry needed. The national flag of India has a spinning wheel depicted on it, the idea being that only handicraft labor or the labor of artisans can be the basis for progress in India. I don't know if he was familiar with the science of political economy. Of course he didn't have even a smattering of knowledge about Karl Marx, and he didn't want to have any. It would have left quite an unbearable taste in his mouth.

I assume that he subjected me to this conversation because of the public meeting that had been held in Madras, where Bulganin and I had taken turns speaking. I spoke there about the industrialization of our country and about the advantages of heavy industry. The chief minister of that state was also one of this man's supporters, and after I spoke this minister took the floor a second time.[24] I understood from the translation of his speech that without naming me personally or polemicizing against me directly, he was disputing what I had said. He argued that India should take its own path, with manual labor and the workshops of handicraftsmen. He too placed great emphasis on the fact that they had such a large population, and mechanization would only increase the number of unemployed. This line of thought, although it is totally false, has quite a few supporters in India.

In spite of all this, at all the public rallies we took as our subject the condemnation of the colonial system and of the aggressive forces that had pursued colonialist policies and were continuing to pursue them. We pointed out that the disastrous situation in which the Indian people found themselves was the result of many years under colonial oppression, the result of being robbed by the colonialist monopolies, who achieved their prosperity at the expense of the people. These ideas were very well received everywhere. As soon as we began talking about them, the people would cheer us loudly.

The anticolonialist trend of our speeches was not phrased abstractly but was directed specifically against the British colonialists. It seemed to me that Nehru and Indira Gandhi did not approve of this sharp and direct tendency, but they didn't say anything to us, nor did they indicate in any way that we were abusing their hospitality by presenting our ideas. But we sensed that [that was their attitude]. Nevertheless we continued to make sharply pointed speeches as before, and the people liked it. We were speaking out as Communists. At the same time I should say that the authority of the USSR was very high. According to the schedule that had been worked out, we were supposed to go to Bombay, a major port city. Disturbances between different religious communities were going on in the city at that time, and there were casualties. Things reached the point where there was fighting in the streets.[25] The situation in Bombay was explained to us, but we were asked not to change our itinerary. Nehru thought it would be useful if we went there. The fact that there were disturbances was an internal matter, and Nehru thought that both sides in the dispute would come out to greet us and give us a very hearty welcome, so that our arrival would contribute to pacification of the situation and an end to the disturbances. So we flew to Bombay.

As we drove from the airport to the residence assigned to us, so many people came out to greet us that all the streets were jammed full. We literally had to inch our way through the crowds. People jumped onto the cars in which we were riding, stood on the running boards, reached out their hands to touch our clothing. In the end such a large number of people had piled up on the car that they weighed it down and put it out of commission. General Serov was accompanying us here, too. He was in charge of our bodyguards together with an authorized representative from the Indian government. Nehru had adopted this man into his family when he was just a young child and had raised him. He was a very fine fellow. Serov reported to us that the very best and most trusting relations had been established between them. This fellow made his way over to us, jumping on the roofs of automobiles, and made the following recommendation: "There is a police car up ahead with bars on the windows. That's the only possible way to get through to your residence. There's no other way. I think that you will understand us correctly and forgive us for making such a proposal. It's only for the sake of your security." So that's what we did [got in the police car] and were soon lost from the sight of the crowd. People kept hunting for us, looking in the windows of cars, and finally they saw that we were riding in a police car. They all rushed toward the police car, but they were too late because we had already caught up with those who were driving up ahead of us. The people who met us were dumbfounded. They couldn't imagine that such an important delegation would arrive in a car with iron bars on the windows.

So then, we reached our residence safely. The heat and humidity were unbearable. We were advised to lie in tubs full of cold water, but they only called it cold water because it hadn't been specially heated. Then we hurried to an official reception [at the governor's palace]. The leaders of that state, headed by the local premier, Morarji Desai, and the governor, had organized the reception in our honor. We were informed that outside the palace everything was jam-packed. People were sitting in the streets and on the city squares and on the sidewalks, and it was impossible to get through. They were shouting slogans of friendship: *Hindi, Russi, Bhai, Bhai,* which meant "Indians and Russians are brothers." They sat there all night, and we could hear their chanting from our palace. The reception had to be canceled. Although we were distressed by this, it did give us the opportunity to have a real rest. By morning the crowd had dispersed, and we set about the events that had been scheduled. Bombay's magnificent aquarium has remained in my memory. Of course we had a look at the entire city and drove through its suburbs as well. But we didn't go on foot; we saw it all from cars.

Then Nehru flew into the city and invited us to visit a dairy farm with water buffalo, since that was a type of livestock farming that we didn't have in our country. A session for tasting the milk at the farm had been arranged. In the southern part of the USSR we have water buffalo, but for the most part they are draft animals and they don't give much milk. But the milk yield of these animals in Bombay was excellent. The fat content of the milk was 7 percent, which was simply incredible! It was rather unpleasant to drink it in the raw; there was too much fat in it and it was sickly sweet. They had a mechanical process for removing the fat and reducing the fat content to 3 percent, at which point it became more acceptable to our taste. We had a long, thorough talk with the governor, a man of middle age. Four of us took part in this talk: three of our people [Khrushchev, Bulganin, and their interpreter] and the governor. Only on our side was there an interpreter. The governor sought to demonstrate to us that he was a progressive man with a sympathetic attitude toward the USSR, although he was not a Communist but belonged to the party of Nehru.[26]

On the other hand, Desai, the prime minister of this state, had a hostile attitude toward us; he had been opposed altogether to our being invited to Bombay. We also met with him, but our conversations were purely of a formal nature. Later I met Desai again. He remained true to himself and to his reactionary views. To this day he is the leader of the opposition to the reforms that the present prime minister, Indira Gandhi, is trying to carry out. He and I understood each other quite well, but our views stood in absolute opposition. He firmly supported a pro-American policy and held that India should develop in the classical capitalist pattern. The governor of that state, about whom I've already spoken, held a different position. Naturally we treated him with greater sympathy. At rallies in Bombay and elsewhere we were greeted with great enthusiasm. The people were hailing us and giving their greetings to the Soviet Union as represented by us. They were expressing their warmest, most ardent feelings.

Later our hosts began a discussion with us about traveling to Kashmir. When our itinerary was first drawn up, they had wanted to include a trip to Kashmir, but we asked them not to do that, because a military confrontation with Pakistan had developed over Kashmir. In the population of Kashmir Muslims predominated, and Pakistan insisted that Kashmir should become part of Pakistan. In fact, as a result of military action, part of Kashmir did become part of Pakistan.[27] We didn't want to complicate relations between India and Pakistan by our presence in Kashmir, nor did we want to link ourselves with India's claims to Kashmir. We felt it was better for us to take a neutral position. Let them work out these disputed questions among themselves. The Indians made an especially emphatic appeal to us to support their position, but we were not impressed by that at all. On the other hand we didn't want to cause distress for Nehru by our refusal. Our sympathies were on his side, on the side of India, if only because India had taken an intelligent position on international questions, did not belong to any military bloc, and had a sympathetic attitude toward the Soviet Union.

Pakistan took an opposite position. It had joined the military bloc of SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organization). This military organization was directed mainly against the Soviet Union. It was more to our advantage, strictly speaking, to support India and to strengthen friendly relations with that country. We had no friendly relations with Pakistan at all. We believed that potentially some seeds of friendship might have been sown, but they had been suppressed by the reactionary forces and not given a chance to grow. Someday they would sprout and grow, and relations with Pakistan and the various peoples of that country would become friendly, as they were with the peoples of India, but for the time being that was not the case. We consulted among ourselves and decided to agree to Nehru's request and make the visit to Kashmir. This happened during the last stage of our visit to India.

Before we went to Kashmir we went to the state of Kerala. Soon after that the Communists established their government in Kerala. To be sure, it didn't last long. A Communist government was elected there a second time after I had already been retired. To put it briefly, the Communists were strong in that state.[28] You couldn't tell from the reactions of the crowd at mass rallies how many Communist Party members there were in one or another state of India. Obvious sympathy for the Soviet Union was displayed or expressed everywhere, regardless of what the balance of forces in government elections in any state might have been. Even in Bombay where the premier was Desai the people treated us affectionately and displayed warm friendship. One thing about Kerala that has remained in my memory was the endless rows of palm trees being grown commercially. Coconuts were harvested from them. We were shown how that was done. People scrabbled skillfully up the trunks of the trees. Their feet were bound with rope and seemed to stick to the tree trunks. Then from the treetops they would throw down the coconuts.

We were also shown tea plantations in Kerala. A capitalist with a medium-sized business invited us to visit his plantation. We inspected his plantation and observed the harvesting, drying, and processing of the tea leaves. Previously in my life I had seen this done in Soviet Georgia. What we saw in Kerala made a sorry impression. Everything was done by hand; then the leaves were thrown in a heap on the ground. (In our country we already had machines that cut the tops from the tea bushes.[29]) I joked: "If Soviet citizens who drink Indian tea could see how it's processed, they'd probably lose their appetite for it." In our country the sanitary standards are stricter at tea plantations. There was nothing like that in Kerala. But the owner gave us a very polite reception and treated us to tea and fruit.

We saw a huge number of monkeys in that state. As we traveled along the road, the monkeys, who are quite accustomed to humans, lined up along the sides. As soon as the car stopped, they rushed toward it, because they were accustomed to having the tourists treat them, and they would look at a person as though they were expecting a treat. There were even more monkeys crowded on top of an ancient temple, a huge building in the shape of a bell, which in India is considered the holy palace of the monkeys. To the Indians the monkeys are sacred and are protected. These creatures, which exist by the millions, have become a disaster for agriculture. They knock down cornstalks and destroy fruit, but the Indians will not lift a hand against the monkeys.

In Kerala we visited a respected fellow countryman of ours, the great artist Svyatoslav Roerich. His father [Nikolai Roerich] had also been a famous artist, and his paintings were on display at an exhibit in Moscow. I had visited that exhibit as one of many. Roerich had been living in India for a long time.[30] His wife was Indian, and he had put down solid roots there. When we met and I took a look at him, I was amazed. His face had a great resemblance to that of Tsar Nicholas II. His beard was trimmed the same way, and he was the same height. I am judging from portraits I was used to seeing in the prerevolutionary days. Back then every school and textbook had portraits of the tsar. As for Roerich himself, he turned out to be an extremely pleasant and peaceable man.

Without our noticing, the time had crept up when we were to fly to Kashmir. You had to cross all of India from south to north, going up close to Afghanistan. Afghanistan doesn't border directly on Kashmir, because part of Pakistani territory separates India and Afghanistan. We didn't have enough fuel to fly directly to Kashmir; we had to land along the way. A local maharajah came out to greet us at the place where we landed.[31] There were no public meetings or rallies there. We were housed in a very rich mansion. The maharajah arranged a dinner in our honor and then invited us to a concert. The musicians had previously been either his slaves or his serfs. He had remained their master right up until the British were driven out of the country. His wife was French. He introduced her to us. Her appearance aroused sympathy. She gave the impression somehow of a person in chains, under constraint. She didn't behave like a hostess, and you could sense that inwardly she felt oppressed. But she was very polite toward us. I suddenly had the impression that she was going to make an appeal to us [for help]. In material respects she had no restrictions. She lived in luxury, but in her heart she felt oppressed. We were told that this maharajah had several other wives. When we were sitting on the veranda in the evening relaxing, we were shown another palace far off in the hills. (You could barely make out the structure in the distance.) His first wife was kept locked up in that palace.

The maharajah introduced us to his son, a young man who was an officer in the Indian army. He served as an adjutant to the president of the country. This was their way of showing honor to the offspring of the nobility. The maharajah was a well-built man of stately bearing, about 45 years old, a skilled horseman and sportsman. He organized some sporting contests in our honor. This was the first time I had seen such competitive sports on horseback. Each rider carried a long stick with a net on the end with which to catch the ball.[32] Whoever had the ball tried to gallop the length of the field to get the ball past the other side's goalposts. We were told that when the British still ruled in India the maharajah personally took part in this sport and was the captain of his team. When they had gone to England to compete, he had fallen off his horse and broken his arm. Now we were watching this game. The father and son ended up on different teams. The horses they had were remarkable. They sped up and down the field like whirlwinds. The players changed horses every 15 minutes; otherwise they couldn't keep up the pace. The game was concluded safely without any casualties.

In the evening the maharajah asked Bulganin and me: "Are you hunters?"

I answered him: "Back home in our country, yes, we do go hunting."

He became very eager: "If you want, I'll organize a tiger hunt for you, all right?"

We thanked him for his attentiveness but replied that we didn't have the time.

He wouldn't drop the subject: "Come on," he said, "Stay for another day!"

I must confess that although I was curious, I didn't want to make bad publicity for the USSR or myself, to have people say, "You went there to go tiger hunting."

We flew from there to Kashmir. We were given a grand welcome by the population. It's mainly Muslim, and the chief minister is also a Muslim.[33] The governor was a very handsome young man, the son of a former maharajah.[34] A boating expedition on a large lake in picturesque surroundings was organized for us.[35] As for the outward appearance of the citizenry, it left us with a dreary impression. People were dressed poorly, and their clothing was drabber than in the south. Maybe it only seemed that way to us because it was hot in the south and you could wear light-colored garments. All the young people, especially the women, had worn brightly colored clothing [in the south]. But here it was colder. Sometimes there was even freezing weather. And the people had to dress more warmly. But what was visible from their clothing was their poverty, or to put it more bluntly, their state of destitution. Nevertheless their attitude toward us was splendid. Everything was done so that we would feel welcome and well disposed toward them. The names of the local inhabitants were often similar to Uzbek names. We invited them to visit Uzbekistan. It was pleasant to be a guest there because they too didn't serve alcoholic beverages. The food we were treated to was very tasty, especially the "lula-kabob," which had a lot of pepper and strong spices but was very well cooked.

When the usual public rally began, we used some of the same speeches we had prepared earlier, but with sentences inserted that spoke in favor of India and not of Pakistan, that is, we spoke from the point of view that this state belonged to India, taking the position of the Indian government. When we arrived in Kashmir Indira Gandhi was already there. The fact that she had flown there was to us a sign of special respect. She was, as it were, representing her father, Nehru.

We consulted with her about the content of the speeches. Our speeches were then broadcast. Indira Gandhi greatly appreciated our position in support of India's policy in its dispute with Pakistan. A little while later she told us that her father had called, not from Delhi, but from another place, sending us greetings and expressing great satisfaction with our speech.[36] We were also satisfied, although we knew that Pakistan would not be pleased. But we had no direct contacts with Pakistan, and in fact the very worst relations existed between us. For our part, we wanted an improvement in those relations and did everything we could toward that end, but Pakistan went and joined military organizations that were directed against us [that is, SEATO and CENTO].[37] And there was nothing we could do in that situation. The Pakistanis themselves had refused to take our hand offered to them in friendship.

Our position in solidarity with the Indians in their dispute with Pakistan contributed even more to the strengthening of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India. I think this line taken by the USSR was correct, although I was always concerned that it might do harm to our future relations with Pakistan. We believed that a time would come when Pakistan would appreciate our policy properly and grasp the fact that it ought to make friends with the USSR, not the United States, because only the USSR would provide aid and assistance free of any self-seeking to the peoples who had freed themselves from colonial oppression. That is precisely what is being done in relation to India. If we talk about external indicators only, it's true that Kashmir is not a native part of India. I am speaking conditionally here. In terms of geography and state borders it is part of India. It is a state within the country of India. But it is quite different in its natural features and in the appearance of the population. The natural conditions and the vegetation are more northerly. I saw apple trees and pear trees, and many other things that grow in our country, even in the central zone of Russia. To tell the truth, I'm afraid I might be making a mistake here because I wasn't there for very long and didn't have a chance to see much.[38]

We encountered many interesting things in India, which is truly a land of marvels. The Indians are a remarkable people, although extremely poor. But nature there is amazing! And the ancient monuments, the art and the architecture! All of this was new to us, amazing and delightful. It is enough to mention that great pearl of artistry, the Taj Mahal, the palace and tomb of [Mumtaz Mahal, deceased wife of] one of India's rulers [Shah Jahan].[39] Invariably every tourist visits this place, taking delight in the white stone structure, which doesn't even seem to be of stone because the material is of such exceptional whiteness. Facing the structure is a reflecting pool. When you position yourself properly next to the pool, you see the fantastical reflection of the palace in the water.[40] As a gift I was given an exact replica of the Taj Mahal made from alabaster. Feasting my eyes on it, I thought to myself: This was built in a century long past, yet to this day it bears witness to the high level of culture of the Indian people. On the other hand, when I looked at the poverty all around, the thought occurred to me that the rulers didn't consider working people to be human, but forced them to erect palaces and mausoleums, leaving them to die from the heavy burden of their labors. The rulers didn't take the people into account and had no regard for them. They only needed hands to do the work, and they squeezed the living juices out of their subjects. Today these buildings are the pride of India, monuments to its art. But they also tell the observer a story of slave labor. How many people were martyred so that these buildings could be erected?

When we finished inspecting the burial vault at the Taj Mahal, journalists immediately surrounded me and began asking me my impressions. I told them about the duality of my feelings, that I was of two minds. I felt delight and admiration for those who had designed this miracle of the arts, but I also felt displeasure at the way these people had wasted human energy not for the good of others but to glorify themselves or their loved ones, in this case the wife [Mumtaz] of the former ruler [Shah Jahan]. An enormous and richly embellished palace had been built by the same ruler a little bit off to the side [across a river from the tomb]. When his son[41] overthrew him and seized power, he shut up his father in [a tower of] that palace and held him captive there. In that palace there was a place, an opening in the wall, through which in his declining years he could look out and see the structure he had built, this miracle of the arts. He could see it off in the distance from his place of captivity. We were also taken to that room in the tower, and sure enough, everything was visible from that location. But what kind of pleasure could that have given the man who built the Taj Mahal? What kind of fate was it for him as his life slowly ebbed away? After all, the man by whose order this marvelous tomb had been built could not go there. That must have made his existence in captivity even more bitter.

When we traveled around India, we encountered monuments along the way that had been erected by the colonizers in honor of their victories and their seizures of various territories in India. These were statues of various military commanders, both of naval and of ground forces, or other representatives of the British crown. And all these statues somehow got along with the world around them. The Indians are an amazing people; their patience is unbelievable. From our point of view we wondered how they could put up with these statues, which were constant reminders of their loss of independence and the oppression of their country by the British colonialists. After the revolution in our country we knocked down almost all the old statues. We left only a few with appropriate inscriptions as reminders of what our former oppressors had been like.

[To digress for a moment] it's true that some statues and monuments were destroyed that should not have been. In the heat of the moment, right after the revolution, a statue of Admiral Nakhimov was destroyed in Sevastopol. Then later during the Great Patriotic War [1941–45] the Order of Nakhimov was introduced [by Stalin]![42] Anything can happen of course when such a profound social upheaval takes place as the one that occurred in October 1917 in our country. The saying, "When you chop wood, chips fly," truly applies to that situation. Nakhimov had been an admiral, and almost all the admirals and generals of the old regime had served to strengthen and reinforce the autocracy, which the people had overthrown. It was only later that the historical services and merits of Nakhimov in defense of Sevastopol [besieged by the British in 1854–55, during the Crimean War] were recognized and the Order of Nakhimov was introduced. I should say in passing that Stalin did this for "conjunctural" reasons. It was convenient at the time. He began to promote and eulogize Suvorov and Kutuzov, Ushakov and Nakhimov [and establish orders in their names].[43] Their portraits were hung everywhere. At one time when I arrived in Moscow, I was amazed. What warehouse had they dug these things out of? Dirt had worked its way into these portraits so deeply you couldn't dust it off or wash it away. These portraits would have been rarities in a museum. But Stalin wanted a visual way of influencing people. He wanted these portraits to have a striking effect on people when they got up close to them. As soon as the war ended, these portraits disappeared, although the corresponding orders remained on the chests of the military men awarded the orders of Suvorov, Kutuzov, Ushakov, and Nakhimov for bravery and skill in the war against Hitler.

Our visit to India culminated in one more mass rally. Nehru called it a reception in honor of the USSR in the name of the people of India. A speaker's platform was set up on a huge, attractive city square. So many people gathered there would have been no place for an apple to fall among the crowd.[44] People stood so closely jammed together that the entire huge crowd would sway as one, because the people in back were pushing in order to get closer to the speakers' platform and the crowd swayed like ocean waves. I was afraid there might be casualties. Nehru, the members of his government, and his guests all took their places. Nehru, speaking over the radio, appealed to those present to sit down. He was also afraid that the crowd would become unruly, the people behind would press forward on the people in front, and someone might be crushed so badly they'd be unable to breathe. People began to sit down on the ground. Indira Gandhi came up and whispered something in her father's ear. Again he appealed to those who had gathered: "I am an old man, and I thought it would be more comfortable for everyone to sit, but my daughter just reminded me that when the national anthem is sung it is obligatory to stand. And so I am asking you to stand up again while the national anthems are sung." The people stood up, the national anthems of India and the Soviet

Union were sung, and after that Nehru again asked everyone to sit down. This huge rally made a colossal impression. The public reacted ecstatically to all the speeches, especially when the friendship between our peoples was mentioned. There and everywhere in India the slogan was repeated: *Hindi, Russi, Bhai, Bhai!* ("Indians and Russians are brothers.")

As a result of our talks with Nehru, I formed an impression of him as a cautious politician, unhurried and restrained. He seemed to me a man who wanted to see everything and hear everything but hold back from expressing his opinion on painful subjects. We were interested above all in his attitude toward the socialist system. For his part, Nehru never spoke definitively in favor of any system and stuck to the position, as it were, of a being a kind of democrat.

Nevertheless I think that Nehru, who had such great intelligence, sooner or later would have come to the conclusion that the only correct path was the path of socialist construction. Only by this road could his country and his people be freed from their impoverished condition. In my view it was necessary to show some patience, because even if we mentioned indirectly our understanding of what a governmental system should be, we would encounter resistance. He himself was leaning more and more toward socialism and began to express himself more and more definitely.[45] Unfortunately death put an end to his political activity. With his death we lost a very great friend of the Soviet Union.

We visited India again when we were returning from Indonesia in spring 1960. Nehru suggested that we stop over in Calcutta.[46] That meeting was a very warm one, as the previous ones had been. The usual huge public rally was held. It was toward evening. Leaders of that state of India gave speeches, and I did, too. The unvarying atmosphere of friendship toward the USSR has remained in my memory, the desire for peace throughout the world. During the meeting an unbelievable number of doves were released and allowed to fly away as a symbol of peace. After Picasso designed his famous dove of peace,[47] it became a symbol on the banners of fighters for peace and peaceful coexistence among everyone on the earth. It was getting dark. These Calcutta doves circled over the heads of the crowd and came down to earth wherever they happened to be. One dove landed on my arm. The rally was still going on, and the dove made himself comfortable and sat there peacefully. A great many jokes were made after that, and of course the photographers and movie-camera people could not deny themselves the pleasure of recording that incident. Later at rallies in every country I happened to visit when I spoke out for peaceful coexistence, I would say: "That dove knew whose arm to sit on, the arm of Khrushchev."

Our talks in Calcutta [in 1960] did not differ in any special way from the earlier talks in 1955 that we'd held with leaders of other [Indian] states. The meetings and conversations were pleasant. The leader of the local government was not a young man, but a man of enormous size, a medical doctor by profession, and a very influential man in society. There was a very intelligent woman, also no longer young, who held a leading position in the city of Calcutta and who took an emphatically positive attitude toward the Soviet Union. It's true that according to information that reached us the doctor I've mentioned had a more cautious attitude toward the USSR and personally held a position in opposition to Nehru, but during our meeting with him he did not express this in any way. On the contrary, he stressed his sympathy with the policies of our country.

The percentage of industrial workers in the population of Calcutta is quite large, and their presence is more noticeable than in other cities. But the local population was also poorer than elsewhere. Because these workers felt drawn toward Soviet workers (by common class bonds), the welcome our delegation received there was most cordial. The people expressed their feelings with great gusto. For several years now the left has been winning the majority in elections in Calcutta. Unfortunately the Communist Party is split there. One group calls itself Communist Party of India (Marxist), and the other calls itself simply Communist Party of India.[48] This reflected the influence of the line that, against all common sense, the Chinese Communist Party and Mao Zedong were pursuing. It was Mao and his influence that achieved this split. After China's armed attack on India [in 1959], this split was consolidated organizationally, but in 1960 [when Khrushchev was there] this was evident only to a relatively small extent as yet.

Let me repeat that I was very pleased by the warmth of the Indian traditions for welcoming guests. One more reception in our honor was organized in a large park, where tables were set up everywhere. The main thing for me again was the fact that juice was the only drink served and the hors d'oeuvres were fruit. This is the opposite of what we see in our country, where it's said that without vodka you can have no fun. But in fact it was a gay and cheerful event in Calcutta; the music played, people walked around, sitting or standing in small groups and talking. The mood was excellent, friendly, warm, and welcoming. With us everything would have become loud and noisy, and there would have been a lot of shouting. It would also have been gay and cheerful and fun, but you would have come across people who had drunk too much. In India that was impossible. There, in such a situation, no one would forget his or her dignity or lose self-control.

1. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869–1948), also known by the honorific Mahatma (Great Soul), was a lawyer and social activist who in 1919 became the leading figure in the struggle of the Indian National Congress (founded in 1885) for independence from Britain. For most of the period between 1893 and 1914 he lived in South Africa, where he led a nonviolent campaign of civil disobedience against racial discrimination that prefigured his philosophy of satyagraha (literally, "holding on to truth"). In March 1930 he led his first nonviolent campaign in India—a mass march to Dandi to collect salt in defiance of the British salt tax.

Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) was one of Gandhi's closest colleagues and, like Gandhi himself, was in prison for long periods. When India gained its independence in 1947, he became its first prime minister. Lev (or Leo) Nikolayevich Tolstoy (or Tolstoi, 1828–1910) was a Russian novelist and publicist who espoused a moral philosophy based on an anarchopacifist interpretation of Christianity.

For more on Gandhi, Nehru, and Tolstoy, see Biographies.

While the religious roots and political expressions of Tolstoyan and Gandhian pacifism are not identical, the two philosophies do have much in common. Both stress nonviolence, conscientious objection to evil, and a simple way of life. Indeed, Tolstoy was a major influence on Gandhi. Tolstoy's "nonresistance to evil" is perhaps not fully understood by Khrushchev. It means not that evil must be accepted but that it cannot be fought with evil, and especially violent, means. Tolstoy did not oppose use of the kind of means that were later to become known as civil disobedience. In particular, he enjoined his followers to refuse military service.

It is also worth noting that Nehru did not fully share Gandhi's "spiritual" approach to politics. For example, he rejected Gandhi's proposal to try to prevent the partition of the Raj at independence by offering power over the whole country to Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League who became the founder of Pakistan. (See D. C. Jha, *Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress, and the Partition of India* [New Delhi: Sanchar Publishing House, 1995].) [SS]

2. On Nikolai Andreyevich Rimsky-Korsakov, see Biographies.

3. Tito visited India in December 1954 and January 1955; on his way home he stopped in Cairo and met Nasser for the first time. [GS]

4. Khrushchev does not state the year in which this statement was issued by leaders of the three largest, newly independent countries of Asia, but it should not be confused with the Bandung Declaration issued by the Bandung Conference of 29 Asian and African countries in April 1955 (whose content was similar to this). Stalin died in March 1953, and the Bandung Conference was held more than two years after his death. Perhaps the leaders of India, China, and Indonesia did issue such a joint statement while Stalin was still alive—some time in the years 1950–53, before Stalin's death. Indonesia won its independence in 1949–50, with Sukarno as president. Nehru became president of an independent India in 1947, as Khrushchev indicates, and the anticolonialist Communist government that Chou Enlai represented was established in China in October 1949. [GS]

5. Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov had been minister of foreign affairs from 1939 to 1949 and then again from 1953. He was removed in 1956. See Biographies. [SS]

6. Anastas Ivanovich Mikoyan had traveled abroad in his capacity of minister of foreign trade, a post that he occupied from 1938 to 1949 and again in 1953. See Biographies. [SS]

7. In this play about Soviet guerrilla fighters in the Russian Far East during the civil war, the guerillas capture an American soldier, a member of the U.S. expeditionary force that had landed in Vladivostok in 1918. (On the U.S. intervention in Siberia, 1918–20, see note 30 to the chapter "Washington and Camp David.") These Russian fighters had never seen an American before. When they asked their prisoner who he was, he said, "American." They thought he had made a mistake because the correct Russian is *AmeriKANets* (with the accent on the next-to-last syllable). In the play they laugh at him, and the audience does, too, because, as they see it, he can't "properly pronounce" the name of his own nationality. [SK/GS] On the playwright, Vsevolod Ivanov, see Biographies.

8. Sarvapalli (or Sarvepalli) Radhakrishnan (1888–1975) was a very prominent Indian philosopher who both introduced Western idealist philosophy to India and made Indian philosophy better understood in the West. He was India's ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1949 to 1952. He was vice president of India from 1952 to 1962 and president from May 1962 to May 1967. See Biographies. [SS]

Rajendra Prasad (1884–1963) was president of India from 1950 to 1962. [MN] See Biographies.

9. Khrushchev's reference here to Krishna Menon is incorrect. Krishna Menon (full name Vengalil Krishnan Krishna Menon; 1897–1974) was Indian minister of defense from 1957 to 1962 but never ambassador to the USSR. The person whom Khrushchev has in mind is Kumar Padma Shivasankar Menon (1898–1982), who was India's ambassador to the USSR (and also Poland and Hungary) from 1952 to 1961. For more on both individuals, see Biographies. [SK/SS] We all thought that the ambassador's name was Krishna. He never corrected us. [SK]

10. Nehru's visit to the USSR took place between June 7 and 23, 1955.

11. Indira Priyadarshini Gandhi was prime minister from 1966 to 1977 and again from 1980 until her assassination in 1984. See Biographies. [SS]

12. The visit to India took place between November 18 and December 14, 1955, except for the week of December 1–7, during which Khrushchev and his party visited Burma (see next chapter). [MN/SS]

13. The Ilyushin-14 received its first test flight on October 1, 1950, and went into series production in 1953. As well as being able to carry heavier loads, it was somewhat faster and more fuel-efficient than its predecessor, the Ilyushin-12. [SS]

14. Tashkent is in Central Asia, north of Afghanistan. It was the capital of the Uzbek SSR. [SK/GS]

15. Old Delhi is a very ancient city, built on the banks of the Jumna, a tributary of the Ganges. In 1911 the British government decided to move the capital of the Raj from Calcutta to a specially built city to be called New Delhi, adjoining Old Delhi to the south. The construction of New Delhi, in accordance with a layout designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens, was completed in 1931. [SS]

16. Calcutta (officially restored to its original Bengali name of Kolkata in 2001) is the capital of the state of West Bengal in northeast India. Bombay (officially restored to its original name of Mumbai in 1995) is the capital of the state of Maharashtra on the western coast. Bombay and Calcutta are India's two largest cities. Madras is the capital of the state of Tamil Nadu on the southeastern coast. All three cities are of ancient origin. [SS]

17. Army General Ivan Aleksandrovich Serov (1905–90) was chairman of the Committee for State Security (KGB) under the USSR Council of Ministers from 1954 to 1958. See Biographies.

18. For many Hindus, vegetarianism is an obligatory expression of ahimsa (the principle of nonviolence). They avoid consuming fish and eggs as well as meat. However, milk and dairy products are permitted. [SS]

19. The Bhakra-Nangal dam is in the Punjab. It spans the river Sutlej (also spelled Satlej or Sutluj), a tributary of the Indus that rises in the Himalayas. It is 226 meters (740 feet) high, making it the highest dam in Asia and the second highest in the world. With a reservoir covering about 40 square kilometers (16 square miles), it supplies water to the states of Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, and Delhi, while the power plant supplies electricity to even larger areas of northern India. The dam was completed in 1963 and played a crucial role in generating the high crop yields of the "Green Revolution" that made India self-sufficient in food grains by 1972.

The idea of harnessing the waters of the Sutlej was first mooted in 1908 by Sir Louis Dane, and the first detailed proposal for a dam was presented in 1919 by the engineer F. E. Gwyther. The first draft of the plan that was eventually implemented was prepared in 1939 by Dr. A. N. Khosla, a civil engineer at Roorkee University (later to be governor of Orissa). Preparatory work at the site started in 1952, and construction began on November 14, 1955, with Nehru himself pouring the first bucket of cement. Khrushchev was taken to visit the site just eight days later—on November 22, 1955. Construction of the electric power plant had not yet begun. [SS]

20. The chief minister of the Punjab at the time of Khrushchev's visit to India was Bhim Sen Sachar (1894–1978). However, he was not a Muslim but a Hindu. Khrushchev may be confusing him with some other prominent Punjabi figure. Khrushchev may also be confusing Muslims with Sikhs, who constitute the main religious community in the Punjab. [SS]

21. Morarji Desai (1896–1995) was prime minister of India from 1977 to 1979—the first non–Congress Party leader of independent India. In 1918 he became a minor functionary of the British civil service in Bombay. In 1930 he joined Gandhi's civil-disobedience movement. During the struggle for independence he spent almost ten years in British jails, in the 1930s and 1940s alternating prison time with ministerial posts in the Bombay government, of which he became chief minister in 1952. In 1956 he became commerce and industry minister of the all-India central government. He resigned from the central government in 1963, became deputy prime minister in 1967, and resigned again in 1969 to become a leader of the opposition to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and the Congress Party. In 1975 he was arrested for political reasons under Indira Gandhi's Emergency and held in solitary confinement until 1977, when he joined the right-wing Hindu nationalist Janata Party, which won the 1977 elections and chose Desai to be its prime minister. See Biographies. [GS]

22. The governor of Tamil Nadu state at the time of Khrushchev's visit to Madras was Shree Prakasa. He held the office from March 1952 to December 1956. [SS]

23. The person talking to Khrushchev was Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari (1878–1972), known for short as Rajaji. Rajaji had indeed been close to Gandhi and was the last governor-general of India (and the first and only Indian governor-general) from 1948 to 1950, when India adopted a republican constitution, thereby dispensing with the post. Rajaji had served as chief minister of Tamil Nadu state from April 1952 to April 1954.

The "reactionary religious party" that Rajaji was later to found was the Swatantra (Freedom) Party (not to be confused with the Swatantra Bharat Party founded in 2005). This party, which existed from 1959 to 1974, had a moderate Hindu religious slant, but the main issue that prompted Rajaji to part company with the Congress Party was what he considered excessive government control over private enterprise. For a balanced and illuminating analysis of Swatantra, see Howard L. Erdman, "India's Swatantra Party," *Public Affairs* 36, 4 (1963–64): 394–410, or the book by the same author, *The Swatantra Party and Indian Conservatism* (Cambridge University Press, 1967).

For more on Rajagopalachari, see Biographies. [SS]

24. The chief minister of Tamil Nadu state at the time of Khrushchev's visit to Madras was K. Perunthalaivar Kamaraj (1903–75). A leading Congress politician at the regional level (he was known as "kingmaker"), he held the office from April 1954 to October 1963. Later he was elected to the Lok Sabha (House of the People, the lower chamber of the federal parliament).

Khrushchev's perception of Kamaraj as a supporter of Rajagopalachari seems implausible. First, Kamaraj was a major figure in his own right. Second, while the two men may have had some attitudes in common, Kamaraj did not share Rajagopalachari's "free enterprise" position in the field of economic policy. His rhetoric was vaguely leftist, and he led campaigns to unionize workers—for instance, on the tea and coffee plantations. He did not follow Rajagopalachari into Swatantra, but remained loyal to the Congress Party to the end.

For more on Kamaraj, see Biographies. [SS]

25. Outbursts of communal fighting between Hindus and Muslims have continued to occur in Bombay—notably, in December 1992 and January 1993, when more than 2,000 people were killed following the destruction of the ancient Babri mosque by extremist Hindu militants. [SS]

26. Khrushchev's interlocutor was Hare Krishna Mahtab (1899–1987). He was governor of Bombay state in 1955–56, then chief minister of his home state (Orissa) from 1956 to 1961. In 1966, as a parliamentarian, he left the Congress Party to form the breakaway Jana Congress. In support of his progressive credentials, it might be mentioned that in the 1930s he worked with Gandhi to ameliorate the plight of the Harijans (untouchables). See Biographies. [SS]

27. Khrushchev is referring to the fighting that took place between Indian and Pakistani forces over Kashmir at the time of partition in 1947–48. The ceasefire line left Kashmir divided into two parts. The part under Indian control, which included the historical Vale of Kashmir (Kashmir Valley), was combined with other territory to constitute the state of Jammu and Kashmir within the Indian federation. Hostilities over Kashmir recurred in 1965 and in 1971. [SS]

28. Kerala is situated along India's southwest coast. It is one of two Indian states where Communists have gained a strong position in government, the other being West Bengal in the northeast (see note 48 below). Social protest in Kerala in the form of organized opposition to the caste system dates from the late nineteenth century. The Kerala Communist Party was founded in 1939 in the village of Parappuram; it arose out of a campaign to organize poor tenant farmers waged in the mid-1930s by young Gandhians and socialists. The first period of Communist-led governance to which Khrushchev refers lasted from 1957 to 1959, when social disturbances in Kerala prompted Nehru to dismiss the state government and call new elections, which the Communists lost. (Curiously, the Communist Party of India was able to form a governing coalition in 1957 despite receiving only 35 percent of the vote, while in the 1960 elections its vote increased to 44 percent but it was unable to form a governing coalition.) A second period of Communist-led governance was longer-lived, lasting from 1967 to 1977. Thereafter Communists have been in power in 1978–79, in 1980–81, from 1987 to 1991, and from 1996 to the present.

Communist governments in Kerala have promoted land reform, leading to the complete disappearance of landlord-tenant relations. Kerala now ranks highest among Indian states in the provision of basic needs—roughly on the level of Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. It has the lowest birth rate and lowest infant mortality rate in the country, the highest minimum wage, the highest average wage level for agricultural laborers, and—thanks to the introduction of free compulsory schooling—the highest literacy rate (91 percent according to official figures for 2001). Kerala is also the only Indian state in which females outnumber males, a clear sign of the rarity of female infanticide and therefore of the relatively high status of women. [SS]

29. Machine harvesting produces tea of a lower quality, because the machines cut bits of twig along with the leaves. When the tea is picked by hand a higher quality is assured. In the USSR in the 1950s great pride was taken in the newly invented tea-harvesting machines. People had not yet realized that the quality of the tea was diminished. [SK]

30. There have been three famous members of the Roerich family. Svyatoslav Nikolayevich Roerich (1904–93) was an artist; his father Nikolai Konstantinovich Roerich (1874–1947) was an artist, writer, traveler, and archeologist; and his brother Yuri Nikolayevich Roerich (1902–60) was an Orientalist and an expert on Buddhism. All three lived for long periods in India and took a special interest in Tibet. After his father's death in 1947 and his own return to Russia from India in 1957, Yuri brought his father's paintings back from India for exhibition. For more on all three Roerichs, see Biographies. [SS]

31. The place where they landed was Jaipur in the state of Rajasthan in northwestern India. Under British rule, Jaipur was the capital of a princely state of the same name. When India became independent, the former maharajah of Jaipur was given

the official title of "Rajpramukh" of Rajasthan. This administrative title was used in the first few years after independence to refer to the heads of the governing councils of the eight Indian states, of which Rajasthan was one, formed on the territory of former "princely states" that were previously ruled by maharajahs. This was a transitional stage that led in 1956 to the complete abolition of the princely states. [SK/SS]

32. The game that Khrushchev describes is pony lacrosse. Like ordinary lacrosse, which is played by the same rules but on foot, it has its origin among—and is still played by—native American tribes of the northeastern United States. I am grateful to Glen Holden, president of the Federation of International Polo, for explaining to me the difference between lacrosse, pony lacrosse, and polo. [SS]

33. Roughly 70 percent of the population of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, currently about 12 million, is Muslim. There are three substantial religious minorities—Hindus, Sikhs, and Buddhists. At different historical periods, the dominant religion in Kashmir has been Buddhism (in the first century A.D.), Hinduism (under local early medieval rulers), Islam (under the Mughal empire), and Sikhism (under the Sikh maharajahs of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century).

The chief minister of the state of Jammu and Kashmir at the time of Khrushchev's visit was Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed. He held office from August 1953 to October 1963. [SS]

34. The former maharajah to whom Khrushchev refers was Hari Singh (1895–1961), who reigned from 1925 to 1949, when he was succeeded by his son Karan Singh. On November 15, 1952, the Constituent Assembly of the state of Jammu and Kashmir abolished hereditary rule and elected Karan Singh governor. [SS]

35. Here are some quotations about this boating trip from the book *Missiya druzhby: Prebyvaniye N. A. Bulganina i N. S. Khrushcheva v Indii, Birme, i Afganistane: Soobshcheniya spetsialnykh korrespondentov "Pravdy"* (Friendship Mission: The Visit by N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchev to India, Burma, and Afghanistan—Reports by Special Correspondents of *Pravda)*, (Moscow, 1956), 2:282–83. "The guests were seated in large boats that had been painted gold and were rowed by [numerous] boatmen in white suits with red belts and red turbans. They set off along the Jhelum River [on which Srinigar, the summer capital of Kashmir, is located]. The trip lasted for about an hour." The guests were housed in a residence on a lake, where these magnificent traditional boats of the Kashmiri people, called *shikari,* also sailed. But the boating trip was on the river, not the lake. [SK]

36. In a speech delivered in Srinigar on December 10, 1955, Khrushchev expressed regret at the partition of India, but added that now India and Pakistan were separate countries "it is hardly necessary to rearrange [their] borders," as changing borders always entailed bloodshed. Moreover, "the question of Kashmir as one of the states of the Republic of India has been settled by the people of Kashmir themselves" (*Pravda,* December 11, 1955). In short, he gave full support to the Indian position in favor of the territorial status quo. [SS]

37. The South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was formed in September 1954. Apart from Pakistan, its founding members were the United States, Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, and the Philippines. SEATO was dissolved in 1977.

The Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) was formed in February 1955, replacing the Middle East Treaty Organization (METO). Apart from Pakistan, its founding members were Britain, Turkey, Iraq, and Iran. The United States played a key role in the creation of CENTO from behind the scenes, but decided not to join the organization openly. [SS]

38. Khrushchev's comments regarding the temperate climate and agriculture of Kashmir are basically correct. Summers are mild while winters are cold with heavy snow. Crops grown include corn and wheat as well as rice, and fruits produced do include apples and pears. [SS]

39. Shah Jahan (literal meaning, King of the World; 1592–1666) ruled the empire of the Great Mughals from 1627 to 1658. The Taj Mahal was built in Agra on the banks of the River Yamuna roughly between 1630 and 1652. Its five cupolas rise to a height of 75 meters (240 feet), and there is a minaret at each corner. [MN/SS]

40. The effect that Khrushchev describes is created by the white marble inlaid in the walls of the Taj Mahal. [SS]

41. The reference is to Shah Jahan's third son, Aurangzeb (1618–1707). He remained on the throne until 1658. [MN/SS]

42. Admiral Pavel Stepanovich Nakhimov (1802–55) annihilated the Turkish fleet at Sinope in 1853 and commanded sea and land forces during the siege of Sevastopol by the British in 1854–55, during the Crimean War. See Biographies. The Order of Nakhimov, introduced by Stalin, was a medal awarded to naval officers and sailors. [SK/SS]

43. Generalissimus Aleksandr Vasilyevich Suvorov (1730–1800) is celebrated as a great Russian military theorist and tactician who never lost a battle. He fought in the Seven Year War of 1768–74 and in the Russo-Turkish wars of 1768–74 and 1787–91. He also took part in the suppression of Pugachev's Cossack rebellion (1774) and the Polish rising of 1794 and led expeditions against French forces in Italy and Switzerland in 1799.

General Fieldmarshal Mikhail Illarionovich Kutuzov (1745–1813), a pupil of Suvorov, is best known for leading the Russian army in the struggle against the Napoleonic invasion of 1812. He also fought in the Russo-Turkish wars of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and in the Russian-Austrian-French war of 1805.

Admiral Fyodor Fyodorovich Ushakov (1745–1817) also fought in the Russo-Turkish wars of the late eighteenth century and in the war against Napoleonic France in the Mediterranean in 1799–1800.

For more on Suvorov, Kutuzov, and Ushakov, see Biographies. [SS]

44. An English equivalent for this Russian saying would be, "There was hardly room to breathe." [GS]

45. Under Nehru India did in fact pursue policies that in some respects bore at least a superficial resemblance to the Soviet economic model. The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 established a planning commission, and there followed a series of five-year plans aimed at industrializing the country under state control, with a strong emphasis on heavy industry. However, the differences were also very great. Nehru saw himself as a "democratic socialist" and sought state control only of the "commanding heights" of the economy.

The main source of Nehru's thinking on socioeconomic issues was the Fabian Society, with which he had come in contact as a student in England before World War I. Established in 1884 as a group of left-wing intellectuals, the Fabian Society played a central role in the creation of the British Labour Party and especially in the molding of its theoretical outlook. Its members rejected revolutionary Marxism with its emphasis on the class struggle and pursued a gradualist, evolutionary strategy of democratic change. (The society was named after Fabius, an ancient Roman general renowned for his gradualist tactics.)

Nehru was far from the only future Indian nationalist politician to fall under the influence of Fabianism as a student in England. "The ideas of Fabian socialism captured an entire generation of English-educated Indians" (Shashi Tharoor, *India: From Midnight to the Millennium* [New York: HarperCollins, 1998], 28). In the Fabian milieu they found a sympathetic response to their aspirations for Indian independence, a relative lack of racial prejudice, and—last but not least—a large number of vegetarians.

Nehru initially had some sympathy for the Bolsheviks, but was disillusioned by his experiences on a visit to Moscow in October 1927. Thereafter he rejected the Communist movement as authoritarian and dogmatic. For a summary of Nehru's ideas regarding socialism, see Rai Akhilendra Prasad, *Socialist Thought in Modern India* (Meerut and Delhi: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1974), 65–89. [SS]

46. The visit to Calcutta was on March 1, 1960. [SK]

47. The famous modernist Spanish artist Pablo Picasso (1881–1973) created his painting "Dove of Peace" especially for the World Peace Congress that was held in Paris in 1949. [SS]

48. The Communist Party of India (CPI) was founded in 1925. The official split occurred in 1962. In 1964 the parallel Maoist-influenced party adopted the name Communist Party of India (Marxist) or Communist Party of India—Marxist (CPI[M] or CPI-M). The split occurred not only in Calcutta or West Bengal, as Khrushchev seems to think, but in the country as a whole. [MN/SS]

The rise to Communist predominance has more recent origins in West Bengal than in Kerala (see note 28 above). Before 1952 the CPI had only two seats in the state legislative assembly. The Congress Party exercised uninterrupted control of state government until the late 1960s. In 1967 and 1969 the Congress Party was defeated in state assembly elections, leading each time to a short-lived United Front government in which the central role was played by the CPI(M), which in 1971 became the single largest party in the state assembly. For various reasons, however, it took several more years for the left-wing forces to achieve stable predominance in West Bengal. This was due partly to the split between the CPI and the CPI(M) and other internal divisions, but partly also to large-scale arrests and killings of activists, culminating in Indira Gandhi's Emergency of 1975–77. In June 1977, a Left Front led by the CPI(M) was elected to state government, and remains in office to this day. [SS]

BURMA

Today I don't remember exactly whether the invitation to visit Burma came before our flight to India in 1955 or whether we received it while we were in India.[1] The government of Burma was then headed by U Nu.[2] U Nu had been in the USSR previously. He was a Buddhist monk earlier in his life and was a very religious man. We came to an agreement with him that the Soviet delegation would make a five-day visit to Burma.

We knew even less about Burma than we had known about India.

During World War II, the civil war in China was suspended by mutual agreement. The efforts of all Chinese, both the Communists and Chiang Kaishek, were directed against Japan. When Japan was defeated, the two sides [in China] again took up their positions at opposite poles. The Communists began to conduct a struggle against Chiang Kaishek, and Chiang Kaishek did the same against the Communists. The Americans, as is well known, energetically supported Chiang Kaishek. The Americans had rear bases on the territory of Burma. From those bases they provided aid to Chiang Kaishek's forces in the south when the Communists had driven them from the eastern part of south China.[3] It was in this connection that information about the territory of Burma figured in the Soviet press, but what Burma was actually like, what kind of social system they had there, remained an open question for us. Of course our diplomats gathered information, but no light was shed on these questions in the Soviet press, and Stalin said nothing about them. I don't think he himself knew much about that country.

In working out the procedures for the departure of our delegation from India, we made the arrangement that we would fly from Delhi. From there we would go to Burma by way of Calcutta. Calcutta has left good traces in my memory. In Burma we were also greeted with great ceremony, including military honors. This country, in its turn [that is, as with India], impressed us as a fantastic part of this earthly sphere. Nature there was so rich! It was literally a land of marvels! Natural conditions in Burma and India have a lot in common, and that's only logical, because they're southerly countries and neighbors. Of course the clothing worn by Burmese differs somewhat from Indian, but it is the same kind of brightly colored clothing, especially among the women.

The internal situation, however, differed substantially from the one in India. During military operations in World War II, Burma was invaded and occupied by the Japanese. A section of Burmese society offered resistance and fought

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This part of the memoirs was tape-recorded in 1970. [SK] against Japan. A strong left tendency developed in Burma, headed by the Communist Party of Burma. It made big gains, and when Japan was defeated the Communists came into the leadership. The Communist leader Aung San[4] became the head of the country. Later some local military forces carried out a coup d'état, seized the leaders of the liberation movement, and annihilated them. In this way they crushed the powerful movement led by the Communist Party of Burma[5] and the left-wing movement in general, but among the people profound sympathy for the left remained. Monuments were even erected in honor of the leaders of the country who had perished, including Aung San.

The Communists retreated to the mountains and jungles, organized guerrilla detachments, and fought a real war against the government troops. After Japan's defeat the Communist guerrillas had an absolute majority of the people behind them. They were invited to join the government, but they refused, because they wanted to have their own government. And they aimed to achieve this by waging war. So an interesting situation had arisen for us. The government of Burma had invited Communists to be its guests—that is, the representatives of the USSR—but the Communists of Burma were underground and were engaged in combat against government troops. For this reason we sensed ambivalence and a guarded attitude toward us among Burmese officials. The leadership of Burma understood correctly that our arrival might cause the underground fighters to intensify their activities, and that apparently did happen.

The people greeted us enthusiastically wherever we appeared in public, expressing their feelings of friendship toward the representatives of the USSR. The government in Burma was a coalition government. U Nu represented the upper echelons of the patriotic national bourgeoisie and the Buddhists. Buddhism is the chief religion in Burma. The people are strong devotees of that faith, and U Nu therefore felt himself to be pretty firm in the saddle of government. Socialist [that is, Social Democratic] leaders also belonged to this coalition, including U Ba Swe,[6] who was minister of war. U Ba Swe took an understanding attitude toward the policies of the USSR, and consequently he treated our delegation kindly, but the prime minister, U Nu, had a mistrustful attitude, even a bad attitude toward us.

It was suggested that we make a trip through the country to become acquainted with it, and we were first taken to the north. Our embassy warned us that there were strong Communist guerrilla bands operating in that region. There was a peculiar feature to this antigovernment struggle, however. It had to do with a split in the Communist Party of Burma [in February 1946] between the "White Flag" Communists and the "Red Flag" Communists.[7]

Both sides called themselves Communists. We had contact with the "White Flag" tendency and supported it. Our ambassador informed us that the leaders of that tendency were people with good heads on their shoulders. We made only a cursory inspection of this region where military operations were under way. When it came time to spend the night it was suggested that we do so in a military garrison. These were military barracks. The army officers invited us for supper. We felt that their attitude toward us was a good one, but we were distrustful of the situation because among the officers there were people of various political views. We were given special warning to be cautious. A barracks from which the soldiers had been removed was provided for us as a bedroom. The only way we had of providing heat in that cold building was by burning firewood. It was a cold place to sleep in. In the morning when we got up and went outside, we saw frost on the walls of the barracks and on the grass. In the south of Burma, by way of contrast, we were exhausted from the heat and perspiration. The humidity there is very high. These contrasts are reflected in the types of vegetation in Burma.

During our visit to the north everything remained calm. There were no sounds of fighting. The garrison where we were housed was a significant distance away from the location of the guerrilla bands. I don't think it was our presence that restrained them; it was simply that they were not in a position to attack that particular troop concentration. The local garrison was also stronger than the guerrillas. We were visiting a region called the Shan national state. The Shan are a local nationality. U Ba Swe was a representative of their interests. Burma is a multinational country with many ethnic groups. So far there is no nationwide consolidation or firm unity among these disparate peoples. Some are fighting for secession from the Union of Burma and the establishment of independent states.[8]

In the capital of the Shan people [Mandalay],[9] a reception was arranged for us that was not just nice but unique. I never could have imagined such a thing. They have large lakes in their territory overgrown with tropical vegetation but with large areas of clear water. We saw buildings on floating islands on one of the lakes. A huge number of people were living on these structures. A movie was made of our visit to these lake dwellings by the film director and cameraman Roman Karmen.[10] Some of these film segments have been preserved. It would be a pleasure to look at them again to refresh my memory now. Being there was at the same time a pleasant visit and a beautiful sight. Boat races were organized with male teams competing against male teams and female teams competing against female teams in long narrow boats. I have seen this type of rowing later in other movies. The rowers stand in two rows, one on each side, along the length of the boat, holding the upper part of the oar with one hand and the lower part with the other, and that's the way they row. All together at one time they make a powerful push, bending their legs, and all of this is done rhythmically in unison, thus achieving a rather high speed.[11]

They organized a military parade in our honor.[12] U Ba Swe himself reviewed the parade. We made appropriate speeches—about friendship and about contacts that ought to be strengthened between our countries. The USSR sincerely wanted this. I think that even today [in 1970] this is what our country desires. As the military units marched past us we studied their weapons. We saw no tanks, but armored cars did move across the square, materiel obtained apparently from the Japanese or the British. They were antediluvian machines, and their guns were also antiquated. All their weapons gave the impression of backwardness and unsuitability. However for operations against guerrillas it seemed that even this weaponry was powerful by comparison with what the guerrillas had. U Ba Swe held talks with us about our selling them more modern weapons, but we could not agree to that; for in that case we would be helping them in their fight against the guerrillas.

The capital of Burma, Rangoon,[13] made a unique impression. They have modern buildings, and right alongside of them are shacks made of bamboo both on the outside and inside. People did their cooking right there next to the shack. An unbelievable filth was prevalent everywhere, and the people looked like ragamuffins. On the other hand, the aristocracy and intelligentsia were dressed quite elegantly. Naturally this social division in society provided great opportunities for the Communists, for their propaganda and struggle. In this situation U Nu engaged in all sorts of maneuvers. He personally owned certain commercial enterprises, but being a political figure and a religious leader, he tried to present things as though all he was doing was serving Buddha. Supposedly these businesses belonged solely to his wife. This formidable woman actually did carry on her commercial business rather skillfully. How much capital U Nu and his wife owned I cannot say now. I simply don't know. I received reports about it back at that time, but now I have forgotten.

The pagodas made a powerful impression on me. They had been preserved from ancient times and in their architectural and artistic execution were very beautiful, richly decorated, with their adornments finished off in gold leaf, so that it all seemed to burn in the sunshine. Bulganin and I were asked to remove our shoes before entering one pagoda. Tired of walking around, we sat down outside the pagoda and feasted our eyes on it for a long time. We were immediately surrounded by journalists, who generally were never more than one step behind us. They began to interrogate us: "What do you think? What is your understanding of what you have seen? What impression has Burma made on you?" and so on. Later it was all described in detail in the newspapers. The journalists tried to make their questions as tricky as possible, but we parried them all successfully, explaining our understanding of the local reality.

Early one morning, as we were driving through Rangoon, we encountered a large number of Buddhist monks who were running in all different directions. They were wearing long yellow robes. On their shaven heads they wore nothing, and each one, without fail, was carrying something: cups, pitchers, packages, and bundles. It was explained to us that they were on their way to people's houses, where the people would give them food. People explained to us that it was considered a special virtue to feed Buddhist monks. But these were not beggars with their palms outstretched. The accepted view was that they should be fed not with some leftover crust but with the best food, especially in wealthy homes.[14] In general the food given them was not the kind that poor people eat. In Burma wherever you turn, and at every step, invariably you see a Buddhist monk. We joked that this was Mr. U Nu's private army.

We were taken on a ride on the river in a small boat. The river opened out onto the sea. As we sailed along, we held conversations and at the same time took delight in the beauties of surrounding nature. We were served cold beer and I took a look at the label. It turned out to be Czech beer. I was surprised. With their trading skills the Czechs had already succeeded in promoting their beer as far away as Burma. It was pleasant for me to drink the excellent beer of our friends, and it was the only beverage with alcoholic content that I encountered in Burma.

A reception was held out in the open under trees similar to the European plane tree. The trees were huge and massive, and a large number of tables had been set up beneath them. Some folk dances and folk singing was presented for us. The singing was very melodic. The attitude toward us was emphatically positive. We felt that U Nu, an opponent of the Communists, understood the necessity for establishing contacts with the USSR and developing friendly relations. Burma needed technology, and it needed to have educational institutions built. The government made requests to us accordingly, and we provided them with aid. We built an institute of technology where engineers could be trained. We built it at our own expense as a gift to the people of Burma.

Students [at Rangoon University] invited us to speak to them. We were warned that some of the students were hostile toward the USSR, and some members of our embassy staff expressed doubts about whether it was worth going to speak at the university. There could be outbursts of a hooligan nature. We might even be beaten. I consulted with Bulganin and other comrades in our delegation, and we decided it wouldn't be good to refuse the invitation. That would make a bad impression. I said: "It's all right. We have our supporters there, too, including Communists. Our visit will be an act of support for them." And so we went. The students met us outside with friendly chants. We went into the auditorium. Representatives of different tendencies took the floor, including those who nourished ill feelings toward us. The majority hailed the Soviet Union and the socialist cause and expressed admiration for our successes. We had agreed among ourselves that I would speak [for our delegation]. It was difficult to prepare in advance for this speech, because it would be necessary to improvise, not just give a standardized talk. A debate in the form of questions and answers was in prospect. Statements could be made that were totally unexpected, and you couldn't say: "Give me time, I'll think about it and then answer you."

In the first years of the revolution, when we encountered enemies of Soviet power, similar public meetings often occurred. I had occasion to be present at such meetings. There too you had to answer right off, responding impromptu to both friendly statements and hostile ones. So what was there to be afraid of here? It's true that I encountered a lot of sharp, needling questions, but I answered them calmly. My answers were taken in a friendly way by those present, and that emboldened me. Thus we achieved complete success. The proponents of cooperation with the USSR expressed their attitude toward us in greetings and salutations and warm positive responses to my remarks. Yes, I consider that to have been a political victory, because what happened was not just a tightly organized meeting but a spontaneous one. Moreover, the students belonged to various social and political tendencies, including a substantial sector from wealthy families. Poor people had virtually no opportunity to send their children to a higher educational institution. Despite the social composition of the audience, the majority supported us. An appropriate resolution was even passed, and all this was described in detail in the press. Bourgeois journalists are of course not impartial. They certainly cannot be accused of hiding their hostility toward us from public opinion. But even journalists like that could say nothing bad about the meeting. The people who had expected troublesome incidents were disappointed. Immediately before our arrival in Burma, at that very same university, talks had been arranged for some visiting foreign guests, and there had been an ugly scene. We were warned that we would encounter the same kind of unpleasantness, but to the chagrin of our adversaries, that did not happen.

The proposal was made that we should see the city face to face, that is, go to the bazaar. Again we were warned that a bazaar is exactly that—a place where anything could happen. But we went there anyhow, took a look at it, and got a better idea of what this country was like. After all, the bazaar was thronged with poor people, for whom the bazaar [with its cheap prices] was a vital necessity, and we had a glimpse of the social classes that make up this society. One exotic feature we found there was a middle-aged woman squatting on the ground. In a basket in front of her cobras were coiled up, and she was playing to them on a pipe. Around her was a crowd of onlookers gawking and gaping, European tourists apparently. We were told that her husband had previously worked with these cobras, but a year before that he had been bitten by one of the snakes and had died. After the death of her husband, this woman took up his profession and now earned her daily bread by working at this dangerous trade. We had seen snake charmers in India. Nehru had invited us to breakfast at his home once, a clean, white, spic-and-span home. The reception for us was in the living room, where it was immediately evident that this was the residence of someone who was quite well off. We had breakfast in a small garden with tropical plants and flowering bushes. The three of us ate breakfast together: Bulganin, Nehru, and I. Then we were introduced to the husband of Indira Gandhi, owner of a print shop.[15] The conversation touched on various questions of concern to our two countries, international questions mostly—above all, how to avoid a war.

Then Nehru turned and said something to the people who were serving us, and soon a fakir with a basket appeared. Smiling, they introduced him to us as a man who could work miracles. The fakir sat down on the ground, opened the basket, took two cobras out of it, and the performance began. He played on a flute, and the cobras assumed threatening poses. The fakir put his nose and lips right up next to the snakes' heads, demonstrating that he had no fear of them. Later I read something about the work of snake charmers. Some authors stated that the poison sacs were removed from the cobras and that they were no longer dangerous. Nevertheless the art of the snake charmer made a big impression on us. Wishing to introduce us to additional exotic items, Nehru showed us a small tame bear that was a vegetarian. It ate only leaves. When the bear was brought in, it immediately climbed up a tree. From this I drew the conclusion that Nehru loved animals.

In comparing Nehru with U Nu, I would say that Burma's chief of state made a good impression on us also, because he adhered to democratic forms in the way the Burmese government was organized. But we had no illusions that he was going to encourage economic development in Burma along the road of socialist reforms. He was a man who was supported by the capitalists, and he himself was convinced that capitalism suited his people better. His religious fanaticism, to put it rather crudely, was tarnished somewhat by the fact that he owned a profitable business, which supposedly belonged to his wife. Thus, in the person of Mr. U Nu, capitalism and Buddhism were closely bound together. Still, we deliberately sought further contacts with him, hoping to establish economic relations of many different kinds with Burma. Later, when he asked us to provide even more extensive economic aid to Burma, we agreed to that, calculating that sooner or later new people would come to power in that country and the good seeds that we had sown would sprout and grow and eventually produce good fruit. We were not mistaken. The USSR today [in 1970] is gathering in the fruits of that earlier period. Our good works, including the building of a higher educational institution that trained engineers, as well as the building of a hospital, resonated in the hearts of the Burmese people.

In winter 1960 on our way to Indonesia, I visited Burma again, this time at the invitation of General Ne Win,[16] who had become the head of the government. Prime Minister U Nu had encountered great difficulties and had not been able to cope with them. Separatist tendencies had developed strongly in the country, tendencies that had existed before. [As I have said,] Burma is made up of several different nationalities. They all demanded independence, and U Nu had proposed that Ne Win become the head of the government. As a military man he might call the opposition to order. Meanwhile U Nu himself was preparing for the next elections. U Nu hoped to return to power. We accepted General Ne Win's invitation and stopped in Rangoon, but not for a long visit, only a day or a little more.[17] We had a meeting with Ne Win at his home. The material conditions indicated that the general was a man of medium income. He proved to be a clever person, who knew his way around on political matters and told us in detail about the history of Burmese resistance during the Japanese occupation. Ne Win had taken an active part in that struggle and commented favorably on his fellow fighters, the Burmese Communists. Some of them he called his closest friends. He was trying to show us that he took an understanding attitude toward the Communist Party, which after World War II had demonstratively marched off into the jungles, with the aim of winning the favor and support of the entire Burmese people, but the Communist Party had taken a wrong position then and had in fact isolated itself [according to Ne Win]. From the jungles their link with the people in the cities was weak, and they were unable to work among the masses on a wide basis. It would have been better for them to work legally and operate in the open.

In describing the situation that had developed in his country, Ne Win also gave an accurate characterization of U Nu, stating the opinion that U Nu's policies were also incorrect. Ne Win himself spoke in favor of the socialist development of Burma. His statements turned out to be very close to my own views, and it was pleasant for me to listen to him. This was a man who, if he continued to remain in power, would guide Burma along the best possible path. I had held talks with U Nu more than once in the past. How would I compare the talks with the two men? My conversation with Ne Win felt like a breath of fresh air after the musty atmosphere of a cellar. Listening to Ne Win was as pleasant as breathing fresh oxygen. Nevertheless, I didn't have complete confidence in him. Maybe he was making these remarks only out of tactical considerations and inwardly was planning something different.

Ne Win's wife made a pleasant impression on me. She was witty, sociable, and well educated. She told us many things about Burma and expressed the desire to visit Moscow, since she was a great lover of the theater, especially ballet. She said: "I have read and heard about it, and now I would like to see it with my own eyes."

In reply I said: "That depends on both you and your husband. You are always welcome to come and visit all of our theaters."

"When would be the best time?"

"Well, of course, during the theater season."

She objected: "There's a difficulty here, because your theatrical season is in the winter, but we're in a different climatic zone. It would be difficult for us to coordinate the timing properly."

I smiled: "For the pleasure that you would get from watching the ballet you would have to suffer and put up with our climate."

Ne Win's family was not at all like U Nu's, whose wife was a businesswoman. That was her main interest, and she acted accordingly. But Ne Win's wife was quite a different kind of woman. She was educated and had a wide outlook. She was well read and a pleasant person.

When I returned home I reported to the Soviet leadership about Ne Win. Previously we had had a completely different picture of him, based on the fact that his army was waging a war against Communist guerrillas. To us that meant that he was a reactionary general. Ne Win actually is a hard person to understand. He is the head of the Burmese army, which is fighting against the Communist Party, and yet he advocates socialism. I spoke in favor of our studying and getting to know the situation in Burma better and establishing closer ties with Ne Win. I argued that we ought to get closer and establish a rapprochement with this man. We suspected that it was possible that he wanted to paralyze our political activity in Burma, that in fact he was pursuing reactionary aims while talking in favor of socialism in his conversation with me as camouflage [to mask his real intentions.][18]

Regular elections took place in Burma. The party headed by U Nu once again won the elections. But the political direction of the government remained the same as before. It sought to maneuver between the socialist countries and imperialist America. In essence they were pursuing a reactionary policy, and the wealth of the country was being exploited by foreign corporations. Burma is a very rich country. It has oil, ferrous metals, such as iron, and many other types of ore, as well as gold and various rare minerals and rare and expensive types of wood. Its agriculture is based on a favorable climate and large areas of arable land. It exports rice, of which it has a surplus. When we began to establish friendly relations, we traded our goods for rice from Burma. We then sold the rice to China or Indonesia and bought from them products that the Soviet Union needed.

In principle, domestic policy in Burma today remains as it was, because the forces that were operating against the government continue to exist. As a result even greater difficulties have arisen. Several provinces were openly threatening to secede from the Union of Burma. Then another military coup took place.[19] U Nu and his associates were arrested. All power passed into the hands of the army. Once again Ne Win became the head of the government. Our attitude toward the coup was restrained. We waited for a certain time to see what sort of showing Ne Win would actually make. On the other hand, China very quickly recognized the new government. As I recall, Zhou Enlai even flew to Rangoon. We were somewhat concerned, wondering why Beijing was displaying such haste. Some time went by, and our embassy reported on the direction Ne Win was taking. For the time being everything was moving in the kind of direction that the general had talked about with me at our earlier meetings. Moscow changed its attitude toward the coup and recognized the new government in Burma. Our relations improved and became better than they had been under U Nu, actually developing into friendly relations. Ne Win had begun to put his ideas into effect concretely.

Nowadays [in 1970] I follow what's going on only from newspaper reports and the radio. So I have no specific information about the activities of one or another government. But I see that it is not only the public statements of Ne Win but his real actions that testify to the sober direction of his policies. Like President Nasser of Egypt, he has declared that he is guided by socialist ideas in the development of his government and economy.

As for our earlier cautiousness, we didn't interfere with Ne Win in any way. On the contrary, we continued to provide aid in the form of credits, the construction of projects that were needed by the Burmese government,[20] diplomatic support, and public support (through the press).

I have read in the papers that Ne Win has released U Nu and the members of his government from prison.

Mr. U Nu is now hanging around the Americans' doorway [seeking U.S. support] and mobilizing émigré forces to fight against the existing government. How realistic are U Nu's hopes?[21] My sympathies are on the side of Ne Win and not U Nu, who has harnessed himself to the American wagon.

If the Burmese government and General Ne Win continue the correct policy and if they base themselves on Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the influence of Ne Win will grow stronger, and the people will support him.

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1. The visit to Burma took place between December 1 and 7, 1955. Khrushchev was to visit Burma again in February 1960. [SK] The official name of the country formerly called Burma is now Myanmar. [GS]

2. U Nu was prime minister of Burma (Myanmar) from 1947 to 1956, in 1957–58, and from 1960 to 1962. He was overthrown by General Ne Win in 1958, returned to power in 1960, and was overthrown by Ne Win again in 1962. See Biographies.

U Nu had visited the Soviet Union in October 1955. Thus Khrushchev's visit to Burma in December 1955 was a return visit. [SK/MN/SS]

3. Even after the retreat of Chiang Kaishek to Taiwan, former Kuomintang troops remained on Burmese territory for several years, living by banditry. [SS]

4. Aung San (1915–47), Burmese political leader instrumental in winning independence from Britain; generally regarded as Burma's national hero. As a youth active in the independence movement against British rule, he helped lead a student strike at Rangoon University in 1936; after graduating in 1937, he became secretary general of the Dobama Asi-ayon (We Burmans Association) in 1939. According to the main Soviet encyclopedia, he was a founder of the Burmese Communist Party in August 1939, becoming its first general secretary in 1939–40. With the outbreak of World War II and the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact, Communist cooperation with the Axis Powers seemed appropriate, especially to anti-British Burmese. As the Soviet encyclopedia puts it, "Aung San joined the radical anti-British groups who thought that Burma could gain independence through cooperation with Japan." In Japan and in several countries under Japanese occupation Aung San took part in the training of commanders for a Burmese army. After the Japanese invasion of Burma in early 1942 he returned to Burma as chief of the Burma Independence Army, which took over local administration of some Japanese-occupied areas; he served as minister of defense in the Japanese-backed government of Ba Maw (1943–45), but at the same time he and other patriots, suspicious of Japan's long-term designs on Burma, organized a resistance movement. In August 1944 he became president of the newly formed underground organization, the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL). In March 1945 he led the anti-Japanese revolt of the Burmese army as part of a national uprising. With the defeat of Japan, Aung San headed the patriotic forces opposed to the British colonial power, which had returned to Burma. In September 1946 he joined the British governor's Executive Council and became the de facto premier, in charge of defense and foreign relations. In January 1947 he negotiated with the British Labour government of Clement Attlee and obtained an agreement that elections for a Burmese constituent assembly would be held in April 1947. This assembly, in which Aung San's AFPFL won an overwhelming majority (196 out of 202 seats), voted for Burma's independence. Aung San as the de facto head of the transitional government helped draft Burma's constitution and rally its left-wing forces. "Aung San repeatedly supported the socialist development of Burma," reports I. V. Mozheiko, author of a Soviet biography of Burma's national hero. On July 19, 1947, Aung San and six other members of the Executive Council, including his brother, were assassinated by a reactionary political group headed by Aung San's chief rival, U Saw, who in turn was executed. The more rightist-minded U Nu became

leader of the AFPFL and first prime minister of independent Burma.

In the 1990s and the first decade of the 21st century the daughter of the martyred national hero of Burma's independence, Aung San Suu Kyi, who was only two years old when her father was killed, emerged as the leading pro-democracy figure in opposition to the ruling military regime. In 1990, her National League for Democracy won 80 percent of the contested seats, but the military government refused to acknowledge the election results. For "commitment to peaceful change," she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1991. [GS]

5. The Communist Party of Burma (CPB) was established on August 15, 1939. In September 1942 it began to set up underground groups to fight the Japanese occupation. In August 1944 it entered a united front with Aung San's AFPFL and a year later emerged from underground. In February 1946 it split (see note 7 below). In October 1946 the two Communist parties were expelled from the AFPFL. In 1947–48 they returned underground to fight the nationalist government and civil war began. [MN/SS]

6. U Ba Swe (1915–86) was a founding member of the Socialist Party of Burma and general secretary of the AFPFL from 1947 to 1952. He was vice president in 1952, a minister in the government of U Nu in 1952–53, prime minister in 1956–57, and president from 1958 to 1963. Thereafter he went into opposition to the Ne Win regime. See Biographies.

7. The Red Flag Communist Party (also known as the "Communist Party, Burma") was led by Thakin Soe and was Trotskyist in orientation. It went underground in early 1947. The White Flag Communist Party (also known as the "Burma Communist Party") was led by Thakin Than Tun and was Stalinist and later Maoist in orientation. It went underground in March 1948 and later split into "Stalinist" and "revisionist" wings. [SS] The supporters of the two Communist Parties distinguished themselves by wearing white and red armbands, respectively. In Burma the color white is considered a symbol of nobility. [MN]

8. Burmese account for roughly two thirds of the population of the Union of Burma (Myanmar), which is now about 47 million. The remaining third is divided among numerous ethnic groups, the largest of which are the Shan (9 percent) and the Karen (7 percent). Insurgent organizations exist among the Shan, Karen, Kachin, and Wa.

The Shan are an ethnic group closely related to the Thais. They are mainly Buddhists. Most of them live in northeastern Burma, the rest in neighboring areas of Thailand and Laos. Many Shan, like many members of other ethnic groups living in the northeast, have fled across the border to Thailand to escape the fighting between insurgents and government troops.

Since 1958 the states of the Union of Burma (Myanmar), several of which correspond to the homelands of ethnic minorities (Shan state, Kachin state, Karen state), have had the constitutional right to secede, though they have not been permitted to exercise that right.

U Ba Swe probably acquired the reputation of being a representative of Shan interests because he assisted in organizing a Shan political party, the All Shan State Organization. However, his purpose in so doing was not to encourage secession but rather to integrate the Shan into the national polity. The attempt aroused distrust and did not succeed. [SS]

9. Mandalay is the second largest city in Burma (Myanmar). It was built on the banks of the Irrawaddy River as the royal capital in fulfillment of Buddhist prophecy by order of King Mindon in 1857. The capital was later transferred to Rangoon by the British colonial regime. [SS]

10. Roman Lazarevich Karmen (1906–78) was a well-known Soviet documentary film maker. See Biographies.

11. This is similar to paddling a canoe while standing upright. [SK]

12. The parade was held on a military parade ground in Maymyo (also called Pyin U Lwin), a small mountain town 70 kilometers (45 miles) from Mandalay. Formerly a colonial hill station, the town was now dominated by the command headquarters of the Northern Military District *(Missiya druzhby. Prebyvanie N. A. Bulganina i N. S. Khrushcheva v Indii, Birme, Afganistane. Vypusk vtoroi* [Moscow: Izd-vo gazety "Pravda," 1956], 226–30).

13. Rangoon became the capital in the late nineteenth century, under British colonial rule. The previous royal capital was Mandalay. The British also renamed the city Rangoon. Its previous name was Yangon, which means "termination of hostilities"; this name was restored in 1989. There were also older names: Occala and Dagon. Settlement on the site dates to the sixth century. The capital is currently being moved from Rangoon/Yangon to Pyinmana, a mountain town in the central part of the country. [SS]

14. In theory, Buddhist monks begged for alms as an expression of their detachment from worldly passions. The three most harmful of these passions are considered to be gluttony, ambition, and lust. The behavior that Khrushchev describes, while common enough in Buddhist countries, is a travesty of the true spirit of Buddhism. [SS]

15. The husband of Indira Gandhi was Feroze Gandhi, a Congress Party journalist and politician of Parsee-Muslim origin whom she had married in 1942. Feroze Gandhi was managing director of a newspaper (the Lucknow *National Herald)*, but I have not found confirmation of the statement that he owned a print shop. For more on Feroze Gandhi, see Biographies. [SS]

16. General Ne Win (original name Shu Maung; 1911–2002) was one of the comrades-in-arms of Aung San. He became commander of the Burmese Independence Army in 1943. When Burma obtained its independence from Britain in 1948, he became home and defense minister as well as commander in chief of the armed forces. In 1958 Ne Win became prime minister after deposing his predecessor U Nu. U Nu did return to power in 1960, but in 1962 Ne Win took back power in a new coup. He was chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Revolutionary Government from 1962 to 1974, president from 1974 to 1981, and chairman of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Burmese Socialist Program Party from 1971 until his retirement in 1988. [MN/SS]

17. This visit took place between February 16 and 18, 1960. [SK]

18. Probably Khrushchev did not fully understand what Ne Win meant when he spoke of "socialism." The ideology of the Burma Socialist Program Party, the official party that was set up in 1963 with Ne Win as president, was based on the idea of a specifically Burmese path to socialism in which Buddhism would play a central role. However, the same general idea was widely current in Burmese politics. Not only Ne Win but also U Nu and U Ba Swe considered themselves "Buddhist Socialists." U Ba Swe is often quoted as saying that "Marxism is of relative significance but Buddhism is of absolute significance." [SS]

19. Khrushchev is referring to the new military takeover that took place in 1962. [SS]

20. The Technological Institute was built between 1959 and 1961 in accordance with the design of the Soviet architect P.G. Stenyushin. Then the Inya Lake Hotel was built in accordance with the design of V. S. Andreyev and K. D. Kislova. A hospital was also built. The first broad agreement on economic cooperation between Burma and the USSR was signed on January 17, 1957.

21. Apparently U Nu was not imprisoned but only kept under house arrest. Following his release he lived in India, Thailand, and other countries. Later he returned to Burma, only to be rearrested following the new military coup of 1988. Charged with trying to set up a rival government, he was again kept under house arrest from 1989 to 1992. He died in 1995. [SS]

INDIA, AFGHANISTAN, IRAN, AND AGAIN INDIA

As we were returning from India to the Soviet Union [in December 1955], we received an invitation from the government and the king of Afghanistan to stop in Kabul for several days of talks.[1] We readily accepted this proposal, because Afghanistan interested us greatly. The United States was courting Afghanistan, had provided credits to it, had built roads and done other construction there, and had offered its services in extracting and processing the country's natural riches. In short, they were making every effort to draw Afghanistan into the pro-U.S. bloc. This was disturbing to us, because it was clear to everyone—even to the uninitiated—that the imperialists were not interested in Afghanistan for its military strength. They were interested because it was a neighbor of the USSR. It would be to their advantage to use Afghan territory as a location for their military bases aimed against the USSR. Our border with Afghanistan was approximately 2,000 kilometers long [about 1,250

This part of the memoirs was tape-recorded in 1970. [SK] miles]. If Afghanistan made its territory available to achieve U.S. military objectives, that would be grounds for serious concern on our part. Britain was no longer sticking its nose into that part of the world. The role of world policeman was now being played by the United States. Therefore we wanted Afghanistan to establish friendly relations with us and take a trusting attitude toward our policies. We were not contemplating any aggressive action against Afghanistan and were not about to interfere in its internal affairs.[2] When we received the invitation we thought it might to some extent contribute to the realization of our aims.

During our visit to India, the following tradition had been established: first a concert would be given in our honor, then our artists and performers, who had come with us or immediately after us, would give a presentation. We felt we had something to brag about in this connection, and these concerts made a very good impression everywhere. We wanted to do the same in Afghanistan. Therefore on the day after we had landed in Kabul, a troupe of our artists arrived from India, and we decided that if a concert was organized in our honor, we would suggest a performance by our artists in turn. Our artists gave one concert, but the local authorities warned us in advance that they would object to female artists performing in public, and they said: "It's your business, but we would like to warn you that it will make a bad impression on the spectators and leave a bad taste in their mouths for a long time afterward, and some circles in Afghan society would refuse to come to your embassy any more." So we dropped the idea. What did we need any extra problems for? After all, we wanted to win the favor of Afghan public opinion and the upper echelons of their society. Ordinary workers would not have the opportunity to attend these receptions. We valued having good ties with "polite society," with government circles and people close to the king.

We held talks with the prime minister of Afghanistan, the king's uncle, [Mohammed] Daud. We called him Daud for the sake of simplicity but he had a more complicated full name.[3] The foreign minister [Mohammed Naim Khan] was also an uncle of the king.[4] Both of them were intelligent, middle-aged men. It was pleasant and useful holding talks with them. Then we were told that the king wanted to receive us. We too wanted to meet him. The meeting and conversation were brief. We told him about our impressions of India, about the internal situation in the USSR, and mainly about our economy. The tone of the conversation was warm, but we sensed that the king was not being entirely open, that he was holding himself back, sticking to certain limits. After taking our leave of him we continued our talks with the government. We had a number of questions that we discussed at that point: establishing closer contacts and building a road from the airport to Kabul, which they had asked us to do. The Americans had built the airport. They showed us the military college, which the king's son had attended, as had the king himself.[5] After our next round of talks we agreed to build a bread factory in Kabul. We assumed that the ice had been broken to some degree and that mutual trust, which had come into existence earlier, would continue to grow stronger.

The thought occurred to us that we should pay special attention to improving conditions for the population of Afghanistan, which was quite impoverished. There was hardly any real industry, the buildings in the residential part of the capital city made a miserable impression, and the clothes people were wearing couldn't have been any poorer. The USSR proposed to lend a fairly substantial sum to Afghanistan at that point, although we ourselves had no excess foreign currency to dispose of. On the contrary, we needed foreign currency ourselves. The Kabul authorities refused to accept foreign currency from us, and later, through people we trusted, we heard the explanation of why they couldn't accept that gift. They didn't want to become a dependent state. Accepting such a gift would have tied their hands. They were grateful, but they didn't want to accept it. We knew for certain that the United States was trying to persuade Afghanistan to sign a treaty allowing the United States to establish military bases there. They were trying to frighten Afghanistan with stories that the USSR had hostile intentions toward it. This caused us great concern. The amount of foreign currency we offered Kabul was quite substantial for our economy. Nevertheless, in my opinion, we acted correctly. If Afghanistan had made concessions to the United States and joined the U.S. military bloc, as Pakistan had done, that would have cost us many, many times more later on. We would have been forced to build fortifications and undertake other measures to defend our long border, but more important, we would have had more U.S. military bases close to our territory.

During the few days of our stopover in Kabul, some special competitive games native to Afghanistan were organized for us. Similar contests are held in Soviet Central Asia, which is called "chasing after the goat skin" [or "tearing up the goat"—the term in Russian is *kozlodraniye]*. Men on horses were divided into two groups, and each side had its circle that was like its home base. One side had to get hold of the goat's carcass, and if it could throw the carcass inside the circle belonging to the other side, it was considered the winner. The horses were fiery and so were the riders. We were told that casualties often occurred in these games. If a rider was knocked off his horse and fell under the horses' hooves, he could end up being killed or crippled. A huge crowd of people had gathered, special speakers' stands had been erected, and the government, headed by the king, came to watch. The contest went on amid great tension. For me this was a new kind of game. I had never seen it before, and having seen it, I considered it coarse and boorish. Then another game was organized in our honor—a game involving a ball with men on horseback.[6] Here too, there was plenty of danger, although it was more sportsmanlike [less crude]. Serious injuries happened in this game, too. We were told during our visit to India that during a competition in London a maharajah who had been playing broke his leg.

The Afghans followed the game closely and had stormy reactions to what happened on the playing field. Their faces were all aglow and their eyes were gleaming. In Kirgizia I once attended a special holiday or some special festivities and encountered the same kind of contests, which the Kirgiz, Tajiks, and Uzbeks[7] also regarded as entertainment. The same kind of fiery passion could be observed there as we saw in Afghanistan.

For the first time in my life, when I was in Kabul, I saw women wearing the veil, the yashmak. This made a painful impression on me. It was as if a statue with the features of a human being was walking along with a basket on its head and with a black rectangle in front of its eyes—a net made of horsehair. It was through this thick net that the woman had to look and breathe. As we traveled around the city we saw many such figures. Sometimes in such an encounter the women raised the yashmak, apparently trying to get a better look at the Russians. It was explained to us that only older women were allowed to do this, but for young women and girls it was absolutely forbidden [to reveal their faces]. Of course there were cases when they risked their lives and violated this custom.

The king, the prime minister, and the foreign minister, during our conversations, all emphasized that when the Afghan people had fought against the British for their independence and had defended that independence [in 1919], the USSR had taken their side in the fight against the colonialists. The first country to recognize the free government of Afghanistan had been the USSR [also in 1919].[8] On the other hand, the first foreign government to recognize Soviet Russia was the government of Afghanistan. Thus friendly relations had been established between us for a long time, although each side understood the situation in its own way—that is, the situation that existed in the other country. The Afghans frequently referred to the fact that Lenin had shown the proper understanding of their country, and they honored the memory of the great man who had extended a hand of friendship to the peoples of Afghanistan at a most critical time in their history. Soviet aid [from that era] had left profound traces. We took advantage of that and said that we were the successors of Lenin and great admirers of him, that the policies we pursued were based on his doctrines, and that we were continuing his line in relation to Afghanistan and would continue to do so in the future.

My impressions of Kabul were that it was cold (after all, it was winter), and to some extent I was physically affected by the altitude at which the city is situated.[9] Bulganin especially suffered from the altitude. He could barely drag his feet around and was lying down the whole time, unless we had to go somewhere according to protocol. My mood was also affected, but I didn't lose my capacity for work. Apparently my body has great powers of resistance. I was born that way. The palace they put us up in was luxurious and surrounded by a large park.[10] I remember there were poplar trees in the park like the ones we have at home, but they had adapted to the severe climate. The severity was the result of being so high above sea level, because, after all, this was the south and cotton even grows in Afghanistan. But the milder climate was only down below in the valleys.

When we returned home we reported to the CPSU Central Committee about our trip. It was officially stated that the trip had been useful and that good meetings had taken place in India, Burma, and Afghanistan. Everyone was satisfied with the results of the trip. We agreed that we should continue to follow the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence and do all we could from our side to strengthen friendly relations with our neighbors. Although India was not a direct neighbor of the USSR, it was pursuing its own policy of nonalignment with the military blocs formed by the United States, which was attractive to us, and therefore in relations with India we needed to exert every effort to win its confidence even more. The same held true for Burma.

Nehru came to visit our country again later, as did other public figures from Asia, and our official government delegation, in turn, traveled to India [in January–February 1960], headed by [Kliment] Voroshilov, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR [making him titular chief of state]. The delegation included other prominent figures, in particular Comrade [Yekaterina] Furtseva.[11]

We granted Furtseva special powers to keep an eye on Voroshilov. At that time Voroshilov's health was such that he couldn't quite orient himself properly in situations, and he was incapable of behaving in a manner appropriate to his rank and status. His personality had changed in such a way that he was capable, without meaning to, of doing harm to our good relations with India. The trouble began with a conflict over the arrangements for the trip. Voroshilov indicated that he wanted to bring a very large retinue along with him, and the Indian government asked that it be reduced in size, because difficulties were arising over housing all those people. We called him to order and the problem was smoothed over.

When she returned home, Furtseva told about another incident in Calcutta. The official meeting was going along smoothly, at the proper high level, in keeping with the ranks of the guests. An itinerary was proposed to Voroshilov in accordance with what had been arranged in advance: to visit historical places, monuments, parks, and various institutions or facilities that they wanted to show our delegation. Voroshilov, who was the head of our delegation, got all steamed up: "Why are you trying to pull the wool over my eyes? You're shoving all sorts of nonsense in my face for me to go visit. What do I need that for? I come from the Soviet Union, and I'd like you to show me your working class, your mills and factories. That's what I'm interested in!" Everyone was embarrassed. The leaders of the Indian government and the state where Calcutta is located [West Bengal] were not averse to showing him what he requested, but the problem was that private ownership still prevails in India, and therefore if you want to go to a factory, you first have to have the approval of the owner. No government, neither the central nor the local government, could simply bring its guests to a factory without making arrangements with the owners.

This reminded me of an anecdote that circulated widely in our country at one time. A Soviet citizen went to Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia, which at that time was still capitalist. He saw a huge building and asked "Who does that house belong to?"

"That's the house of Bata."

"Bata?"

"Yes."

"And who did it belong to before?"

"Previously it belonged to Bata, and it also belongs to Bata now."[12]

That was typical in our country. Soviet citizens would ask as a kind of natural reflex when they saw an impressive building: "Who did that belong to before?" The answer would be that before the revolution the owner was Prince So-and-So, Count Such- and-Such, or So-and-So, the wealthy capitalist. But we haven't had such people in our country for a long time. Still, they do exist outside our country, and that has to be remembered. Nehru intervened in the Calcutta situation. He's a flexible man and, as prime minister of the country, was able to make the necessary arrangements. Thus, the owners of several factories agreed to have the Soviet guests visit their property.

When our delegation returned, we criticized Voroshilov rather sharply, explaining to him the elementary difference between the Soviet Union and India. In general that trip made an impression on Indian citizens because ours was a highly representative delegation, but nothing good was added to our relations with Nehru because Voroshilov got into a foolish squabble with him. If anything was added to our relationship with Nehru it was a spoon of tar in a barrel of honey. While they were in India, Furtseva gave Voroshilov comradely advice, but he behaved in a highly unrestrained manner toward her, and later in Moscow he attacked her and was highly displeased that we supported her against him. We said she had taken the correct position.

After Bulganin and I visited India [in 1955], the Indians requested our aid in building a metallurgical plant. We had information that they had made the same request to Britain and West Germany. They wanted to build three metallurgical plants at the same time. We granted them credits, came to agreement on the cost of the project, and signed the appropriate contract. After our plan for the factory was drawn up the decision was made to build it in the city of Bhilai. [This was the Bhilai steel mill.[13]] Because the Indian engineers were not sufficiently qualified and could not properly evaluate our plan on their own, the Indian leadership expressed a desire to consult with the British regarding our plan and to consult with us regarding the British plan. This was a rather original method of verification, but we had no reason to oppose it, because we were confident that our plan corresponded to the state of the art in world metallurgy. The Indian government was afraid it might offend us by showing a lack of confidence, but we were glad and even wanted the British to send us their conclusions about our plan, because the British have been specialists in metallurgy since way back when.

In my childhood and youth the British enjoyed great authority in Russia as experts in metallurgy. The owner of the metallurgical works in Yuzovka was the British capitalist Hughes [after whom Yuzovka got its name—the equivalent of "Hughes-ville"]. Not long after the revolution Stalin's name was attached to this metallurgical complex. When I was young we used to sing a traditional work song, *Dubinushka,* with the following words:

> The clever Englishman, to help him in his work,
> Invented one machine after another,
> But our Russian moujik [peasant], incapable of work,
> Just kept singing "Dubinushka."[14]

Later different words were made up for this song:

> Oh-hoh, the years went by, one by one in a row,
> And the scenery in our homeland changed completely
> The "Dubinushka" song was laid to rest, along with the wooden plow—

Replaced by our homegrown machinery.
Hey machine! Dear little machine, things go easier with you.
Hey machine, you iron machine! You run on your own power!

In other words, Britain gradually lost first place in world technology. When I worked in the Donets coal basin in 1913, the coalmine where I worked belonged to a French company. The British rented one sector of that mine to exploit a narrow seam of coal. A narrow seam is the most difficult to mine, and the British used a special machine to cut coal, along with pneumatic hammers. They were the first to introduce the coal-cutting machine.[15] Even today Britain holds a leading position in a number of fields of technology, and we are forced to negotiate with them for the purchase of their latest state-of-the-art equipment.

So then, we passed our plan along to the British; they examined it, drew their conclusions, and reported to the Indian government. It was reported to us from India that the British had drawn conclusions that were highly flattering for us. Strictly speaking, the British made no specific comments but simply said that our plan corresponded to all the standards of contemporary metallurgical production. In contrast, our engineers found many things that needed to be corrected in the British plan. The Indian government did not ask us to send our plan to the Germans, because our official relations with West Germany had not been properly established.[16] Likewise, the German plan was not sent to us. An unspoken competition began. We selected good people to be in charge of the project, administrators, engineers, even workers to go to Bhilai, and off they went to India. Like other foreign governments, India wanted us to build the factory on a contract basis. We refused because we didn't want to act as employers and come into conflict with workers, because labor disputes invariably occur. Inside our country such disputes are possible and acceptable, but we didn't want disputes between Indian workers and representatives of the USSR, because we didn't want to have a black mark against us in the eyes of the proletariat in regard to the policies we were pursuing.

The Germans began work before we did, and we received information that they were well ahead of us. For our part we made every effort to build the steel mill so that it would produce steel and iron before the Germans did. I personally kept track of the construction work. Finally it was reported to me that we were pulling even with the Germans, that the gap between us was being eliminated. I had great respect for Comrade [Venyamin] Dymshitz,[17] who had been appointed director of the construction project. I knew him from his work in the southern part of our country after the Great Patriotic War when he helped restore metallurgical plants in Ukraine. He was working at Zaporozhye[18] then, and he displayed great organizational skills and was the first to introduce a new method for restoring blast furnaces to operation. Different sections of these furnaces were produced right out on the ground at the site, and then they were lifted by cranes to be riveted or welded directly in place. One blast furnace had remained intact (the others had been destroyed by the fascists), but it was obsolete; it was dragged off to the side and a new one put in its place. We gained approximately a year's worth of production [by restoring these blast furnaces more quickly than usual.] Now I asked Comrade Dymshitz to come see me; I told him about the construction project in India and asked him to provide assistance at Bhilai.

Dymshitz went there and organized the work in such a way that we got ahead of schedule. He personally reported to Nehru about the course of the construction work and made a very good impression on him. This was good for us. We managed to finish work on our steel mill a little before the Germans.[19] We turned the mill over to our hosts, and it began producing steel without any snags or complications from the very first. It's true that one accident occurred that could not have been foreseen. Among the people working there was one of our good engineers, who was doing his job successfully. The Indian government developed a very positive attitude toward him. On one of his days off he went hunting with his teenage son. He fired at a duck and it fell from the sky; he went to retrieve it from the marsh where he was hunting, but he fell into a deep quagmire that sucked him down, and he perished. This was a source of great grief for everyone.

When the Indian government began to obtain steel and iron [from the Bhilai mill], our authority in that country rose sharply.[20] The setting up of the equipment went smoothly. The various units began to function properly without any great effort, which does not always happen, if the machinery that has been set up goes immediately into full-scale production. The Germans, on the other hand, did not meet their schedule, although they had begun before we did. They had long periods of idleness in the process of setting up the machinery.

I wouldn't want to give the impression, as is sometimes done among us, that we had God by the beard and that everything we did was the very best. No, unfortunately, that's far from being true. Even today we lag substantially behind world standards in relation to a number of technical problems and fields of endeavor. I feel pained about this now, and I felt that way in those earlier times. Even though I'm retired, I suffer and feel pain for our country over the fact that we haven't built up the strength we should have. And after all, it's time that we did: 52 years have gone by since the working class of Soviet Russia won power, and still here we are trying to catch up, trying to catch up with the capitalists, and we can't seem to be able to catch up with them in any way. This system, which we call the decaying capitalist system, has more than once given us such lessons that we stand there with our mouths hanging open from awe. I would like it very much if the opposite were true and that we were placing our adversaries in that kind of position. I say this because of course the Germans also are recognized experts in the field of metallurgy, and German technology is by no means on a lower level than ours. I would suppose that what was at work in this case is the fact that we have been engaged in construction much more than they have, and if we made many mistakes earlier, we had learned from them, and we avoided those mistakes when we were carrying out this construction project, which was a repetition of something similar. It doesn't follow from this that we should belittle others or puff ourselves up and give ourselves airs, especially in relation to the Germans, British, Americans, and Belgians—who are all skilled experts in metallurgy and chemistry.

Many workers and engineers from India came to the USSR to receive training by working at our factories, including the metallurgical plant at Zaporozhye. This also brought our people closer together, and we got to know one another better. The Indians received a high level of training and then served their time, or "stood their watch," in the appropriate place in production facilities in their own country, and they coped with their tasks splendidly. They always knew that we kept no secrets from them. Our people openheartedly shared their knowledge and experience. This was very important because capitalist corporations consider everything they have to be trade secrets. When we readily and willingly shared our knowledge, that made a strong impression on the people we were instructing. They understood that we sincerely wanted to help India free itself from the legacy of colonial oppression, which took the form of poverty and backwardness.

The capacity of the Bhilai steel mill at first was more than a million tons per year.[21] As soon as construction was completed, the Indian government began negotiations with us on bringing the capacity up to 2 million tons per year. We accepted the proposal and set about doing this new job. In 1960 [on February 14–15] I visited Bhilai on the way to Indonesia and inspected the steel mill together with Nehru and India's minister of industry. I stayed overnight at a local workers' settlement and had a chance to talk with the workers. When I first met with people in India in 1955, I was seeing everything with the eyes of a tourist from the north to whom nature and the people of India appeared as something quite exotic; it seemed a land filled with strange and wonderful sights. But at this new stage [in 1960], we met simply as friends working together on a task and successfully accomplishing it. I was very pleased and satisfied.

[In 1955] we decided to provide India with assistance in organizing large-scale agricultural enterprises similar to our state farms. For this purpose we offered Nehru the requisite number of tractors, combines, machines for planting and seeding, and other agricultural machinery as a gift. He gratefully accepted the gift. Later we sent engineers and agronomists to India as consultants.

Now I'm retired on a pension, and I sometimes hear people say that the actions we took were unintelligent, that supposedly we squandered the people's resources organizing state farms and other projects in India and Egypt. I don't know whether the people who say this have had the situation explained to them properly or whether such harmful ideas have deliberately been put into their heads.[22]

What is evident here is profoundly mistaken thinking. Let's take a simple example. Friends who work at the same factory visit each other at home. First, one of them spends money to buy food and drink to treat his guest, then the other invites the first to visit him and likewise spends money on his guest. If you take their family budgets and the amounts spent on their guests, you get a higher percentage in real value than was spent by the Soviet government in delivering machinery [to such countries as India and Egypt]. But why did we need to do this at all? Because friends of the Soviet Union were living in those countries. We wanted to strengthen friendly relations with them and consolidate peaceful coexistence. If you want to establish peaceful relations between countries, you do the kind of thing you would do in personal relations. If the countries become friends, they are equally attentive in return; they invite people to come visit and they give each other gifts, but in the case of governments these are usually not consumer items but production facilities. In this way they are showing the potential they possess, and they have an impact on the consciousness of the citizens in the other country. This way of behaving has always justified itself and will do so in the future.

From the point of view of what it costs the USSR to give these miserly gifts, they paid for themselves unquestionably through the consolidation of friendly relations with India. When I visited the state farm that I've mentioned, I experienced a great feeling of satisfaction to see this very large farm with its fields being worked by modern machinery.[23] This was an excellent model for all the agriculture in India to follow. People came from everywhere to have a look at this innovative facility. A living example is the best possible way of promoting a theory. We were successfully promoting the socialist form of agriculture based on large-scale mechanization. These were our motives, and we were grateful when Nehru accepted our gift. After all, not everyone accepted what we offered. In Afghanistan they would not take the foreign currency we offered, although we set no conditions for its use. They refused the gift not because they were wealthy but because they didn't yet trust us. Of course they were trying to determine what our motives might be, because they knew that we were not that rich and nevertheless we were offering them a fairly substantial gift. They must have wondered what was going on.

They rejected our gesture, politely thanking us, but refusing. It was not at all pleasant for us to encounter this refusal, that is, an expression of distrust. We tried to evaluate the reason for this action and to guess what actions might follow on their side as a result. Our expectation was that after this they would begin to move noticeably closer to the United States, which would result in a strengthening of American influence in Afghanistan, that the United States in Afghanistan would obtain concessions or be allowed to establish military bases. The USSR would have had to respond with enormous military expenditures, which we did not want. Those were the considerations that guided us when we offered assistance. It was offered free of charge, but it would have proved to be profitable many times over. And I'm not even talking about the friendship aspect of the matter. When we win new friends we also increase our strength, by winning more and more hearts and minds over to our side, which reduces the possibility that our enemies might use our neighbors against us.

People will ask: "But what has the other side done for us?" The other side didn't have the potential for doing anything for us. All it could do was thank us. Thus, in India, what they were capable of doing came down to a matter of treating us with fruit and mango juice. That was the first time I had encountered this marvelous product [in India in 1955]. Nehru always liked to watch how we would cope with these strange new fruits. Don't laugh. It's a difficult operation [to deal with a mango], and you have to accumulate some experience to cope with it. Nehru said: "Watch how I eat the mango. A traditional method has been worked out in our country. Then you can do the same." Indira Gandhi, who was also at the table, told us that in India the general opinion was that it's best to eat a mango sitting in a bathtub. That way you can constantly rinse your hands, because it's a very juicy and rich fruit. Actually the most valuable gift we received in exchange from India was the understanding and trust we won from the Indian people and from Nehru.

The Americans spend billions of dollars providing aid [to other countries]. Their aid also takes the form of gifts, that is, useful facilities of one kind or another. In doing this they are always pursuing their own aims. Being a capitalist country, the United States doesn't give any gifts unless it can extract something useful in exchange. A gift they give might be a concession to process some raw material or to organize some sort of production, some manufacturing operation, on the territory of the recipient country, but they extract enormous profits from "gifts" like that. At the same time they strengthen their military influence in such a country.

We are guided by the teachings of the great Lenin and are inspired by fraternal feelings toward the peoples of all countries. When we offer aid, we are not pursuing the aim of extracting any kind of material advantages or subordinating that people or country to us. We simply want to win their friendship and sympathy, to unite our common efforts in the struggle to ensure peace and the prosperity of all peoples of the world, but the internal arrangements [the social, economic, and political system] in each country is the business of its people. Of course we do everything we can to accelerate people's understanding of the progressive nature of our society, built on the foundation of the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. But we have to be patient in all of this. Again I repeat: This is profoundly and essentially an internal matter [for each country].

Finally, later on, good relations did develop between Afghanistan and us. Even today that's how our relations stand. After a while Afghanistan stopped waiting for us to make another aid proposal. They themselves began to take the initiative, asking us for aid. It was necessary to build a road through the mountains, including the need to drill tunnels through the mountains. This work was accomplished. In that country there were no railroads [because of the mountainous terrain]; there were only paved roads—main arteries that linked one province with another and through which the economic blood of the country flowed. Roads have colossal importance for them. The newly built road that we provided stretched for several hundred kilometers from Kushka on the Soviet border to the south,[24] toward Pakistan, with a branch line from there to Kabul. The road we built took on great economic and strategic importance, although it cost the USSR dearly.

This road gives Afghanistan the possibility of shipping freight and transferring troops, if necessary, to the border with Pakistan. In principle, our own troops could also be sent down this road into the heart of Afghanistan. If a war was imposed on us, for example, by Iran [which was ruled by the pro-American Shah Reza Pahlevi at the time], we might also be able to make use of this road. It was not easy for us to win the trust of the king and government of Afghanistan, to convince them that we would not abuse their trust, and that we were building this road for peaceful purposes. At the same time, we were providing security for our border in that sector. Afghanistan itself was not threatening us, but its territory, if we did not have friendly relations with it, could be used by our adversaries. I met many times with the leaders of Afghanistan. Eventually the king agreed to come take a vacation with us in the Crimea.[25] We had invited him previously, but he found polite ways of refusing and took his vacations in France [on the Riviera]. He and I went hunting together in the Crimea. We didn't find any game, to be sure, because actually it was not the hunting season. We went hunting merely as a means of entertaining our guest and showing him the beauties of the Crimea and what kind of game animals existed there: deer, wild sheep (mouflon), and all sorts of game birds. I see from the press [in 1970] that since my retirement Afghanistan continues to show trust in us, as before.[26]

In my talks with the king and government of Afghanistan, I told them about our successes in oil and gas extraction on the Soviet side of the border with Afghanistan. I said: "Evidently you too have these riches in your country, and they are of great importance for developing your economy. It's necessary to carry out some prospecting for oil and gas reserves and other useful minerals. Why would these wealthy deposits exist only along the border and not extend into your territory? Of course they exist in your country, and all you need to do is get at them." My interlocutors looked at me intently, but remained restrained and reserved at first. Later they proposed that we do some prospecting for mineral wealth, but strictly on the basis of contractual obligations. We found large gas deposits there. The Afghans have now offered to repay us for the work of our geologists and for the materials we provided for the industry of Afghanistan. The repayment would be in kind, with natural gas.

Of course people with a limited outlook might object: "Why do that? We could have spent those resources to meet our own people's needs."

That is a justified argument, but then you would be following a different kind of policy, leaving your neighbor in poverty. But that couldn't continue for long; relations would begin to grow cold and could turn hostile. The American capitalists would propose to help Afghanistan exploit its mineral wealth. From that they would extract profits for themselves, but Afghanistan would receive something useful, and we would receive only harm as a result. The mood of the Afghan leaders and people would turn against the Soviet Union. Hostile forces on the territory of Afghanistan would direct their policies against us. In the end, military bases would be built on our neighbor's territory. To counter this military threat, we would then have to spend many times more in the way of resources than we had given Afghanistan as gifts.

That's how the matter should be understood from the point of view of the interests of the state and not from the point of view of splitting hairs. You have to bear the burden of expenditure in advance, so that in the future you can make enormous gains, both in the material sense and in the form of friendship.

How did our relations with Iran proceed? It was a very complicated and difficult process. Its roots went back to the tsarist era. Russia was trying to impose its dominance over Persia and bend that country to the will of the Russian empire. Russian occupation troops were stationed in Persia. At one time this policy cost Russia the life of the remarkable dramatist Griboyedov, who had been sent as Russia's ambassador to Tehran.[27] During World War II the father of the present shah[28] followed a pro-German policy, and therefore the USSR, in agreement with Britain, was forced to occupy Iran again, and its territory was divided in half [into a Soviet sphere of influence in the north and a British sphere of influence in the south]. That left its mark on our relations, although our only aim was to secure our southern border. It's always true that a country that sends its troops onto the territory of another country, even when it is fulfilling some sort of obligation or gives appropriate explanations, risks losing the friendship [of the occupied country]. So a bad taste has been left from the past, and the current ruling Shah-in-Shah does not allow that to be forgotten.[29] After World War II we began to withdraw our troops from Iran, but Stalin delayed the withdrawal. Then a civil war unfolded in Iranian Azerbaijan.[30] The shah of Iran understood that the civil war was organized by us, and the partisan guerrilla fighters were supplied with our weapons. In the end the government forces suppressed the movement, and some of the guerrilla fighters fled across the border into our country. Again this left unpleasant traces in relations between Iran and us.

Taking advantage of the situation, the United States began to build military bases in Iran, aimed against us.[31] The shah denied there were any such bases, but we didn't believe him. We didn't have a firmly established border with Iran, and there was a dispute over the line of demarcation that existed. [In 1956] we invited the shah for talks on this subject, agreed to establish a clearly delineated border, and signed a protocol to that effect along with a geographical map [delineating the border].[32] We proposed that work begin on building a hydroelectric power plant on a river that forms the border between the Soviet Union and Iran [the Aras River].[33] The shah did not immediately accept our proposals. Now I read in the papers that such work is being carried out. The waters of this river will begin to bring benefits to both the USSR and Iran, because they will be used to irrigate the land and grow crops of cotton and fruit. The people themselves will decide what is most advantageous to grow.

I will allow myself to make the point again that this is a very important matter. In order to earn trust and confidence, one must undergo material expenditures. They will be repaid with interest, with plenty to spare, when relations of trust and friendship develop, and perhaps even an allied relationship.

It is better to bear the cost of useful expenditures, especially in the form of gifts and the organization of production in the neighboring country, than to suffer the costs of military construction and fortification that never pay anything back to anyone. They bring only death to our neighbors and to our own people. We should not regret our expenditures on strengthening friendly relations, because, as the saying goes, from doing good you can expect only good from your neighbor. We are now reaping positive fruits from the resources we spent strengthening our friendly relations with the countries on our borders. We have ensured the security of our borders in the form of guarantees that our neighbors will not be used against us by our enemies.

It's pleasant for me now to read in the papers a statement by the shah of Iran about the policy of friendship in relations with our country. We really had to pay a lot and had to earn this type of statement; to put it crudely, we had to demonstrate our peaceful policy in deeds, not words. Even the shah, whose attitude toward us was very hostile, said in his latest statement, made about a month ago [in 1970], that the border between Iran and the Soviet Union was a border with a friendly country and that now Iran has the very best friendly relations with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union provides Iran with economic aid, technical aid, and so forth.

Today I heard on the radio that the building of the dam on the border river between our two countries will be completed this year. This is also an expression of friendly relations, because it's impossible to build a structure like that on a border when relations are not stable. People might say: "We did a lot for China, but it took the road of hostility toward the Soviet Union anyway." What of it? Such things happen. But we are not to blame for that. Even in the situation that has developed now between the Soviet Union and China, where it might seem that there is glaring evidence that we shouldn't have spent what we did, I think our policy was correct. We did what we did in order to boost the Chinese economy and strengthen it on the road of building socialism. We helped sincerely so that our friend could develop, could build up its own economy, and consolidate its independence, just as we had done after the October revolution. But things turned out differently. Anything is possible. You can expect practically anything from people. Undeniably, Mao Zedong has carried out and is carrying out an incorrect policy. But I am deeply convinced that our friendship left a profound mark in the consciousness of the Chinese people. As one might say, the Mao Zedongs of this world come and go, but the people of China remain. The time will come when Mao Zedong is no more, and his followers will no longer exist, and then the useful and healthy seed that we planted in China will sprout and begin to develop further.

In 1959 China started military operations against India, and this put us in a difficult position.[34] We made a statement that we had fraternal relations with China, that we stood on the common ground of building socialism. And what could bring our two peoples more closely together than the common aim of fighting for a better future? But that better future must not come at the expense of other nations! With our policies we are doing everything to raise the living standards of the Soviet people and not to harm our neighbors. We wish that everyone else would do the same. Then suddenly a war like this broke out! We had to choose. We considered India a friendly country, and we wished the same thing for its people that we wished for ourselves. However, China posed the question point blank [as to which side we were on]. The USSR had to make clear its position without any qualifications. If we supported India, we'd be coming out against fraternal China. India was a capitalist country, and it had not even made any claims that it was trying to build socialism or that it would build socialism in the future, whereas China was a socialist state. If we did not support China, we would be creating disunity in our struggle for a progressive future. If we took a neutral position, this neutrality would in fact rebound against us because it would do harm to China and to the socialist camp as a whole. Many complicated and difficult questions arose, and we had to call on all our resources to find the correct position.

Immediately after my return from the United States [at the end of September 1959], it was necessary for me to set out for Beijing for the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Chinese revolution [October 1, 1949]. A critical situation had been reached in our relations with China at that point, and if I personally had not headed our delegation, people in Beijing might have thought we had turned away from them, that our relations were cooling off. Therefore the Soviet delegation was headed by me as first secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers [the equivalent of prime minister]—those were the posts I held at the time. So I had to go directly "from the ship to the ballroom," as the saying goes.[35] I had just returned from America, and I immediately had to get on a plane and fly to Beijing. I felt no enthusiasm. I felt that what awaited us there was not going to be simple at all. Not easy at all. I knew that everything would be done with excessive formality in receiving the Soviet delegation. I didn't expect the inner warmth that I had felt between us earlier. Mao had made a policy turn of 180 degrees. He aspired to the role of leader of the international Communist movement. This egoistic position prompted him to oppose the CPSU and the other fraternal Communist parties. And from the Sino-Indian border there came press reports of casualties on both sides. I had little hope that anything useful could be retrieved from this situation, and on the eve of the celebration my mood was not at all a happy one.

In the course of the conflict the Indian army suffered greater losses, because it had less recent military experience and inferior weapons. The Chinese Communists, for their part, had been fighting against Chiang Kaishek for many decades, and they had fought against other domestic and foreign enemies. The Chinese army had developed skills, trained cadres, and each soldier was well-prepared in military respects. What did the voice of the Soviet Union sound like in the midst of this atmosphere? We were obliged to publish a statement by TASS.[36] The TASS statement expressed regret that this conflict had arisen between two great nations: our brother and friend, the Chinese people, and our friend, whom we regarded with respect and sympathy, the Indian people. We did not try to analyze who was right or who was to blame. Otherwise we would have had to condemn one side and call it the aggressor. We ourselves were not particularly clear on this question. We did not know the details of the situation and did not even fully understand what had caused the conflict. We simply wanted to express our view as a peace-loving country with the hope that India and China would exert every effort to end the war and reestablish good relations.

When we drew up this declaration, we understood in advance that it would not receive an intelligent reception in Beijing. After all, China had started the fighting. India was too weak at that time and could not have started military operations, understanding that it would be doomed to defeat. No sensible person would have done that, and we considered Nehru sensible and not at all a warlike person. When I arrived in Beijing, the Chinese organized the appropriate welcome according to accepted procedures, but the coldness in their speeches and the looks on their faces could not be missed by anyone. The spectacle before us lacked the sincerity that had existed at the analogous celebration in 1954. In the course of our talks, Beijing expressed its dissatisfaction with our statement published by TASS. They asked: “Why did you make a statement like that, in such form and with such content? It’s a pro-Indian statement and it’s directed against China.” I explained our position. But the Chinese leaders attacked Nehru verbally; they really let him have it, calling him an imperialist, an agent of the United States, and an evildoer. What epithets didn't they think up to award Nehru with!

We couldn't agree with them, and I asked: "What do you want? This war is being waged over some scraps of border territory. If the existing border isn't right, it should simply be corrected. But there are diplomatic means for accomplishing that." In reply they said that they had made such attempts but nothing had come of them. But I didn't back down. I said: "The regions where this dispute is being waged with arms in hand are sparsely inhabited mountainous regions, of little use to either side. Are there any vital interests there? Why make a show of intolerance over the existing borders, which were established only god knows when?"

They said: "No, no. Those are important regions. We cannot surrender them. That is Chinese land, which was seized by the British when Britain ruled India and India was its colony."[37]

I asked: "When was the last time there was a war between India and China? I don't know this subject. Help me to understand it."

No one was able to give me a reply.[38]

So I said: "So then, why now, when India has freed itself from colonial oppression and become an independent country, and China has also freed itself from the exploiters and foreign oppressors who had been sitting on your backs, why should a dispute between your two newly liberated countries reach the point of war? Nehru, to be sure, is a capitalist politician, but of all the capitalist politicians he is the most intelligent and is pursuing a rational policy, adhering to neutrality and nonalignment with any military bloc and noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries."

When I heard the same kind of remarks as before, I continued: "Let's say that you succeed in removing Nehru from the leadership as a result of this war. Do you expect that a new government in India will have better relations with the socialist countries, including China? I don't expect so. If Nehru is removed from the leadership, he'll be succeeded by someone who will pursue an antisocialist and antidemocratic policy in general and will move toward rapprochement with the United States.

"Whether India will decide to take the road of socialism is the internal affair of the Indian people. What do you want a war for? You're turning people against the socialist countries this way. People will take a mistrustful attitude toward your policies and say: 'Here you are behaving in such a mercenary way. India is a very peace-loving country, and its policies are based on the pacifist idea of nonresistance to evil, as long as it is not attacked directly.'"

Actually, Nehru was not exactly that kind of person. I saw and know of armed actions he took “against evil,” when India had border conflicts with Pakistan. But the policy that Nehru pursued in general impressed us.

In reply I again heard curses and epithets directed against Nehru and India. The Chinese said they would shed as much blood as necessary but would not surrender one scrap of their territory.

The celebrations [in Beijing] ended and the day for my departure arrived. All the Chinese leaders came to the airport to see me off. We had one more conversation there, which was deliberately organized with the intention of directly attacking the USSR. Chen Yi, the foreign minister,[39] was assigned the task of conducting this aggressive conversation with me on behalf of the Chinese side. The others remained silent, making only occasional comments. Quite a long time has gone by since them. Time is the best test of the correctness of any position. Time has confirmed the rationality of the Soviet line taken in those years. Today I’m very pleased by the fact that we showed courage then and did not retreat. We went through a difficult experience but chose a correct basis for deciding our policy.

Long before the conflict with China, India had begun negotiations with us for the purchase of licenses, blueprints, and technical documentation for the production of MIG-21 [supersonic] fighters.[40] This plane was no longer a secret to anyone. We had also sold MIG-21s to Egypt and Yugoslavia. After the conflict began, we faced the question: “What reply should we give India about these aircraft?” Of course China would blow things out of all proportion, shouting that we were giving military support to India in this border conflict by giving arms to India [in the form of the MIG-21s]. We agonized over this for a long time. We knew that an internal struggle was also going on in India. Some people advocated purchase and production of the MIG-21. Others were opposed to it and suggested that American aircraft should be acquired instead. The United States had agreed to provide the necessary blueprints and technical information.

What would it have meant for us not to sell the MIG-21s to India? It would have meant pushing India away. It would have meant giving her motivation to go buy licenses from America. Then India would have been tied in with the American aviation industry for the production of modern fighter planes. After weighing all the pros and cons, we decided that the Sino-Indian conflict was temporary, that the time would come when Mao would sober up; the conflict would be ended and forgotten. The Chinese know how to turn their face in the necessary direction when they want to, and to the necessary number of degrees, to smooth over everything that had gone before. We decided to carry out our promises, make the contract official, and ship several planes to Delhi. This could not have had any significance in terms of the use of those planes in the war. In India there were no trained cadres who could quickly master the art of flying these planes. This was a purchase that looked to the future. We granted the licenses for production without keeping it secret. We announced it publicly. Of course China immediately used the news reports about this to promote its propaganda among the other Communist parties. But we gave the necessary explanations, and the absolute majority of Communist parties understood us correctly. Otherwise the USSR would have been forced to adapt itself to Maoist China.

People might say: "Here Khrushchev was talking about India, and he's dragged China into the discussion." Yes, politics and life itself are interconnected and intertwined like that. It's hard to talk about one country without touching on other countries and the relations between them. Returning to India, I can say that we pursued a just and rightful policy line aimed at friendship with India. The same applies to Iran, Turkey, and even Pakistan. Pakistan didn't properly understand our policies and judged them incorrectly for a long time. This happened under pressure from forces orienting toward the United States. Later Pakistan came to appreciate our peace-loving policy. Soviet engineers and geologists, who have gone to Pakistan, found oil, gas, and other useful mineral resources there. That created conditions that could serve as a starting point for progress in the economy of Pakistan. The question of disagreements between our two countries remains, but such problems should not be resolved by means of war.

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1. This visit to the capital of Afghanistan took place between December 15 and 19, 1955. Khrushchev later visited the country a second time, on March 5, 1960. [SK] The king of Afghanistan was Mohammed Zahir Shah, and the prime minister was Mohammed Daud Khan. See Biographies. [GS]

2. On the basis of agreements concluded in 1955, a number of Soviet construction projects were undertaken in Afghanistan. These included an automobile repair plant at Jangalak, a dam and hydroelectric power plant at Naglu (on the Kabul River west of Jalalabad), the Jalalabad irrigation canal, the Kandahar–Herat–Kushka road (connecting Afghanistan with Soviet Turkmenistan), and the road from Kabul over the Hindu Kush mountains to Sherhan (a port on the river Pyanj, which formed the border between Afghanistan and Soviet Tajikistan). [GS/MN/SS]

3. According to some sources, Daud was a cousin of the king. His full name was Lieutenant General Sardar (Prince) Mohammed Daud Khan. [SS]

4. Sardar (Prince) Mohammed Naim Khan was foreign minister and second deputy prime minister from 1953 to 1963. According to some sources, he too was a cousin and also a brother-in-law of the king, as well as a brother of Prime Minister Daud. [SS]

5. The visit to the military college took place on December 17. It is located on the eastern outskirts of Kabul in the fort of Bala Hissar. The fort was destroyed by the British in 1879 in retaliation for the assassination of their ambassador, Cavagnari. It lay in ruins for more than half a century until in 1931 King Mohammed Nadir Shah ordered that it be rebuilt as a military college. [SS]

6. Khrushchev's description of this game is too cursory to identify it with certainty. It might have been either polo or pony lacrosse. On pony lacrosse, see note 32 to the chapter "India." Unlike lacrosse, which is of Amerindian origin, polo originated in the distant past among the Central Asian nomads, was brought to India by the Mughals, and was adopted by the British in India in the 1850s. It was

brought to the United States in 1876 by the publisher, balloonist, and adventurer James Gordon Bennett. [SS]

7. The Kirgiz (or Kyrgyz), Tajiks, and Uzbeks were the titular peoples of the eponymous union republics in Soviet Central Asia. The Kirgiz SSR was also known as Kirgizia; it is now the independent state of Kyrgyzstan. [SS]

8. Amanullah Khan declared the independence of Afghanistan on February 28, 1919. Soviet Russia recognized Afghanistan in March 1919; bilateral diplomatic relations were established in April and May 1919. The third Anglo-Afghan war took place between May and August 1919. The Red Army provided de facto support to the Afghans by defeating the British interventionists in the Transcaspian territory (that is, present-day Turkmenistan [SS]).

9. Kabul is situated in the narrow valley of the Kabul River, wedged between mountain ranges at an altitude of 1,850 meters (6,000 feet). The temperature in summer rises as high as 37° C. (99° F.), while the temperature in winter falls as low as –10° C. (14° F.). [SS]

10. Khrushchev was probably accommodated at the Darul Aman Palace, a European-style palace built in the 1920s about 16 kilometers (10 miles) from the center of Kabul. It is now being reconstructed to serve as the seat of the Afghan parliament. [SS]

11. At the time of this visit, Yekaterina Alekseyevna Furtseva was a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; she became Soviet minister of culture later in 1960. For more on Voroshilov and Furtseva, see Biographies. [GS/SS]

12. The Bata firm was the largest shoe manufacturer in Czechoslovakia, and the Bata family was very wealthy. Part of the humor in this anecdote is that the visiting Soviet citizen might have thought, when his Czech interlocutor said "Bata," that he meant *batya,* a Russian word for "father." In other words, he might have thought the Czech was saying it was his own father's house. [SK]

13. Bhilai (or Bhilainagar) is a city in the state of Madhya Pradesh in central east India. It is a center of ferrous metallurgy. [SS]

14. "Dubinushka" was a work song of the laborers *(burlaki)* who hauled barges along the Volga River by rope in the period from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The British no longer needed to haul barges since they had invented the steam engine. [SK/GS/SS]

15. The first patent for a coal-cutting machine was registered in Britain by Michael Meinzies in 1761. The first coal-cutting machine actually put to use was Willie Brown's Iron Man, introduced at a colliery in Northumberland in 1768. Both these machines were mechanical picks driven by human muscle power. Horse-driven mechanical picks made their appearance in the early nineteenth century. The first coal cutters driven by steam, water, or compressed air were introduced in the 1850s. [SS]

16. Diplomatic relations were not established between the Federal Republic of Germany and the USSR until 1958. [SS]

17. Venyamin Emmanuilovich Dymshitz (1910–93) played a prominent role in the development of the Soviet metallurgical industry. See Biographies.

18. Zaporozhye is a large port city on the Dnieper River in east central Ukraine; it has metallurgical and a broad range of other industry. [SS]

19. All three steel plants—the Soviet plant in Bhilainagar, the British plant in Durgapur, and the German plant in Rourkala—came into full operation at the end of the 1950s. [MN] Bhilai or Bhilainagar is an industrial city in Chhattisgarh state in central India; Durgapur is in West Bengal in northeast India; and Rourkala or Rourkela is in Orissa atate in east central India. [SS]

20. The Bhilai mill produced its first batch of steel on October 12, 1959. [SK]

21. Later output grew to 2.5 million tons of steel per year.

22. The Brezhnev leadership, using the KGB, spread rumors and promoted a word-of-mouth campaign of criticism against actions Khrushchev had carried out when he was the leader of the country. [SK]

23. The date of the visit to the state farm was February 13, 1960. [SK]

24. Kushka was the southernmost part of the USSR, on the border between the Turkmen SSR and Afghanistan. [SK]

25. This visit took place between August 8 and 16, 1962. [SK]

26. Khrushchev, of course, was talking in 1970, long before the 1978 revolution in Afghanistan and all the subsequent upheavals in that country. [GS]

27. Aleksandr Sergeyevich Griboyedov (1795–1829) is best known for his play whose title in English is usually given as *Woe from Wit;* its Russian title is *Gore ot Uma.* [GS]

28. Khrushchev is referring to Reza Shah Pahlavi (1877–1944), who abdicated in favor of his son Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi on September 16, 1941. See Biographies.

29. Here Khrushchev refers to Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi (1919–80), who fled Iran in 1979 during the Islamic revolution. See Biographies.

30. People of the Azerbaijani nationality lived on both sides of the border between northwest Iran and the USSR, adjoining the southwestern edge of the Caspian Sea. At the end of World War II there was a strong movement whose aim was to unite all Azerbaijanis in a Soviet Azerbaijani republic, independent of Iran. [GS]

31. A military agreement between Iran and the United States was signed on May 23, 1950.

32. The Shah's visit to the USSR took place between June 25 and July 13, 1956.

33. A series of agreements between the Soviet Union and Iran were concluded in the mid-1950s: on border and financial questions (December 2, 1954), on the transfer to Iran without payment of Soviet rights and property in the Iranian-Soviet joint stock company "Kevir-Khurman" (July 1956), on reciprocal deliveries and the transit of goods (April 16, 1957), and on a plan for the use of the waters of the border rivers Aras and Artek (August 11, 1957). In February 1959, the Iranian government of Manuchehr Eqbal (1957–60) broke off further negotiations between the two countries.

34. The small-scale Indian-Chinese border conflict of 1959 should not be confused with the much larger-scale Chinese invasion of northeast India in 1962. The dispute came out into the open in January 1959, when an Indian reconnaissance party discovered a Chinese road (a section of China National Highway 219 connecting Tibet with Xinjiang) that had been built through Aksai Chin—a high mountain area at the junction of Tibet, India, and Pakistan, which India considered part of Ladakh district of its state of Jammu and Kashmir. Border hostilities there broke out in September 1959, in the wake of the Tibetan uprising. [GS/MN/SS]

35. The phrase *s korablya na bal* ("from the ship to the ballroom") is from a line in Aleksandr Pushkin's verse novel *Yevgeny Onegin* (chap. 8, verse 13). The protagonist, Onegin, has just returned from a journey at sea and goes directly "like Chatsky, from the ship to the ballroom." Chatsky was the hero of Griboyedov's play *Woe from Wit* mentioned above. In the play the hero also returns from a trip and immediately goes to a ball. The expression *s korablya na bal* has entered into the Russian language and become proverbial. [SK/GS]

36. The acronym TASS is from the Russian words for Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union. The Soviet leadership was making use of the official press agency TASS to express its view of the Sino-Indian border conflict in semiofficial form—instead of making an official statement by the Soviet Foreign Ministry or by the Soviet government or party Central Committee. [SK]

37. The reference is to the McMahon Line that was demarcated in 1914 at the Simla Convention as the eastern section of the border between British India and Tibet. Although Chinese (Kuomintang) as well as British and Tibetan representatives took part in the convention, China refused to ratify the agreements reached there. [SS]

38. There was no prior history of war between India and China. In previous centuries there had been hardly any political interaction between the two countries, although there was some cultural contact (Buddhism was brought to China from India). [SS]

39. Chen Yi was foreign minister of the People's Republic of China from 1958 to 1966. See Biographies. [SS]

40. A prototype of the MIG-21 received its first test flight in 1955. The first batch of MIG-21s were delivered to India in 1963. The MIG-21 remains the mainstay of the Indian Air Force. [SS]

INDONESIA

We knew very little about Indonesia and had no particular interest in it [under Stalin]. During my many years of interaction with Stalin I don't remember a single conversation about Indonesia, not even one reference to it. He showed no interest in it, and what he might have known about it specifically, I couldn't say. There was never any discussion in the Soviet leadership about the people living there, at least not when I was present. The first time we began to talk about Indonesia at the Central Committee Presidium level was in 1955, at the time of the signing of the Bandung Declaration.[1] At that time the whole world's attention was riveted on Indonesia, and the name of its president, Sukarno,[2] began to appear regularly in the Soviet press.

As is generally known, the Soviet leadership read not only its own newspapers but also the summaries and excerpts provided by [the Soviet press agency] TASS, based on press reports from around the world. At first, in accordance with an established tradition, we were given a fairly voluminous packet every day, so large in fact that we were unable to manage all of it. Therefore I asked my assistants to make a selection of the material, singling out those items that could be considered most interesting and important. But here too there was a negative aspect. Since my assistants were sifting through the material in advance, that made them the judges, as it were, of what I should read and what was not deserving of my attention. Sometimes there were differences between the members of the leadership and their assistants on how to evaluate the importance of the material being sifted through, and consequently some material did not reach us. As a result I returned to the former practice of reading all the TASS summaries myself and thus finding out what I needed. And that applied to Indonesia as well.

We established diplomatic relations with Indonesia while Stalin was still alive.[3] Gradually the fate of Indonesia attracted our attention more closely, and we began to take a constant interest in it. It deserved our attention then, as it does now. It is a huge, multiethnic country, spread out across a large number of islands, with a population of more than 100 million, a wealthy and very beautiful country. The various peoples of Indonesia will still make themselves heard and show their ability to take a new path in spite of the savage repression directed against the left-wing forces in 1965.[4]

Sometime after the CPSU's Twentieth Congress, President Sukarno first came to visit us [that is, in August–September 1956]. We welcomed him with the honors that were his due. He impressed us as an educated man and above all an intelligent man. After all, education and intelligence don't always go together. I have met many educated people who were not very intelligent, and the other way around, people who had not received systematic education but on the other hand had brilliant minds. In Sukarno's case he had both education and intelligence. We established good relations with him right away. We liked him. The president outlined the principles of his policies, which were aimed at neutrality and nonalignment with any military bloc. Even before us Indonesia had established normal relations with Yugoslavia. Sukarno's character was such that he was drawn toward Tito. Yugoslavia was less harsh than the other countries that were building socialism and pursuing Marxist-Leninist policies. There were more freedoms in Yugoslavia. That's why Tito's line impressed Sukarno more than ours. As for me, I think to this day that we correctly followed Marxist-Leninist doctrine and adhered strictly to class positions. Of course many things in the policies we followed turned out to be alien [to Marxism; the Russian word here is *nanosny]*. Although they were proclaimed to be Marxist-Leninist, in fact they had been imposed as a result of Stalinist thinking and did not correspond to the truth of life itself. If we are to talk about the teachings of the founders of scientific socialism, they were in fact carried out in the USSR not according to Lenin's teachings but in the Stalin way, with perversions and distortions.

So then, we established ties with Indonesia, and gradually it began to turn toward us and request economic assistance.[5] In early 1960 Sukarno invited a government delegation of the USSR to visit his country. This was something we wanted and we accepted the proposal.[6] Our government delegation consisted of several members of the CPSU Central Committee, and I was entrusted to lead it. As always I was accompanied by Foreign Minister Gromyko,[7] as well as by a number of others. We set off for Indonesia in an IL-18 airplane[8] by way of India and Burma and landed on the island of Java.[9] A magnificent welcoming ceremony was arranged for us, in accordance with our rank and established traditions. A huge number of people came out in the streets. And immediately Indonesia made a very powerful impression on us with its natural beauty and human warmth. The tropical heat, on the other hand, had a stupefying effect on us.[10]

After all the ceremonies and welcoming speeches, we were taken to a palace assigned to us, the former residence of the viceroy who ruled Indonesia on behalf of the Netherlands. By then we were soaked with perspiration from head to foot, and it was almost impossible to breathe, so dense and oppressive was the atmosphere. The only thing that saved us were the fans in our rooms. They blew on you when you were lying in bed in your bedroom, and they whirled about over the table in the dining room, dispersing the stagnant air. That made existence a little easier, but still it was very difficult for us, especially at night. It was virtually impossible to sleep. On top of that, an enormous number of mosquitoes flew at us, and we had to use mosquito nets as protection against them while we were sleeping.

Before our visit we had concluded a bilateral agreement to deliver Soviet machinery and provide credits for the mining of tin and other valuable minerals. Sukarno had also requested that we build a stadium in the capital of his country, Jakarta, one that would hold many thousands of spectators. It was built by Soviet specialists experienced in such projects. Sukarno invited us to visit the construction site. Only then did I understand that he wanted public opinion to know that as president he was taking a very large part in this operation, acting as its primary initiator. Together with me he carried out some symbolic act of labor; we pulled a string that started a steam hammer that functioned as a pile driver. All this was done in a rather theatrical manner, but that's the kind of man he was. For example, when he asked the USSR to build a grandiose and quite expensive stadium in the capital city, I was surprised and suggested that it was not a rational way of spending money.

Indonesia was then still a backward country; real industry was only beginning to be developed; it earned a living by exploiting natural resources and exporting raw materials. Yet suddenly the first thing it wanted was a stadium! "What do you want that for?" I asked Sukarno.

"To hold large public rallies," he answered.

Theatricality was a negative feature of his. Among the leaders of countries I have known, he distinguished himself in this capacity more than anyone else. Nehru, for example, was a completely different kind of man. Of course the leader of a country has to address large public meetings. But Sukarno displayed a particular weakness for that kind of thing. Generally speaking, he loved to gather a crowd. It seemed he invariably needed an audience, and thus he required a big stage and that was the stadium, which in the end we did build.

The internal situation in Indonesia remained a difficult one. The Communist Party was very large in numbers, but it had not been tempered in struggle, nor had its ranks been firmly consolidated. Its members longed for a better life and went along with Communist slogans, but did not know how to make them a reality. Nevertheless it was a force to be reckoned with; it had placed its representatives in parliament and in the government. Its leader was [Dipa] Aidit, still a young man,[11] and devoted to progressive ideas. He sacrificed his life to defend the interests of working people. Other leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia (CPI) also made a good impression on me. They were bold people, devoted to Marxist-Leninist ideas, and pretty good organizers. They were doing everything they could in their way so that Indonesia would take the road of building socialism.

The country had a powerful stratum of well-to-do people, including descendants of the former Dutch rulers. The contrast between the poverty of the ordinary people and the luxurious palaces of the former aristocracy was striking. The leaders of the new Indonesia had taken up residence in those palaces. I don't know what property they owned, but it was astonishing how well-dressed they were, especially the women. Their way of life did not correspond in any way to the low economic level of development in their country, and they stood out sharply against the general background [of poverty]. The leaders of the CPI, however, conducted themselves in a worthier manner and thereby won the sympathy of the working people.

The military had enormous power in Indonesia. Outstanding among them was General Nasution, who at that time was the chief of staff of the Indonesian army.[12] What kind of impression did he make on me? He was a comparatively young man. In his outward appearance he was well-groomed and handsome, and unquestionably he was intelligent. It was interesting to talk with him. I met with him many times, not only in Indonesia but also in Moscow. He came to the USSR for the purpose of signing a treaty for the provision of military aid to Indonesia and the sale of armaments to it.[13] Nasution was quite an influential person in Indonesia, but unfortunately he was drawn more toward the Americans. Not only was he not a member of the Communist Party, but he had a reputation as an enemy of the CPI. Of course in our presence he made no display of his antipathy toward Communists. Nevertheless, he served as the main support on which the reactionary forces relied, those orienting toward capitalist development in Indonesia.

We sold Indonesia several destroyers, submarines, torpedo boats, and cutters armed with [P-15] cruise missiles.[14] In the final stage of our relations with Indonesia, under my leadership, we sold it the cruiser *Ordzhonikidze,* a good ship of postwar design. Bulganin and I had sailed on it when we visited England in 1956.

The submarines we delivered were not outdated, but we had withdrawn them from production. We weren't building that type any more, but we did still have them in our arsenal. At that time the USSR had moved far ahead in submarine design and production. Later we sold Indonesia many fighter planes and some TU-16 bombers,[15] including planes equipped with cruise missiles that were very good planes for those days. At military maneuvers on the Black Sea I had observed these planes destroy target ships with their missiles. This is how they worked: before reaching the target, the pilot fired the missile and guided it by a radio beam. The plane then turned and flew away while the missile closed in on the target, using its own homing systems. At the military maneuvers the missiles from our planes hit their targets with great precision.

During our delegation's visit to Indonesia, there were local armed detachments on a number of Indonesia's islands that were waging a battle against the central government. In their ranks were pro-American forces who had received arms from the United States, which we knew about from Soviet intelligence. Nasution was also helping these insurgents but secretly. What do I mean when I say he was helping them? He apparently could not provide them with arms, but he maintained communication with them and provided them with assistance, at least by giving them information about operations the government forces were preparing against them. While I was there, the government forces captured an American agent during one of these operations against the insurgents. Nasution assisted in having this American freed. The Americans had put pressure on him. He had connections with American intelligence, which we knew from the reports of our intelligence service.

Sukarno was a very mobile man: he spent more time abroad than in his own country. When the reactionary forces, headed by Nasution, were preparing the coup d'état that overthrew Sukarno, the latter was in Japan. From Japan he flew to our country, and in a personal conversation with him I asked: "Do you know that Nasution played a decisive role in freeing that American agent at the insistence of American intelligence?"

Sukarno looked at me inquiringly, paused, and then answered unexpectedly: "Yes, I know about that. That was our joint decision."

But I had the impression he was not telling the truth. He probably thought it was better to say he knew about it in order to save face. What sense would it have made for Sukarno to have freed this American agent? So that he could continue to fight against the governmental system that existed under Sukarno? Besides, President Sukarno thanked me for the information and asked insistently that in the future I inform him of such things. And we often did inform him.

Sukarno raised the question of incorporating West Irian into Indonesia, and developed a big campaign for this purpose.[16] We assumed he was doing the right thing in trying to include this territory as part of Indonesia. A long drawn-out dispute began. Sukarno needed military assistance. It's precisely then that he purchased the cruiser from us and other naval weaponry. The intensity of the struggle in Indonesia kept increasing. Sukarno was even preparing to take West Irian by military means. But when he became more closely acquainted with the process required to prepare for war, he asked the USSR to provide him with advisers, to teach his people how to operate and make effective use of the submarines, missile boats, torpedo boats, and destroyers. They still had no qualified specialists in that country. We publicly stated our support for Sukarno in his struggle to liberate the entire country, responded positively to his request, and sent specialists to his country, including officers who in fact commanded the submarines, while our pilots were actually flying the TU-16s.

The conflict continued for a long time. During those months the Indonesian foreign minister, Subandrio, came to our country. Before that he had been ambassador to Moscow for a long time. He was a very nice and likable man. He was replaced as ambassador to the Soviet Union, although not right away, by Adam Malik.[17] In our view (based on information we received), Malik was on the side of the reactionary forces. Malik opposed a closer relationship with the Soviet Union and favored capitalist development for Indonesia.[18] Subandrio took a progressive position and was a friend of the Soviet Union. He was not a Communist, but it seemed to us that he sympathized with the Communists. He had the reputation of being very close to Sukarno, virtually his right- hand man. He enjoyed Sukarno's complete confidence. Sukarno intended to restructure Indonesia, hand in hand with Subandrio.[19]

I would not say that Indonesia had made the decision at that time to build socialism. No. Sukarno took a fairly flexible position, and though in principle he stated he was in favor of socialism, it was hard to figure out what kind of socialism he was talking about. Of course he was against reaction and adhered to the principles of a more democratic structure of government. There was no doubt about that. The CPI was able to operate legally under him. He brought people from the CPI into government administration.[20] We made a positive assessment of Sukarno's policies and respected him, although many features of his personality were not acceptable. For example, he was completely unrestrained in his attitude toward women. That was a notable weakness of his. I'm not revealing any secrets here. The newspapers of those times were studded with accounts of his amorous adventures. We condemned that aspect of his behavior, but it is not easy to fight successfully against human weaknesses. We could not understand how an intelligent man, holding such an important post, could allow himself to engage in such escapades in his personal life. This discredited him in international circles as well as in his own country. Some people explained to me that Muslim men look the other way at such actions. But I don't know, I don't know . . .

Subandrio had a remarkable wife. During official receptions [at the Indonesian embassy], she sometimes sang Russian songs, and sang them well. This couple, the ambassador and his wife, enjoyed the great respect of the Soviet leadership. All of us.

At the height of the tension over West Irian, Subandrio, who was already foreign minister of Indonesia and Sukarno's trusted confidant, came to our country. I received him willingly. Subandrio spoke Russian, and we talked with him without an Indonesian interpreter; our conversations were extremely confidential. Our interpreter was present, but only to record the conversation. We discussed the question of our sending military specialists to Indonesia. The Dutch had concentrated substantial military forces in West Irian. They declared they would not surrender the territory, but would fight for it.

I asked Subandrio: "What are the chances that an agreement [with the Dutch] could successfully be reached?"

He answered: "Not very great."

I said: "If the Dutch fail to display sober-mindedness and engage in military operations, this is a war that could to some extent serve as a proving ground for our pilots who are flying planes equipped with missiles. We'll see how well our missiles work."

I allowed myself to say such things because the conversation was strictly confidential. Of course we had openly stated that we were on Indonesia's side in its struggle against the colonialists. We had always opposed colonial rulers, and we said we would continue to hold that position until such time as colonialism ceased to exist, whether in open or concealed form. This flowed automatically from our convictions; I'm not revealing any special secrets here. One thing I remember in particular: even when uttering the sharpest statements Subandrio invariably had an endearing smile on his face.

From Moscow he flew to the United States. There to our surprise at the State Department he told about the conversation with me in full detail. I was dumbfounded. Sukarno had trusted that Subandrio was his man, but in fact he turned out to be America's man! When we found out about this, we reported it to Sukarno, but as in the case of Nasution the president did not react. He remained unperturbed, said something soothing and reassuring, and asked me not to attribute any special importance to the matter. After such a reply, I formed the impression that the foreign minister had given his information to the U.S. leaders with the knowledge and possibly on the advice of Sukarno. I continue to hold that view to this day. After all, Sukarno was a man who had his head on his shoulders. What aims was he actually pursuing? Possibly he wanted to put pressure on the Netherlands through the United States. Is that possible? The two governments were allies in NATO, although the United States did not openly sympathize with the Netherlands [over West Irian], because it did not want to ruin its international reputation [with such an association].

Meanwhile through his ambassador [Malik] Sukarno was asking us to send knowledgeable staff officers to help him work out a plan for military operations in the event of a resort to arms. We agreed to this and sent our people to Indonesia. That is, Sukarno was balancing between us and the United States, trying to use both of us to achieve his aims. This indicates that he was capable of constructing various combinations, engaging in elaborate maneuvers. However, this action of his offended us. After all, he had not informed us about everything, and there was much we still did not know.

In fact, as it turned out, the Dutch were informed of the military resources received by Indonesia. Sukarno was demonstrating that he had reliable weapons and that they could be used effectively. In fact the United States advised the Netherlands after that to agree to negotiations.

Washington put pressure on Amsterdam, and after negotiations the Netherlands agreed to the transfer of West Irian to Indonesia.[21] A preliminary referendum was held in New Guinea [under UN auspices], and the inhabitants of its western part voted [on May 1, 1963] in favor of joining Indonesia. There was no further need to resort to arms. We were quite pleased. And our people, after having trained the military in Indonesia, returned home safely.

Why did the United States government take the position it did? As an ally of the Netherlands, if the Americans had aided the Dutch [in fighting against the Indonesians], they would have appeared to be aggressors. That they did not want. They wanted to maintain the "purity of their raiment." They didn't want to sully their reputation by openly supporting a colonialist policy. As for us, our authority in the eyes of the Indonesians increased. Once again we had shown that we were true friends of the nations fighting for independence, and we had provided aid to Indonesia not just in words but in deeds.

Let me say a few more words about Subandrio, about his two-facedness and his inclination toward maneuvering. When the dramatic events of 1965 occurred in Indonesia, Subandrio was arrested. He was tried and condemned to death. I don't know if they did kill him, but it was unpleasant for me to read the unworthy way in which he conducted himself at his trial, pleading for his life. With the expectation that it would win him leniency, he declared that as foreign minister he had informed an oppositional Islamic party about secret government decisions.[22] Sukarno had taken reprisals against that party, and it had gone underground. Thus, the information we had, that Indonesia's foreign minister followed a two-faced policy, proved to be correct.

In the early 1960s, with our support, Indonesia achieved its aims in New Guinea. Then Sukarno began a struggle for the complete incorporation of the island of Kalimantan (formerly Borneo) into Indonesia, including its northernmost part [Brunei]. When [in 1963] Malaysia was formed [incorporating two parts of Kalimantan, Sabah and Sarawak],[23] Sukarno began a furious campaign. We supported him in the press, but didn't go beyond that. Sukarno was not successful in his campaign over Kalimantan before the 1965 coup.

Turning to a different subject, I want to talk about the natural surroundings in Indonesia. They are fantastic. The emerald green of the city of Bogor especially impressed me. That's where the residence of Indonesia's president was located. Under colonial rule a large and luxurious palace was built there, belonging to the Dutch governor. The distance from Jakarta to Bogor was only 50 kilometers (about 30 miles).[24] The road is very picturesque. You are constantly driving past colorful bazaars where huge hawkers' stands are spread out directly on the ground with heaps of every possible kind of fruit. Not only had our people never eaten such fruits; they had never even seen them. The palace at Bogor was built of white stone. The layout of the rooms inside was typical of a palace. The architects had done skillful work. The building made a powerful impression with both its outward façade and its interior furnishings. In front of the palace a broad expanse of lawn, well-trimmed in the British manner, stretched out.

When I saw it I remembered my childhood in Kursk gubernia. In the spring, when the peasants celebrated Easter, everything turned bright green the same way. I always remember the joy of spring that everyone in our region experiences after the end of winter. That vast stretch of lawn, looking like an emerald-green meadow, aroused the same feelings in me, and next to it was a small lake. When we entered the Bogor palace I saw large black objects hanging from the branches of the trees. I asked what they were. It turned out they were flying foxes. These creatures, which are a type of bat, live in flocks. They take flight in the evening. Before dusk some individuals drop from the branches and make little test flights, so to speak; then the entire flock rises in the air all at once, like the blackbirds of springtime in Russia. They make a circle around the place where they have spent the day, and then they fly off in search of food. In the morning these nocturnal animals return. They feed on fruit, which turns out to be a genuine disaster for the peasants who own the fruit trees.

The palace at Bogor was located on the edge of a huge, primeval forest. I took a walk in it but I didn't go far. It made a gloomy impression on me. The sun didn't penetrate through the canopy of leaves at the top. Down below it was damp, and the trunks of the trees were covered with moss, with water dripping from the leaves. I saw two orangutans who were kept on chains in that forest. They had grown accustomed to their sad situation and were sitting there in a subdued manner with a sad look on their faces. I asked Sukarno: "Why do you keep them chained up? That makes a bad impression." He said nothing.

During our visit I especially suffered from the climate, as I've already mentioned. Everything stuck to your body. Everything was damp, and it was hard to breathe. On the other hand, it was very interesting for me to see everything and take it all in. We saw tropical downpours. A downpour would burst upon you like a squall, a curtain of rain coming toward you with streams of water pouring down. The tropical rainstorm would last about an hour, then stop. Bright sunshine would emerge from behind the clouds. The drops of water on the "greensward" would sparkle in the sun's rays. Once after a downpour there appeared on the green expanse in front of the palace at Bogor several dozen tame deer. They grazed on the grass. It was a beautiful sight.

Not far from the palace was the location of a richly populated zoological museum and a botanical garden. They had been founded by a German who had worked there for many years.[25] The zoo, the garden, and the entire country astounded my imagination—for example, the great variety of butterflies of different sizes with indescribable colors and patterns on their wings. When the sun set, entire armadas of moths would appear; they were even larger than the butterflies.

My son Seryozha [Sergei], whose hobby was collecting butterflies, always asked me to bring him interesting specimens from various countries that I happened to visit. I would pass on his request to my bodyguards, and they of course passed it on to the guards of the host country. In Indonesia both [Sergei, who accompanied me on the visit] and the Indonesian guards were chasing after the butterflies together. The butterflies were hard to catch, and it was even more difficult to kill them properly, so that they would dry out [and thus be preserved]. Experience and knowledge were needed for this, but Sergei was satisfied. When Sukarno found out that my son collected butterflies, he himself began running after them, trying to catch them and laughing the whole time. He was a cheerful man who knew how to joke around. When the onlookers heard that the president was chasing butterflies for Khrushchev's son, they too began to laugh.

Sukarno arranged a trip for us to a zoo [in Jogjakarta].[26] He wanted to show us the giant lizards that have survived only on one of the small islands of Indonesia—the only place in all the earth. These are dragon lizards.[27] They are somewhat similar to the prehistoric dinosaurs. The inhabitants of the zoo included these dragon lizards, apes that were very similar to humans, and other rare creatures. The lizards were kept in a large open space surrounded by a deep ditch. When you stand on the road, you don't see the ditch, and you have the impression that the lizards are running free. The corpse of a dead animal was thrown to them. These reptiles with their powerful bodies and long tails tore the corpse apart and devoured it. It was not the most pleasant sight. In general you can only get a glimpse of these lizards when they have grown hungry and come looking for food. Later back at home, I watched a film three times. It was made by a French director who had traveled to Indonesia and filmed these lizards in their native habitat, not in captivity. To entice them [into camera range], a buffalo had been slaughtered, and a camouflaged hiding place [for the camera operators] had been set up nearby.

The beauty of Indonesia made no more powerful impression on me than the poverty of its people. At the same time the upper crust of society lived in luxury and leisure.

In our honor President Sukarno organized dinners to which representatives of various strata in society were invited, including military men, people from civil society, and party leaders. Comrade Aidit [the leader of the CPI] was always there. The president not only took him into account but treated him with respect.[28] At these dinners we were served exotic dishes with an incredibly rich assortment of fruits, desserts, and sweet-and-sour treats, but all these were completely unknown to us. I particularly remember one fruit, the durian. It was about 20 centimeters [8 inches] long [an oval-shaped fruit] with a thick skin covered with spines. The inner pulpy part of the fruit is pale yellow. When this fruit was served, our hosts began to talk among themselves and looked at me with smiles on their faces. I understood that some sort of joke was in the offing. I took a spoon, dug into the flesh of this fruit, and raised it to my lips. I was immediately overwhelmed with the repulsive smell of rotting meat. The president insisted that I taste the fruit and in the midst of all this for the first time called me “Comrade Khrushchev.” He himself ate it with pleasure, and it seemed to me impolite to refuse. I had to eat it. The taste of the durian is tolerable if you hold your nose to avoid the smell. The local men and women meantime were eating it with great appetite. For them the durian was a delicacy. Later they joked about how foreigners, unaccustomed to the durian, react to it. Here’s how they prepare the durian. First they cut off the skin, at which point the most powerful smell arises; then they cut it up, spread the pieces out on dishes or platters, and leave it out in the air. The foul smell gradually dissipates, so that the fruit that was served to us had already been “aired out” somewhat.[29]

Back home, before the visit, I had read a book about Indonesia.[30] The book said that the Indonesians literally go hunting for the trees on which the durian fruits grow and that sometimes there are battles between the residents of different villages for possession of a durian tree. I doubted the truth of this account and later [during the visit] asked Aidit if it was so. He smiled and said: “No, that author was joking. It’s true that people hunt for durian trees in the forest, and a careful accounting is kept of all such trees. And there may be a dispute about who gets to pick the fruit first. That does occur, but there are no brawls or battles between villages over the trees.”

I wasn’t the only one who fell into the trap of the durian fruit. There were regular daylong flights between Moscow and Jakarta. I wanted to surprise my friends at home, so I asked my guards to send a varied selection of exotic Indonesian fruits to the members of the CPSU CC Presidium. Many fruits were sent, among them the durian. The plane flew by way of India and Afghanistan, and I also sent a sampling of Indonesian fruit to Nehru and the king of

Afghanistan [Zahir Shah]. Later, on my way back [while stopping in India and Afghanistan], I asked: "Well, what was your impression of the Indonesian fruit?" Both Nehru and the king replied that it seemed that one of the fruits had gone bad. They described the durian exactly as it was [with its bad smell]. They had thrown it out. Among the other fruits that grow in Indonesia is the tangerine, but no apples grow there. The tangerines they have there are larger than ours, but less tasty. Soviet tangerines from Georgia are smaller, but tastier.

It's interesting how human beings are constructed. When I was in Indonesia the whole time I felt as though I was in a steam bath. It was unpleasantly hot and humid, and my clothing stuck to my body. But the sweaty conditions naturally didn't bother Sukarno [who was used to the heat]. We flew in a [Soviet] plane together on one occasion. When we had climbed to a high altitude, it became cooler [about 75–80° F]. I immediately felt that I was in my native element, and it became easier for me to breathe. I looked at the president and saw that he had put on all the warm clothing he had; he was curled up on the seat, covered from head to toe, and was literally shivering. I asked Sukarno what was wrong. He answered: "I'm amazed that you can tolerate such cold. Are we going to land soon?" That's what the body's adaptation to climate does.

As we traveled around on the roads of Indonesia, the technique of cultivating rice on hillsides caught my attention. For centuries the peasants had accumulated experience in this kind of labor. They transformed the hills into a series of terraces so that the flat areas could be used for growing crops. On these terraces the abundant rain every day kept the rice fields filled with water. At first the peasants grew only rice there, but later they put small fry in the water and began to raise fish, and they also let ducks feed in the rice fields and consequently had the ducks as a source of meat. This was a rational utilization of the land.[31] However, back at that time, when I had dealings with Sukarno, Indonesia did not provide enough rice to meet its own needs and had to buy it from Burma.

In Bogor Sukarno made a suggestion to me: "Let's go for a ride. You can see how our people live in the small towns, and you can see some of our national customs."

I agreed. I was kept waiting. The time that the president had set for our departure had long since elapsed. Finally he came, and we started out on our trip. Only when we were under way did I understand the reason for his lateness. As it turned out, Sukarno wanted crowds of people to be out there to meet us along the whole length of the way in the various settlements. The departure was delayed while his people were gathering the crowds. I felt very uncomfortable about this. It grated on me, but I too am a slave to established tradition. Among us in the USSR this type of operation has been developed into a science since long ago. The best thing would be if the only people who came out to greet you were those who wanted to. In Indonesia it was more difficult to gather people together. They didn't have the degree of organization and discipline that we have developed in our country. He wanted, so to speak, to put his best foot forward, to demonstrate that everyone, both young and old, would come out into the streets. Was the main thing he had in mind to show how they would greet the representative of the land of the Soviets, Khrushchev? I think that he wanted to demonstrate for me how they came out to greet the president of Indonesia, Sukarno.

In spite of everything, the ranks were rather thin when we passed through. In some places teachers had brought schoolchildren out. It was only in the villages, rather than on the roads between them, that people gathered in larger numbers. I didn't want to insult the president, but I had the urge to express my sympathies to him for the absence of welcoming crowds in the desired numbers.

During this trip we didn't get out of the car, and I saw the villages of Indonesia only from the car window. Their dwelling places are like barns or sheds made of bamboo. The floors were also of bamboo, and there were some sort of rags or trappings hanging. The clothing people wore was sloppily stitched together and worn thin. The entire upper body was left uncovered. They wore clothes only below the waist. Their chests were bare. It was a very unpleasant and unattractive sight. Women would be standing there nursing their children in their arms. You would see a child sucking on the breast of a gaunt middle-aged woman. This was not the kind of woman mentioned in some lines that come to my memory for some reason: "Ellen had a magnificent, well-filled bosom, and it made quite an impression on the young men."[32] The bosoms you saw in Indonesia aroused your pity. It was a very sad picture.

In general the villages made a very sorry impression on me. It was evident that the people lived in great poverty. The people were poorly dressed, and their dwellings were primitive. The only thing that saved them was the warm weather, because the main thing they needed was a roof over their heads against the rain and sun.

We came to a small town and stopped at a building with an enormous terrace. Rows of chairs had been set up, and people were told who should sit where. A separate spot was designated for the president and myself to sit down. They explained to me that we were going to see a thing called a procession. It is a ceremony, or custom, that apparently exists only in Indonesia. It serves as a representation of the course of a person's life from birth to death. When I was a child I had seen cheap popular prints depicting the same idea. They were printed in Moscow by the book publisher Sytin, the same one who is well known for having devoted his whole life to books.[33] His printing operations also produced these cheap popular prints. The peasants and workers would buy them because they wanted something to decorate their homes. When I was a young man I too was one of those who purchased these "works of art." Many of the homes in our mineworkers' settlement had these pictures hanging on the walls, showing people at different stages of their life from birth to death.

This same idea was presented in the procession in Indonesia. First came a group of people with infants in their arms, then people representing marriage, then people in old age. In short, all the stages of life were represented. The participants in the procession went by in groups, each one giving an artistic representation of their particular stage of life. These people were dressed well in colorful clothing. I don't know if they were wearing theatrical costumes or were simply well-to-do people. As we sat there we took delight in the colorful spectacle. The procession was accompanied by musicians. As some pretty young women were going by, Sukarno smiled in a conspiratorial way and asked: "Which of them do you like the best?"

I said: "Oh, I like them all. They're beautiful young women and nicely dressed."

But he insisted: "No, what about that one? Maybe you like that one?" And he pointed at one of them.

I tried to put an end to discussion on this topic, saying: "Well, if you like that one, then so do I, but I like the others no less." And I said nothing further.

The president went on to discuss the physical attractions of these young women, which apparently gave him great pleasure.

We spent two days in Bogor and then went back to Jakarta. Official and unofficial talks and receptions took place there.

The itinerary provided for a trip to Bandung,[34] whose name is associated with the famous declaration of 1955. Mao Zedong had told me that the Chinese had signed that declaration. Specifically it was signed by Zhou Enlai. It proved to be an excellent document [for peaceful coexistence].

From Bandung we went to the island of Bali,[35] a place where the government usually went for vacation.

Before we landed, Sukarno warned me: "You are an atheist. But I ask you to display patience. In accordance with local traditions you are going to be welcomed by local religious officials. The people who live here are of two different faiths,[36] and therefore there will be two welcoming ceremonies at the same time. They will say prayers and conduct certain rituals, and they will welcome us by bowing down and making various signs with their hands. If you would agree to take part in this ceremony, it will make a good impression on the people. That will also be useful for me."

I replied that it would be interesting for me to have a look at this type of ceremony.

We landed, then traveled in cars [from the airport]. Crowds came out to meet us. The indicated ceremonial procedures began. Some sort of prayer was said. At first one religious official would mumble something in a monotone, and then another did the same. In the forests in the springtime in our country the game birds, the grouse, chatter and mutter and carry on the same way during mating season. These priests or whatever they were took turns talking, and I was barely able to keep my patience. The asphalt on the square where we were standing was so hot that I felt as though I was on a frying pan. I had to keep shifting from foot to foot. The soles of my shoes were burning. Still they kept muttering away. I looked at Sukarno. He said nothing. Maybe he was used to such things? Or maybe he had put extra-thick soles on his shoes in advance? Unable to stand it any longer, I asked the translator in an undertone: "Can't we wrap this up?" He translated the question to Sukarno, also in a very soft voice so that no one would hear. Sukarno made a sign and gradually the mumbling came to an end. The priests gave us a blessing or something like that and we politely took our leave of them.

Sukarno's residence in Bali was in the hills, where the cooler climate really was more suitable for a vacation. As soon as we got settled we went for a walk. Our hosts showed us the surrounding area, which was very beautiful. There was a park, and down the hill from it was a series of ponds. You could only reach them on foot; you couldn't drive there. Paths circled the ponds, and there was one pond where, if you wished, you could go swimming. Some people were swimming in it already. Our dinner was not a large communal event; each of us ate separately in his or her own room. On the next day artisans put on a display in the courtyard outside our cabins. These craftsmen worked in wood, metal, and ivory. They were exceptional masters and showed us remarkable pieces they had produced, with finely inlaid surfaces. The sculptures were quite unusual, not the kind we were accustomed to see. The proportions were off, and the figures seemed strangely elongated. These master woodworkers used mahogany, which Indonesia is very rich in. The figures they had made were finely carved and exquisitely finished. Quite a few customers gathered, and our people too made some purchases.

On the next day we strolled around the ponds again. A naked young woman with a child was swimming in one of the pools. The president deliberately led us precisely toward that pool. I said to him: "But there's a naked woman there." He answered that in Bali that didn't mean anything. We walked over to her, and he began to talk to her. With her child in her arms she walked right up to him. The rest of us kept going, but he stayed behind. The woman handed the child to the president, and he held it in his arms, joking with the little boy while she went back to her swimming. I took the risk of commenting to him that in our country such behavior would have been considered indecent, but Sukarno said: "Didn't you see how she got out of the water without any embarrassment and handed me her child and then went back in the water?"

President Sukarno, who loved festive company, also adored dancing, and he liked everyone present to dance with him. He had behaved that way in Bogor and continued to do the same in Bali. I am absolutely not a dancing person. Even when I was a young man I didn't go dancing for entertainment. I simply didn't know how. As a young man, generally speaking, I was very shy, although I liked to watch other people dance. In principle I was not opposed to participating in Sukarno's innocent diversions, but aside from a group dance the miners used to do in the Donbas, I didn't know any dances. They would stand in a circle, hold each others' hands, and stamp on the ground like Bulgarians do with their kolo.[37] Everyone knew how to do that. The same kind of monotonous dances are what Sukarno did, but he kept going, usually after supper, and would continue practically to the point of exhaustion. At first a concert was arranged with the native music of Indonesia being played, followed by some solo performances, and then everyone danced. That's how our first night on Bali went by, and it was very late before the party broke up.

On the second night after supper, the president organized the same kind of thing. When the dancing began I tried to excuse myself, telling him I was very tired. Sukarno was amazed: "What? That's impossible. The girls will be insulted. Do me a favor and stay." That's how much he adored both dancing and women. Sometimes he simply couldn't control himself. Although some of our people stayed, I left, and at that point [once I was gone] Gromyko became our dancer number one.[38] The next morning I was told that the dancing had continued until such-and-such an hour. At that hour I had already slept my fill and had awakened. Sukarno, although supposedly he was being attentive to his guests, actually took more delight in this than anyone. He had a great liking for such activities. He took turns dancing with all the young women, behaved politely, and apparently the women were flattered that the president was paying attention to them. All the while he kept joking and making witty conversation.

Two physicians accompanied our delegation. One of them [Valentina Ivanovna Leonova] was an ear, nose, and throat specialist.[39] We assumed that, in such heat, respiratory illnesses could occur. We had already had an unfortunate experience [of such illness] during our trip to India [in 1955]. The other physician was [Aleksandr Mikhailovich] Markov, head of the Fourth Main Administration of the USSR Ministry of Health,[40] a good comrade and an excellent doctor. When I suggested he travel with us, he had proposed that, just in case, we bring another doctor as well. In Bali we divided our delegation up into two groups. Half of them lived with us, and the other group was housed down by the seashore [in the town of Denpasar]. The conditions there were also good, but it was not so cool. One morning at breakfast I noticed that Sukarno had caught a cold. I said: "Mr. President, a woman doctor has come with us. She is an ear, nose, and throat specialist, and very pretty. She's part of the group down at the seashore. She's an excellent specialist and could easily fix you up." (I had decided to tell him something useful and at the same time make a joke of it, knowing his weakness.) At lunchtime I looked around and saw that our woman doctor had already been relocated to the upper level, and Markov had been sent down to the seashore. There were not enough rooms to house everyone in the same place. After supper the "cultural events," as we called them, were put on again. The woman doctor was also invited. She really was pretty and knew how to dance well. Of course she immediately attracted the president's attention, and he kept dancing away with her. The next morning I asked her: "How did you like the president?" She gave me a sly smile and replied that he was quite the cheerful fellow.

There was another island we visited. The scion of an ancient dynasty headed the local administration there. He had continued to hold a commanding position [after Indonesia gained its independence]. He held the rank of general and the official post of governor. The Indonesian Communists informed me that this man did not enjoy their political confidence. However, he displayed the same hospitality as people had at other places. Sukarno's characterization of him was similar to that of the Communists, but he added that the general was an honest man and he had confidence in him.

Our itinerary included a visit to a college [Gadjah Mada University in Jogjakarta]. At a public rally at the college, the young people gave me a very warm reception. I concluded my speech with the announcement that the Soviet government had made the decision to organize a special university in Moscow for the nations newly freed from colonial dependence. That university still exists now and is named after Patrice Lumumba,[41] who became a symbol of resolute struggle against colonialism.

In discussions [in the Soviet leadership prior to the visit] about establishing such an institution of higher education, we based ourselves on the fact that the United States, Britain, and France were providing training for officials who would serve in their former colonies. They organized educational institutions to which they admitted young people according to certain well-defined principles. Sometimes they gave preference to the children of wealthy families, and sometimes they made a special selection of talented students and gave them government scholarships. In this way they trained a vast number of cadres, on whom they could later rely in conducting their colonialist policies. For our part, we thought that cadres of specialists should also be trained to carry out an anticolonialist policy, and at the same time we could introduce them to Soviet culture, the Communist worldview, and our understanding of social issues. Having completed their education, these students would be well trained not only in their specialties but in the social sciences as well. When I finished my speech at the college, I read the decree of the Soviet government authorizing the establishment of such a university in Moscow. This was a moment of triumph. Both the professors and the young people applauded warmly and unanimously for a long time, showing their enthusiasm for this decision. This institution is still flourishing in our country today [in 1970] and is called the University of the Friendship of the Peoples.[42]

As the allotted time for our visit was drawing to an end, we prepared for our departure. At a farewell rally Sukarno took the floor. He knew how to speak well and had a reputation as a skillful orator. His speeches came off brilliantly. I gave the [farewell] speech on behalf of our delegation.

Nowadays when I meet people I sometimes hear criticism that we wasted our money to no good purpose on these people and this [Patrice Lumumba] university. As I explained back then and continue to assert today, the decision was correct and necessary, and the expenses were in keeping with the laws of social and historical development.

I consider such spending, aimed at spreading the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, to be justified. We increase the influence of our country on the choices that will be made in other countries concerning the direction of development those other societies will take, especially those countries that have recently freed themselves from colonial dependence. Our expenditures are repaid not in the form of payment for university-level instruction but with something much greater—trust in our party and country. I am convinced that all countries will take the same road we did and will base themselves on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. But in order to train cadres, money must be spent.

The more people there are who are well-trained and educated and have acquired knowledge of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the better. Some of them will become public figures in their own countries. We already have examples of this. We meet people who have graduated from our institutes or universities and who now hold prominent positions in their own countries.

I am reminded of a curious incident that occurred at an official dinner in Jakarta. Aidit had a request for me: "It would be good if you would toast the health of the general who commands the air force. That would increase his influence." The general was either a Communist or someone close to them.[43] I had my doubts. Perhaps this should not be done. But then I gave in to Aidit's insistence. When toasts were being made I asked for the floor. This was nothing unusual; nevertheless it did attract a heightened level of attention. I proposed the toast to this general—I don't remember his name now—and everyone applauded and drank to his health. In response, Sukarno immediately proposed a toast to General Nasution.[44] I felt at that point that the president was somehow reacting in a guarded way to my toast. That convinced me that I had been right in my original doubts about making the toast, but what can you do? I had taken the action at the request of Aidit. In that situation I noticed more distinctly than ever that Sukarno was actively courting Nasution, making up to him and seeking to win his favor. Alarm and concern were evident on the president's face. Sukarno wanted to partly neutralize and offset my toast with his own toast emphasizing the importance of Nasution.

Relations between the USSR and Indonesia were of the very best at that time: we were developing economic cooperation, aiding them with arms and equipment, sending our command staff cadres to their country; also, commanders of the Indonesian army came to our country for training. Nevertheless Nasution caused us to have political doubts about him personally (and not only him). It worried us that this friend of the West was such an influential figure in the Indonesian armed forces. In conversations with me, Sukarno argued that Nasution was not only an honest man but also a religious man, that it was possible to influence him through his religious beliefs, and that gradually he could be won over to the cause of democracy.

I frequently had conversations with Nasution. Each of us conducted himself appropriately, in keeping with rank and position, and mutual respect was observed. Not even a hint of any demonstrable behavior was noticeable on his part. He displayed no hostility toward anything in the USSR. He knew how to conceal his feelings, giving us no grounds to think he was hostile toward us. But he unquestionably was hostile. He also had contacts with our military people. They were on good terms with Nasution, although our intelligence people informed us that Nasution had links with American intelligence. Many Communists and even more sympathizers were working in the command staff of the Indonesian armed forces. In their midst Nasution seemed to be losing influence despite all his importance. In general we assumed that events were developing in the proper direction in Indonesia. If Indonesia were to take the road of socialist construction, that would be an enormous gain for all of us. Indonesia itself would be transformed into a powerful support for the struggle against world imperialism.

The imperialist camp understood this no worse than we did, and it did everything it could to promote prejudice against the Communist Party of Indonesia and President Sukarno, who continued to influence the minds of his people. His authority in the country remained very high. Everything there was going along fine until Maoist China began to pursue its own special line. When our disagreements became public our class enemies began to take advantage of them. We regretted this, but there was nothing we could do. At the International Conference of Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow in 1960, Aidit spoke in the elastic and evasive manner that was typical of him. He said nothing against the positions of the CPSU, but he also failed to speak out against Beijing's positions. He sacrificed principles to "elasticity." However, we could not expect anything else from the CPI because there was a large stratum of Chinese in that party. Through them the Chinese Communist Party exerted quite a bit of influence. It's true that the Indonesians sometimes protested in their own special way against the commercial dominance of Chinese merchants, smashing and ransacking their stores in anti-Chinese riots. We regretted actions of that kind, although we knew that the Chinese merchants in Indonesia listened closely to the voice of Beijing, even though they themselves were not proletarians. Beijing had influence in the Chinese population not only in Indonesia but also in Singapore, Malaysia, and other Asian countries.

As I have said, there were people of Chinese ethnic origin in the CPI. Before the disagreements developed between the USSR and China, no problem of ethnic relations existed in the CPI, but at that point China seems to have begun probing and testing the moods and sentiments there. It turned out that some members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPI took a pro-Beijing position. It's true that they didn't speak out openly against the USSR or the CPSU, but they didn't support our policies. Now Aidit also was taking an unclear position, obviously leaning toward the Chinese.[45] This surprised me, and I think that, on his side, this position was somehow forced upon him. I had a conversation with him [on July 22, 1963] during the very last period of my official activity. In addition to him, three other representatives of the CPI were present, and two leaders of the Soviet party, Ponomaryov and Andropov, were there with me.[46] Aidit remained silent while I argued for the line of the CPSU, comparing it with the Chinese line and demonstrating that the Chinese line was not supportable. Aidit kept quiet the whole time, and I sensed that he felt he had no alternative. Soon he returned to his homeland by way of China. Later I found out that in Beijing he was unable to hold out any longer, and in a meeting with Mao, the latter dragged him over to their side. The Chinese gave him a good working over. Later in their newspapers they openly claimed that he was taking a pro-Beijing position. After the leadership of the CPI was smashed [in the military coup] in 1965, Aidit went underground. Later he was arrested, tried, and shot. The man must be given the credit he deserves. He went astray, but he did so sincerely. At his trial he conducted himself in an intelligent manner, and he died honorably. When the Communist Party of Indonesia organized an action with the aim of seizing power [thus triggering the military coup][47] an assertion was slipped into the Soviet press that the CPI had got itself into this terrible situation because it had taken orders from Mao Zedong. For me the action taken by the CPI was absolutely unexpected. I never thought that such an attempt would take place the way it did, without any consideration for the specific situation then existing in Indonesia. [As a result] tens of thousands of Communists perished, along with progressively minded people in general, especially those working in the trade unions and in other organizations under the leadership of the CPI. The largest Communist Party in the capitalist part of the world suffered a terrible defeat. That is the end result if giving in to adventuristic slogans.

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1. The Bandung declaration was adopted at the Bandung Conference of 29 Asian and African countries held at Bandung, Indonesia, between April 18 and 24, 1955. It was based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence. [SS]

2. Ahmed Sukarno (1901–70) was a founding member of the National Party of Indonesia in 1927 and later its chairman. He was president of Indonesia from 1945 to 1967. See Biographies and also J. D. Legge, *Sukarno: A Political Biography* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1972). [MN/SS]

3. Diplomatic relations were established between January 26 and February 3, 1950, just after Indonesia gained its independence from the Dutch. However, it was almost another four years before the Soviet Union and Indonesia exchanged embassies. [GS/MN/SS]

4. Estimates of the number of members and presumed sympathizers of the Communist Party of Indonesia who were slaughtered in the military coup led by General Suharto in October 1965 range from several hundred thousand up to three million. Large numbers of ethnic Chinese were killed on the presumption that they were Communist sympathizers. Many others were imprisoned without trial. [GS/SS]

5. The first Soviet-Indonesian trade agreement was signed in Jakarta on August 12, 1956. It was followed on September 15, 1956, by a general agreement on economic and technological cooperation, also signed in Jakarta. On February 5, 1958, the Indonesian parliament approved a draft law on receiving a Soviet loan of $100 million. A second general agreement was signed in Bogor (Indonesia) on February 28, 1960.

6. The visit took place between February 18 and March 1, 1960.

7. Andrei Andreyevich Gromyko was Soviet foreign minister from 1957 to 1985. See Biographies. [SS]

8. At this time the IL-18 was still quite a new model. It was a powerful long-distance turboprop passenger plane. It was introduced in 1957 and served for more than thirty years. [SS]

9. Though considerably smaller than several of the outlying islands, Java is by far the most densely populated of the main islands of the Indonesian archipelago. It occupies a central geographical position and contains the capital Jakarta. [SS]

10. The temperature in Jakarta rarely rises far above 30° C. (86° F.), but humidity is very high for much of the year (mean daily relative humidity of 85 percent in February). [SS]

11. Dipa Nusantara Aidit (1923–65) at this time was in his late thirties. He joined the Communist Party of Indonesia in 1943. From 1954 to 1959 he was the general secretary, and thereafter the chairman, of its Central Committee. He was executed in the military takeover of October 1965. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

12. General Abdul Haris Nasution (1918–2000), a former hero of the fight for Indonesia's independence, was army chief of staff from 1955 to 1966 and concurrently minister of national security from 1960 to 1962 and coordinating minister for defense and security from 1962 to 1966. See Biographies and C. L. M. Penders and Ulf Sundhaussen, *Abdul Haris Nasution: A Political Biography* (St. Lucia, Australia: University of Queensland Press, 1985). [SS]

13. This refers to Nasution's visit to Moscow in June 1962. [SS]

14. The P-15 (known in the West by the code name SS-N-2) was an antiship cruise missile with a range of 40 kilometers (25 miles). [SS]

15. The TU-16 was an intercontinental jet bomber with a maximum flight speed in excess of 1,000 kilometers per hour (625 miles per hour). Its first test flight was in winter 1952. [SS]

16. West Irian was the Indonesian name for West New Guinea, which the Dutch retained control of after Indonesia's independence. Soviet military aid to Indonesia in support of the struggle against Dutch rule in West Irian was probably supplied between the time of Khrushchev's visit to Indonesia in February–March 1960 and the beginning of Indonesian military action against the Dutch in early 1962. On the outcome of the dispute over West Irian, see below. [GS]

17. Subandrio (1914–2004) was Indonesia's ambassador to the USSR from 1954 to 1956. (Like many Indonesians, he had only one name.) His immediate successor in the post was A. A. Maramis, a former minister of finance and minister of foreign affairs. Maramis was replaced by Adam Malik in November 1959, although he did not leave Moscow until February 1960. Malik accompanied Khrushchev as ambassador on the visit to Indonesia in February 1960. He remained ambassador to the USSR (and Poland) until 1963. [SK/SS]

18. Subsequently Malik was minister of trade, coordinating minister for implementation of guided economy, deputy prime minister, minister of foreign affairs, and chairman of the People's Consultative Assembly. From 1978 to 1983 he was vice president. See Biographies. [GS/SK/SS]

19. Subsequently Subandrio was foreign minister, deputy prime minister, minister for foreign economic relations, and chief of intelligence. By political affiliation he was a Socialist. Other sources concur that Sukarno did rely greatly on Subandrio's knowledge, judgment, and analytical skill. In the course of the military takeover of October 1965, Subandrio was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment. He was released in 1995. See Biographies. [GS/SK/SS]

20. Sukarno pursued a strategy of maintaining a balance of power among what he saw as the three main social forces in Indonesian society—the Communists, the military, and Islam. This strategy was reflected in the slogan of national unity through NASAKOM—an acronym formed from the Indonesian words for nationalism, religion, and communism. [SS]

21. The western part of the island of New Guinea (West Irian) was officially incorporated into the Kingdom of the Netherlands in February 1952. Indonesia did not accept this and in 1962 landed troops in West Irian. Fighting between Indonesian and Dutch forces went on for several months. On August 15, 1962, an agreement was signed in New York by which the Netherlands gave up its claim to the territory. West Irian was first turned over to the United Nations, and on May 1, 1963, it became part of Indonesia. [GS/MN]

22. This was the Mashumi Party, which Sukarno banned by presidential decree in August 1960.

23. The Federation of Malaysia was formed in 1963 out of the Malayan Federation, Singapore (which broke away in 1965), and Sabah and Sarawak (or Serawak), which together constitute the northwestern part of the island of Kalimantan (formerly Borneo). Besides territories belonging to Malaysia and Indonesia, Kalimantan also included the Sultanate of Brunei, consisting of a small enclave on the northwestern coast. [MN/SS]

24. The site was selected in 1745 as a resort residence for the Dutch governor-general, and the town grew up around the palace. The Dutch called the town Buitenzorg (meaning "without a care"); later it was renamed Bogor. Situated at the foot of two volcanoes, it is now a highland resort and a center for agricultural research and light industry. [SS]

25. The botanical gardens were laid out in 1817 on the initiative of Sir Stamford Raffles, who was governor of Java from 1811 to 1816. The work was supervised by the German botanist Professor Reinhardt, assisted by gardeners from Kew Gardens in London. Reinhardt had a special interest in plants with domestic and medicinal uses. The botanical gardens are now administered by the Indonesian Institute of Sciences. Their collection of 3,504 trees, flowers, and other plant species is one of the biggest and most complete in the world. [SS]

26. Jogjakarta is a city situated in central Java, near the south coast. Together with its surroundings, it constitutes an autonomous sultanate within Indonesia. [SS]

27. Khrushchev is referring to the so-called Komodo dragon *(Varanus komodoensis)*, a variety of monitor lizard thought to be descended from an extinct species of sea dragon and found mainly on the Indonesian islands of Komodo and Flores. Up to 3 meters (10 feet) long, it is the world's largest lizard species. The current population is about 6,000. [GS/SS]

28. Good relations between Aidit and Sukarno were facilitated by Sukarno's strategy for national unity (see note 20 above) and by the fact that Aidit belonged to a faction within the Communist Party of Indonesia that supported Sukarno and had been in control of the party since 1951. [SS]

29. The durian is known as "king of the fruits." It grows on a tall evergreen tropical tree native to Southeast Asia. There are at least 25 species, the Latin name for the most commonly used species being *Durio zibethinus.* The seed as well as the sweet flesh of the fruit is edible. [SS]

30. This was a popular science book about the eminent British naturalist Alfred Russell Wallace (1823–1913). Its title was *The Missing Link* (in Russian, *Nedostayushcheye zveno).* It recounted Wallace's travels in the East Indies in the nineteenth century in search of fossil evidence of *Pithecanthropus* (half-ape, half-man) and, in passing, described the durian fruit. [SK]

31. Hillside terracing for rice cultivation is an age-old practice in China. Terracing was used by the Incas in the Andes and in ancient Babylon (the "hanging gardens of Babylon"). [SS]

32. This is a line from Tolstoy's *War and Peace.* [SK]

33. Ivan Dmitriyevich Sytin (1851–1934) was a book publisher who devoted himself to popular enlightenment. Originally from a peasant family, he went to work for a merchant who produced cheap popular prints. In 1876 he opened his own print shop and in the 1880s became the most popular publisher of cheap books and reproductions aimed at reaching poor and ordinary people. In the 1890s he published textbooks, children's books, popular science publications, and encyclopedias, as well as the collected works of Pushkin, Gogol, and Tolstoy, and a number of different magazines. By the early 1900s Sytin's publishing operations had become the largest in Russia. The printers at his typographical operations went on strike in September and October 1905, demanding that they be paid for typing punctuation marks as well as the letters of words. They were paid by the letter. The printing workers' strike at Sytin's operations led to a general strike that spread throughout Russia in October 1905 and resulted in the October Manifesto issued by Tsar Nicholas II, which granted a constitution in Russia for the first time in its history. Leon Trotsky, who was the president of the Saint Petersburg Soviet (Council) of Workers' Deputies in fall 1905, made the following ironic comment: "The typesetters at Sytin's print works in Moscow struck on September 19. They demanded a shorter working day and a higher piecework rate per thousand letters set, not excluding punctuation marks. This small event set off nothing more nor less than the all-Russia political strike—that is, a strike which started over punctuation marks ended by felling absolutism."

Another interesting side note about Sytin is that after the 1917 revolution his printing operations were nationalized and he himself became a consultant to the Soviet State Committee on Publication (Gosizdat). [GS]

34. Bandung is an industrial and scientific center and highland resort about 110 kilometers (70 miles) southeast of Jakarta. It is the administrative center of the province of West Java. [SS]

35. Bali is situated a few miles to the east of Java. It is not one of the larger islands of the Indonesian archipelago, but it has many artistic and architectural treasures and is a popular tourist attraction. [SS]

36. The two religious faiths to which Sukarno was referring were Hinduism and Buddhism. In fact, 95 percent of the population of Bali is Hindu, with the remainder including Buddhists, Muslims, and Christians. Prior to the arrival of Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism were the dominant religions of the East Indies (present-day Indonesia). When the last Hindu kingdom, the Majapahits, collapsed in the early sixteenth century, Bali became a refuge for Hindu and Buddhist belief and culture. [SS]

37. The kolo is danced by a large number of people in a ring. It is found under various names among the Serbs, Croats, and Montenegrins of the former Yugoslavia as well as among the Romanians and Bulgarians. [SS]

38. This is a joking reference to Gromyko's status as the second most important Soviet official after Khrushchev. The point of the joke is that Gromyko did not dance. [SK/SS]

39. Valentina Ivanovna Leonova worked for the Therapeutic-Sanitary Division of the Fourth Main Administration of the USSR Ministry of Health, which provided a special medical service for the political elite. See Biographies. [SK/SS]

40. On Aleksandr Mikhailovich Markov, see Biographies.

41. Classes began at the University of the Friendship of the Peoples on October 1, 1960, and the opening ceremony was held on November 17, 1960. The first rector (president) was Doctor of Technical Sciences Sergei Vasilyevich Rumyantsev, previously a deputy minister of higher and specialized secondary education. In 1962 construction began on an additional building complex for the university in southwestern Moscow, including athletics facilities and housing for 4,200 students and teaching staff.

Lumumba was the first prime minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo from June to September 1960. He was killed by the Belgian-backed secessionist regime in Katanga in January 1961. See Biographies. [SS]

42. In 1997 the university was renamed the Russian University of the Friendship of Peoples. [SS]

43. This was General (strictly speaking, Air Commodore) Suryadi Suryadarma, who in 1960 was chief marshal and chief of staff of Indonesia's air force. He was the key figure in the creation of the Indonesian air force. There is no indication that he was a Communist or close to the Communists, but unlike many other senior Indonesian military officers he was a "professional" and opposed to the involvement of the armed forces in politics. As such involvement was bound to be against the interests of the Communists, this would suffice to explain Aidit's wish to strengthen his influence. [SK/SS]

44. Abdul Nasution was army chief of staff. Later he became minister of defense. See Biographies. In contrast to Suryadarma, he was very much a "political" general. [SS]

45. Arnold C. Brackman argues that Aidit was the leader of a faction within the CPI that inclined more toward Soviet than toward Chinese ideological positions. In particular, he held, in opposition to the Maoists, that the CPI could not wage an armed struggle for power, but must rely instead on "agitation, organization, and mobilization of the masses." However, he tried to maintain an even-handed public stance with regard to the Sino-Soviet split, primarily with a view to preserving unity within the CPI. Reporting to a meeting of the CPI Central Committee on December 30–31, 1961, after returning from attending the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, he criticized both the Soviet and the Chinese leaders for their public attacks on one another *(Indonesian Communism: A History* [New York: Praeger, 1963], 205, 294). [SS]

46. At this time Boris Nikolayevich Ponomaryov was a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Yuri Andropov was head of its Department for Liaison with Socialist Countries. See Biographies.

47. The role played by the CPI in the events of fall 1965 is a matter of controversy and may never be fully clarified. It is clear that on September 30, 1965, a group of junior left-wing officers killed several generals and launched an uprising. Once the uprising was underway, some prominent members of the CPI lent it their support—notably, the Communist mayor of Jogjakarta, which was a center of the mutiny. CPI members also took part in the fighting around Surakarta. However, it is much more doubtful whether the CPI leadership planned, organized, or instigated the uprising in a deliberate attempt to seize power. As noted above (note 45), Aidit took the view that the CPI was not in a position to win power by force of arms. Some observers argue that the uprising took the CPI by surprise; this would help explain why the party turned out to be so poorly prepared for the turn of events. For a careful analysis of the issue, see Leslie Palmier, *Communists in Indonesia: Power Pursued in Vain* (New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1973), chaps. 18 and 19, especially pp. 242–47. Palmier suggests that it is even possible that Sukarno himself was behind the conspiracy. [SS]

EGYPT

I want to tell about Egypt: about how our relations developed with the Egyptian government and its new leadership after the revolution [of July 1952] carried out by young army officers headed by [Gamal Abdel] Nasser and [Abdel Hakim] Amer.[1] Even the former king of Egypt, Farouk[2] [who was overthrown by the 1952 revolution], had asked Stalin to sell him arms, which he wanted in order to fight against the British colonial troops stationed in Egypt. Stalin refused. I don't remember what answer was given [to the Egyptians], but in our inner circle Stalin said: "No, it's not worth it for us to stick our nose in those affairs. Egypt's in Britain's sphere of influence." When a suitable occasion arose (possibly a birthday?), Stalin ordered that a sable cloak be sent as a gift to the queen of England.[3] I'm telling about this to show what our attitude toward Egypt was at that time. It doesn't mean we didn't want to help them. On the contrary, by all means we wanted the Egyptian people to free themselves as soon as possible from colonial dependence, because that was in the interests not only of the Egyptian people but also of the Soviet people and of all progressive humanity in general. It's just that Stalin didn't think the right time had yet arrived, although we could have supplied Egypt with arms. I think Farouk had in mind that he wanted to receive them secretly. But what kind of secret could there be if you were delivering arms to a country where British troops were stationed? A secret like that would become known to the British immediately.

After the first coup d'état that the army officers carried out in Egypt, Nasser and Amer did not take the leading position. Some general headed the government, a man whose views were not progressive, as we saw it, and who apparently favored driving the British out but maintaining the capitalist foundations in Egypt. I don't remember now how long the transitional period lasted. But then [in mid-1954] the young officers removed this general [Naguib] as head of state. Nasser became the leader of Egypt.[4] At first, in the policies he pursued, he also gave no hint that he would change the social and political structure in Egypt. Thus, during the initial period after the coup and the coming of Colonel Nasser to power, we could not determine what direction his government would take in foreign and domestic policy. We leaned toward the idea that evidently what had occurred was just one more military coup of the kind to which everyone had grown accustomed. As a result we didn't expect anything special. In fact we had no other choice but to wait and see what direction the new leadership of Egypt would take.

Some time had elapsed after the second coup, and the Egyptians again asked us to provide them aid in the form of arms. They intended to take serious measures. Their intention was to force the British troops out of Egypt, and for this they needed a strong army. We decided to give the necessary aid. It was provided on a commercial basis but at favorable prices. That is, we sold them weapons, mainly infantry weapons and artillery. The Egyptians were conducting their policy in a worthy way, putting stronger and stronger pressure on the British, and demanding their withdrawal. The British understood that they had no choice, that they would have to treat the national demands of the Egyptians with understanding, and they agreed to withdraw their troops. And the British troops did leave. This reassured us, and we began to pay more attention to the requests of the Egyptian government. We also began to show some respect for that government. We saw that it was not just one more government coming to power as the result of a purely military coup, but one that was defending the national interests of its people. That meant it deserved support in the fight against the colonialists.

Nevertheless, it was still very difficult to determine the policy of this government. What social and political aims was it pursuing? On what basis was it thinking to develop and strengthen the Egyptian state? The banks and large holdings of capital had not been touched in the revolution [of 1952–54]. Apparently it was a pro-capitalist government that had come to power. But it was in our interests to support even that kind of leadership, because its policy was aimed against colonial domination and it was weakening the British in the Middle East. That coincided with the interests of the USSR, and we supported the line taken by Nasser. Tito had established the very best relations with Egypt. As I recall, when Tito traveled to India, he took a ship through the Suez Canal and stayed for a visit in Egypt.[5]

The Yugoslavs were writing a lot about Egypt's new policies and about the Egyptian leadership. They took note of its progressive character and said that it deserved aid. At that time we had not yet reestablished good relations with Yugoslavia, although they were already improving. When I met with Tito during a visit of his to the Soviet Union [in June 1956], we had an exchange of views on international questions. We also touched on Egypt. Tito spoke in a very flattering way about Nasser's policies.

I replied to Tito: "I don't understand his speeches. It's hard to figure out what he wants. He speaks in favor of establishing a progressive system. But how? He doesn't touch the capitalists or the banks. It's difficult for us, as of now, to evaluate what kind of policy and what aims the country of Egypt wants to undertake."

Tito, on the other hand, argued as follows: "Nasser is still a very young man and politically inexperienced. Besides that, he's a military man. He has good intentions, but so far he hasn't found a firm ground of support. In some areas he needs to be supported and in other areas discouraged. He wants good things for his people. It's possible to come to an agreement with him. It's possible to exert an influence on him that would be beneficial for the world Communist movement and for the people of Egypt as well." That is, Tito was expressing the desire to influence Nasser, not out of selfish motives, but with the aim of binding together closely the interests of those who wanted to influence Nasser and the interests of the people. Here the interests were mutually beneficial. The question of socialism is not a question facing just one people or nation. Socialism can bring desired results to all nations. Here it is not a question of a conspiracy by one side against another, but of the desire of one side to share its experience and exert influence on another so that it can borrow from that experience and apply it in its own interest.

In autumn 1956 war broke out in the Middle East.[6] The World Bank had refused loans to Egypt for the construction of the Aswan High Dam. Yet those loans had been promised earlier. At that point Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal. In response the Suez Canal Company withdrew all its specialists and other technical personnel. Nasser requested that the USSR provide aid in the form of technical specialists. We sent our harbor pilots and navigators and other specialists who were needed to maintain the normal functioning of the Suez Canal.

The capitalist world, especially France and Britain, thought that Nasser would not be able to cope [with the challenge of operating the Suez Canal], and that as a result they would have a chance to influence the Egyptian government. But they quickly realized that Nasser was no longer following the lead of the capitalist world in foreign policy, that he was aspiring to independence in the realm of economic development for the Egyptian people.

Our relations with Nasser at that time were fairly complex. We gave aid to the Egyptians as a people who were fighting for their independence, for liberation from the colonialists. We sold them arms, and we helped them in every possible way to move forward. But we also had big disagreements on political and ideological matters. Nasser stood for a special Egyptian road of development. Here I think Comrade Tito had considerable influence, because he too proclaimed a special road of development for socialism in Yugoslavia. As for the Egyptian formulation, it was completely incomprehensible to us. But one thing we understood clearly was that any Communists discovered by Nasser were put in jail. The Egyptian Communist Party[7] was outlawed and was operating underground. From the point of view of our Communist ideology, Nasser was pursuing an anti-Communist, reactionary policy. It cannot be said that we saw in Nasser a person who, from our point of view, the Egyptian people needed. Our thinking was that [despite these shortcomings] there was no other, more progressive figure on the horizon at the time. He was capable of leading the fight against the colonialists. He was a national hero from the Egyptian military. He had not yet arrived at a clear understanding, had not yet worked out what path of development Egypt would take, what goal would be set for its future. Scientific socialism was out of the question. Certain phrases were dropped about some sort of national socialism. I am telling about this because at that time there was no mutual understanding between Nasser and us in regard to political and ideological matters. However, we calculated that it would be useful for us if Egypt consolidated itself as an independent state that would no longer follow in the wake of the imperialist powers Britain and France. Tension was mounting quickly [between Egypt on the one hand and Britain and France on the other]. In late summer 1956 the British began deploying their aircraft on Cyprus and other islands in the Mediterranean. It was obvious they were preparing for war. Still, we didn't think Britain and France would go so far as to openly declare war on Egypt. Unfortunately, that's exactly what happened.

Britain, France, and Israel attacked Egypt. I don't remember now exactly what day that happened. It was in the last days of October [October 29, 1956]. The thunder and lightning of war erupted. Egypt stubbornly defended itself, but it was an unequal contest, in terms of both economics and armaments. Britain and France had vast wealth and experience, and they had military cadres who had gone through the school of the world war against Nazi Germany. The experience of the Egyptian army was limited to cavalry skirmishes on camelback. Their main weapons were the rifle, the submachine gun, and the machine gun.

We were very concerned. We were afraid Egypt would be defeated, and that would strengthen the position of the reactionaries in the Middle East.

At that time Iraq was ruled by a reactionary pro-British monarchy. The position taken by Syria was different, but it was also a long way from us. We didn't yet have any special contacts with Syria, although an improvement in our relations was noticeable. We understood that everything would depend on how events developed in Egypt, the strongest and largest of the Arab republics.

We held a meeting of the Central Committee Presidium to discuss what position we should take in this conflict. In spring 1956 [April 18–27], when Bulganin and I were in Britain holding talks with Prime Minister Anthony Eden and Foreign Minister [Selwyn] Lloyd,[8] we constantly sought to convey to them that the Middle East, and in particular Egypt, were of vital concern to us and that if a war broke out there, it would be difficult for us to refrain from taking part in the conflict. We insisted it would be a good thing if we came to an agreement on ensuring peace in the Middle East.

We feared most of all an invasion of Egypt by foreign troops from Britain and France. Their interests were particularly affected by the political developments in the country [of Egypt] led by Nasser, who was pursuing an independent foreign policy, a policy serving the interests of Egypt and not the interests of the former colonialists. I am not saying anything about Israel at this point. But now the war against Egypt was developing full force.

As soon as we eliminated the uprising in Hungary [on November 4, 1956], we were confronted with the task of providing aid to the Egyptian government, to President Nasser. By that time huge difficulties had developed for the Egyptian government. We wanted to stop the war as quickly as possible. I called up Molotov.

I said: "Vyacheslav Mikhailovich, I think we should now send a message to U.S. President Eisenhower and propose joint action against the aggressor forces that have attacked Egypt."

Molotov objected: "Do you really think Eisenhower would make an agreement with us against Britain, France, and Israel?"

I agreed with him: "There's no doubt he would refuse such an agreement. But when he did, we would have removed the mask from the face of the United States government and President Eisenhower. In statements to the press they are condemning the attack by Britain, France, and Israel on Egypt. But as the saying goes, 'Vaska listens but goes on eating.'[9] The war is still going on, and undoubtedly there is an unspoken behind-the-scenes coordination [that is, between the United States on the one hand and Britain, France, and Israel on the other]. One side is fighting with arms in hand to eliminate the progressive government of President Nasser, while on the other hand the American government in the person of its president is supposedly speaking out with condemnation of this aggressive action. If their condemnation was serious, if the United States really protested at the top of its voice, and Britain, France, and Israel came to believe that the voice from America really did sound serious, that the warnings might develop into a threat of action, then of course the aggressor governments would take that into account. That's how simply the roles have been assigned in this stage play in which the liquidation of the revolutionary Egyptian government is being performed. We would place the U.S. president in an awkward position if we made a proposal [for joint action to stop the aggression]."

Molotov then agreed: "Yes, you're right. Let's have a discussion about it. It would be a positive action."

After consulting with Molotov I brought the question to the Central Committee Presidium. I immediately called up all the members and proposed that we gather at the Kremlin to discuss the urgent question of our action against the war in Egypt.

We gathered. The appropriate document was prepared. In our message to the U.S. president we proposed to unite our efforts against aggression under the flag of the United Nations. I call attention to the fact that we specified under the flag of the United Nations. We had been informed that when the U.S. president received our message he even said to the journalists: "This is unbelievable. The Russians are proposing that we, the United States, together with them, take action against Britain, France, and Israel. That's inconceivable."

We ourselves thought that for the United States it would be inconceivable. They could not possibly take action together with us against the aggressors who were their own allies. We simply wanted to remove the mask of the peacemaker, the fighter for justice, the fighter against aggression [that the U.S. government had assumed]. They were such a fighter only in words and not in deeds. It was precisely in that kind of role that President Eisenhower was acting. We were demonstrating who was opposed to the aggression in reality, not just in words. A little while after our message had been delivered to the president, we published the text in our press. At the same time we drafted letters to Prime Minister Anthony Eden of Britain, Prime Minister Guy Mollet of France, and Prime Minister Ben-Gurion of Israel.[10] We warned them that in attacking Egypt, the aggressors had calculated that Egypt was much weaker than they were, that it did not have the kind of army or weaponry that they had. We said, however, that there were countries that could come to Egypt's defense and provide aid to Egypt, even without sending troops. In short, we were hinting at long-range missiles. We proposed therefore that the war of aggression against Egypt be stopped immediately.

Some time later, well-informed people told us about the process by which Guy Mollet and Eden coordinated their actions.[11] How accurate this report is I leave to those who informed me. They said that during the time of the Suez crisis, Guy Mollet did not leave the building of the French government to spend the night at home. When he received our message he ran to the phone, without any trousers on, just in the underwear he was sleeping in, to call up Eden.

Whether he was wearing trousers or just underpants when he picked up the phone doesn't change the essence of the matter. The main point is that within twenty-two hours after the receipt of our warning the aggression was ended [on November 7, 1956]. Our warning had been a serious one—not like China's warnings, which numbered in the thousands.

Thus, the aggressors were thwarted. Their aim had been to break Egypt's resistance and eliminate a government that was pursuing an independent policy in the interests of Egypt and the other Arab peoples, who were fighting against colonial enslavement. This was a big victory for the Soviet Union, a victory for its authority [in world affairs] and its military might. These two great powers, Great Britain and France, were forced to take us into account. Here I leave Israel aside.

The information was passed on to us that at the moment when our messages were received a critical situation had developed in the Egyptian government. At that time in Egypt substantial forces desiring the overthrow of Nasser still existed. They opposed the radical policies that Nasser was then following.

Voices critical of us could be heard at that time in the Arab press, saying that the Soviet Union was taking no steps, not raising its hand to help the Arab people when they were under attack. Eisenhower's authority rose sharply, especially after he made a public statement condemning the aggression and demanding an end to it.

The difference is that after Eisenhower made his statement the aggression continued. The British and French governments understood that this was a ruse on Eisenhower's part for tactical purposes and that it would have no consequences. When we made our statement, on the other hand, it was no longer a matter of grandstanding for the public, but a serious statement. The aggressor governments drew the correct conclusion. This was a great victory for the progressive forces in all countries of the world. The authority of the Soviet Union rose very high not only among the Egyptian people but also in other countries that were freeing themselves from colonial dependence or waging a struggle for their liberation.

I would like to make an additional point. When a critical situation developed in Poland and Hungary [in October 1956], with anti-Soviet elements denouncing our party and the Soviet people, that naturally created difficulties for us. Some British and French diplomats, though not of the first rank, when they met with members of our embassy staffs in the British and French capitals over a cup of coffee or a glass of wine, expressed thoughts like this: "Well, you know, we take an understanding attitude toward the difficulties that you are facing in Poland and Hungary. We, on the other hand, are having difficulties with Egypt. Let's make a tacit agreement that you will overcome your difficulties by your methods, but you won't interfere with us."

You can see how the imperialists wanted to make use of our difficulties and deprive us of the possibility of raising our voice in defense of the struggle of the Egyptian people against the colonialists, who wanted to reestablish their domination in their former colonies.

However, we quickly coped with our difficulties. I have already told about how we did that. In Poland the new leadership headed by Comrades Gomulka and Cyrankiewicz[12] played a major role, and we coped with the difficulties in Hungary. In this way we were able to untie our hands and immediately raise our voice to help the Egyptian people. This voice proved to be so powerful that it forced the aggression to cease.

We were very happy that Eden and Guy Mollet had enough courage to stop the war.

The war by Britain, France, and Israel against Egypt in 1956 became a historical landmark for the Soviet Union.

We were not pursuing selfish or mercenary goals. We did not want to replace Britain in Egypt or in the other Arab countries. No! We wanted to help the former colonial peoples to free themselves from slavery and dependence. This was the policy of Lenin, and it had taken firm and realistic root in the practice of our diplomacy. After this Egypt drew even closer to the Soviet Union. It was filled with even more trust and respect for our policies and for our Soviet socialist system.

We had won much respect even before that, before our intervention in favor of Egypt when it was attacked by Britain, France, and Israel, which raised the authority of the USSR in the Arab world very high, especially among the Egyptian people. Nasser said many flattering things then in regard to the policies of the Soviet government. We had helped them sincerely, without setting any conditions, providing aid on the basis of ideological considerations, with the aim that all colonial peoples could win their independence. Our action was based on humane considerations and was not in pursuit of any mercenary interests.

The USSR itself had no needs that it was seeking to meet in this situation. It had no need for the riches of the United Arab Republic (UAR) [Egypt's official name, adopted in 1958, upon unification with Syria]. In our country we already have nearly everything produced in Egypt or extracted from the ground there. Generally speaking, we are a wealthier country than Egypt. If we are lacking in some goods, if there are some items we seek to obtain from other countries, we do it not through war or machinations of some sort, but on the basis of trade and commerce, as is the practice among civilized people. What did Nasser mean when he declared that the war of aggression by the three powers was stopped as a result of aid from the Soviet Union? I repeat, first of all, our appeal to Eisenhower with the proposal that the military efforts of the USSR and USA be united under the UN flag to take action against the aggressors who had attacked Egypt. That was a political move. We understood that Eisenhower would not want to combine with us against his own NATO allies, but we wanted to strip him of the mantle of the peacemaker in which he had draped himself. We wanted to reveal the true face of a politician who in fact held the same position as the aggressors.

There's another question. Why did Israel withdraw from the territories it had occupied after the war had ended and the situation had returned to normal? Together with the French and British, Israel had seized extensive territories. When the British and French withdrew their troops, Israel withdrew its troops as well. Apparently there was an agreement among these three powers. But there was another circumstance as well. We had raised the question in the United Nations and had achieved a condemnation of the aggression [by the UN]. Also we made a public declaration on our own that Soviet volunteers were being recruited to join the Egyptian army: "including tank crews, pilots, artillery men, and other military specialists."

Yes, we wanted to provide real support to Egypt by sending people there who were fully trained and capable of handling the latest and most modern weapons. This pushed Israel toward the realization that it had to withdraw its troops and liberate the territories it had seized in the three-power attack on Egypt. I think that this fact [the public statement about Soviet volunteers for the Egyptian army] turned out to be extremely important for our policy as a whole, and we made correct use of it, having set certain limiting conditions on Israel—that is, if it did not abide by the recommendations of the United Nations, it would be confronted by an Egyptian military force in which our volunteer troops might also be present. This too was very highly appreciated by the Egyptian people and by Nasser. That's what he talked about in his speeches. But after the situation was normalized, a different understanding became evident in regard to the basis for restructuring the Egyptian state. We saw that Nasser was inconsistent. Tito said, for his part, that Nasser simply didn't understand certain things, but that we should continue to help him as before.

Nasser began to mention in his speeches the possibility of building socialism in Egypt. I think that this was the result of Tito's influence. Nasser had his own peculiar conception of socialism. Here again we couldn't understand him and thought that either he didn't know his way around on theoretical questions or he was deliberately muddling things up. After all, under certain circumstances the word "socialism" can be used for concepts quite divergent from ours. Even Hitler called his party National Socialist. But the whole world knows what kind of "socialism" he had. That's why we took a cautious attitude toward people who took up the word "socialism" but didn't explain concretely what they meant by it, how they intended to use it, and by what means they wanted to achieve it. We thought it was possible that Nasser would lead his people astray by beginning to promote a special road for Egypt, the road of Arab socialism. As a result of these disagreements a certain cooling-off occurred in our relations, but fortunately it was only temporary.

Let me now say something about Egypt's victory. Before our disagreement [over socialism], Nasser had explained the victory as the result of our intervention, but after the strain became noticeable in our relations, he began to say that Egypt won because it was helped by Allah. When friendly relations between us were reestablished, I would sometimes refer to this. I would ask him: "Now, who was it that helped you? Was it us or Allah?" And he would smile. After all, anything and everything can be attributed to Allah—aid and assistance, victory and defeat. Just as Russians blame everything on their God, so the Egyptians attribute everything to Allah.

For a certain time even after the victory of 1956, a cautious attitude toward Nasser was displayed in the USSR, but at the same time we supported him and offered him military aid in fairly substantial amounts. We sold Egypt ships for its navy [destroyers], torpedo boats, and airplanes. And we sold all sorts of weapons in the quantities that Nasser needed—rifles, artillery, and tanks, in addition to aircraft and naval vessels.

By this time we had already established good relations with the government of Syria. But we also supported the Communist Party in Syria, which was the strongest such party in the Arab countries. It was headed by a very experienced leader, [Khalid] Bagdash.[13] At that time the whole democratic movement in Syria was fairly confident of its strength.[14] It was putting pressure on the government, seeking to extract social and political concessions for the people. The Syrian bourgeoisie were in a state of great alarm, seeing that the Syrian Communist Party was growing stronger and influencing public opinion in Syria.[15] Right-wing circles began to seek ways of freeing themselves from Communist influence and keeping the country within the capitalist framework. Suddenly (for us it was sudden) the question was raised of uniting Egypt and Syria as one country.[16]

The press in both countries began to develop propaganda in favor of such a merger. Both in Egypt and Syria fairly substantial forces were active in favor of unification. As for us, we didn't see that this represented progress. Syria was a bourgeois democratic country where the Communist Party was legal, and a parliamentary system of the French type had been established there. Conditions were more favorable for progressives there than in Egypt. There was no democracy in Egypt, which was ruled by a group of colonels headed by Nasser. Only bourgeois and Islamic parties of a reactionary nature were allowed to function.[17] Therefore we didn't support the idea of a merger and the establishment of the United Arab Republic. It is possible that Nasser was copying the idea of the Soviet Union, having in mind the possibility that any Arab country could join the United Arab Republic on an equal basis. Is that possible? I don't know.

Was the idea behind the United Arab Republic that any Arab country could join it, so that eventually a large, powerful, and united greater Arab state would emerge? Nasser had in mind that Egypt would be the leading force in the unified country. It would seem that in the future a united Arabic republic could become a progressive phenomenon. But at that time, when the Egyptian Communist Party didn't exist and individual Communists were either underground or in jail and the people had no democratic rights, at a time when a military dictatorship had been firmly established, such a system promised nothing good for Syria. The Soviet leadership did not speak out in the press against Nasser's policies, not wishing to estrange him or drive him away, but it also did not support his policies. On the other hand, we did support Bagdash, and Bagdash was waging a struggle, exerting all the influence the Syrian Communist Party had—a struggle against unification with Egypt.

When a military coup took place in Baghdad [on July 14, 1958], and General [Abdel Karim] Kassem[18] came to power, we welcomed this revolution because an extremely reactionary and terroristic regime had existed in Iraq previously. The end of that regime was long overdue. Kassem achieved a fairly easy victory. He commanded a division, and when he marched through Baghdad he overthrew the government of the dictator Nuri Said.[19] Nuri Said had been an agent of British imperialism. The Iraqi king [King Faisal, who had been installed by the British colonial rulers] was killed. A revolution was victorious. It would be more correct to call it a coup d'état [rather than a revolution]. At first Kassem moved in a progressive direction. The Iraqi Communist Party was legalized[20] along with other progressive tendencies. We supported Kassem by all possible means and officially recognized that a revolutionary break with the former social structure had begun in Iraq.

At the moment when the revolution occurred in Baghdad, Nasser was on vacation in Yugoslavia. A telegram came to us from Tito in Belgrade with the request that Nasser be received incognito [that is, without publicity] in the USSR. We responded in the affirmative.

By that time the formation of the UAR had been accomplished. Syria fell under Nasser's leadership, and democratic conditions in that country were abolished. The Syrian Communist Party found itself in a difficult situation. Syria began to be trimmed down, having its hair cut to conform to the Egyptian social and political model. We, of course, did not support this and spoke out against it. Our position offended Nasser; he became unfavorably disposed toward us. That's fully understandable. He understood correctly that we were supporting the Communists of Syria, who were fighting against Egypt and against Nasser.

Nasser flew to Moscow.[21] Before Nasser's arrival, our leadership had an exchange of views on all questions that might be touched on, and we decided our attitude on those questions. I was assigned to meet with Nasser, one on one. Of course some people from the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, interpreters and stenographers, were also present. This was my first meeting with Nasser in person. He made a good impression on me. He was a young man; he bore himself well, was obviously intelligent, and had a winning smile. I liked him, if we are to speak from a purely personal point of view. Our meeting took place outside the city at Novo-Ogaryovo.[22] Nasser was accompanied by [Murad] Ghaleb, his future ambassador to Moscow, a very interesting man deserving of respect.[23] He knew Russian well and served as Nasser's interpreter. I had my own interpreter, so that full and free communication was established. We began to exchange views. I started talking about the unification of Syria and Egypt, criticizing it. Nasser began arguing that the merger was beneficial. The arguments on our side emphasized the point that unification would give nothing good to Syria and that consequently there would be no positive results for Egypt either, that the unification was artificial by nature. Nasser conducted himself in a self-assured manner during the conversation and at times I would say even displayed aggressiveness. He asked: "Why in the world are you supporting Bagdash? Do you want Bagdash to be our leader? That we will not tolerate. That is simply impossible."

For Nasser the problem came down to the fact that Bagdash opposed the unification, we supported Bagdash, and that was a mistake. He said we didn't know our way around on Arab questions and were taking the wrong road, that we were looking at the unification not through our own eyes but through the eyes of Bagdash, who was basing himself on a narrowly political point of view. Then Nasser gave us to understand that this was only the beginning. The unification would spread. In reply I said that we were not worried about the existence of a strong Egypt. On the contrary, we were pleased. We would do everything in our power then and in the future so that Egypt could become stronger, and the same for the entire Arab world. In principle, we had a favorable view of the idea of a united Arab state. We were not afraid of the emergence of such a state. That was not the problem. I said: "We want to be friends with you and to unite our efforts in the struggle against the reactionary forces. Why would we be opposed to unification of the Arab countries? If today, under certain specific conditions, we do not support such a unification, we are proceeding from our own view of the matter. We think you made a mistake when you undertook this. And you're mistaken now if you think that you'll extract any particular advantage for Egypt out of this. The opposite is true. This unification will weaken your position."

Nasser didn't agree with my arguments and didn't understand me. I gave him the following example: "Mr. President, in your country the Communists are in the underground, and their leaders are in jail, but in Syria the Communists are at liberty. In your country you have no true parliamentary system, but the Syrians are accustomed to such a system. They have political parties in Syria and a parliament, and people publicly state their different positions, and there is voting on that basis. A bourgeois democracy exists there. Among the Arab countries Syria is the most democratic. Now, in fact you have deprived Syria of its parliament. If nominally a parliament remains, in reality you have taken upon yourself the power to decide all questions. Do you really think such actions will strengthen your union with Syria? No, it is a temporary situation. A struggle will begin, and in that struggle you will be defeated. In addition to that, the living standards in Syria are much higher than in Egypt. Now your countries have united, and your material resources have also been merged. Who wins? Who benefits from that? Egypt benefits, and Syria loses. It used to export grain, but now it will not export it. After all, Egypt consumes more grain than it produces. Consequently all surpluses will go to Egypt. Syria will be deprived of foreign currency, which it needs for the development of its economy. Again Syria will suffer. You were too hasty, and later on you will regret your decision. This will turn out badly for you."

"No," he objected, "I don't agree. You don't understand. You don't know your way around on Arab matters." Then he advanced a new argument. He said: "If we are to speak honestly, it wasn't I who wanted unification but the Syrians who urged us to do this. They encouraged the unification at a forced pace, and we agreed to it." On this I agreed. I said: "That's right. We understood that the main force pushing for unification was the Syrian bourgeoisie, and that perhaps it had even taken the imitative on this question. But why did it do so? Because a revolution was building up in Syria. The democratic forces were growing stronger. The Communists were winning more and more influence in public opinion. Therefore the right-wing circles began to tremble in the face of this prospect and became so frightened that the only salvation they saw for themselves and for their capital was unification with Egypt. They want to use your hands to suppress the progressive forces in Syria, and in the process they have agreed to accept some damage for themselves personally. Their thinking was that fundamentally they would win by maintaining their property, their banks, their accumulations of capital, and the capitalist system in general, which in their opinion was being threatened. They didn't feel they could cope with the progressive forces inside Syria by themselves. That's what they had in mind. As for us, we think the position taken by Bagdash is progressive. Naturally we are on his side. Later on the time will come when you will regret the merger. The UAR will fall apart."

We sat and discussed the entire day, having lunch in the open air by the Moscow River. The conditions there are very pleasant. The weather was marvelous. It was a splendid suburban Moscow summer day. Despite the polemics we displayed no passion that might cause tension in our personal relations. Each of us remained within certain bounds, so as not to disrupt the friendly nature of our conversation. It was not a dispute but an analysis of the state of affairs in the Middle East. We probed and tested each other's assertions in an attempt to reach a correct analysis of events and determine a political line for the future. Each of us remained convinced of his own opinion. Nothing else was possible at that time. On the personal plane, the visit to our country by the president of the UAR made a good impression on me and on other comrades with whom he met. But there were no official receptions because his visit was unpublicized.

Later Nasser began to express concern. He said: "I need to return to my country. Major events are taking place in Iraq! Right now I'm going to fly back to Yugoslavia and then return to Alexandria by ship." I expressed my concerns: "Mr. President, I don't advise you to return by way of the Mediterranean. The revolution in Iraq has upset the situation in the region. The United States and Britain have put their army and naval units on a combat footing, and a tense situation has arisen.[24] You don't enjoy the sympathy of the Western countries, and it would be no trouble for them to sink your ship in the middle of the Mediterranean [on the way from Yugoslavia to Egypt]. If the yacht on which the president of the UAR was sailing suddenly sank, it would be impossible to prove the cause. And how could there be any proof? You would be sailing on an unarmed yacht, and even if it was armed, that wouldn't change the situation. They're always sending submarines through that area, and there are planes flying over all the time. No more convenient occasion could be expected for getting rid of the president of the UAR, if such was their desire. I advise you to take a plane by way of Baku [in the Azerbaijan SSR], Iran, and Iraq to Syria." He agreed.

Our relations with Iran at that time were not bad. Therefore we were able to make use of Iranian airspace, but special agreement had to be made in that regard. I told Nasser: "I don't think the shah of Iran will refuse. When he was in our country, we felt that he was showing an interest in improving our relations. We have always stood in favor of good relations with Iran, as with all other neighbors." When Nasser agreed to depart by air in one of our planes, we asked Tehran for permission for a Soviet plane to pass through their airspace, though of course we didn't say the president of Egypt would be on the plane. We quickly received permission for the flight. Nasser departed, and we soon received the report that he had arrived safely in Syria.[25]

Meanwhile, from the conversation with him I understood that the revolution in Iraq was a surprise for him. For us it had been completely unexpected. We had some information about Kassem. It was even said that he had made some contacts with the Communists, but they had been only momentary, not permanent contacts. For us he remained an unknown figure. These events concerned Egypt very much. It's possible that Nasser was hoping he might establish closer ties with the new government in Baghdad and that Iraq would follow Egypt's lead. This desire is entirely understandable, but these expectations were not borne out, and neither were our expectations concerning Iraq. We had hoped that progressive forces would win out in Iraq also, that Kassem would demonstrate social wisdom in choosing a progressive path for his people. But he proved to be a man of uncertain political direction, an inconsistent type of person. But that's a different subject, and I will not stop to go into it.

Our relations with Egypt steadily improved despite isolated strains and tensions, especially over the question of the unification with Syria, as the result of which the Syrian Communist Party was driven underground. When that party criticized Nasser, he transferred his anger [over that] to us, and of course there were grounds for that. We didn't take any decisive steps in favor of the Syrian Communist Party, but ideologically we were on its side and supported it through our press. This annoyed Nasser, and he reacted accordingly in speeches [countering what was in our press and countering the positions of the Syrian Communist Party].

It was an age-old dream of the Egyptian people to make fuller use of the Nile River, to use its hydrological resources for agriculture and at the same time to make the Nile provide power to drive turbines and produce electric power.[26] When Nasser took power, discussion of this question began to be whipped up intensively. An agreement was reached with Western banks,[27] and Egypt was promised credits for building a dam on the Nile. The Egyptians flattered themselves that with aid from the United States they could realize a hope they had been cherishing for centuries. Later, the fact that Egypt stopped following the lead of U.S. and British policy was considered a blow to the imperialists, and one day [July 19, 1956] the announcement was made that the banks were refusing to give Egypt the credits they had promised. That made Nasser explode, so to speak, and he announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal [on July 26, 1956]. The political temperature leaped skyward, and the situation led to extreme international tension. The West withdrew its personnel from the Suez Canal—harbor pilots, engineers, and the like. Egypt was left without trained personnel. The West thought Egypt would discredit itself, would not be able to cope with the difficulties, and that the Suez Canal would cease to operate. That would create further financial and political difficulties for Egypt.

The Suez Canal was then being operated under an international arrangement [by the Suez Canal Company]. The Egyptian government appealed to us for help. We immediately sent our harbor pilots, engineers, and other specialists so that the Egyptians could master the task of operating the canal as painlessly as possible. Everything worked out fine. But political passions had risen to an incredibly intense heat. It was precisely the reckless policy of the United States, the "positions of strength" policy, John Foster Dulles's line of constantly keeping the pressure on,[28] that helped us make a rapprochement with Egypt and made it easier for Egypt to sort out who was its friend and who was its enemy. Although our press sometimes published critical commentaries, at moments of difficulty for Egypt the USSR invariably stood on its side and supported the just struggle against the colonialists and the strengthening of Egypt's independence. Egyptian delegations began to come to our country. Military men from Egypt also came, headed by the commander-in-chief, Amer. Again we provided them with the assistance they needed. With our weapons Egypt's strength was fairly thoroughly consolidated.

Then the Egyptians began asking us for help in building the Aswan High Dam on the Nile River.[29] At first we refused. I think it was Tito who advised them to ask the USSR for assistance. And not simply to make such a request but to make the request insistently while friendly pressure was applied. Why do I think that? Once when I met with Tito we were talking about Egypt. He supported Nasser 100 percent and always argued that we should help Nasser. In this he was absolutely correct. Life and history have confirmed the correctness of his arguments. Even today [in 1970] we have the very best relations with Egypt, and this serves the interests of both Egypt and the Soviet Union—and all progressive forces. At first the negotiations about the Aswan Dam were conducted by members of our embassy staff in Egypt. Later Nasser and Amer came to visit us. The latter ended his life tragically (and I still suffer over this). He committed suicide after the disaster the Egyptian army experienced in 1967 [in the Six-Day War with Israel].[30] As commander-in-chief he bore the main responsibility for that disaster. To what extent he was personally responsible for the catastrophic defeat it's hard for me to judge. Amer made an impression on me as a decent man, devoted to Egypt's cause, and one who understood the necessity for fraternal relations between the Egyptian people and the peoples of the USSR. The effect of this was that it won me over. My attitude toward him was one of trust. His approach toward friendship between our countries was not a thing of the moment. He sincerely believed that friendship with the USSR was in the interests of the Egyptian people and of raising the level of its economy, culture, and well-being.

Whenever Amer came to the USSR he always asked to meet with me. With permission from our party's Central Committee I met with him, listened to what he had to say, and expressed my thoughts. On one occasion he insistently—and he knew how to express stubborn insistence, although without any arrogance—began trying to convince me that it would be very much to the advantage of the USSR for a powerful Egypt to emerge. Then he came to his main point. He said: "Today we have a weak economy. We can't raise our economic level without the Aswan Dam. Our energy resources are weak. The Aswan Dam will also give us the possibility of increasing the amount of irrigated land in our country by one third." I replied that I agreed, but this would require large capital investments, and for the time being that was beyond our capabilities. Later we had an exchange of views in the Soviet leadership. What should we do? We assigned our economists to go over the question and study the existing proposals. Our people studied the matter for a very long time and then reported how much it would cost and how long it would take for us to build the Aswan Dam. They demonstrated that such an arrangement could be beneficial for us not only politically but also economically. But it must be understood that there was a certain conditional quality about the economic benefits. The conditional nature of the situation was that we would be strengthening the economy of a friend and we would be consolidating friendly relations between our countries. This is where economics passes over into politics. In addition, the money spent would not be thrown away. The value would be returned in the form of goods supplied to us. The Egyptians could supply long-staple cotton, rice, and other products. Thus the money we spent would not be a gift, but a loan that would actually be repaid. We would receive additional repayment in the form of increased trust in us by all the Arabs and other peoples of underdeveloped countries, especially in Africa. It would be evident that they could rely on the USSR, that ours was not a self-seeking country, that the USSR had an understanding attitude toward the needs of nations freeing themselves from colonial dependence. Of course the economic component was not the main one for us; the political component was.

Time and again it happens that political interests are more important than economic ones. The strengthening of the Arab countries would weaken the camp that was hostile to us. If we didn't make an effort to strengthen our ties with the countries winning liberation, imperialism would begin searching for every opening so that it could creep in and arrange matters to serve its own interests. In that case much broader forces and territories would be arrayed against us. That would force us to spend even more to maintain our army and navy. That's how things come around full circle. At first it may seem as though we're losing economically, but if you study the matter more deeply, you see that not only do we not lose, but we bring in some winnings. That's why, after we had discussed the situation from all angles and weighed the options available to us, we decided that we could build the Aswan Dam and agreed to the Egyptian proposal.

We signed a contract with Egypt to build the Aswan Dam. While the negotiations were going on, Egypt insisted that we take on the job of contractor for the construction work, that we should calculate how much the work would cost and the deadlines for completion of various stages of the project, and then Egypt would start repaying us for the capital investments and compensating us for our expenses. We refused to sign an agreement in that form on the grounds that if we assumed the role of contractor, we would have to start hiring Egyptian labor. We would be taking on a management role. Conflicts could arise (and they always do arise) between the contractor and the hired work force. Thus instead of appearing as a friend of the Egyptian people, we would be seen as exploiters. The fact that we were using our resources to build the dam for them was one aspect of the matter. But we would be dealing with the people who worked for us in a different capacity altogether: not as a country that was providing credits, but as an institution functioning as a contractor and hiring wage labor. There would be actual conflicts with the Egyptian population. We didn't want that, and wherever we granted credits we refused to take on this kind of role. That was true in India when we contracted to build a metallurgical plant in Bhilai and other production facilities. That's the kind of policy we followed even earlier. As far as I know, that policy is still being followed. It's the only correct and sensible line to take.

So then, we said to the Egyptians: "Undertake the work of construction yourselves, but we will take full responsibility for providing technical direction. The equipment will be ours and the plans and designs will be worked out by our specialists. The plans will be reported to your government. You yourselves will look them over and approve them." Thus, step by step, our relations with Egypt improved and began to develop on a friendly basis. The agreement to build the Aswan Dam changed everything. The Egyptian leadership began to understand correctly that our policy was friendly toward all countries that were taking the road of fighting for their liberation or that had already liberated themselves from the colonialists and were reorganizing their economies on a new foundation. Here I have in mind both the socialist path of development and the nonsocialist path. We were confident that sooner or later, all people would grasp the usefulness and progressive character of the socialist path. But we knew that we had to show patience and not impose our ideas for building a socialist society. People had to be given the opportunity to make their own choice, so that they would see that they themselves had chosen and that they had made a correct choice. Then they would fight for the establishment of a new system, and for its consolidation and development.

Our engineers produced a draft plan for the dam. And our specialists were the most experienced in the world in hydroelectric power plant construction. The explanation for this is that immense hydroelectric power plants having turbines with huge capacity had been built over a short period in the USSR by our engineers and scientists, and thus a great deal of experience had been accumulated. On the basis of this practical experience our engineers and scientists knew how to arrive at the most progressive technical decisions. When our Soviet engineers took up the existing plans for construction of the Aswan Dam and studied them, they saw that more sensible decisions could be made with a more economical method for construction and that the hydroelectric power facility could be built in a more rational way that would be economically more effective.

The Egyptian government raised the question of a Soviet delegation coming to Egypt to familiarize itself with construction conditions on the spot and establishing close relations between the engineers and the work force. The leaders of delegations arriving from Egypt kept saying that I personally should head the Soviet delegation. In this way they sought to bind our two countries together more tightly, with the aim of securing economic aid and winning support for the policies being pursued by the Egyptian government. I will not conceal the fact that I had a very great desire to visit Egypt and to see this fabled land of ancient culture with my own eyes. I was invited to come at the time when the foundations were being laid for the construction of the Aswan Dam, but that wasn't possible for me then, although I thanked them for the invitation and for their consideration. Every time they made such an invitation again, I would reply jokingly: "How can you be inviting me when in your country you have Communists sitting in prison? In Egypt the Communists don't have the legal right to exist. But we know the leaders, and we know that many of the members and other representatives of progressive movements are in prison. I don't want to be exposed to the same danger. I don't want to keep them company—even though they would be good companions. We respect you, but we also respect the Communists you are keeping in jail. And as a Communist I don't want to increase the prison population of Egypt." In reply Amer would smile: "No, your information is not quite correct." He and other Egyptian leaders argued that the Communists in their country were not like the ones in the Soviet Union. That was why they were obliged to jail them in the interests of the Egyptian people and the Egyptian state. I had heard such arguments before not only from Egyptian leaders. And I answered: "No, we have heard our fill of such fairy tales."

The leaders of all countries where Communists are in prison, or where they are forced to operate deep underground, always assert that the Communists in their countries are not like the ones in the USSR. I remember during the civil war I was talking once with some members of the intelligentsia after we had done what was called "putting the squeeze on the bourgeoisie" in 1920 in Yekaterinodar under the leadership of Comrade Fúrmanov.[31] At that time he was the head of a Red Army political department and was in charge of carrying out the campaign I've mentioned. In the house where I lived, the owners were very nice people, but they had an incorrect understanding of socialism, of the revolution, and of the Communists. They didn't approve of what was happening in the Kuban region [in the North Caucasus]. One of the miners from that area said: "We're in favor of the Moscow Communists, because they're not like these Yekaterinodar Communists." We had a heated argument with them. So the arguments that the Egyptian leaders were making were not new to me.

Time went by. The work developed. The Aswan Dam was built successfully, as were new factories. We provided credits for the construction of production facilities for medications, a metallurgical works, and some other factories. It was not we who did the building. Egypt did that, but we provided credits for the construction as well as technical leadership. Our engineers actually served as the directors of this construction. This increasingly strengthened the confidence the leaders of Egypt had in our country. The Egyptian leadership was made up of officers. The officers in that country did not come from the working class, but rather from the middle layers of the bourgeoisie. They were property owners, whose wealth and status allowed them to obtain both a general education and a military education. Of course there were people of various social backgrounds and of varying degrees of material prosperity among them, for within their ranks there was no monolithic social homogeneity. The members of the Egyptian leadership took various attitudes toward us. And that's the way it was everywhere, in all countries of the world. When a revolutionary process is under way, it usually takes a painful course [resulting in different attitudes toward the revolution among different social layers].

And what about now? In Nigeria for the last two and a half years there has been a civil war, which has just ended [in 1970].[32] It originated as a result of the fact that Nigeria won its freedom from colonial dependence, but the leadership was not monolithic in its composition. Its members came under various kinds of pressure and pursued different and varying interests. In the first stages of the Egyptian revolution the leadership was of a similar mixed variety. Today it has become more solidly cemented because a lot of time has gone by, some disparate elements have been blown away by the wind, others have been chopped off, and new forces have grown up to replace them.

At first they spoke of Arab socialism in Egypt, and later some began talking about scientific socialism. But the building of the Aswan Dam drew us closer together not only with the leadership but with the Egyptian people as well. Our engineers and workers in the most important trades came into direct contact with Egyptian engineers, technicians, and workers. The Egyptian workers had formerly been peasants. Our people trained them and worked together with them on the same machines. They all worked under equal conditions, and that brought them closer together, disposed them more favorably toward one another, and trust and confidence arose among all these people.

The first phase of construction of the Aswan Dam was approaching completion—that is, the time for changing the course of the river.[33] This is a basic phase of construction. Later [in the dry riverbed] the high dam would be built, containing the turbines. At this point the Egyptians began to display stubborn insistence that at last I should come to their country for the celebration marking this occasion. After all, the Aswan Dam was something special for them, a sacred dream of their people. However, I again refused, citing the incorrect policy being pursued in Egypt in regard to progressive forces in that country. When I spoke with Ghaleb, the Egyptian ambassador, who had come to me with the invitation, I repeated my arguments, and he—being a wise man—understood me.

The formation of the United Arab Republic had already taken place [in 1958]. I asked Ghaleb: “How did your unification with Syria go?”

He said: “Well, it went as you predicted. Powerful forces soon arose and fought for the withdrawal of Syria from the UAR.” Marshal Amer was in Syria [when the September 1961 uprising against unification with Egypt occurred], and he was detained or placed under house arrest. Later they released him.

The collapse of the Syrian-Egyptian unification raised our authority even higher in the eyes of the Egyptian leaders. Things had happened exactly as we had warned. A letter exists that we sent to Nasser [in 1958]. The same letter was sent to other countries as well, to inform those who needed to know about our understanding of the question. But all this was laid out for the first time in the conversation I had with Nasser, at which Ghaleb took notes. In the letter we simply restated what we had said in that conversation. We sent the text to Nasser and read it orally to the president of Iraq. We made it known to other Arab leaders as well. We were sincerely on their side and were doing everything in our power to strengthen the regime that had been established in Egypt. We took a patient attitude toward the fact that there were things we disagreed with in their internal policies. We felt that such problems would only be temporary, that the Egyptians would come to realize their mistakes and become convinced, on their own, that the problems needed to be corrected. Therefore at the same time that we criticized them we also gave them credits and aided them in all sorts of ways.

The time came for the celebration in connection with the [temporary] damming of the Nile River [to change its course]. The Egyptians invited me not just to celebrate this occasion but to have a vacation in their country and get to know Egypt. And of course useful discussions could be held. They asserted that there were literally only a few Communists still in jail and that the president promised they would be freed by the time we arrived. We agreed to make the trip. This happened in May 1964.[34] I was accompanied by Foreign Minister Gromyko, Deputy Defense Minister Grechko,[35] and other comrades. Grechko went in the expectation that military questions would be raised. Gromyko was necessary in connection with decisions about general problems of world politics. The welcome provided for us corresponded to our rank and the level of relations between our two countries. The talks held during our stay were friendly. We became acquainted with the cities of Egypt and with the facilities that had been built with our assistance and that were already in operation, producing goods and services. This raised our authority very high. We had built a pharmaceuticals plant that produced medications. Previously the Egyptians had had to pay enormous sums for medications that they bought from Britain. Now they were producing their own. Being cheaper, they were more accessible to ordinary people. The inhabitants of Egypt were very poor; their incomes very low, and the prices [for medications] made a hard hit on their pocketbooks. Now the needs of the sick were being met more cheaply. We visited other factories as well. Everywhere the people met us with great sympathy and expressed their joy. After all, it was we who had provided assistance in building these factories. And thousands of people had obtained employment as a result. Then came the day of the [temporary] damming [to change the course] of the Nile [on May 14, 1964]. Nasser and I went to the dam site. The trip made a strong impression on me. Nasser was a genuine leader, whose authority was colossal. He was greeted everywhere with enthusiastic chants of “Nasser! Nasser! Nasser!” Of course I knew how such things are arranged. Sometimes the necessary crowds are rounded up artificially. Apparently they did things that way in Egypt, too. But I also witnessed unfeigned enthusiasm on the part of the people for their leaders, primarily toward Nasser. At the same time that we reached the Aswan Dam, some others also arrived: Ben Bella,[36] president of the Algerian republic; also the prime minister of Yemen [Abdel As-Salal][37]; and President Aref[38] of the Republic of Iraq.

Bad relations had developed between Aref and us. We did not consider him a progressive-leaning person, and as an individual he was unpleasant. It was hard to have a conversation with him. Nasser gave a ceremonial dinner for his guests. Just prior to that, news arrived that Aref had carried out reprisals against the progressive forces in Iraq. I remarked to Nasser: “This is very distasteful. According to our information, Aref has arrested or killed a lot of people. It’s distasteful even to sit next to such a person.” The seating arrangement at President Nasser’s table was such that I was supposed to sit right next to Aref. Nasser took exception to my remarks: “I think your information is incorrect. I don’t think Aref has done this, especially while he’s in Egypt as my guest and would be meeting with you. He has very much wanted to meet you and wants closer ties with the USSR.”

I said to him: “I doubt it. Nothing like that has been evident in his speeches or his political line.”

“I will find out right now,” said Nasser, and hurried away.

After a little while [Nasser came back and] said: “Aref swears to God that he hasn’t done any such thing, that these are fabrications of the capitalist press. Nothing of the sort has happened. They are lying. I [that is, Nasser] believe him because he’s a devout religious person. He spends all his time on his knees, bowing toward Mecca and praying to Allah, asking Allah to answer his prayers about every possible problem. Aref is such a religious man that he’s incapable of lying, I assure you.”

The dinner proceeded with full ceremony, and afterward I had a talk with Aref, who brought up the subject on his own initiative. “The information you have received is inaccurate. It is apparently being circulated by persons who don’t want improved relations between Iraq and the USSR. I have done no such thing, and I never would.”

I replied: “I’m very glad that you are making such a declaration and that this has not happened. However, we did receive such information. Still, I grant that it is possible that the information is inaccurate.”

Ben Bella made the very best impression on me. He was a cultured and educated man, well informed on questions of socialist construction and of Marxism. He took a position in favor of scientific socialism, and he himself stated that there was no true socialism other than scientific socialism, that is, Marxist socialism. I also liked his domestic policies very much. The Algerian Communist Party, it was true, remained illegal, but that was mostly just a formality, because it was able to operate freely, and the Central Committee of the Algerian Communist Party functioned openly. All prominent members of the Algerian CP were well known to the people. The Algerian Communist Party members themselves had told me that Ben Bella had invited influential figures from their party to meet with him and had told them: “Do whatever you need to. Take posts in the trade unions and get involved in educational, cultural, and economic work. Everywhere where people with some cultural background are needed and where you can be useful—there you should jump right in. There are no obstacles to your entering government service or social organizations. The government will not take any measures against you.”[39]

A huge number of people gathered for the [temporary] damming of the Nile [and its diversion from its usual channel], and everything there was arranged on a colossal scale. The government minister who had direct responsibility for construction of the Aswan Dam gave a speech.[40] Then the official start-up of the new system took place. Nasser said to me: “Since the dam is ours but you helped build it, I request that you and I together press the button that will explode a dike and allow water to flow into the new [temporary] channel through a tunnel.” This was an honor for me. I thanked him for it and agreed with pleasure to his proposal. Together we pressed the button, the explosion went off, and the water went pouring down the new channel. Later we were told that two people had stayed too long in the tunnel and had been swept away. The assertion was also made that they had been saved. But who knows if that is true. Proper precautions had not been taken. It’s also possible that it was the work of provocateurs. But it didn’t cast a pall on the celebration. You had to have been there to see how people’s faces were glowing with triumph, how the eyes of the Arabs sparkled as they watched the mighty flow of the waters of the Nile (I can’t convey it with words alone). We had laid the basis for completion of the dam [that is, for the building of a permanent dam in the former riverbed] and installation of electric power-generating facilities [in the new dam] that would help create a new order in Egypt for the Egyptian people.

I was warned that the climate in the Aswan region was especially dry. Rain falls only once every several years there, it was said. Therefore Aswan has special qualities as a health resort.[41] I was told that I should prepare for these special conditions. But what kind of preparations can you make? When we arrived in Aswan, it was as though we had just walked into an oven. There was no escaping the burning sun. However, the building where I was housed had air conditioning. I decided to take a cold shower, but the term "cold" can only be used conditionally. The water had been warmed by the sun, and even if you filled the tub with water and immersed yourself in it, you didn't feel that your body had been cooled at all. Yet I wanted to restore myself somewhat before the evening when a large public rally was scheduled. A gathering of our Soviet specialists and workers was held before the rally.[42] Our people had a small cultural center, and they invited me to give a speech there. I gladly agreed to that, met with them, and told them about the state of affairs in the USSR. And on the whole things in our country were good, and the mood of our people was also very good.

In the evening when the sun went down, a large public meeting was held.[43] During the day it would have been impossible for people to sit out in the open and listen to speeches. Nasser gave a speech. He spoke about the socialism that he was building and would continue to build. Nasser departed from the standard theme he had usually repeated many times earlier. Instead of speaking about Arab socialism, he now spoke about scientific socialism, although he didn't mention Marx or Lenin. Strictly speaking of course, it's the same thing. But I think at that time it was still not easy for him to change his way of thinking all at once, not only because of his own conception of socialism but also because apparently he had to take into account the sentiments of some of his opponents and, most important, of his allies who had not yet reached his level of understanding. At any rate his speech was a step forward, and it was pleasant for me to hear it.

I also had a short prepared speech and I gave it. The audience received me warmly. Then Ben Bella spoke, and he gave a very good speech. Aref spoke after him. I could not agree with the contents of Aref's speech. Politically it was all confused. Aref spoke only about "Arab socialism," and he spoke a great deal about Allah. His speech was noticeably different from the speeches of Nasser and Ben Bella. On the other hand, the speech by the president of Yemen, As-Salal, did not stand out in any way; it was constructed along the lines of a newspaper editorial. It aroused no enthusiasm from the audience, but contained nothing you could object to. Considering who As-Salal was (he was not a Communist, but a military man, a colonel) there was no reason to expect anything special from him. He was a public figure without any great aspirations, but he showed that he sincerely wanted to establish friendly relations with the USSR. In response we gave him support and provided military and technical assistance to Yemen. The Yemenis at that time were building a seaport with docking facilities for ocean-going vessels [at Hodeida]. Their republic had no major facilities other than such docks. For the authorities the internal situation remained unstable, so that their president was not primarily concerned with maritime construction. He was engaged in a war against Al-Badr.[44] Al-Badr was an interesting personality, quite an original individual. I met him a number of times when he was still the crown prince of Yemen.[45]

At the large public rally [at the stadium in Aswan] I sat next to Ben Bella. While Aref was speaking, Ben Bella kept turning toward me and laughing, demonstrating that he didn't agree with some of the statements by the speaker. Toward the end of the speech, when its content became completely clear, Ben Bella began trying to persuade me to speak again.

I said to him: "It wouldn't seem right. I've already spoken. I was given the floor and I made use of the opportunity provided to me to say everything that needed to be said. Now I don't have a prepared text, and it would be taken poorly if I suddenly asked for the floor a second time, to say more than is customarily expected of a guest."

"No, what are you saying?" He kept trying to persuade me. "Believe me, if you speak again, it will be taken well, and it's not such a terrible thing that you don't have a prepared text. I'm sure you'll find words for what you have to say. And you can say something useful both to Aref and to the audience."

When I refused, I was trying to be considerate of Nasser, thinking it would be unpleasant for him. So I answered: "What's the point of getting into an argument now and starting a debate with Aref? That wouldn't be proper at a public rally on the part of guests of the president of the United Arab Republic."

At that point, Nasser, who had overheard my remarks, intervened: "I would advise you to speak. Engage in a polemic without naming Aref personally, but express your views. It will be useful for others who are listening. Otherwise the impression will be formed that possibly we agree with him on everything."

I responded favorably: "All right, I'll express my point of view, which you yourself know. So don't make any complaints against me afterward, since it is you who are now insisting that I speak."

I was given the floor again. I began talking about scientific socialism. Aref's speech had followed approximately the following lines: we are Arabs and therefore are taking the Arab way to socialism. I had fought against this point of view even earlier when I had had a discussion with Nasser. For Nasser this was now a stage that he had already passed through, but Aref was repeating the same old thing—that is, “We are true to the Arab people. We do not divide it into classes; we view the Arab people as a single whole.”

I took up this topic in my speech. I said: “Some people here have spoken about the Arab nation as a whole. In this connection I would like to make the following point: like all peoples of the world, the Arab people does not consist of a single monolithic whole; it has a complex structure. There are Arabs who are capitalists, there are Arabs who are large landowners, and there are Arabs who are peasants, and Arabs who are wage workers. People who speak along the lines of one undifferentiated Arab people—whose interests are they fighting for? Arabs who are peasants want to obtain the land of the owners of large landed estates, but the landowners don’t want to give up this land. They want the peasant to work for them and to work on land that they own. Arabs who are workers labor on behalf of Arabs who are capitalists, and the capitalist Arabs want the worker Arabs to work as hard as they can; the capitalists want to have as long a workday as possible and to pay their workers as little as possible, so that the capitalists will obtain as much profit as possible. Arabs who are workers want what’s good for them—a shorter workday and higher pay. So, after all this, which Arabs are they speaking for—those who speak about the Arab people as a whole? Are they speaking for the workers and peasants? Or for the large landowners and capitalists?” I presented other similar arguments that are elementary for Marxists. All such arguments are understandable to ordinary people. They are accessible to anyone. And anyone who wanted to could plainly understand that I was polemicizing against Aref.

Of course I had some doubts about how the blue-collar and white-collar workers at the rally would take my remarks. The absolute majority of workers at the dam were illiterate and had been indoctrinated with the concept of Arab socialism, precisely as Aref conceived it. For them that concept was progress. They all understood that the Arab peoples had to defend themselves. After all, Egypt had been under the heel of the British colonialists for many years, and then the Arab peoples had to fight against Israel, which had seized their lands. That’s why this understanding of the situation had developed among them. When Arab interests were discussed, the sharp edge was directed against the foreign enemy. Internal questions of class struggle were glossed over or sometimes concealed entirely. The Communist parties in the Arab countries for the most part were weak or were operating underground. If the class composition of Arab society was to be laid bare, how would the workers take it? As it turned out, the Egyptians listened to me very closely, and our interpreter conveyed my remarks quite well, so that they were received with stormy applause. When I finished the audience very passionately displayed its positive attitude toward my speech. Ben Bella was pleased. He said: "It came off very well." Nasser also praised the speech.

I think that in this case Nasser was displaying politeness. He praised me the way a host will praise a guest. But Ben Bella really did understand everything correctly. After all, he had initiated the whole action, encouraging me to make the speech, and I had no doubt he would tell me exactly what he thought. The meeting soon ended. And what about Aref? He also understood everything. I considered him a limited person. But you didn't have to be a genius—to have a huge forehead, bulging with wisdom—to guess that my speech was meant as a polemic against Aref's. Yet he was the president of Iraq, and both Nasser and Ben Bella were favorably inclined toward him. When I pointed out his shortcomings to them, they agreed. Ben Bella spoke rather frankly: "Comrade Khrushchev, Aref is going along with us; he's not going his own separate way. He'll stay with us to the end. We ought to support him even if he doesn't understand everything now. The time will come when he will understand. There's no one better than him right now in Iraq. He's in favor of Arab unity as he understands it. But at any rate he favors unity with us, and we shouldn't drive him away. We should support him. Without him other people will come to power in Iraq who would begin to carry out a different policy."

My answer was this: "Yes, it really is better to be patient. There's nothing else to be done for now." In the fairy tale about the little humpbacked horse, there are these lines: "If you were born stupid, your father was always cursing at you." *(Koli glupym ty rodilsa,/ zavsegda otets branilsa.)* With people like Aref you have to deal with them as they are. [You can't always be cursing at them, like the father in the fairy tale.[46]] At that point, the three of us agreed to treat Aref more tolerantly. I reassured Nasser and Ben Bella by saying that I agreed with them, that there was no need to poke fun at Aref, which might irritate him or cause a cooling-off in our relations. I agreed that we should support him.

When I returned to Moscow we also decided, after an exchange of views, to follow Ben Bella's advice. It was conveyed to our press and the fraternal Communist parties that such a tactic should be chosen. It would encourage Aref to move in the proper direction and at the same time would take account of his present views. This didn't mean that we were conceding on any matters of principle; on the contrary, this was an attempt to mobilize our forces. After the big public rally at the Aswan Dam, our people who knew Arabic told me: “The Arabs listened very carefully and gave an exceptionally good reception to your speech. One of our specialists was in a car whose driver was an Arab. While sitting in his car, the driver listened to all the speeches, including both of mine, and he said: ‘That’s the first time in my life I’ve come across that interpretation of Arab unity. It was stated openly and was very correct. It’s true that we Arabs have differing interests within our society.’ ” The class differentiation that I spoke about rather bluntly in that speech is elementary for us, like the ABCs, but for the Arabs it’s something new. No one among them, especially among the leaders, had raised this question. No doubt the members of Arab Communist parties did talk about such questions, but they were underground. Marxist ideas had not yet been disseminated among the people. I was satisfied that I was able to sow the seeds of a correct understanding of the structure of society, that this is a *class* society and different classes have interests that contradict one another.

According to the plan for our stay as guests of President Nasser, a trip to the Red Sea was scheduled.[47] Some ships on which we would spend several days [actually, May 15–16] were waiting for us there. Nasser said that those who liked to fish could do so, that there were plenty of fish in the Red Sea, and at the same time we could discuss among ourselves and have joint discussions with the representatives of the other Arab countries. Let me repeat that representatives of Yemen, Algeria, and Iraq were there. After its break with Egypt, Syria did not wish to be present.

We went out on the Red Sea. On shipboard the air was somewhat fresher than it had been in the sands around Aswan. At any rate, it was easier to breathe the sea air. Those among us who wanted to fish engaged in that pursuit, and the government representatives spent the time holding talks. These conversations were useful. They made our various points of view clearer and more precise.

During our exchange of views, we found more points of agreement and more mutual understanding than we did questions that required further processing or matters that had to ripen longer. These questions were of an international nature, as well as questions of internal structure and questions of unity among countries that favor a struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism and that are for peaceful coexistence. The main problem of an internal nature was the question of development: which path to take, capitalist or socialist? Nasser spoke in favor of the path of scientific socialism. As for Aref, if he still spoke about Arab socialism, that was not because he counterposed his point of view to that of Nasser. No, Nasser was an absolute authority for Aref. It's simply that what had become clear for Nasser had not yet ripened in the mind of Aref.

I am not talking about Ben Bella, who stood closer to all of them than us, the Marxists. Although he did not speak out openly in favor of Marxism-Leninism, he was in fact guided by that doctrine in his actions. However, he knew that somehow he had to give his people time to mature, to arrive at a correct understanding of Marxist-Leninist doctrine. You can't distance yourself from your own people. If you lose touch with them, that allows your class enemies to take advantage of the ignorance of the illiterate. I don't know what situation Ben Bella is in now.[48] It was only from the newspapers that I learned he had been overthrown. I thought it was a great loss for the socialist countries and the world Communist movement. My assumption was that he was potentially a Communist [leader]. The policy he followed did not contradict Communist policy in strategic respects. On the tactical level, he conducted his policies intelligently.

The Red Sea is warm,[49] but I didn't go swimming. Others among our comrades went swimming and did some fishing. From its outward appearance along the shore the Red Sea is similar to the Caspian. It is surrounded in the same way by bare stretches of sand.[50] The view both from the shore and from the sea is rather depressing—nothing but desert and sand dunes. The time came for us to leave the sea and fly back to Aswan. From there we continued our trip through Egypt. We visited one of the ancient capitals of the Egyptian kingdom, Luxor—very rich in historical monuments, which had to be saved before being flooded by the giant new lake created by the Aswan Dam.[51] Our stay there was brief but crowded. Here's what the Nile looks like from an airplane window: the river stretches along a narrow strip of green, rather a sad sight, because there's greenery and vegetation visible for only a little distance to the left and to the right from the Nile River. All the rest is lifeless desert. Of course we know this from geography lessons in school, but it's a rather different feeling to see it firsthand from the air. There it is. You can reach out and touch it, a strip of green, the boundary of life, and beyond it the barren expanses without any water and without any life.

When we were talking with President Nasser and Vice President Amer, they told me about military training in Egypt. It turns out that they were training special units that could survive in the desert by living off the land, eating whatever they could get hold of. They would eat lizards, snakes, and such things. It turned out that a person could survive for a rather long time out in the desert if he knew it well enough.

Our trip to Egypt ended where it had begun, with a visit to Alexandria [beginning on May 22, 1964].[52] Some organizations were located there that were working out projects for bringing new land under cultivation as a result of the Aswan Dam and the irrigation it would provide. It was a huge amount of land. Egypt's cultivable land was increased by fully one third. That was a very weighty quantity for Egypt! It must be remembered, after all, that in this part of the world irrigated land is of the highest value. Harvests are brought in at least twice a year and in the case of some crops three times a year.

And when you get right down to it, what really is a year? In their country periods of warmth alternate with cold that is not freezing. In general there really is no cold there.[53] Cultivable land is of such value there that the Aswan Dam took on unparalleled importance for the Egyptian people. The area that could be sown with crops was increased greatly, and better conditions were created for providing the country with food and industrial crops such as cotton.

We were riding in the same car with Nasser, looking over the surroundings of Alexandria, when suddenly he felt bad; his eyes rolled into the back of his head, and he fell back against the seat of the car. The car was stopped. This caused me much alarm. When his condition improved a little, he said that he wasn't feeling well; he was dizzy and couldn't continue the trip. He excused himself, got into another car, and went back to Alexandria, but he suggested that we continue along our former route accompanied by Amer.

We visited one of the new agricultural districts. There we were met by the planners and architects, who were developing plans for the settlements in the new regions. The principle they were following was to keep going along the same old road. That is, the land that they would obtain as the result of the Aswan Dam would be cut up into small plots for smallholder peasants who would conduct their work using the same technology that existed then and had existed for thousands of years. A water buffalo plodded in a circle, and a driver followed behind it. The animal would be turning a wheel that brought up water and poured it into troughs that went to the rice fields. These weren't really fields but little scraps of land. We encountered some farms that were on such a miniature scale that one person could irrigate them by hand. And the buildings on those tiny plots were of a corresponding size. It was a dreadful spectacle. People were literally living in burrows like prairie dogs. Because of the impoverished situation in the villages, Nasser suggested that we not even travel into some inhabited areas to inspect the economic conditions there. Basically we stayed on the road, and they pointed out to me that people were living over there. Everywhere we encountered a mass of miserable, impoverished people. The principle that was laid at the very basis of the new land that was being brought into cultivation was not progressive. But I didn't state the impressions I was forming. I listened and watched. However, even when you listen and watch you can't help comparing.

And in my mind I was comparing this situation with the situation in our Central Asian republics. There was obviously a great similarity in agricultural conditions. Agriculture based on irrigation is carried on in Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan,[54] just as it is along the Nile. In those Central Asian republics people rely mainly on irrigated land, just as in Egypt. Without irrigation nothing can be obtained. I am talking about their main crops: cotton, rice, and fruit. If the irrigation were removed, everything would turn into desert again. In those republics we had carried out, along a broad front, a process of mechanizing the work, leveling out the cultivated areas, and putting in irrigation canals. None of this was available in Egypt; in fact it was totally unknown, leaving aside the much larger scale on which our irrigated agriculture was conducted in Central Asia. When I saw the approach they were taking toward the new land that would come under cultivation, I began to take a critical attitude toward their plans. For a long time I wavered. Was it worth expressing my doubts to Nasser? I didn't want to give him any reason to think that I was trying to push him into taking radical measures such as collectivization or other large-scale forms of agriculture.

We returned to Alexandria, where we lived for several days. We had our meals in a palace that had been assigned to me, in luxurious chambers. One evening Nasser invited me to his home, which in our country we would call a dacha.[55] It was fairly decent and large. The main room of the dacha could have accommodated a dozen people easily. That's where we gathered but without Amer. At this point I couldn't restrain myself. There's a saying in Russian: "The skilled workman has no patience [with unskilled work]." An inner need was gnawing at me to express my views, to explain to him that my remarks were not in any sense a recommendation and didn't oblige him to do anything. When he and I were alone together, I used to call him "comrade" [although officially he was "mister"]. Now I said to him: "Comrade Nasser, some thoughts have occurred to me, but I am hesitant. I don't know whether to talk to you about them or not."

He looked at me questioningly with his large, clear eyes and a warm, winning expression on his face. I liked him very much, and to this day I feel great sympathy for him. He asked: "What were you thinking about?"

I said to him: "About the land that is being prepared for cultivation in your country. I wanted to ask how you intended to proceed."

He said: "We'll divide up the land. We have a lot of landless people. Their need is colossal."

That was not new to me. I knew very well that they had more hands to do work than would fit in the sky, let alone on the newly cultivated land. The peasants needed their tiny plots to be enlarged. Many were looking forward to receiving land as a result of the building of the Aswan Dam.

I replied to him: “Of course this is a big event. The wealth of your country is growing. But would you allow me to express my thoughts? And I would ask you in advance to understand me correctly and not be offended, not to think that your guest is behaving inappropriately or telling you what to do. What I am going to say does not oblige you to do anything. It is your business; it’s up to you what attitude you may take in the future to what I am going to say.”

“Please, I am listening to you.”

“If I were in your place, I wouldn’t divide the land into tiny plots, but I would establish state-run farms similar to the ones that in Soviet conditions we call state farms,[56] that is, government-operated agricultural enterprises. We have an enormous amount of experience. In Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan we have established such farms because it’s possible for us to determine exactly how profitable they are, what the return is from the resources we invest in them.” At this point, going by memory, I quoted some figures, rounded off to the nearest large quantity.

“Let me tell you how things are done in our country. Right now we are doing a great deal of work in a region called the Golodnaya Steppe [in Uzbekistan].[57] The question of bringing the land there under cultivation depends solely on the amount of capital investment and the quantity of water available. We rejected the idea of establishing collective farms[58] on that land; instead we immediately created state farms, and we are building urban-type settlements with all municipal conveniences and services, such as schools, child-care centers, and kindergartens. In short, we are putting in everything needed by the people living and working there. Of course this requires large capital investments. But the experience we have accumulated shows that three good harvests are enough to recoup our expenses. And good harvests on irrigated land depend entirely on the quality of cultivation of that land, on people’s knowledge and ability at cultivating the land. It’s possible to obtain, at the minimum, 30 centners of cotton per hectare or even more. Our best farms obtain more. If the value of the harvest is estimated not in terms of raw cotton but in products made from cotton, our economists report that the capital investments can be repaid literally with one and a half to two and a half harvests on the new land. Let’s say that in your case it might take four harvests. Nevertheless, after four harvests you will have repaid your capital investments and will begin to receive enormous accumulations of capital. If you established government-operated farms, you would be obtaining literally a printing press that would stamp out money for you. Besides, you would be creating jobs for a large section of the population, employing them as labor at the government-operated farms. Their cultural level and their skills would be increased. Their pay would also be at a suitable level. The work would begin to skim along not the way it is now when a donkey [or ox] is turning a wheel in order to irrigate the fields. Please don't be offended. I saw such scenes in a textbook about the Egypt of olden times. The pictures in that volume showed that method of irrigation."

The relations between Nasser and us were good, and I allowed myself to take the liberty, assuming that he would understand everything correctly and would not take offense. I continued: "This was the method of irrigation that existed in Egypt under Ramses I,[59] and now there's the same thing under Nasser I. Entire millennia have gone by. And what has changed? Nothing. Because farming on a very small scale with an absence of technology lies at the basis of it all. On a tiny plot of land a person can't install a pump or use a cotton-harvesting machine or a planting machine. You can't drive a machine onto such a small plot of land, and there's nowhere to turn around. Everything would be crushed [under the wheels]. That's why I think that [with your present plans] you are not establishing the conditions for a progressive form of agriculture. If you divide up and parcel out all the new land, the peasant will of course praise you to the skies for your good works, but you won't be able to make use of modern technology. You'll be laying the foundations for something that will literally turn you into a slave of the land, where everything is based on manual labor. You would be depriving yourself of revenue. You won't have at your disposal the higher income earned by state farm workers. You will have to impose a system of taxation [on smallholder peasants]. The productivity of labor will be low. As a result revenue for the government will be small, and consequently the income for the people as a whole will also be small. If you were to agree with my point of view, all you have to do is organize an authoritative government delegation to come visit us in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan and take a look at our new state farms there, inspect our plans, our technology, our water-distribution mechanisms, and so forth. Everything there has been done on the most up-to-date level. All the farms are functioning efficiently wherever intelligent directors have been installed. You may now wish to act as though you haven't heard me, as though I had never said anything, and you're not obligated to anyone or anything."

He had been listening to me closely, and now he said: "This would not be suitable for us. First, we don't have the trained personnel. Second, there is so much corruption it would be impossible to establish a system of control [that is, a reliable accounting system]. The farms would lose money."

I said: "It's your business. I have just expressed my thoughts and it's up to you to decide. You know your own country and your people best. It's of no concern to me what you decide, and I won't be offended by your decision. You know best what is useful here and what is harmful. But as for your comment that there are no trained cadres and your comment about corruption, we also have thieves in our country, and thieving will go on in your country. But even with thieves present, which is inevitable, once you have the possibility of selling goods and earning additional income from their sale, you'll be able to extract greater benefit for your people and for your budget. I repeat a veritable mint, a money-minting machine will result. You'll be making millions and millions.

"As for personnel, take them from the army. Send a group of officers to the Soviet Union, let them work there for a year or two, and meanwhile you'll be preparing to put the vast waters from the Aswan Dam to use, and by then you'll have trained personnel available. They will acquire theoretical knowledge of agronomy and go through a school of practical work. Tractor drivers can also be trained. They'd not only learn to drive a tractor but also to operate a planting machine and a combine harvester. We can make one of our testing fields available, so that you can train your people there. It's a gradual and cumulative process. Not everything works out right away, obviously. But what can you do? The experience of the pre-Soviet era really doesn't differ in any basic way from the experience of the Egyptian peasants, the fellahin, who irrigate the land with a water wheel powered by a water buffalo. The Uzbeks, Tajiks, and Turkmen used the same methods. When we set about the formation of large state farms, a different method of organizing the work appeared along with fields of a different [much larger] size and different methods of irrigation.

"Previously we used to level out the land, to make a flat and even surface and to make dirt trenches for irrigation canals. This resulted in a serious loss of water [through seepage into the soil]. The farming turned out to be unprofitable. A huge amount of work was required to keep the irrigation system in good repair. The irrigation canals had to be repaired every season, and the banks of the earth trenches had to be rebuilt. But when I was in France [in 1960] and flew to the south of France near the border with Spain, I saw an irrigation system that fascinated me. They used reinforced concrete troughs to carry the water.[60] With reinforced concrete troughs there was no loss of water as the result of its seeping into the soil. And there was no need to rebuild the banks of the irrigation canals, which is very labor intensive. The leveling of the land so that the water would be distributed properly was also simplified. [As mentioned above,] the troughs rest on raised structures, or supports. All that remains to be done is to [adjust the height of the supports and thus] give the proper amount of incline to the troughs, sloping them properly, and then to calculate how much water to add, at what location, and at what time. All those factors can be calculated. The production of these troughs has been mechanized, and the system for installing them has been organized. We sent our engineers to France, and thanks to the courtesy of the French we were allowed to learn from the French experience. Today we have applied this method in our country. I think it is a very efficient system and could easily be introduced under the conditions that exist in Egypt.

"You Egyptians will be able to see a lot of other good things if you come to our country. The accounting books will be open to you, and everything will be at your service. You can verify everything by inspecting the fields themselves, and then you can weigh and evaluate whether it would be to your advantage or not. If it will be beneficial for you, then do it. If not, dismiss it. But if something were not beneficial for us, I would never have the audacity to advise someone else to use it. It was Lenin who proposed a plan for cooperative agriculture, and that was subsequently confirmed by life itself. Where peasant cooperatives were formed and state farms were established intelligently on a businesslike basis, with a selection of well-trained personnel, they justified themselves. And yet how much thieving has gone on in our country? How many money-losing state farms do we have? How many collective farms in a state of ruin? How many people were destroyed because of the senseless way that collectivization was carried out? But those are different questions altogether, historical questions, questions for analysis of the mistakes made and the distortions that occurred during collectivization. That has nothing to do with you. What you should do now is take the best of the experience accumulated by the Soviet people."

At this point Nasser began to listen more closely and ask more questions. He said: "At a certain time [later the same day] I will come for you and we will go to my place. The entire Egyptian leadership will gather there and we'll have a talk."

"I said: "Please, by all means, I'll have something to eat and wait for you."

The visit to Egypt was pleasant for me because of the fact that Muslims do not drink alcohol, although not all believers in Islam adhere to the recommendations of the prophet. At meals and at ceremonial events and in family situations in Egypt, we drank only juice, which, by the way, was remarkable, from a wide variety of different kinds of fruit. It was very pleasant and it took away your thirst. Given the intense heat in that country. that's the only means of salvation. I want to express my gratitude to the Prophet [Muhammad], who advised his people not to drink alcohol.[61]

For many years I was accustomed to a regimen under which twenty minutes for a meal was sufficient for me. When I ate alone I never drank alcohol, even as a young man. As soon as I had eaten I was ready to go back to work. I waited for the appointed hour and Nasser arrived with Amer. Nasser had said to me once, person to person: "Comrade Khrushchev, Amer and I are like one person. Anything you can say to me you can say to Amer. Or anything you say to Amer you can say to me. We are very close friends." I could see that with my own eyes. They even lived next to each other. Their families too were like one family. The children were all friends together. I was happy that two such friends were the leading figures in the new project to reorganize the Egyptian economy and Egyptian politics.

When we got in the car, Nasser smiled and said: "Comrade Khrushchev, I've been thinking about our conversation and I told Amer. We had an exchange of views and I want to say that you have made a very tempting and enticing offer for us."

Amer at that point joined in the conversation: "I think that this is precisely the way we ought to organize the economy. It's the only progressive path."

I said to him: "If you consider my proposal progressive and if it will be useful to Egypt, I will be glad. I will feel moral satisfaction that to some degree the expenses of our trip to your country have been justified. A good thing will have been developed as a result of our advice. This would be a historic event! If you were now to introduce small-scale, private irrigated agriculture, Egypt would not be able to make a revolution in agriculture. Your peasants on their small holdings engage in agriculture that is technologically primitive. Reorganize agriculture, create large farms, and amalgamate them together.

"I certainly know what it costs to carry out collectivization. Unbelievable efforts are required. On the other hand, if you establish government-operated farms on the new land and they begin to serve as a good example, then at a certain stage it will be possible to undertake the reorganization of small-scale private farming. I'm not proposing the latter type of action, because collectivization is bound up with incredible difficulties. It would be even more complicated and difficult for you than for us. Therefore it's more correct to establish on the new land a system that you yourself consider rational. If, on the other hand, that which took shape historically is simply repeated, then you'll just be punishing yourself. You'll be depriving yourself of the possibility of having reserves of capital in the interest of your country, to develop agriculture, heavy industry, the means of production, and the means of consumption." Both my listeners acknowledged the justice of what I had said.

In Alexandria Nasser informed those who had gathered about our conversation and began arguing that if my ideas were put into practice, it would be of great benefit and assistance to Egypt and the development of agriculture would move in the correct direction. The possibility of organizing production on a high level with the use of modern technology and mineral fertilizers would be created. Meanwhile I saw that he was not repeating my words literally but was speaking out of personal conviction about the fact that this was the only correct path and that they should make use of it. Several more years would be required before the completion of the Aswan Dam construction, but those years could be used to do the preparatory work for bringing the new land into use. Everything would coincide.

They immediately began discussing specific questions: who should they send as head of the delegation to Uzbekistan in order to study our experience there on the spot, experience that they would need to transfer to the newly irrigated lands? Prime Minister Ali Sabry[62] was named as the head of the delegation. He was a very close friend of Nasser; they had known each other even before the revolution. The decision was made to send, together with Ali Sabry, agronomists, accountants, and others who would look into the potential economic effectiveness of government-operated farms. We agreed to weigh and calculate everything so that a decision would be made not on the basis of intuition but after a profound process of technical and economic elaboration. I noticed no skepticism. It may be that someone had doubts in the depths of their soul, but no such statements were made openly.

Why do I suppose that there might have been skepticism? Well, after all, this was such a huge break with the economic system that had existed for millennia! It should also be kept in mind that the ordinary people had placed great hopes in the possibility of obtaining land after the dam was completed. Water there is the source of people's existence. A lot of propaganda had been conducted. A republic-wide organization had been formed that was specifically engaged in working out the details of the Aswan Dam project, and a huge mass of people was involved in this organization, including architects, agronomists, and economists and some of the most active people [in the country]. It's not such an easy thing to suddenly make a 180-degree turn from dividing the land up in tiny plots for individual owners toward the socialization of the land. Of course what would have happened there would not have been socialization, because the land would immediately become state property [without having been privately owned, because previously it was desert owned by no one.] Nevertheless, it was a huge break from the past, and to a certain extent it represented the adoption of a socialist system in agriculture. Not all the people in the Egyptian leadership were prepared for such a step, so that doubts would have been logical. But one must show patience and explain the economic benefits to people. Above all, it is precisely the economic benefits that must be explained, but these benefits bring with them a big political change.

After I was retired on a pension [in October 1964], I learned from the newspapers that an Egyptian delegation had come to the Soviet Union headed by its prime minister. It was pleasant for me to read and to see that my advice was still in effect even after I had ceased to occupy a high position. This testified to the fact that Nasser personally had been convinced of the correctness of my advice. How agriculture will develop further on the new lands in Egypt I cannot say. I cannot decipher anything in this respect from our newspapers. In general it's impossible to figure out much of anything from our press. The only thing I've read is a confirmation of the fact that as a result of the completion of the Aswan Dam the cultivable land in Egypt has been increased by one third so that the figure I had heard earlier about the amount of new land that would be brought under cultivation has been confirmed, but the organizational forms to be utilized on this land remain unknown to me.

When we were discussing the economic problems of agriculture in Egypt, the thought occurred to us to establish a model farm there on a certain number of hectares, to furnish it with modern technology and put competent technicians and agronomists in charge. Such a farm would serve as a concrete example of a socialist way of conducting agriculture under Egyptian conditions. I don't remember the size of the area we recommended for the establishment of such a farm,[63] but this was a form of economic aid that was within the means of the USSR. We drafted up our proposals and sent them from Egypt to Moscow, explaining what had prompted them and saying that our people [that is, the Soviet leadership in Moscow] ought to discuss this question and prepare to make a decision. We had organized similar model farms at our own expense in China and India. These farms had played an especially big role in India in promoting our technology and the socialist mode of production. Large-scale agriculture did arise and develop in India. The Indians themselves gradually increased the size of their agricultural operations and began to train their personnel on a new basis. Of course, in a capitalist framework, all such operations remained capitalist enterprises, because the basic means of production were still in private hands. But at any rate, we had demonstrated a progressive trend in working the land. Both in India and in Egypt they work the land with a wooden plow, and the peasant scrabbles around in the dirt. You can see the same kind of thing in our country, only now you can only see it in pictures from the past. For people of the older generation, there really is something to compare between the old way and the new.

We quickly received an answer from Moscow and reported to the Egyptian leadership about our gift. A broad smile spread across Nasser's face, and his eyes sparkled with pleasure. Soon after that I was no longer connected with these matters, and I was no longer in a position to observe how my idea was carried out. Rumors reached me that some people to this day fail to understand the importance of our example of helping countries who are considering socialist methods of agriculture. Providing aid does not mean only to introduce socialist principles, although that also is of great importance. It's also a question of helping our friends concretely, so that they can see the socialist countries don't just talk about giving aid but in fact do so for the underdeveloped countries, so that they can more quickly raise their economic level and standard of living. Sometimes people say that Khrushchev went off to other countries, handed out presents to everyone, and squandered our country's resources. I think such arguments come from people who themselves took part in those decisions, because I never unilaterally did anything, nor could I have done anything, without permission and the decision of the government and the party's Central Committee. A foul-smelling rumor is being circulated for purposes of immediate advantage.[64] Either such foul rumors are being deliberately circulated or a failure to understand important political measures is being displayed. But people whose political development is limited may get caught on this hook, and therefore I would like to express my views on this matter.

Aid to other countries given freely as a gift has important consequences—not only political consequences, when such aid wins us friends, but also material consequences. I remember when we first visited Afghanistan at the invitation of its king and government [in 1955]. Bulganin was heading our delegation. From our conversations we sensed that the king was concerned about the backwardness of his country in cultural and economic respects. The Afghans were casting about, seeking a solution. We saw that the Americans were courting Afghanistan. The United States is a wealthy country and has the capacity to invest its resources in economic sectors and the construction of particular plants or facilities that are highly visible and effective. They are effective not only economically but also politically.

At that time the United States had surrounded us with military bases and had created a military organization, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization

(SEATO),[65] which Pakistan had joined. India had not joined, and therefore the Yankees were also courting India, where there existed fairly powerful conservative elements who were opposed to the Soviet Union. But the government of India was headed by a progressive politician, who has now passed away, [Jawaharlal] Nehru,[66] who took a firm position of nonalignment with any military blocs. In Afghanistan the Yankees undertook some road construction at their own expense. What intention was concealed behind that? Of course their aims were not charitable. It was not a question of sympathy or concern for people in need, not a desire to help the poor. That kind of thing hardly ever happens. Taking advantage of the country's difficult economic situation and providing it effective aid, the United States wanted to impose its political conditions. They didn't even hide behind a fig leaf but made their intentions clear: they wanted to put in a missile base. Just imagine if the United States had succeeded in imposing its conditions for economic aid on Afghanistan and in return for that aid had won permission for the construction of a military base.

For our part, we also offered aid to Afghanistan at the same time the United States did. We set aside for this purpose a certain amount of foreign currency. We didn't have that much ourselves, but we wanted to show that we were favorably disposed toward Afghanistan. It was important that Afghanistan take our interests into account and not allow the United States to use its territory to build military bases. But the Afghans politely thanked us and refused. We were surprised and chagrined. They were our neighbors. Why had they refused? The king said nothing to us by way of explanation. But what I think is that he didn't want to accept aid free of charge, so that he would not then feel that his hands were tied. He may have thought the Soviet Union wanted to penetrate Afghanistan, using its aid as an opening wedge, at first sending its people as specialists; then later the propagandists would arrive. A coup d'état could then be expected or some actions directed against the existing government. [Such suspicions apparently prompted the Afghan king to reject the proffered Soviet aid.] We swallowed that bitter pill. That was a specific example of aid offered free of charge, which would have had not only economic but also political significance. However we did try to make it clear to the leaders of Afghanistan that we were not pursuing any political aims.

Time went by. Our policies were tested and verified by specific actions and events as time went on. Our specialists went to Afghanistan, occupied themselves directly and only with the work to which they had been assigned—technical and economic matters. Trust in us was established and grew stronger. Once the Afghans saw that our representatives were not engaging in propaganda, they themselves began to show interest and make requests of us. We built an airport for them, an educational institution, and a factory that produced bread, and we undertook to build a road from our border to Kabul. The road had great political and strategic importance, being located in close proximity to the Soviet-Afghan border. We continued to aid Afghanistan as much as we were able to, and of course this entailed material expenditures.

The capital that we gave away to Afghanistan was not some surplus that we had to spare. We would have found use for it in our own country. Therefore some people might say that it was not a wise thing to do. But it was unwise only from the point of view of unwise people. If Afghanistan had not become our friend and if the Americans had been able to penetrate that country, how would things have turned out? They would have put in their missile base! How much capital investment then would it have required of us to build bases in Central Asia to counter that? What we spent in aid given free of charge to Afghanistan was a drop in the ocean by comparison with those kinds of expenses [building bases in Central Asia]. That's how we should view the question of giving material aid free of charge! That is the purpose of the resources taken away from our own needs and given to our neighbors so as to win them over and strengthen friendly relations.

Thus, as Kozma Prutkov used to say, you have to look at the root.[67] If you proceed on the basis of purely superficial impressions, you could accuse the government of squandering our national resources. But if you look at the root of the matter, it turns out that in the end we were economizing on our national resources. No expenditures would be too great to win the friendship of our neighboring countries. The most valuable thing is if one neighbor has a trusting attitude toward another and does not allow the enemies of its neighbor to set up military bases on its territory. That's how the problem should be understood.

To a lesser degree we were ready to spend similar amounts in the case of Iran. But we received information that Iran had given in to U.S. persuasion. We sensed that the Iranians were wavering. The shah came to visit us.[68] He impressed me as an intelligent man, one who was willful and authoritative but who knew what he wanted. We had some border disputes, and there was no firm border between Iran and the USSR established by treaty. Neither side was satisfied with the existing line of demarcation. We quickly settled these questions during the shah's visit. Also at that time we raised the question of building a dam on the [Aras] river that formed the border between the USSR and Iran on the south side of the Azerbaijan SSR, with both sides sharing the expenses. Such a dam would be useful both for Iran and for the Soviet Union.[69] After my retirement on a pension, I learned that in the end such an agreement was reached. Iran finally understood that there was mutual economic and political advantage in the project. We did not want Iran to become a beachhead for the United States against the USSR. That was something we were very much opposed to, and therefore during the negotiations and in correspondence with the shah we criticized him for making military bases available for the aircraft of the United States. Although the shah assured us that they had no such agreement with the United States, we didn't believe his words. And our lack of confidence in the shah in turn led to large expenditures to strengthen our border with Iran.

And what if Egypt had become a staging point against us used by the United States? They had had a military base there at one time. The Americans also had bases in Libya and Tunisia. After the revolutionary upheavals [of 1952–54], the Egyptians demanded that all foreign bases be eliminated [from their country].

The Egyptian leadership understood that a policy [of allowing foreign military bases] went against the interests of the Egyptian people. They refused to follow along in the wake of the imperialist countries. They wanted to pursue an independent policy of nonalignment with any military blocs. The term "nonalignment" was thought up by the Yugoslavs, and it does make sense. I would prefer to have more countries in the world that are not aligned with any military blocs. I would rather have that than countries belonging to military blocs directed against the USSR. Today we have friendly relations with the Arab countries, not just with Egypt. This is very much to our advantage. The material expenses for the gift we gave to Egypt are a drop in the ocean compared with the material resources the USSR spends for defense. The more friends we have on our borders, the better. If they follow a policy of peaceful coexistence and don't allow imperialist countries to set up military bases on their territory aimed against the socialist countries, in such a case even a fool could understand that our expenditures are repaid a hundredfold, both materially and politically.

In the event of a military conflict foolish, short-sighted economizing can turn out to cost much blood. If a military disaster were to occur, it's precisely with blood that we would pay for our former short-sightedness. These were the considerations I was guided by when I proposed that we offer this gift to the friendly Egyptian people consisting of equipment for use in agricultural production. The Russian people had a good tradition. I remember it from childhood. If a housewife was going to visit another village, she never went empty-handed. Invariably she would wrap up some flat cakes or a pie or some boiled eggs in a small bundle. In Kursk province mostly they baked a pie. This was a very good tradition. The same applies here [on the question of foreign aid]. It was not a matter of squandering the country's resources, but on the contrary of economizing our resources. Of course everything has to be done intelligently and in moderation. Otherwise when you give away your country's resources, you can earn the reputation of being a soft touch. I think that our policy was intelligent and paid for itself in full.

During our stay in Egypt we also discussed military problems. I personally didn't discuss with the military men. Grechko visited military academies and installations. I didn't visit any military bases, so as not to give any bad impression. Why make waves or ruffle anyone's feathers.[70] The Egyptians asked for military aid. They wanted us to give them the latest, most up-to-date weapons in large quantities on favorable terms. There was no discussion of our providing such weapons free of charge, although such desires could have been justified in our eyes. In principle agreement was reached about our providing weapons on favorable terms. During those negotiations I acted like a skinflint, responding unfavorably to some of their requests. Nasser reproached me: "After all, we're preparing for war against an aggressor. And it's in your interests to defend Egypt and protect the kind of Egypt that now exists." Yes, that was a sensible argument.

The 1956 war, imposed on Egypt by Britain, France, and Israel, was aimed at replacing the Egyptian leadership, installing pro-British and pro-French leaders, and thereby ensuring economic and political advantage for those countries in that geographical zone. Everyone understands the exceptional importance of this region—the Middle East, the Suez Canal, and so on. The Six-Day War in 1967 was actually waged for the very same reason. America spares no expense. The United States provides arms to Israel using money given by the American monopolists. Actually that is a gift [from the United States to Israel]. It is a gift aimed against Egypt and against the socialist countries.

[After the 1956 war] we gave Egypt modern torpedo boats and missile boats. We also agreed to sell them MIG-21s, which we had not sold earlier.[71] Agreements were made on other weapons, all the most modern and up-to-date. Of course they were up-to-date at that time, but military technology dates rapidly. The most advanced item today will turn out to be obsolete tomorrow. After all, the thinking of designers and scientists goes on uninterruptedly. The means for the destruction of other human beings is constantly being renewed and improved. People on both sides are doing everything they can to perfect the means of self-destruction. And it really is self-destruction. We stand four-square against NATO and NATO stands against us. The socialist countries are forced to lay out resources for defense that bring no dividends for the economy. As long as two antagonistic social systems, the capitalist and socialist, exist, this apparently is inevitable.

During the negotiations about military questions, I was again suffering from the heat. We are a relatively northerly people, and when we end up in the kind of climate they have in Egypt it's hard even to sleep when you're not accustomed to it. But that kind of climate was the original source of great riches. In my childhood when I studied the Bible at a church school, it talked about Paradise. Based on the pictures in the book and the stories told by the priest, I ended up with the impression that in places like Egypt or Indonesia you had paradise on earth. I formed this impression because of the richness of nature in those countries: the great variety of the vegetation and the unusual birds. All around you everything is like a fairy tale and it's extraordinarily beautiful.

Another thing we liked in Egypt was the spectacle that opened before our eyes from a tower that gave you a view overlooking Cairo. At the top of the tower is a platform with a revolving restaurant. You can sit there and drink coffee and look over the surrounding areas. That was the first time I had visited this kind of technological innovation. Later [in 1968] I visited the Ostankino tower and feasted my eyes on Moscow and its surrounding areas from that high television tower [which also has a revolving restaurant near the top]. It is also a very impressive spectacle.[72]

I want to make one more comment—in passing, so to speak. We sailed to Egypt on a passenger ship named the *Armenia.* We went through the Bosporus and the Dardanelles, then past the Greek islands. When we sailed by Istanbul and other Turkish cities, I remembered how Lenin had established good relations with Turkey, which were then spoiled by Stalin after World War II.[73] Stalin pursued a policy toward Turkey that was not well thought out. Through the Georgian press he made territorial claims against Turkey. Turkey "shied away from us" and fell into the arms of the United States, making Turkish territory available for U.S. military bases. That cost us dearly, and it still costs us quite a bit. It's another consequence of Stalin's rule and the lack of wisdom in the way he ruled. Only now are we beginning to reestablish friendly relations with Turkey. I can see that mistrust is diminishing and friendship is growing stronger. That is useful both for Turkey and for the Soviet Union.

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1. Khrushchev is referring to the political crisis that broke out in the Revolution Leadership Council in February 1954 and ended in April 1954 with the victory of Nasser and his supporters, who were in favor of extending revolutionary transformations.

Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918–70) was a leading member of a semi-underground organization of

Egyptian army officers called "The Free Officers," which on July 23, 1952, initiated an uprising against the monarchy and the British colonial occupation. In 1953 Egypt became a republic and in 1954 Britain completed the withdrawal of its troops. Colonel Nasser was deputy chairman and then chairman of the Revolution Leadership Council. He was deputy prime minister and minister of internal affairs from 1952 to 1954, prime minister from 1954 to 1956, and then president and commander in chief of the armed forces. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

Marshal Abdel Hakim Amer (1919–67) was vice president and minister of war from 1958 to 1967, when he was forced to commit suicide following defeat in the Six Day War with Israel. See Biographies. [SS]

2. Farouk was king of Egypt from 1936 until the revolution of July 1952, when he fled the country. See Biographies.

3. The queen of England to whom Khrushchev refers can only have been the present monarch, Elizabeth II (born April 21, 1926), who succeeded her father King George VI upon his death in February 1952, the year before Stalin's own death. Thus the gift may have been intended for the queen's twenty-sixth birthday, or perhaps it was sent on the occasion of her coronation. However, a search of the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle and Buckingham Palace failed to uncover any reference to the receipt of a gift from Stalin (letter from Miss Pamela Clark, Registrar of the Royal Archives, November 30, 2005). [SS]

4. The unnamed general to whom Khrushchev refers was Mohammed Naguib, another leading member of "The Free Officers." After the flight of King Farouk in July 1952, his immature son Ahmad Fouad II was declared king and a Regency Council headed by Naguib assumed formal government of the country, although Nasser and his fellow army officers of the Revolutionary Command Committee were the real power behind the scenes. In 1953 Egypt was declared a republic and Naguib became president. Nasser succeeded him as president in November 1954. The position of prime minister was occupied by Ali Mahir Pasha in 1952, by Naguib from 1952 to 1954, by Nasser from 1954 to 1956, and (after a period in which the position did not exist) by Wing Commander Ali Sabry from 1962 to 1965. [GS/MN]

5. Tito visited India in December 1954 and January 1955; on his way home in his presidential yacht he stopped in Cairo and met Nasser for the first time. [GS]

6. Fighting began on October 29 with an attack on the Sinai peninsula and the Suez Canal area by Israeli troops, who were shortly joined by British and French forces. The war was precipitated by a conflict over the Suez Canal, as Khrushchev describes below. The World Bank, along with some British and U.S. banks, had promised to loan the Egyptian government sufficient funds so that it could build a dam at the Nile port of Aswan in southern Egypt. On July 19, 1956, Egypt was notified that these funds would not be forthcoming. In retaliation, on July 26, 1956, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, which had previously been run by an international consortium, the Suez Canal Company, in which British and French interests predominated. From August through October the British and French had built up their forces in the eastern Mediterranean in preparation for the attack that was finally launched at the end of October [SK/GS]

7. The Egyptian Communist Party was founded in 1925. Like other political parties, it was formally dissolved in January 1953. In November 1957 an official party was established by the name of the National Union, which in 1961 was transformed into the Arab Socialist Union (ASU), with Nasser as chairman of the supreme executive committee. In 1965 the Communist Party merged with the ASU. It was reestablished in 1975. [SS]

8. See the chapter "Visit to Britain." On Anthony Eden and Selwyn Lloyd, see Biographies. [SS]

9. See note 29 to the chapter "From New York to Iowa" in these memoirs, on this popular saying derived from one of Krylov's fables. [GS]

10. On Guy Mollet and David Ben-Gurion, see Biographies. [SS]

11. The source of this information may have been Kim Philby. [SK]

12. Gomulka was the new party leader in Poland and Cyrankiewicz the new prime minister. See Biographies. [SS]

13. The Syrian Communist Party (called at certain times the Syrian-Lebanese Communist Party) was founded in 1924. Khalid Bagdash (born 1912) joined the party in 1930 and was the general secretary of its Central Committee from 1937 to 1986. [MN/SS]

14. In Soviet usage, the "democratic movement" encompassed those forces working for social progress in a given context. It included the Communists but was not restricted to them. It roughly corresponded to "left-wing forces." [SS]

15. In 1954 Bagdash became the first Communist to be elected to a Middle Eastern parliament. [SS]

16. The unification was made official on February 1, 1958. [GS]

17. In fact, Islamic parties as well as the Communists were subject to restrictions. The most important Islamic group, the Muslim Brotherhood, founded in Egypt in 1928, was banned in 1954. [SS]

18. Abdel Karim Kassem (1914–63) was prime minister, minister of defense, and commander in chief of the armed forces of the Republic of Iraq from July 1958 to February 1963, when he was shot.

19. Nuri Said (or As-Said; 1888–1958) was prime minister of Iraq from 1930 to 1958 (except for

some intervals). Both he and King Feisal II perished in Iraq's July 1958 revolution. See Biographies.

20. The Iraqi Communist Party was established in 1934. Before the revolution of 1958, and also after February 1960, it operated underground.

21. Nasser's visit to Moscow came shortly after the Iraqi revolution of July 14, 1958, in which General Kassem overthrew the pro-British monarchy of King Faisal, and a republic was proclaimed. After talks with Khrushchev, Nasser flew to Syria no later than July 18, according to a communiqué published in *Pravda* on July 19 after Nasser's arrival in Syria. [SK/GS]

22. Novo-Ogaryovo was a government dacha west of Moscow, on the Moscow River near the village of Usovo. It was built for Malenkov in 1956 next to Khrushchev's dacha, which was called Ogaryovo; hence the name Novo-Ogaryovo, meaning "New Ogaryovo." After Malenkov's eclipse (in 1957) this new dacha was used for the reception of foreign guests or important government meetings. The original Ogaryovo of tsarist times had been the residence of the governor general of Moscow. [SK]

23. Mohammed Murad Ghaleb (born 1922) was an official at the Egyptian embassy in Moscow from 1953 to 1957 and Egypt's ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1961 to 1971. At the time when Nasser flew to Moscow in 1958, Ghaleb was head of the president's political chancellery.

24. Shortly after the Iraq revolution of July 14, 1958, President Eisenhower mobilized the U.S. fleet in the Mediterranean and landed 5,000 U.S. Marines in Lebanon, allegedly to help the Lebanese government counter an armed opposition. [GS]

25. As indicated above, a communiqué to this effect appeared in *Pravda* on July 19, 1958. [SK]

26. The dam also greatly facilitated flood control. [SS]

27. The banks involved were the World Bank and some U.S. and British banks; see note 6 above. [SK/GS]

28. John Foster Dulles was U.S. secretary of state from 1953 to 1959. Khrushchev is presumably referring to Dulles' strategy of "brinkmanship." See Biographies. [SS]

29. The old Aswan Dam at the first rapids of the Nile was constructed between 1898 and 1902 and subsequently reconstructed several times. A hydroelectric plant went into operation next to it in 1960. The new, high-altitude dam was constructed six kilometers south (that is, upstream) of the old dam on the juridical basis of the Soviet-Egyptian agreements of December 27, 1958, and August 27, 1960. Its first stage was completed in May 1964. The workforce that built it consisted of 30,000 Egyptians and 2,000 Soviet specialists.

30. In fact, Amer was arrested and given the choice between taking poison and standing trial for treason. He chose to take the poison. See Biographies. [SS]

31. Yekaterinodar, in the Kuban region of the northern Causasus, was renamed Krasnodar in December 1920. Dmitry Andreyevich Furmanov (see Biographies) was then the head of the political department of the Soviet Ninth Army in the Kuban region; he later gained fame as a novelist, in particular for his semi-autobiographical work *Chapayev.* [MN/SK/GS]

32. Khrushchev is referring here to the civil war between the federal government of Nigeria and the breakaway Republic of Biafra. The war had its origins in ethnic tensions between the Ibo (or Igbo) of southeastern Nigeria and the Hausa-Fulani of northern Nigeria (although oil interests were also involved). In the wake of mass killings of Ibo migrants in the north in May and September 1966, the Ibo military governor of the Eastern Region, Lieutenant Colonel Chukwuemeka Ojukwu, declared the region an independent state. Following an economic blockade of Biafra, hostilities began in July 1967 and ended in January 1970 with the capitulation of the secessionists. About a million people perished in the war, mainly from starvation and disease. [SS]

33. At that stage of the construction, in May 1964, the Nile River was diverted into a temporary channel. In the former riverbed, now dry, the permanent Aswan High Dam was built, with turbines contained in it. Later (in 1970) the river was returned to its original channel, and its waters then powered the turbines, producing hydroelectric power. [SK]

34. Khrushchev and his party arrived in Cairo on May 9, 1964, and stayed in Egypt for two weeks. [SS]

35. Marshal of the Soviet Union Andrei Antonovich Grechko was a deputy minister of defense of the USSR and concurrently (from 1960 to 1967) commander in chief of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact. [MN] On Gromyko and Grechko, see Biographies.

36. Ahmed Ben Bella (born 1916) was one of the leaders of the liberation movement in Algeria. He was deputy chairman of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic from 1958 to 1962, its chairman in 1962–63, and president of Algeria from 1962 to 1965. See Biographies.

37. Colonel Abdel (or Abdullah) As-Salal (1917–94) was prime minister of the new Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen) from 1962 to 1964 and its president from 1962 to 1967. Before taking power he had been chief of the king's palace guard. See the chapter "From Syria to Yemen." [SS]

38. After the military coup of February 8, 1963, in Iraq, Colonel Abdel Salam Aref (1921–66) became provisional president and Ahmed Hasan Al-Bakr prime minister. On November 18, 1963, Aref consolidated his power by means of a new military coup in which the government was purged of Baathists, including Al-Bakr. Aref was confirmed

as president on November 20, 1963. Following his death in a helicopter crash on April 13, 1966, the presidency was taken over by his brother Abdel Rahman Aref. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

39. The Algerian Communist Party was founded in 1924 as a section of the French Communist Party and became an independent organization in 1935. It won considerable popular support in the pre-independence period, with Communist mayors being elected in some major cities. The party participated autonomously in the armed struggle for independence. Its good relations with the mainstream nationalist movement continued under Ben Bella, but it was suppressed following Boumédienne's coup in 1965 (see note 48 below). [SS]

40. The ceremony took place on May 14, 1964. The government minister was Mohammed Sidqi Suleiman (also spelled Soliman), who held the post of "minister for the High Dam" and was also the construction engineer in direct charge of building the dam. [SK/SS]

41. Because of the warmth and dryness Aswan is recommended as a location for the cure of respiratory ailments. [GS]

42. This gathering was in the evening on May 13, 1964. [SK]

43. The meeting was held in a stadium in the city of Aswan at 6 P.M. on May 16, 1964. [SK]

44. Mohammed Al-Badr became king of Yemen on September 19, 1962. He was deposed on September 26 and fled to Saudi Arabia, from where he made attempts to restore the monarchy. This led to the civil war between the Yemeni royalists, supported by Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Britain, and the republican regime of As-Salal. [MN/SS]

45. Khrushchev tells about El-Badr at greater length below, in the chapter on Syria and Yemen. [GS]

46. *The Little Humpbacked Horse (Konyok-Gorbunok)* by Pyotr Pavlovich Yershov (1815–69) is a fairy tale in verse, published in 1834 and in a fuller edition in 1856, which tells about three brothers, two of whom are "smart," while the third is "stupid." However, the "stupid" one turns out in fact to be the smartest: with the help of the magical humpbacked horse he marries the princess and becomes a king. The plot of the fairy tale has no real bearing on what Khrushchev was saying about Aref. Remembering these two lines of verse from the fairy tale, Khrushchev quoted them, as if to say: "If you're born stupid, you'll always be stupid, and there's nothing to be done about it." [SK]

47. The Soviet delegation went to Ras Benas on the Red Sea (about 320 kilometers or 200 miles east of Aswan, across the Arabian Desert) on May 15, 1964, then back to Aswan for the rally in the stadium on May 16. Khrushchev was on the presidential yacht, *Syria.* [SK/SS]

48. Ben Bella was removed from power in June 1965 in a military coup led by his defense minister and first deputy prime minister, Colonel Houari Boumédienne, who became chairman of the Revolutionary Council, prime minister, and later president. See Biographies. [GS/SS]

49. The temperature of the Red Sea is usually in the range 23–27° C. (74–80° F.). [SS]

50. The Caspian is an inland sea situated between the Caucasus region to the west and the Central Asian republics of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan to the east. The northern and northwestern shores belong to Russia and the southern shore to Iran. Most of the Caspian shoreline adjoins desert or semidesert terrain. [SS]

51. Luxor, known to the ancient Egyptians as Waset and to the ancient Greeks as Thebes, is situated on the Nile about 160 kilometers (100 miles) north of Aswan. It was the capital of Egypt during the Middle and New Kingdoms (from about 1500 B.C.). It is famous for its many temples and sphinxes and for the tombs of the pharaohs in the nearby Valley of the Kings and Valley of the Queens. [SS]

52. The ancient city of Alexandria is on Egypt's Mediterranean coast, at the northwestern end of the Nile Delta. [SS]

53. During the winter months (November through April) temperatures in Cairo are in the range 8–21° C. (47–70° F.); temperatures in the desert may rise to 23° C. (73° C.) at day but may fall as low as freezing point at night. [SS]

54. Climate and topography pose challenges to cultivation in Egypt similar to those facing these former Soviet republics. Like Egypt, Turkmenistan consists mostly of desert, and desert also occupies a large part of Uzbekistan. The Amu Darya and Syr Darya rivers (flowing west from mountains in the east) play the same crucial role in the water economy of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan as the Nile (flowing north from mountains in the south) plays in that of Egypt. The waters of these rivers are made available for irrigation through an extensive system of canals. However, the flow in the rivers has been severely depleted by the excessive diversion of water for irrigated cultivation, especially of cotton, leading to the ecologically disastrous dessication of the Aral Sea. [SS]

55. This was Nasser's Alexandria residence in the Maamur district. The visit took place on the morning of May 23, 1964. [SK/SS]

56. In Russian: *sovkhozy* (literally, Soviet farms). [SS]

57. The Golodnaya Steppe (literally, Hungry Steppe) is a plain about 10,000 square kilometers (4,000 square miles) in area on the left bank of the Syr Darya River. It is one of the main cotton growing regions of Uzbekistan. Khrushchev gives a more detailed description of the Golodnaya Steppe project in the chapter "The Virgin Lands" in Volume 2 of the present edition of the memoirs. [GS/SS]

58. In contrast to the state farm, or *sovkhoz,* directly owned and run by the state, the collective

farm, or *kolkhoz,* was considered the collective or group property of its members, the collective farmers *(kolkhozniki)*, who in theory elected a chairman to run the joint enterprise. [SS]

59. Pharaoh Ramses I (Rameses I) was the founder of the nineteenth dynasty. He ruled in 1295–94 B.C. [SS]

60. These troughs, or races, were raised above the ground, resting on support structures whose height could be adjusted. [GS]

61. "You shall avoid them [i.e., intoxicants]" (Koran, 5:90). [SS]

62. Ali Sabry (1920–91) was prime minister from September 1962 to October 1965, and thereafter vice president. He was dismissed and imprisoned a few months after Anwar Sadat came to power in 1970, probably as a result of his close ties with Soviet officials. [SS]

63. The farm was to be established on 4,000 hectares (about 10,000 acres) of irrigated land to be sown with cotton and other crops. The gift included not only tractors and other agricultural machinery but also equipment for creating a network of irrigation canals (excavators, bulldozers, trucks, etc.). [SS]

64. In the late 1990s Vladimir Yefimovich Semichastny, who had headed the KGB in 1964, told the Russian historian Aleksandr Nikolayevich Kolesnik about an initiative taken by Semichastny together with Politburo member Aleksandr Shelepin. (Both were part of the conspiracy to oust Khrushchev, which got under way in early 1964.) On the initiative of Shelepin and Semichastny a "disinformation" unit of the KGB (which had been set up earlier for operations against West Germany) began a deliberate campaign to discredit Khrushchev by circulating rumors inside the Soviet Union, making up anti-Khrushchev political jokes, etc. One of the rumors, by all indications, was that Khrushchev was wasting the resources of the Soviet people by giving excessive amounts of aid to other countries, above all, to Nasser's Egypt.

In 1967 Brezhnev shut down the "disinformation" unit. Apparently he feared—and not without reason—that Shelepin and Semichastny might start a disinformation campaign against him too. In that same year, Semichastny was removed from the KGB and replaced by Yuri Andropov, who was loyal to Brezhnev.

During work on a documentary film in 2004, Kolesnik passed on to me (Sergei Khrushchev) what Semichastny had told him. The documentary film was about the death of my older half-brother, Leonid Khrushchev, who had also become a posthumous victim of the anti-Khrushchev disinformation campaign. (For more about the case of Leonid Khrushchev, see my "History of the Creation . . . of the Khrushchev Memoirs," in the Appendixes to Volume 1 of the present edition of the memoirs.) [SK]

65. The South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was a military-political alliance between the United States, Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Pakistan, and the Philippines. The treaty was concluded on September 8, 1954, and entered into force on February 19, 1955. SEATO existed until 1977.

66. Nehru died in 1964. See Biographies. [SS]

67. Kozma Prutkov was a fictional character, a satirical representation of the poet-bureaucrat, a tsarist official who wrote "proudly platitudinous" fables, aphorisms, and verse. He "flourished" from 1853 to 1863 and was the creation of three Russian writers: Aleksei Konstantinovich Tolstoy (1817–75), who was a distant cousin of Leo Tolstoy; and two other cousins, Aleksei Mikhailovich Zhemchuzhnikov (1821–1908) and Vladimir Mikhailovich Zhemchuzhnikov (no dates available). [GS]

68. Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi (1919–80) was Shah-en-Shah ("King of Kings" or Emperor) of Iran from 1941 to 1979. See Biographies.

69. The agreements of January 13, 1966, of October 23, 1966, and of June 22, 1968 provided, inter alia, for the construction of a hydroelectric plant on the River Aras.

70. The Russian expression here is literally, "Why tease the geese?" [GS]

71. The missile boats were armed with P-15 cruise missiles, which were known in the West by the code SS-N-2A. [SK/GS]

The MIG-21 was the first Soviet fighter capable of flying faster than twice the speed of sound. It was designed in the months following the end of the Korean War. The prototype had its first test flight in mid-1956 and the plane entered service in 1958. Deliveries of MIG-21s to Egypt began in 1960. Egypt was the first foreign country to buy MIG-21s. Over 7,500 MIG-21s have been produced to date. [SK/SS]

72. The Ostankino television tower was erected in 1967 in the northwestern part of Moscow, near the Sheremetyevo Palace and next to the Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy. At 540 meters (1,770 feet), it was for almost ten years the highest freestanding building in the world, and it is still the highest freestanding building in Eurasia. Its structural weight exceeds 55,000 tons. In addition to a range of other telecommunications services, it transmits the signals of 15 television channels and 14 radio stations to a distance of up to 120 kilometers (75 miles). The revolving restaurant is called "The Seventh Heaven." [SK/SS]

73. The Soviet-Turkish Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality was concluded on December 17, 1925, and came into force on April 29, 1926. The Soviet government declared it inoperative on March 16, 1945, and denounced it six months later.

THE SIX DAY WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Today is August 1, 1967. I had to "busy myself" a great deal with the Arab countries, especially after 1956, when we saved Egypt during the Suez crisis. It's a very important part of the world. We paid a great deal of attention to it because many leaders of the Arab countries were young and inexperienced; they hadn't gone through a serious schooling of political struggle. That's why they often make many crude errors; they get into unpleasant situations and don't know how to extricate themselves. At least one example of this would be the unification of Egypt and Syria—that is, the formation of the United Arab Republic (UAR) [in February 1958].[1] This unification was an obvious mistake. When Nasser came to visit us [on July 8, 1958] I discussed this question with him for an entire day. We had been speaking out against this unification, and he flew to Moscow to have a talk with me [on the subject].

I told him bluntly: "We're against it."

He said: "But Syria itself has expressed an interest in doing this."

I added: "This will end badly for you." But there was no way that he could understand why I was saying this.

What was it that I said to him? "You must understand that the Syrian Arabs have been trained in the school of French culture.[2] Their system is more democratic [than in Egypt], and they are more prosperous: their standard of living is incomparably higher than Egypt's. The Syrians have become accustomed to democratic conditions. They have many different political parties. The Communist Party is legal there, and so is the Socialist Party. It's really a classical bourgeois country with a normal parliament. Parliament votes its confidence or votes 'no confidence' in the government, which can be changed accordingly. Bourgeois traditions have taken root in that country. None of that exists in Egypt. For now, Egypt is still a poor country, with low living standards among the people. You don't, in fact, have a variety of political parties, and you aren't thinking of introducing any such thing. Right now the Syrian bourgeoisie has shown an interest in unifying with you, but why? The Syrian capitalists have been frightened by the Communist Party, by the strength it has shown, and they want to make use of you to suppress democracy. But that is a temporary phenomenon. When you have lived together for a while and the Syrians feel what it's like to be under your rule, they will rebel against you. They won't be able to reconcile themselves with Egypt's political system."

This section of the memoirs was tape-recorded partly in 1967 and partly in 1971. [SK]

He started to say: “Well now, you know . . .”

But I went on: “I’m only warning you that Syria will either back out of its unification with you or will throw off your system of rule.”

And that’s how things turned out. They lived together for a few years [from 1958 to 1961]. Then Amer was placed under house arrest and, later, was sent packing from Syria.[3] The Egyptian ambassador to the USSR, [Murat] Ghaleb, was an intelligent man.[4] He was a witness to my conversation with Nasser. When the collapse came he himself told me: “I took notes on the whole conversation. Everything turned out exactly as you had warned.”

In [May] 1964 I was Nasser’s guest.[5] I was there for an important stage in the construction of the Aswan High Dam.[6] Between President Nasser and myself the very best, most trusting relations had been established. I candidly expressed my views to him.

I asked: “What are you doing? Do you want a war? Do you want to destroy the state of Israel? That’s not right. It’s totally wrong. Besides, Israel is a very tough nut for you to try and crack. Bear in mind that although Israel is numerically smaller than Egypt, it has a higher cultural level. Well-trained personnel are serving in the Israeli army who know modern weapons better than your people do. Besides, you’re putting yourself in a position where you’ll lose sympathy from other countries, and you’re putting the USSR in an awkward position. In the UN we voted for the founding of the state of Israel. Of course we voted with some reservation, because our party never sympathized with Zionism. It fought against the Zionists in our country both before and after the revolution. We don’t sympathize with this reactionary bourgeois party. But that’s not the point. The point is that the state of Israel exists, and you can’t fail to take that into account.

“There’s no need to become embroiled in a war. And you shouldn’t pursue a policy aimed at the destruction of Israel. It exists, and it has a right to exist. It’s recognized by the United Nations, and therefore it’s not sensible or intelligent for you to adopt the aim of destroying it.

“You should use different methods in seeking to win recognition for the rights of the Arabs living in the state of Israel. They should have equal rights.”

Nasser then expressed his agreement with me. He said: “I don’t want a war. I understand the full seriousness of the situation. If I give speeches like that [calling for the destruction of Israel], I do it because I’m compelled to. I’m paying tribute to popular sentiment.”

I understood him. Israel was of course pursuing a reactionary and aggressive policy toward Egypt. It was necessary to arm oneself so as to be able to repel the aggressor if an attack came, but it didn’t make sense to initiate war oneself, to get tangled up and drawn into a war. Nevertheless, the Six-Day War [of 1967] happened. That was an error, and a very crude one besides! For a long time the Arabs had wanted to destroy Israel. That was understandable to some degree, because they had been driven from their land [by the Israelis]. Such actions always arouse intense hatred between ethnic groups. But I don't want to dwell on the moral side of the question. If you are going to fight, prepare properly and take effective action. But to make such a mess of things, to sh—— all over yourself—it's incomprehensible!

Nowadays the Arabs are crying out everywhere about their peace-loving nature, that they are a peaceful people who have been the victims of aggression. I have no access to information other than the radio and the newspapers [and television], but even from them it's obvious how events actually developed.

A military delegation from Egypt arrived in Moscow. "Whisper, whisper, whisper" [secret talks were held]. An agreement was reached. They left. Then our military delegation left for Egypt. Again: "Whisper, whisper, this and that, that and this." Then they came back. Then a Syrian government and military delegation came to our country. They had a discussion and proposed toasts. Then they too left. What subjects were they discussing? It's quite clear. But now they blame Israel: "Those no good so-and-sos, sons of bitches." But how is it that Israel is blamed for what it did? Egypt demanded that the UN withdraw its peacekeeping forces from the area between the Israeli and Egyptian troops. Who demanded that? Nasser. U Thant[7] complied with his request. Why would neutral troops be removed [from a disputed region]? So they wouldn't interfere with the start of a war. Again, who demanded it? Nasser. So then, who wanted to start a war? Nasser. He closed the Gulf of Aqaba,[8] which was being used by Israeli ships [as a commercial shipping channel]. Why did Nasser do that? In preparation for armed conflict! In other words, it seemed as though, for Nasser, everything was in readiness.

Later on, they began making up stories, saying their officers had gone off to be with women, and therefore their army was caught off guard while its officers were away, consorting with women. This happens in every country of the world. Officers go off to consort with women. So the problem can't just be dismissed with that. That wasn't the problem! That's a fairy story to tell gullible people—although such a story is a thousand years old. Yes, of course, military men are away from home, separated from their women, and no matter what you do, they're still going to chase after "a little something on the side." As Stalin said at one point during the war [of 1941–45]: "We need to mobilize young women, organize officers' clubs, and so on." And that wasn't just an accidental remark. The Americans are making practically the same kind of arrangements for themselves in South Vietnam, although it takes a different form. None of that is important anyway. It's a trifling detail, and I don't want to get diverted onto that subject. These are questions of daily life, of relations between men and women, not between countries.

The point is that our instructors went there [to Egypt, Syria, and other Arab countries] and trained their people. Arab officers also trained at military academies in our country. But then they give this explanation: "They had all gone on leave." This is an explanation for fools. How so? Well, if I had demanded the removal of UN troops, closed the gulf, and waged a press campaign preparing for war, would I then have sent my officers, pilots, and tank crews off on leave? Not even an idiot would do that. So why was it really that they were defeated? Because they made a mess of things, they sh—— all over themselves *(prosrali)* and for no other reason! Now they're trying to shift the blame, to say that some officer was away on leave, or else had an upset stomach.

The main reason for Israel's victory was that it had a higher cultural level and better discipline in its army, and its officers had combat experience and excellent training. After all, very good specialists from many different countries had come together in Israel. For example, I have a very high regard for their top general, [Moshe] Dayan,[9] as a military man. He's a fine fellow! I said as a joke that if I was premier and he was in the Soviet Union, I would immediately appoint him our minister of defense. He is worthy of that. The Jews are a people who have been dispersed all over the world. That's why it turned out that their officers were better trained, and so were their soldiers, their tank crews, and airplane pilots. What about the factor of fanaticism? Well, that's not primary. There are all sorts of fanatics. But if you pull down a fanatic's pants and whip him a few times, that fanatic will run off without looking back, so as not to get another whipping. The thing is that the Israelis were simply better organized, had a better mastery of their weapons, and made more intelligent use of them.

It was hard for the Egyptians to contend with them, and they paid dearly, poor fellows. To put it crudely, they could ride camels and knew how to handle rifles, but they had now been seated in tanks. In our country too [in the 1930s], the cavalry was switched over to tanks. But serious training is required to carry that out. The level of military culture and the degree of tempering of military cadres are factors of no small importance. The Egyptians failed to make use of their weapons as they should have. If cadres had existed in their army capable of handling the weapons we had supplied them, they could have contended with the Israelis more effectively and perhaps could have stood their ground against them.

All in all, they should have been advised not to take such a risk, not knowing whether they could stand up to the Israelis or not.

I simply can't understand how such a thing happened. How could we have permitted it? I repeat, the Soviet Union bears a major share of the responsibility for what happened. With the possibilities we had of exerting influence we could have restrained Nasser from going to war. We had the possibility of giving President Nasser good advice, not to make a display of ardent militancy in demanding that UN peacekeeping troops be withdrawn. Also, it was not necessary to close the gulf that Israel used for commercial shipping.

In short, he shouldn't have heated up the atmosphere. But as things happened, an atmosphere of imminent war was created. That's how I understood the situation at the time. It's true that Israel started the war. It launched a surprise attack, but it launched that attack preemptively, to forestall its opponent, because both sides had already mobilized and were on a war footing. Israel struck first and easily achieved a thorough routing of Egypt's troops.

This was a miscalculation by our military. Our military evaluated the situation incorrectly. An uncritical approach was taken toward determining Egypt's ability to win a victory. At any rate it is my opinion that it was not necessary to go to war at all.

The defeat occurred as the result of an incorrect evaluation of the disposition of forces, an incorrect policy, an underestimation of Israel's strength. Here, in such a case, everything is decided by the cadres concerned with military matters as well as by the diplomats. But it is primarily the military men who are responsible, because it is not the diplomats but the military who have the last word.

Despite the weapons the Arabs had in 1967, eleven years after the attack by Britain, France, and Israel in 1956, they were defeated. Back then [in 1956] I would say we brilliantly—and I repeat, brilliantly; I'm not ashamed to say that; I won't play at false modesty—we coped brilliantly with the situation, lent Egypt a helping hand, and forced the aggressors to stop the war.[10] Yet eleven years later, when our military power had increased so greatly, when there was no comparison with what it had been eleven years earlier, we ended up in such an embarrassing situation. Our country conducted itself incorrectly from the very beginning; it was incorrect to allow this war to happen. The Arabs were allowed to provoke Israel, to bet everything on one card, and start a war. That ended with a victory for Israel. Then in the peace process we also conducted ourselves incorrectly. We didn't make use of our military might after the cease-fire; we didn't demand an immediate withdrawal of [Israeli] troops from the occupied territories.

But in the end I think the war will rebound against Israel. I have no doubt of that. After all, the Swedes defeated Tsar Peter I at the battle of Narva, but what was the final upshot of that situation?[11] Thus in similar fashion Israel will be defeated, although I don't know when. Again, I have no doubt of it. Is there an understanding of this in Israel itself? No, there isn't. They're drunk on their victory; their military broadcasts are aggressive and provocative. After defeating the Arabs, the best and most intelligent thing for the Israelis to do would be to immediately pull their troops back to their starting positions. That would surprise the whole world and win I don't know how much sympathy for Israel.

Here I am, a man who is harshly critical of Stalin. But I will say that Stalin was a very smart man. We started a war with the Finns in 1939. Officially it's written that the Finns attacked us, but the Finns never dreamed of doing any such thing! We attacked them. I know that for certain. We wanted Finland to become Soviet. But when the Finns bloodied our nose good and hard, Stalin made peace. As soon as we took the Karelian isthmus[12] he signed a peace treaty. The Finns fought hard and retained their independence, and Stalin, on his side, decided not to be stubborn. Then during the war with Germany, in which the Finns fought against us alongside the Germans, Stalin nevertheless made peace with the Finns again, signing a peace treaty with them [in September 1944], even though the situation was such that we could have fought a little more and conquered all of Finland. But he decided not to do that. Why? I think that this is where Stalin showed his intelligence. By this action [of not continuing war against Finland] he wanted to pave the way for the disintegration of the German coalition. If the Russians didn't want to conquer Finland, that meant they also didn't want to conquer Hungary, Romania, and other countries allied with Hitler. That encouraged Hitler's allies to make peace with us. And that's how things turned out. Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary pulled out of the war.

This is the kind of thing Israel doesn't understand. You may be standing on the banks of the Suez Canal today, but tomorrow you're going to lose Tel Aviv. That's what it all comes down to! Today the United Nations has passed a resolution that Israel must withdraw from the territories it has seized. But Israel won't let go; it's dragging its feet. Well now, what are the Arabs supposed to do? The Arabs have to prepare for war again. If I headed an Arab country and received the necessary weapons, then in perhaps three days I would break Israel into bits. It's entirely possible to do that. After all, if a good runner were to set out from the border that existed before the Six-Day War, starting in the morning, he could have lunch in Tel Aviv. This is a country that's completely within firing range, from one end to the other. It's not the Soviet Union, you know. The Germans had to march and march before they marched as far as Stalingrad, but even from there they would still have had to march so many thousands of kilometers [to completely occupy the Soviet Union]. But what about Israel? A man on a bicycle can leave one border in the morning and reach the other by evening.

People sometimes ask: "Would we [the Soviet Union] assist the Arabs if they wanted to destroy Israel?" Well, the Arabs have now gone through the school of war. [That is, they might be capable of effectively fighting Israel.] Let me recall the following conversation [about being schooled in warfare]. Molotov related it to me once, and Churchill subsequently referred to it. During World War II, when Molotov flew to London for the first time, he was received by Churchill.[13]

Now Churchill was a clever man and a very brazen one. This is what he said: "Mr. Molotov, there in the place where you are sitting Boris Savinkov used to sit when he came to my office back in 1918. I had discussions with him about our landing at Arkhangelsk.[14] On the whole you ought to say 'Thank you' to me for doing that. I taught you how to fight. We organized our intervention, and you learned to fight fairly well. You drove us out. And now [in World War II] you're fighting very well. That was *my school* that you learned from."

Well, now the Arabs have gone through a similar "schooling." And it cannot be forgotten, after all, that Israel lives surrounded by the Muslim world, which fully sympathizes with the Arabs. The Jews are just a handful in that part of the world. That's why I don't think it has realistic long-term prospects for holding onto the territories it has conquered. But it is trying to hold onto them.

Israel has firmly fastened onto the Sinai peninsula. Apparently that peninsula is very valuable property. It has both gas and oil and thus will become even more valuable. Previously it was a desert, representing nothing of value. Nothing grew there. But now its mineral deposits have proved to be far more valuable than any plant life.[15] Despite the value of Sinai's minerals, the policies Israel is now following are unwise. Its victory has gone to its head, so that Israel is no longer able to make a sober evaluation of its place in the world. It's in a very dangerous situation. Today the most intelligent thing for it to do would be to withdraw its troops in exchange for Arab recognition of the state of Israel.[16] Israel's stubbornness will boomerang against it. It's no longer proceeding on an intelligent basis, but acting out of stupidity.

Given this situation, what should the Arabs do? Gather up their strength, as Tsar Peter I did in his day, and win a battle of Poltava.[17] People will say that the Arabs aren't Russians. But back then, the Russians weren't Swedes either.

The Swedish army was the best in Europe at that time. Yet Peter smashed it even though there was no better army than that of the Swedes. In spite of everything that army was defeated by a bunch of peasants in bast shoes.[18]

It must also be kept in mind that behind the Arabs stands the Soviet Union. That means our technology, our advisers, and our schools are available to them. And after all, the Arabs are no "dumber" than the Jews. All people have equal potential. It's only necessary to make skillful use of it. Today the Jews are more advanced, but it's only a matter of time [before the Arabs catch up with them]. Take for example the first years of the revolution in our country. Jews made up a very high percentage of party activists. And that was completely understandable, because they were more literate. That situation doesn't exist now. Why? Because the Russians caught up. Nothing under the sun lasts forever.

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1. The UAR was formed in February 1958. After Syria withdrew in September 1961, Egypt retained the name "United Arab Republic" until 1971, when it adopted a new name, Arab Republic of Egypt. [MN/GS]

2. Syria was under French colonial control from 1919 to 1943. [SS]

3. After the 1958 merger between Syria and Egypt, Nasser's close associate Marshal Amer, vice president of the UAR and commander in chief of its armed forces, was made the local ruler in Syria. Syrian army officers rebelled on September 28, 1961, placed Amer under house arrest, and then expelled him from the country. The rebellion led to Syria's withdrawal from the UAR. [MN/GS]

4. Murat M. Ghaleb was Egypt's ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1961 to 1971. See Biographies. [SS]

5. In the preceding chapter, entitled "Egypt," Khrushchev describes his 1964 visit to that country. [GS]

6. The Aswan High Dam is on the River Nile just north of Egypt's border with Sudan. It controls flooding by capturing Nile waters in a large reservoir called Lake Nasser. Its construction took 18 years and was completed in 1970. [SS] See the preceding chapter for Khrushchev's detailed discussion of the Aswan Dam. [GS]

7. U Thant (1909–74), a Burmese diplomat, was acting secretary-general of the United Nations in 1961–62 and its secretary-general from 1962 to 1971. See Biographies.

8. At its northern end the Red Sea divides into two narrow gulfs: the Gulf of Suez, leading to the Suez Canal, and the Gulf of Aqaba. The Gulf of Aqaba provides Israel, through its port of Eilat, with a direct outlet to the Indian Ocean. Nasser denied Israel access to the Gulf of Aqaba by closing the Straits of Tiran at its southern end. Of course, Israeli shipping was still able to reach the world ocean via the Mediterranean. [SS]

9. Moshe Dayan (1915–81) was chief of the Israeli general staff from 1953 to 1958 and minister of defense from 1967 to 1973. During World War II he belonged to a unit of the British army fighting the Vichy French in Syria. It was there that he lost his left eye. During the Arab-Israeli war of 1948–49, he commanded Israeli forces on the Syrian and Jerusalem fronts. [MN/SS]

10. See Khrushchev's account of the 1956 events in the previous chapter, "Egypt." [GS]

11. Khrushchev is referring to the defeat of Russian troops on the approaches to Narva in 1700 by the army of the Swedish king Charles XII during the Northern War (1700–1721). See note 17 below on the battles of Narva and Poltava. [GS]

12. The Karelian isthmus is situated between the Gulf of Finland and Lake Ladoga. It belonged to the tsarist empire from 1721 to 1917 and to Finland from 1918 to 1940. [SS]

13. See Churchill's account, the chapter entitled "The Molotov Visit," in *The Hinge of Fate* (Vol. 4 of Churchill's memoir-history of World War II), Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1950, pp. 326–44. Churchill states that Molotov arrived in London on May 20, 1942. His main purpose was to press the British government to open a second front on the European continent. After a week of talks in London Molotov flew on to Washington, D.C., for talks with President Roosevelt. The visit is recalled by Eleanor Roosevelt in her memoirs *(This I Remember* [New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949], 250–51). Churchill states that "Molotov returned to London after his American visit" and that the British "agreed with Molotov to the issue of a communiqué, which was published on June 11" (p. 341). A 1994 Russian source indicates that Molotov flew over Germany to London in a PE-8 (TB-7) long-range

Soviet bomber. See V. B. Shavrov, *Istoriya konstruktsii samolyotov v SSSR 1938–1950: Materialy k istorii samolyotostroyeniya* (History of Aircraft Designs in the USSR, 1938–1950: Materials for a History of Aircraft Design) (Moscow: Mashinostroyeniye, 1994), p. 154. [SK/GS/SS]

14. Boris Viktorovich Savinkov (1879–1925) was a leader of the Socialist Revolutionary Party's "combat organization," or terrorist group, before the Russian revolution of 1917. He served in the Provisional Government headed by Kerensky and supported Russian cooperation with the Western Allies in World War I. He opposed the Bolshevik revolution of November 1917, which gave power to the Soviets, and he became active with anti-Soviet groups in Russia and Western Europe. At the beginning of 1918, as leader of an anti-Bolshevik émigré group named the Union for the Defense of Homeland and Freedom, he met with Winston Churchill (at that time British minister of war supplies) to help plan the landing of British troops at Arkhangelsk in August 1918, which coincided with SR-led uprisings in northern Russia.

The British and anti-Soviet Russian forces held a large part of northern Russia until 1920. If they had linked up with anti-Soviet forces controlling Siberia and the Urals region, or with the anti-Soviet forces that unsuccessfully attacked Petrograd from Estonia in 1919, they would have been in a position to attack Moscow from the north, striking at the heart of Soviet power. However, the Soviet government and its Red Army successfully warded off all these threats. British troops were withdrawn in part because of large protests in Britain, especially by British workers, for example, a dock workers' strike in which Ernest Bevin participated (mentioned by Khrushchev in Volume 1 of the present edition). [GS]

15. The Sinai peninsula consists of about 59,000 square kilometers (23,000 square miles) of mountainous, desert, and semidesert terrain between the Gulf of Suez and the Gulf of Aqaba (see note 8 above). In the 1970s the Israelis discovered oil and gas fields in the northern Sinai (the Alma oil field and the Sadot and Shiqma gas fields). Other mineral deposits in the Sinai include potash, copper, manganese, and turquoise and other precious stones. Although it is true that the Sinai does not have a rich flora, the use of modern irrigation techniques has enabled both Israel and Egypt to bring areas of the northern Sinai under cultivation. [SS]

16. In accordance with the peace treaty signed by Egypt and Israel at Camp David on March 26, 1979, Israel withdrew its military forces from the Sinai and dismantled its settlements there by 1982, while Egypt became the first Arab country to recognize the State of Israel. [SS]

17. In 1700, the Swedish army under King Charles XII defeated a much larger Russian army under Peter the Great at the battle of Narva (in what is now Estonia), the first great battle of the so-called Northern War (1700–1721). A few years later, in 1709, a reorganized, rearmed, and retrained Russian army dealt the Swedes a resounding defeat at the battle of Poltava in Ukraine. The Swedes had invaded Ukraine from Poland, which Charles XII, an ambitious, expansionist ruler, had also conquered. [GS]

18. The Russian word is *lapotniki,* which literally means "those who wear *lapti.*" A *lapot* (plural, *lapti)* was a shoe or sandal woven from strips of linden bark or strips of bast. Such footwear was worn only by the poor and uneducated; those who were better off could afford to buy leather shoes. By extension, therefore, *lapotnik* also means "ignorant, uneducated person." Such humble footwear became a symbol of Russia's backwardness. The phrase *lapotnaya Rossiya* was also used to designate Russia before the 1917 revolution. [SK/GS]

FROM SYRIA TO YEMEN

Now I want to tell about our relations with some other Arab countries, not just Egypt. Such relations improved after 1956, when Soviet intervention stopped the military assault on Egypt by Britain, France, and Israel. In the Arab world our authority rose immediately, with widespread approval

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This section of the memoirs was tape-recorded in 1970. [SK] of our peace-loving policy in defense of underdeveloped countries and nations that were freeing themselves from colonial oppression and taking the road of independence. In particular very, very good relations were established between Syria and us. The Syrian government was pursuing an independent policy and understood us correctly. It moved willingly in the direction of rapprochement with the USSR. Representatives of Syria arrived frequently in the Soviet Union and our delegations went to Syria. Several agreements were signed for the provision of Soviet aid to Syria.

Then it became known to us, from reliable reports coming through our intelligence services, that the United States was about to organize an invasion of Syria, making use of Turkey, as well as Iraq and Iran, for that purpose. We were unable to find out exactly what forces would be drawn from the latter two countries, but John Foster Dulles had obtained their agreement to participate in the aggression, in the event that Turkish forces proved to be insufficient. A detailed plan came into our hands, a plan not only for the invasion itself but for the buildup to it, and we had no doubt about the accuracy of the information we received. We even knew the date when the invasion was to begin. We knew what forces Turkey intended to use, where and how they were concentrated, and how many tank and infantry divisions and how much artillery would take part in this action.[1]

The plan was designed to deal a lightning blow, with the aim of reaching Damascus[2] in one swift thrust, as quickly as possible, to occupy the city and put an end to the independent Syrian government. Was the purpose of this invasion to incorporate Syria into Turkey? Hardly. The idea was to overthrow the progressive form of government in Syria, so as to force that country to follow along in the wake of NATO policy. We worked out a counter plan, together with Syria. It was designed to put pressure on our neighbors, Iran and Turkey, so as to restrain them from aggression. An announcement was made in the USSR that we would hold military maneuvers on our border with Iran, in Turkmenistan. Then we also made a demonstration of our military power on our border with Turkey, in the Caucasus. After that, in agreement with Bulgaria, we organized a similar demonstration of military might along Bulgaria's border with Turkey, with the Bulgarians announcing that they would conduct maneuvers with the participation of the Soviet Air Force. For each step that Turkey took to prepare for war on Syria, once it became known to us, we took steps in response, publicizing our actions widely through the press. And when the time came (the "x hour") for the invasion of Syria, we sent some of our "fighting marshals" [with combat records well known from World War II] to the areas where the military exercises were conducted.

Marshal of the Soviet Union Meretskov headed off to our border with Iran, and Marshal of the Soviet Union Grechko went to our border with Turkey, while Soviet Air Marshal Skripko was already in Bulgaria.[3]

The X hour was drawing near. We knew in advance all the stages of Turkey's preparations for the invasion, and we designated corresponding stages in the preparation of our troops for combat—or more exactly, for a demonstrative display *as though* they were preparing for combat. Turkey continued to build up its invasion force, and we took steps in response, publicizing reports of this in our press. A peculiar kind of contest was going on. According to the plan worked out by the Pentagon, only a few steps remained. We were very well informed about what was happening in Turkey. With great accuracy our people kept Moscow updated. On the eve of the appointed hour (the "X hour") we announced that we would come to the aid of Syria militarily. At that point the United States suggested to Turkey that it cease preparations for war, and subsequently the plans for the invasion were canceled altogether. We were overjoyed at this turn of events, because we didn't want a war then, not at all, not even a local war. We had demonstratively made our preparations only for the sake of stopping the aggression. We remained on alert for some time longer, not being sure that the invasion had definitely been called off. After waiting for a while, we learned that indeed Turkish troops had been withdrawn from the border with Syria.

The Soviet leadership celebrated because we had succeeded in staying the hand of the imperialists without firing a shot. They had raised their sword over the Syrian republic, but bloodshed had been prevented. Besides, this testified to our growing military might, which now had to be taken into account even by such inveterate promoters of imperialist policy as John Foster Dulles.

In general in those days Mr. Dulles constantly sought to worsen relations between the capitalist world and the USSR, putting great effort into the attempt to isolate all the socialist countries from the rest of the world, preventing trade and cultural exchange, and doing us harm in all sorts of ways. The policy of keeping the socialist camp encircled and maintaining a blockade to prevent any contacts played a major role in his foreign policy conception. Not even tourists were allowed to visit us. On one occasion a group of our chess players was denied entry into the United States. And a delegation from our food industry was supposed to attend an international chefs' congress in the United States, but it too was refused admittance. In short, Dulles was sealing all the openings that might allow for communication and interaction between people in our country and those in other countries. He tried to achieve the same result in the Middle East but was unable to. We broke though his blockade in 1956, establishing good relations with Egypt. The imperialists wanted to punish Syria harshly, to indirectly teach Egypt and Lebanon a lesson. I'm not even talking about Iraq, where an extremely reactionary government was performing its functions during those same months [of 1957]. It was headed by a man who had been installed by the British imperialists, Nuri Said, a man of doglike loyalty to his colonialist masters.[4]

We celebrated a bloodless victory. When we were convinced that the threat against Syria had passed, we immediately declared through our press that our military maneuvers had ended and that the commanding officers who had assumed duties in the border area had returned to the performance of their regular duties. What was it that was so special about that operation? Well, we restrained the aggressors at the same time that we were lending a helping hand to Syria, preventing the destruction of the Syrian republic, and we accomplished it without a war. This marked the opening of a new stage in Soviet foreign policy, in which we could attain the objectives we desired by means other than those we had used previously. I was then very much involved in world affairs, and it gladdened my heart that Dulles, who had formulated and implemented U.S. foreign policy based on "positions of strength," had retreated. He wanted to pursue a policy of "balancing on the brink of war," but when he had reached that brink [the limit beyond which war was likely] and sensed the real possibility of a counterblow he decided against crossing that line. By no means does it follow from this that in the future we should draw an incorrect conclusion and adopt the same sort of policy ourselves. After all, it's possible that one of the two sides might not stop at the brink. Neither side, by itself, can determine exactly where that line is drawn. It's easy to slip over the brink and fall into bloodshed. Nevertheless, at the same time that we held those "war games," we showed our ability to keep our forces under control. While making evident a threat [of the use of force], we didn't overdo it.

The events that had unfolded frightened the Syrian capitalists and landowners, and they rushed into Egypt's embrace, proposing the formation of the United Arab Republic [which took place in February 1958], so that they could rely on the reactionary forces in Egypt to prevent the possibility that the progressive forces grouped around the Syrian Communist Party[5] might carry the democratization process further. I've already related how all that ended up, when I told about our relations with Egypt and President Nasser.

The next clash with the United States in the Middle East occurred when the government of Iraq was overthrown in 1958 [on July 14]. We welcomed this event because it eliminated the extremely reactionary government of the imperialist bootlicker Nuri Said, who was universally hated in the Arab world, so much so that [when he was overthrown] the new leader of Iraq, General Kassem,[6] was able to use only one army division to deal with all the forces on which Nuri Said relied. It was reported that Nuri Said put on women's robes, including a chador, in an attempt to conceal himself, but a soldier noticed the military boots sticking out from under the long, loose garment and shot Nuri Said.[7]

After May 1958, when a revolt of the Lebanese began against the reactionary regime in their country, the Americans made a landing of their troops in Lebanon in July. In reply we again organized counter measures, no longer just of a military nature, but public demonstrations. We organized protests in every country of the world where we could do so. We brought the question before the United Nations, succeeded in having an appropriate resolution passed, and finally forced the Americans to evacuate their troops from Lebanon. Thus one more demonstrative campaign for peace on earth and in favor of the liberation movement was victorious. Through the joint efforts of democratic forces around the world we succeeded in restraining the colonialists. The Iraq revolution was also victorious. Our energetic political line raised the authority of the USSR higher than ever, not only in the Arab world but also among all people fighting for national independence.

Then the cutting edge of events shifted to Yemen. Earlier the heir apparent to the throne of Yemen, Prince Al-Badr,[8] had come to our country. He was asking for arms for the struggle against the British, and we helped him. This happened in 1955 before the official visit to Britain by our Soviet delegation [in April 1956].

I met with Al-Badr. What was he like? What impression did he make? We first became acquainted in Moscow. The man who walked into my office was huge, well-built and well-proportioned, a handsome man with broad shoulders. A good impression was left by the conversation I had with him. He had the appearance of a sensible man who understood his country's interests. Our conversation mainly centered on the question of how we could provide aid in the form of arms for driving out the British and freeing the Kingdom of Yemen from the colonialists. Al-Badr told me that he had suppressed an uprising organized by internal forces opposed to his father.[9] A coup had been carried out in Al-Badr's absence. The insurgents were unable to capture the capital city of Sanaa,[10] but they besieged it. Al-Badr returned and with the assistance of neighboring rulers crushed the insurgents and restored the previously existing order. It was hard for me to decide what attitude to take toward what he had done. And I didn't have to decide. After all, as they say among the people, the horseradish is no sweeter than the radish. [In other words, the insurgents may have been no better than the ruling Al-Badr family.] The social and political order that his father represented as imam, religious leader of Yemen's Muslims, and as king, or head of the secular government, was a stronghold of extreme reaction. But I had the impression that the son was already taking a different view of how to rule the country. I didn't discuss any of these subjects with him; I only listened to him.

Of course it was more to our advantage if Yemen existed independent of British rule. That's why we provided aid. This involved not only the provision of arms. The prince also asked us for economic assistance—to build a port facility. "We don't have a real port," he explained. "When the British took the port city of Aden from us[11] we were left with no major maritime docking facilities. Now when ships approach Yemen they have to stop some distance from the shore, and all cargo, including passengers, is unloaded from the ship in small boats. Once the cargo reaches shore, it's carried off on people's backs." The USSR built a port in Yemen at Hodeida on the Red Sea.[12]

Al-Badr seemed to be a man with a sense of humor and a fairly cheerful disposition; and he was apparently not very religious. He had not come alone to our country, he said, but was accompanied by a man his father specially trusted, who was sent along to keep an eye on the king's son and keep him from doing anything inappropriate. This informer kept the prince under observation and reported everything to the king. Al-Badr made a joke of it. "What kind of a spy is he, this mullah? He and I live together at the Hotel Moskva.[13] Our rooms are side by side. One day a waiter brought wine to my room. I looked at him with surprise and said: 'Excuse me, there must be some mistake.' The waiter left. Then I thought to myself that possibly my watchman had ordered wine for himself. Muslims aren't supposed to drink wine—and that's especially true in his case, because he's a representative of our faith. I decided to drop in on him. I walked into his room without knocking, and what did I find? He had a bottle tipped back and was drinking wine from its mouth. Was he ever shaken up when he saw me standing there! He didn't say anything but just stood there with a distraught look on his face. I asked him: 'What are you doing? It's forbidden by Allah. You're violating the Prophet's commandments.' The mullah argued back: 'The Prophet didn't make any direct prohibition against wine.'[14] 'Well, even if the Prophet said nothing directly against wine, you should at least pour the wine into a glass and drink like ordinary people, but there you are sucking it straight out of the bottle. How indecent can you get!'"

The prince laughed as he told this story, as if to say: "See what I've got for a mentor."

The prince seemed to me a man who, it might be hoped, would change the social system for the better once he came to power. According to information from our ambassador, Al-Badr's father was quite ill. He [the king of Yemen] was a dangerous person, a religious fanatic and a petty tyrant capable of anything.

He was a cruel and very reactionary man. Medieval conditions of life persisted in parts of Yemen. Even slavery existed.[15] We sensed that Al-Badr was also waiting for his father to die, so that he could succeed to the royal throne [and make changes]. He openly ridiculed the backward conditions in his country, thus indicating to me that he wanted to introduce a new order of things, although we had no discussions directly on this subject. Al-Badr began treating us with special confidence, and we continued to supply aid to Yemen. When Imam Ahmed, the king of Yemen, died the prince ascended to the throne [in September 1962]. Sometimes it's typical of princes to advocate liberal policies while they are heirs apparent, but later, after gaining the throne, they continue the policies they had earlier opposed when their predecessors were still on the throne.

As it turned out, Al-Badr's rule lasted an extremely short time. Colonel As-Salal, chief of the king's palace guard, overthrew him.[16] Only by accident did Al-Badr escape with his life. For a long time it was thought he had perished, buried under the ruins of the palace. But it turned out he had disguised himself in women's robes and, hiding his face behind a veil, managed to flee the country. With the help of Saudi Arabia he organized a prolonged war against the new government.

At first we didn't know anything about the coup against Al-Badr. Only after the coup had been made did Egypt's President Nasser intervene, deciding to aid those who had risen up against the reactionary regime.[17] Nasser wanted to transfer a number of military units from the UAR [Egypt] to Yemen, but he didn't have airplanes for that purpose. We sold the UAR several Antonov military transports [AN-12s], very good planes, which remain valuable to this day [1970].[18] But it turned out there were no suitable pilots in Egypt. Nasser asked us to provide aid in that form as well. We responded positively to his request and quickly staffed the planes with our crews. Thus Egypt was able to support Yemen and transfer its military units, which served as a reliable base for the new government formed after the coup. Those troops remained in Yemen a long time, right up until the next war with Israel [that is, the Six-Day War in 1967].

But it became clear that Nasser lacked the type of military aircraft necessary for operations against the monarchist forces recruited in neighboring countries, where the Arab monarchs, fearing for their own well-being, wanted to restore the king of Yemen to his throne. We sold Nasser our excellent TU-16 bombers.[19]

Again, he didn't have pilots for them and asked us to assign and send pilots. They were volunteers. They went to Egypt without any fanfare in our press and were transferred from there to Yemen. They went into action to stop the forces that were on the offensive against the troops of the new government. The attackers were crushed.

Our fraternal aid to the insurgent people of Yemen raised the authority of the Soviet Union higher than ever; it was already high in the Arab world. Other nations could see from these examples that the USSR stood for progress not just in words, but in deeds, and when a need for help arose that help was given quickly and decisively. On the other hand, the same events demonstrated that imperialism was growing weaker. It was no longer all-powerful. Its desires exceeded its capabilities. From now on the political balance of forces was tilting more and more in favor of the socialist countries and their spiritual allies throughout the world. Imperialism was compelled to avoid any hasty or thoughtless measures that might draw it into an all-encompassing war. As for us, we by no means sought to initiate conflicts; we were only trying to paralyze the reactionary aggressive forces.

After Dulles died [in 1959] I used to say, among my close friends or when meeting with friends from other countries: "What is said publicly about Dulles is correct. He deserved his reputation as an aggressive person who literally breathed hatred of communism and progress. But we may yet regret the death of Dulles. Yes, he was our enemy and did everything he could against us. But we may yet praise him for being sufficiently sober-minded. He showed good sense about the 'brink of war,' which he mentioned in many of his speeches. He never wanted to go over the brink."[20] During the events in Yemen Dulles was no longer alive, but in that case too the United States refrained from going over the brink.

We established good relations with the Yemen Arab Republic, which had replaced the Kingdom of Yemen, and the UAR even made an alliance with the new republic. As for the imperialists, they take protests seriously only when they see concretely that social and political pressure might develop into military action, when they are confronted with a specific choice between war and peace. That was the means by which we were able to make the aggressive forces retreat and preserved the independence of the countries mentioned above. While pursuing that policy, to the extent that we could, we tried to influence the Arab leaders to take a more understanding attitude toward their neighbor Israel and not try to change the existing borders by means of war. In this connection I remember a conversation I had with Nasser in [May] 1964. He agreed with me then and expressed understanding for our point of view, but he explained: “We have a complicated situation in the Arab world now. The wounds that the Arabs suffered when the state of Israel was founded are still too fresh. The [Palestinian] Arabs were driven from their land, and now these exiled people find themselves in a very hard situation economically and morally. I have to give them moral support and to speak out sharply from time to time against the policies being pursued by Israel.”

I understood Nasser. This was an absolutely correct policy on his part. But today I can’t understand what happened back then. I don’t understand why in summer 1967 Egypt demanded the withdrawal of UN troops from the border between Egypt and Israel. After all, those forces acted as a restraint against aggressive actions by Israel. That’s why the UN forces had been deployed there—to neutralize the aggressor and prevent border clashes, thereby creating conditions favorable to the elimination of military conflicts. It’s not clear to me what aims Egypt was pursuing when it demanded that U Thant withdraw the UN troops. And why did Egypt close off the Red Sea commercial shipping channel being used by Israel [the Gulf of Aqaba]? It was these measures that Israel seized upon as pretexts for its military action against Egypt. If Egypt was getting ready for such a war—and the steps it took can only be understood in that way—why then didn’t it mobilize its forces and place its army on combat alert? After all, in a matter of just six days all the forces of the Arab states who took part in military action were smashed—that is, Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. It’s impossible to make head or tail of this based on the information in our press. And now for Egypt the conditions that have taken shape are much more difficult than they were before.

I regret this very much, but what can I do? All I can do is express my regrets. I am sick at heart, and I don’t understand how this was allowed to happen. I compare the way the USSR conducted itself in 1956, when we were several times weaker than we were in 1967. Why were we able to give effective aid to Egypt then, to repel the British, French, and Israeli forces and compel them to withdraw to the previously existing borders? Why couldn’t we manage to do the same thing in 1967, when our military strength had increased to an incredible degree? Today, after so many years have gone by, it’s hardly worth expecting Israel to take any sensible measures without pressure being applied. Israel would like the existing situation to continue forever. For propaganda purposes it sets specific conditions, saying that if it can negotiate directly with Egypt, the means for reaching an agreement will be found. That would mean a split in the Arab world.[21] It’s exasperating for me to see what appears to be our impotence in this situation when I recall the success the USSR had [previously] in defending Egypt, Syria, and Yemen against the imperialists.

1. These events occurred in 1957. [GS]

2. Damascus, the capital of Syria, is about 320 kilometers (200 miles) south of Syria's border with Turkey and 120 miles west of its border with Iraq. [SS]

3. On Marshals Meretskov; Grechko; and Skripko, see Biographies.

4. Nuri Said (or es-Said) was minister of defense and prime minister under King Faisal ibn Ali, who was installed by the British in 1921. While he promoted Arab unity, helping to found the Arab League in 1945, he persecuted the Iraqi Communist Party, four leading members of which were executed in 1949, and pursued a pro-Western foreign policy, in 1954 signing the Baghdad Pact that established the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). See Biographies. [SS]

5. At this period the Syrian Communist Party was a bitter adversary of the Baathists, Nasserites, and other Arab nationalists. Nevertheless, it had considerable popular support as well as parliamentary representation. [SS]

6. General Abdul Karim Kassem (or Qassim) became prime minister of the newly established republic. He was himself overthrown and killed in the Baathist coup of February 1963. See Biographies. [SS]

7. After Said was killed, his corpse was dragged through the streets of Baghdad. [SS]

8. Prince Al-Badr of Yemen. See Biographies.

9. The father of Prince Al-Badr was Imam (King) Ahmed bin Yahya. Ahmed ascended to the throne following the assassination of his father Imam Yahya in the attempted revolution of 1948, which he brutally suppressed. Ahmed exercised absolute rule. He was also prime minister from 1955 to 1962. [SS]

10. The city of Sanaa (also spelt Sana, San'a, or Sana'a) is over 2,500 years old. It has been a major Muslim religious center since the seventh or eighth century. From 1918 to 1962 it was capital of the Kingdom of Yemen, and from 1962 to 1990 of the Yemen Arab Republic. [SS]

11. Aden has been a trading center for over 3,000 years. It was occupied by the British in 1839, though it became important as a fuelling post for ships bound to India and points east only after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Aden remained under British rule until 1967, when it became the capital of the People's Republic of South Yemen (renamed in 1970 the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen). [SS]

12. Hodeida (Al-Hudaydah) is about 100 miles west of Sanaa. [SS]

13. The Hotel Moskva was an architectural monument. It was built in 1937 and was located near Red Square and the Kremlin, between Manezh Square and Theater Square. It was torn down in 2004 on account of its poor structural condition. It has now been decided to build a near-replica of the hotel on the same site. [SK]

14. There are three verses in the Koran that deal with the use of alcohol and other intoxicants. Two of them are susceptible to a liberal interpretation: in 4:43 the Prophet merely forbids Muslims to pray while intoxicated, while in 2:219 he states that intoxicants "contain some good and some evil, but the evil is greater than the good." In 5:90, however, he calls intoxicants "abominations of the devil" and says: "You shall avoid them." [SS]

15. Slavery was officially abolished by the new republican regime in late 1962. It probably continued to exist de facto. [SS]

16. Al-Badr was in power for just one week, from September 19 to 26, 1962. Colonel Abdullah As-Salal was initially both prime minister and president of the new Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen). He remained prime minister until 1964 and president until 1967. [SS]

17. The civil war in Yemen continued until March 1970. The royalists were backed not only by Saudi Arabia (where Al-Badr took refuge) but also by Jordan and—covertly—by Britain. With the assistance of Nasser's Egypt, the republicans won the war, although some royalists were given government posts. [SS]

18. The AN-12 transport plane was first test flown in December 1957, but due to various accidents it did not become fully operational until the early 1960s. It could carry 58 paratroopers, 82 ordinary soldiers, or up to 3 tons of military equipment a distance of up to 4,800 kilometers (3,000 miles). A modified model, the AN-12A, could also transport missiles and was eventually able to carry a load of 20 tons a distance of 3,000 kilometers (1,900 miles). The AN-12 was able to take off from and land on earth airfields. It could also operate in Arctic or Antarctic conditions on gigantic skis. In all, 1,242 AN-12 planes were produced. [SS]

19. On the TU-16, see note 15 to the chapter "Indonesia" and note 14 to the chapter "Yugoslavia." [SK/SS]

20. Dulles's policy was often referred to as "brinkmanship," the pursuit of an aggressive policy against the USSR right up to the brink of war, but not crossing the line from "cold war" to "hot war." [GS]

21. That is, a separate peace between Egypt and Israel, while hostile relations continued between Israel and other Arab countries. [GS]

RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN COUNTRIES

People sometimes ask me about Soviet relations with the African countries, what they were based on and how they were structured during the time when I held a high post in the party and government. That's not an easy question to answer. I don't know how successful my discussion of this question can be, but I'm happy to record my recollections about it. For all practical purposes, it was a question of our attitude toward the national liberation movement. Our attitude flowed logically from the teachings of Lenin, who not only outlined the theory and tactics of the working-class struggle against capitalism but also put those into practice in the October revolution, which raised the banner of struggle for the liberation of all the oppressed, not just the working class but entire nations. The process of liberation from colonial oppression had begun, and the colonial system was collapsing.

After World War II, Britain was forced to grant independence to India and Pakistan. Later on, France came to realize that it was necessary to offer an option to its colonies to express their preference—whether they wanted to remain part of the French Community or vote for independence. The first French colony to obtain its independence through such voting was Guinea [on October 2, 1958].[1] Of course the fate of Guinea was not decided only by the good will of French President de Gaulle. An active liberation struggle had been organized in Guinea, but when de Gaulle came to power [in 1958] he put forward the proposition that if any African country voted to leave the French Community, France would honor that decision.

Guinea was the first to take that road. De Gaulle's reaction is well known to people who follow the press. He withdrew not only all government officials but also all technical specialists. By doing this, the French wanted to destabilize Guinea economically, calculating that Guinea would not be able to deal with the situation. They may even have hoped Guinea would rejoin the French Community. [Ahmed] Sékou Touré,[2] a true son of his people, became the leader of Guinea. Knowing that Guinea would need aid during the first phase of its independence, we considered it our duty to help, and we extended our hand to aid Guinea as soon as its leadership asked us for help. We sent our specialists and provided material aid. The specialists we sent there even helped them begin printing their new currency [in 1960].[3] The Guineans didn't have the necessary experience and didn't know how this was done. Thus we came to the aid of the first African country after World

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This section of the memoirs was tape-recorded by Khrushchev in 1970. [SK]

War II to gain its independence as the result of many years of struggle against the colonial rulers.[4]

Then Sékou Touré came to our country and we became personal acquaintances. We began to call him "comrade." Maurice Thorez [head of the French Communist Party] gave a very good character reference for Sékou Touré. He had known Touré in trade-union work. Touré had been one of the leaders of the trade-union movement, and Thorez had had connections with the African trade unions.[5] Touré impressed us as a well-educated man who understood the essence of the class struggle and the struggle for national independence. In these areas complete mutual understanding arose between us. But we were put on our guard, and I include myself personally (it was I who conducted negotiations with him on behalf of the Soviet government) by some uncomplimentary remarks he made about the French Communist Party and about Maurice Thorez personally as the leader of that party.

Our attitude toward Thorez was one of great respect. Even today I maintain that attitude toward this remarkable Frenchman, my colleague in the sense that we both worked in the coal industry; he too had been a mineworker. Touré's attitude toward Thorez not only put me on my guard, but I felt offended by it. After all, how could you speak in such a free and easy manner about the French Communist Party and its leader when they had done literally everything to help the struggle of the Guinean people for independence? Anyhow, that's the way it was. Later on, our first impressions were supplemented by others that were even more bitter and painful.

The Guineans again asked us for help when they wanted to build an airport (or complete construction of an airport) that could accommodate very heavy airplanes. Again we willingly sent them our technical specialists and provided materials. Nevertheless, when the Caribbean crisis erupted, which could have brought us into armed conflict with the United States [in October 1962], the Sékou Touré government denied us the possibility of using Guinea as a stopover on our way to Cuba, refusing permission for our planes to land in their country at all. And yet our planes needed at least one stop to refuel before crossing the ocean. If we had been able to refuel in Guinea, that would have been a saving grace for us. But we were refused permission. We were told that there were "technical conditions" preventing Soviet planes from landing at the new airport. One wonders who would know better the technical conditions at the airport—the government of Guinea or our technical specialists who had built the airport? Naturally we placed no confidence in those explanations, and we regarded that as an action against the USSR and in favor of the United States. Yet the Soviet Union had stood and still stands with all its heart in support of those struggling for independence, including the people of Guinea.

I met with Touré two or three times. In his conversations with me, he took, as I have said, an incomprehensible position, as we saw it, toward the French Communist Party, and later he displayed the same kind of attitude toward the USSR. As for us, we thought that Guinea ought to take a position in unity with the socialist countries in the struggle against imperialism. But that didn't happen. There were additional distressing events. Our embassy reported that the Guinean leaders were busy enriching themselves personally and that Sékou Touré's brother had set himself up as the owner of private properties on a huge scale.

In short, the events in Guinea were not a source of satisfaction for us. They provided no grounds for assurance that this country would take the road of building socialism and would become our ally in the battle against imperialism. Well, what can you do? The social and political direction of changes in any country depends on the people themselves. The people choose their own path. But when the leaders are busy enriching themselves, that cannot in any way be explained as an expression of the will of the people. On the contrary, if that happens, it's at the expense of the people. Some individuals want to arrange for their own personal prosperity above all else, and they set themselves up with private property, which later becomes a heavy weight around their necks, dragging them down and determining their social outlook.

Thus a fissure appeared in relations between Guinea and us, and later we nearly suffered a break in relations over something that was, strictly speaking, a foolish minor incident. One of our college-level instructors, a woman who was working in Guinea, refused to return to the Soviet Union. Apparently the agencies of the Soviet government that were concerned with this problem displayed excessive bureaucratic zeal with the intention of somehow forcing her to return to our country. When I found out about that, it made me angry and I explained to them: "What difference does it make? If this woman wants to stay in Guinea let her stay. Maybe she's found a worthy mate for herself. Please, let her stay." Nevertheless, a heated diplomatic exchange flared up over this question. The Guineans, with Touré at their head, regarded the actions of the Soviet government agencies as an insult. In their minds they associated our attitude with colonialism, when whites had opposed marriage with blacks.

Well, why did we have to make such a fuss over this instructor who wanted to remain in an African country? Truly this was stupidity! I don't know how that incident ended, but I thought then and I still think now that she had fallen in love with someone, and that's why she made the decision to stay there. This is a private matter, and generally speaking, we ought to treat such questions in a more liberated way. For us the question of whether a person is white, black, or yellow is not important. The main thing is a person's soul, their class position, which camp they belong to—that is the main basis for evaluating people, not the color of their skin. Of course when conflicts of this kind arose we tried to play them down and keep them quiet somehow. We assumed that sooner or later the leaders of Guinea would come to realize that they had understood the actions of some individuals incorrectly or perhaps even mistakes that we had committed. We hoped that in the end we would converge on a position held in common of fighting against the colonialists.

The liberation struggle of the Algerian people was something we regarded with great attention and sympathy. The Arabs of Algeria, like those of Egypt, had been conducting a heroic struggle for a number of years against the French colonialists.[6] We aided them by all means available to us. We sent weapons to them, although this was difficult to accomplish. The French imperialists at that time were doing everything they could to prevent weapons from reaching the Algerians. It was necessary to send them by way of Morocco or other countries. As the result of many years of revolutionary armed struggle, the Algerian people finally did win their independence.[7] The government of an independent Algerian republic was formed. Later Ben Bella, a worthy son of the Algerian people, became president. I met with him more than once in the Soviet Union, and our last meeting took place in Egypt, when I was there on an official state visit [in May 1964].[8]

Ben Bella made the very best of impressions on me. Other African leaders, even those who came out of the grassroots people's movement, did not take a firm position on the basis of scientific socialism. It could not be said that they didn't know what socialism was. Most of them were educated people. But they wavered. The president of Algeria, on the other hand, immediately said that his country would begin to develop and would organize its life on the basis of scientific socialism. It would not be based on some surrogate or artificial concept such as "Arab socialism." There were other types of "socialism" of a similar kind that were being bruited about. But no, Ben Bella adopted the formula precisely of scientific socialism, although of course he took into account the particular features that must be recognized in undertaking the building of a new life for society in Algeria.

Unfortunately, a little while later [in 1965] a coup d'état was carried out in Algeria, headed by Minister of Defense Houari Boumédienne, who later became the head of the government.[9] Some members of the revolutionary government took part in the coup. The fate of Ben Bella is unknown to me, but he was a remarkable individual. We liked him because of his correct understanding of the cause and his correct leadership of the people in their struggle to build a new society. A report has just appeared in our press [in 1970] saying that his mother met with him, that he was alive and well, but condemned to political inactivity.[10] Yet he was a young man and could have done a great deal. He was a major political figure, distinguished by sober-mindedness and the ability to see things over the long term, a man who took a firm position on the ground of scientific socialism.

At one point one of the leaders of the Algerian Communist Party[11] told me about a conversation he had with Ben Bella with regard to the situation the Communist Party found itself in after the victory of independence. The Communist Party remained illegal, as it had been before. The explanation for this is that when the National Liberation Front, the Algerian FLN [Front de la Libération Nationale] was preparing for an armed uprising, the Communists expressed their opposition to that idea. They didn't believe in the possibility of victory. The secretary of the Algerian Communist Party did at first speak in favor of the armed uprising, and he himself joined the ranks of the FLN, but later at a certain stage of the events, the Algerian Communist Party decided that the armed struggle would not be successful and that the necessary conditions for it had not yet matured. In addition to all that, the Algerian national bourgeoisie of course was opposed to Marxist-Leninist theory and the Communists. For one reason or another, the Communist Party remained illegal.

However, Ben Bella said to the Communists, as I was told: "You should enter and get involved in government organizations that exist in Algeria—also in the trade unions and other social organizations. Don't do this as members of your party but as individuals worthy and capable of occupying such posts." As for us [in the Soviet leadership], we also advised the Algerian Communists to take advantage of all opportunities of this kind. We wanted their party to join the ranks of the FLN and rise to leading positions in that organization. When Ben Bella and his close comrades in arms declared that they stood on the grounds of scientific socialism, there were no longer any ideological disagreements between them and the Communist Party, although some particular questions remained in dispute.

When we met in Egypt, Ben Bella, as before, took a position that was most acceptable in our eyes. He spoke unconditionally in favor of scientific socialism and, most important, understood the doctrine well. Other representatives of the Arab peoples wavered on this question and failed to speak out clearly. That is to say, everyone except Nasser. At the big public rally in Aswan, Nasser also declared that in his domestic policy he would base himself on scientific socialism. As for their foreign policy, the Arabs had already taken a clear position. They stood firmly against a new world war, for peaceful coexistence, and for good relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

I see from materials in the press nowadays that the Algerian leader Boumédienne, who carried out the coup [in 1965], is conducting the same kind of policy in principle that his predecessor carried out. Friendly relations with the Soviet Union are being maintained and developing further, as well as with the other socialist countries. Algeria holds the same position on international questions as it did before. I don't know Boumédienne personally. I never met with him, although I read that he is by no means an accidental figure in the leadership, that he was prominent among those who fought against the French occupation. Thus he is a worthy individual from the standpoint of his participation in the revolutionary struggle. It's true that, even before the coup he carried out, some members of the Algerian government told us they thought he was a reactionary figure capable of carrying out a coup. Boumédienne came to visit our country several times, but he met mainly with our military people.

I will now speak about the president of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah.[12] I met with him several times. He was a very interesting person, a winning conversationalist, intelligent and well-educated, but he spoke with restraint on the question of the social and political tendency of development in Ghana. Gradually he became more and more imbued with confidence in the Soviet Union and its leadership. From personal conversations it was possible to conclude that in the future he would have undertaken to declare that Ghana was choosing the socialist path—if and when internal conditions in Ghana became ripe for such a declaration. But officially he made no public statements about scientific socialism.

We were troubled by the fact that Nkrumah had been educated in Britain and had gone to a university in England. After Ghana gained its independence [becoming an "independent" member of the British Commonwealth in 1957] all the officers in its army remained British. What kind of independence is that if the former colonial rulers still control the command staff of your army? In a cautious manner we pointed out to Nkrumah that this situation in his country was holding him back. Later on [in 1966], reactionary officers of the Ghanaian army did play a role in ousting the progressive regime in Ghana.

I had several conversations with Nkrumah on this subject, trying to convince him that there was a constant danger present in the form of the commanders of his army who were British officers. Ultimately the threat was from the

Western capitalist powers.[13] In the final period [of his presidency] Nkrumah did ask us to assign some of our officers as consultants, so that he could make them part of his personal bodyguard as president. It seems to me we did succeed in sending such people to Ghana, but I don't remember how many. Of course, a mere handful of people are not able to ensure the stability of a government. The Ghanaian army remained under the influence of the same British officers I have mentioned. This created favorable conditions for the antidemocratic capitalist forces. And they achieved their aims. They changed the situation in the country, and a new military government began to eliminate the democratic institutions created under the leadership of Nkrumah. Ghana then took its stand firmly on the capitalist road of development.

I remember Nkrumah's arrival in the Soviet Union. At that time Mikoyan and I were on vacation in the Crimea. Nkrumah came to visit us with his wife, an Arab woman from Egypt.[14] We had pleasant conversations with him. The coup in Ghana took place also during a trip he was taking, but this time he was on his way to China.[15] He was flying in one of our planes, and when he found out about the events in his country, he was forced to turn back, but he didn't return to Ghana. He couldn't. He was forbidden to [by the new military rulers of Ghana]. From the USSR he flew to Guinea. The president of Guinea must be given credit. Sékou Touré welcomed Nkrumah fraternally and even proclaimed him to be the vice president of Guinea, creating this high position in society specifically for him.[16] As for Ghana, the government there continues to pursue a pro-Western policy line to this day. Some attempts to return to the former course [followed by Nkrumah] have been unsuccessful.

Now I will talk about Mali. After Mali won its independence[17] some progressive forces came into the leadership. Modibo Keita became the president of Mali.[18] Modibo Keita was also a very interesting man and an intelligent politician. Physically he was enormous. I remember that after he spoke at a big public meeting in Moscow, he and I embraced. I felt as though I was being hugged by a bear. Later I saw a photograph of that moment and it always made me laugh. In his height and size and weight Keita was simply a giant. When he was visiting our country he stated rather loudly (and later he did the same in his own country) that Mali would develop on the road of scientific socialism and that it was the only correct road for his country.

Unfortunately, he didn't succeed in establishing a solid position for himself inside his own country, and he was unable to render harmless the antisocialist forces. A military coup was carried out there as well [in November 1968]. Keita was removed from power. I don't know where he is now or whether he is still alive.[19] He was our very good friend. At the present time I don't know what social position the government of Mali takes. All I can see or tell is that it's antisocialist, which means it's also anti-Soviet. If it held a different position, there would have been no reason to remove such a progressive president as Modibo Keita.

Despite the fact that the democratic forces were defeated both in Ghana and in Mali and their progressive leaders were ousted, I as a Communist remain profoundly convinced that justice will triumph in those countries in spite of everything, that new forces will grow up who will follow the correct path, making use of Marxist-Leninist theory and the experience of the socialist countries, where that theory is applied in practice.

After the peoples of Somalia gained their independence,[20] we also established good relations with that country. Government delegations came to our country from Somalia, and we decided to aid their country, as we had others, providing all possible assistance. When the Somalis asked us for weapons we provided them on favorable terms. To the north of Somalia was Eritrea, formerly an Italian colony, which had come under British control.[21] When the time came for it to gain its independence the appetite of the Somalis was whetted. The Somali republic wanted Eritrea to become part of its country, since Somalis also live there—people of the same nationality, who had been divided up by the colonialists.[22] On the other hand, Ethiopia also wanted to absorb Eritrea and presented evidence of its historical rights to that territory.[23]

When we provided arms to the government of Somalia, that upset Ethiopia. Its emperor, Haile Selassie,[24] asked us not to supply arms to Somalia and to take an understanding attitude toward the evidence proving that historically Eritrea had belonged to Ethiopia. We found ourselves in a rather delicate position. On the one hand, we sympathized with the new government of Somalia, but on the other, we had good relations with Ethiopia, and historically we had been friendly with that country. We didn't want these two former colonial countries to clash, and we were obliged to display a great deal of diplomatic flexibility. I see from material in the press that another military coup recently [in October 1969] took place in Somalia,[25] and a fairly progressive new leadership has come to power there. It has declared that it will base its policies on scientific socialism and chart a course toward friendship with the USSR. Meanwhile, how do things stand with Ethiopia? What this means of course is that new complications have arisen.[26]

During the time when I was part of the Soviet leadership we established good relations with Morocco. I met with the crown prince, who later became King Hassan II,[27] during my visit to the United Nations General Assembly [in 1960]. At that time I headed the Soviet delegation, and Prince Hassan came there too as a representative of the Moroccan government. We had a brief conversation with him, which subsequently had good results. An official Soviet delegation was invited to Morocco, and it was headed by the chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, [Leonid] Brezhnev.[28] At that time he was received by King Mohammed V, who is now deceased.[29]

These contacts contributed to the strengthening of good relations between our countries. Our attitude toward the young country [that is, the newly independent government] of Morocco was one of sympathy. It should be noted that after Algeria won its independence Morocco made claims on some border areas of Algeria. The impression was created that an armed conflict could break out between them. Our sympathies were more on the side of Algeria, but their dispute caused fresh difficulties for us. To the gratification of all , no serious armed conflict developed, and the disputed questions were resolved by diplomatic means.

Under King Hassan II Morocco began to pursue a special policy. The country retained monarchical political institutions and took the capitalist road of development while remaining a genuinely independent country, free from colonial rule. Although it took this special position, in the struggle of the Arab peoples against Israel Morocco sympathized with the line of pan-Arabism. Although it didn’t take part directly in that struggle, its policies apparently reflected the personal sympathies of the king. We need to develop friendly relations with Morocco. Rulers do not live forever, but their countries remain. Of course we would like it if the socialist system was victorious in Morocco, but in the meantime let the king rule the country. What will come next history alone can show.

We adhere to a policy of nonintervention in the internal affairs of other countries, and a confirmation of that may be seen in the good relations we have with all countries that have gained their freedom from colonial rule but who adhere to a capitalist orientation. We have good relations with several neighbors that are monarchies, for example, Afghanistan. The basis for these relations was laid in the first years when an independent Afghan state was established. That was back in Lenin’s time. He recognized the Afghan state and established diplomatic relations with it. Under Stalin relations were in a rather frozen or stagnant condition. It was only after Stalin’s death that we managed to change the situation, and our relations have become the warmest and friendliest possible. I am very pleased that during the time when I was part of the leadership we achieved this fundamental change in the situation.

The October revolution, the defeat of Nazi Germany, and especially the successes of the Soviet Union after World War II, our progress in the development of industry, science, and the space program—all this has caused more and more people to pay attention to scientific socialism and to the socialist path of development. The people who have freed themselves from colonial oppression are becoming more and more convinced that the only correct choice is to put an end to the capitalist system and turn onto a new road, the road of socialism. In the realm of theory, socialism was founded by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and it has been put into practice by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. It seems evident that sooner or later all the peoples of the world will take this path, because it is the only right path for working people—for the working class, the working peasantry, and the working intelligentsia.

1. The Republic of Guinea is a coastal state in West Africa between Senegal and Mali to the north and Sierra Leone and Liberia to the south. The majority of the population of about 9 million is Muslim. The capital is Conakry. The country became a French colony in the 1880s. [SS]

2. Ahmed Sékou Touré (1922–84) became general secretary of the Democratic Party of Guinea in 1947 and president of Guinea in 1958. See Biographies.

3. Guinea left the financial zone of the French franc and introduced the Guinean franc as its national currency in 1960.

4. Guinea was not in fact the first African country to gain independence: Ghana had been granted independence within the British Commonwealth in 1957. [GS] The Republic of Guinea was proclaimed on October 2, 1958 (in accordance with the results of the referendum of September 28, 1958). [MN]

5. Sékou Touré was a trade union activist in the 1940s. In 1945 he became general secretary of the Postal Workers Union. For more on Sékou Touré and Thorez, see Biographies. [SS]

6. Algeria is situated along the coast of North Africa, between Tunisia and Libya to the east and Morocco to the West. Its population is about 80 percent Arab and 20 percent Berber. The main phase of the armed struggle for Algerian independence began in 1954, when the National Liberation Front was set up by Algerian political exiles in Egypt. [SS]

7. In March 1962 France and the National Liberation Front signed an agreement to terminate hostilities. France recognized the independence of the Republic of Algeria on July 3, 1962, following the Algerian independence referendum of July 1, 1962. [MN/SS]

8. Khrushchev describes this visit above (including his conversations with Ben Bella) in the chapter entitled "Egypt." On Ben Bella, see Biographies. [GS]

9. The army removed Ben Bella from office on June 19, 1965. The Council of the Revolution, headed by Colonel Houari Boumédienne, seized power and in July 1965 formed a new government. Colonel Houari Boumédienne (1927–78) was active in the fight for Algerian independence. He was minister of national defense in 1962–63 and first deputy prime minister from 1963 to 1965. From the coup of 1965 until his death he was prime minister as well as chairman of the Council of the Revolution. In addition, he was elected president in December 1976. [MN/SS]

10. Ben Bella was held under house arrest at this time. He went into exile in 1980 and was allowed to return in 1990. As of mid-2006 he is still alive and once again active in public affairs. See Biography. [SS]

11. Algerian sections had existed within the Communist Party of France since 1920. In 1936 an independent Algerian Communist Party was proclaimed. In 1955 it went underground and it was not legalized after Algeria obtained its independence. From 1964 onward, its members began to join the National Liberation Front of Algeria. The Communist Party was reborn in 1968 as the Party of the Socialist Vanguard of Algeria.

12. Kwame Nkrumah (1909–72) founded the People's Congress Party of the Gold Coast in 1949. He was head of the country's government from 1952 to 1957, prime minister of the Republic of Ghana from 1957 to 1960, and its president from 1960 to 1966. He was deposed by a military coup. See Biographies.

13. Recently declassified documents confirm that covert action by the United States did play a role in the coup. [SS]

14. Nkrumah's wife was Fathima Rizk, an Egyptian of Coptic (Christian) origin. It was widely believed that the marriage, which offended some Ghanaians, served the purpose of strengthening ties between Ghana and Egypt, although Nkrumah never spoke of it in these terms. [SS]

15. The coup was carried out by senior police and army officers on February 24, 1966. The People's Congress Party was disbanded and political activity banned. In 1969 the military transferred power to

a conservative civilian government headed by Dr. Busia. A new military coup followed in 1972. [MN/SS]

16. Nkrumah was in fact appointed honorary co-president of Guinea. [SS]

17. In the mid-1890s, the largely desert inland West African territory that is now called Mali became a French colony known as the French Sudan—not to be confused with the former British colony to the south of Egypt, also known as Sudan. The French Sudan proclaimed independence as the Republic of Mali and left the French Community on September 22, 1960. [MN/SS]

18. Modibo Keita (1915–77) was general secretary of the Sudanese Union from 1947 to 1968 and head of government and president of the Republic of Mali from 1960 to 1968. He was overthrown in a military coup and died in prison. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

19. Following the coup, Lieutenant Moussa Traoré was installed as president. At the time this was recorded Keita was still alive, but he was in jail. He was still in jail when he died in 1977. [SS]

20. The British colony of Somaliland—the northern section of the territory, situated right on the Horn of Africa—obtained its independence on June 26, 1960. The Italian colony of Somali followed suit on July 1, 1960. Thereupon they united to form the Somali Republic (Somalia). Somaliland withdrew from the union with Somalia in 1991, although its independence has not been widely recognized. [MN/SS]

21. Areas along Ethiopia's Red Sea coast came under Italian control in the 1880s and were combined in 1890 into the colony of Eritrea (from the Latin for "Red Sea"—Mare Erythraeum). In spring 1941 Eritrea was occupied by Ethiopian and British forces and came under British military administration. [SS]

22. Besides making up the great majority of the population in Somalia and Somaliland, ethnic Somalis predominate in the Ogaden region of southeastern Ethiopia and in the Northeastern Province of Kenya. They also constitute about 60 percent of the population of Djibouti, a former French colony situated between Somalia and Eritrea on the Gulf of Aden. Somalia has laid claim on this basis to all three of these territories. However, Eritrea does not contain a substantial Somali population and Somalia has not laid claim to it. Khrushchev is probably confusing the issue of the secession of Eritrea from Ethiopia with the issue of the territorial dispute between Ethiopia and Somalia over the Ogaden. [SS]

23. Ethiopia's "historical right" to Eritrea was based on the fact that most of the territory of present-day Eritrea was part of the Ethiopian empire from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. In addition, there is no clear ethnic boundary between Ethiopia and Eritrea: in particular, the Tigrayans, a major Ethiopian nationality, also make up about 40 percent of the population of Eritrea.

In 1952 Eritrea was absorbed into Ethiopia. Following prolonged fighting between the Ethiopian government and the People's Front for the Liberation of Eritrea, Eritrea regained its independence in April 1993. [SS]

24. Tafari Makonnen (1892–1975), renamed after his coronation Haile Selassie I, was emperor of Ethiopia from 1930 to 1974. He was overthrown in the military coup led by Mengistu Haile Mariam. See Biographies. [MN/SS]

25. On October 15, 1969, the president of the Somali Republic, Abdirashid Shermark was killed. On October 21, 1969, army officers headed by Major General Mohammed Siad Barre seized power and installed the Supreme Revolutionary Council as the country's governing body. Barre became head of government. Later, in 1976, he became president of the Somali Republic, remaining in office until 1991. For more on Shermark and Barre, see Biographies. [MN/SS]

26. The pro-Soviet orientation of the Siad Barre regime in Somalia prompted Ethiopia to shift to a pro-U.S. orientation. Following the overthrow of Haile Selassie in 1974, the new Ethiopian government sought Soviet support; this in turn prompted Somalia to return to a pro-U.S. orientation. [SS]

27. Hassan II (1929–99) was king of Morocco from 1961 until his death. Concurrently he was head of government from 1961 to 1963 and from 1965 to 1967. See Biographies.

28. Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev became chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium in May 1960. He visited Morocco from February 9 to 11, 1961, on his way to Guinea. [SK]

29. King Mohammed V (1909–61) ascended to the Moroccan throne in 1957. See Biographies.

APPENDIXES

How Khrushchev Subdued America

1960 TURNED OUT TO BE AN incredibly difficult year for the USSR. The spy pilot Powers, whom we shot down near Sverdlovsk, complicated our relations with America. The four-power meeting of the "nuclear club" in Paris was a fiasco. And against this background there followed the news of the arrival in New York of a Soviet delegation headed by Khrushchev to take part in the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

The Soviet delegation arrived in New York on September 19 on board the ocean liner *Baltika*.

The next day Khrushchev went to meet Fidel Castro. Castro was staying in Harlem, a black district of New York, at the Hotel Theresa. The Cuban delegation had previously been housed in another hotel downtown, but the owner had charged an exorbitant rent. The Cubans reacted by setting off, rucksacks on their backs and suitcases in their hands, for the United Nations building. Castro himself had barged into the office of Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold and declared that he would not leave until the latter had provided the delegation with accommodation. Otherwise, said Castro, they would pitch their tents on United Nations territory, in the public garden, and live there until the end of the session. After all, they were military people and used to hard living. A hotel, of course, was found immediately.

When we got close to the Hotel Theresa, we found it surrounded by a crowd five thousand strong. The noise and the yelling were unbelievable. Some were shouting "Long live Castro!" and others "Death to Castro!" There were plenty of cops and detectives there. However, instead of imposing order and keeping a corridor open for passage, they all clustered in front of the entrance and blocked passage into and out of the hotel. So the lads from the Ninth Directorate had to handle the situation on their own. In the melee that ensued I too had to make use of my fists.

The next day the newspaper *The Daily News* reported that "the hefty chief of Khrushchev's guard, 6 feet 3 inches tall and weighing 220 pounds, began to flail around with his fists, which landed mainly on the police."

This article, originally published in *Argumenty i Fakty* no. 52 (2000): 12, forms part of the reminiscences of retired Colonel General Nikolai Zakharov, who was first deputy chairman of the KGB and head of the KGB's Ninth Directorate, responsible for guarding top state figures. The text was prepared by V. Muruzi.

A fuller version of the text has now been published in the book by Nikolai Zakharov, *Skvoz gody: Vospominaniya* [Through the Years: Memoirs] (Tula: Izdatelstvo "Grif," 2003), 251–60.

But no scandal resulted. From that point on, the police let me through into the United Nations building, in which, naturally, strict security was maintained, without showing my pass, greeting me with a salute to their caps.

On October 12, there took place the stormiest session of the United Nations General Assembly. The question under discussion, introduced by the Soviet delegation, was that of the abolition of the colonial system. Khrushchev spoke first. After his speech a Filipino took the rostrum and said, among other things, that the Soviet Union was a "concentration camp."

When Khrushchev heard the simultaneous translation, he exploded. It was worse than insulting. It was downright unjust! After Stalin's death and the shooting of Beria, thousands of innocent people had been rehabilitated and released from the camps and prisons. That Khrushchev deserved credit for this was indisputable.

Sitting behind Khrushchev, I saw how he consulted with Gromyko and then resolved to ask the president of the session [Frederick Henry Boland][1] to give him leave to speak on a point of order—a right provided for under the official procedure. Nikita Sergeyevich raised his hand, but Boland either did not see it or pretended not to see it. Khrushchev stood up and again raised his hand. Now it was simply impossible not to notice Nikita Sergeyevich standing there with his hand raised. But the speaker continued to hold forth, while the head of the Soviet delegation continued to stand with his hand raised. It seemed that the chair was simply ignoring him.

Then Khrushchev took off one of the light boots he was wearing and began to bang it on the table. He banged to a regular rhythm, like the pendulum of a metronome. That was the moment that entered world history as Khrushchev's famous shoe. The conference hall of the United Nations had never seen its like before. A sensation was born right before my eyes.[2]

It was only then that Boland gave the head of the Soviet delegation leave to speak. As he approached the rostrum, Nikita Sergeyevich waved his hand in front of the Filipino's nose, as if to say: "Go away!"[3]

The agitated Khrushchev began to speak. His opening was not bad.

"First of all," he said, "I protest against the behavior of the president of the session, against the unequal way in which he treats different speakers. The president of the session is abusing his rights to defend the interests of the imperialists. Why did he not stop the Filipino when that imperialist *kholui* was defaming the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist camp?"

At that point the simultaneous translation came to a halt as the interpreters frantically searched for equivalents for *kholui*.[4] But Khrushchev went on regardless:

"We have gathered together here not to throw lies and slander at one another, but to discuss in a constructive manner the questions of disarmament and the abolition of colonialism. I sit here in the hall and see the Spaniards. Whenever some colonizer supports the policy of colonialism, they applaud. Why? Because they are themselves colonizers. The hangman of the Spanish people is a colonizer and oppresses the enslaved people of the colonies. There is a saying that a crow does not peck out the eyes of another crow. And one colonizer supports another. But we must take a shovel and dig a deep grave, and bury colonialism as deep as we can, and drive in a stake, so that this evil may never be reborn."

Hearing this angry tirade and smarting at the insult, the Spanish delegation suddenly jumped out of their seats. Shaking their fists, they began to threaten Khrushchev. I was unexpectedly transfixed by the thought: "The Spaniards are a fiery people. Perhaps they are carrying knives?" And Khrushchev had to pass close by their delegation to return to his seat. I quickly jumped up, made my way to the rostrum almost at a run, sat down close by, and waited for Nikita Sergeyevich to finish speaking.

Khrushchev came down from the rostrum and returned to his seat. I shielded him from the Spaniards, and not—so it seems to me—needlessly. As soon as we got near to the Francoists, the fiery southerners again jumped up, and the head of the Spanish delegation, unable to reach Khrushchev, threw himself on me. Fortunately, we got back to our seats without suffering any losses.[5]

On October 13, the session unanimously adopted the proposal of the Soviet delegation that the question of the abolition of colonialism be discussed at the plenary session of the General Assembly.

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[1] The Irish diplomat Frederick Henry Boland was president of the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly. See Biographies. [GS/SS]

[2]. The well-known Soviet journalist Ilya Shatunovsky interviewed one of the United Nations employees who worked with the Soviet delegation. She provided some interesting additional details about what happened:

> Khrushchev appeared in the hall after the other delegates. He went up to the heads of the delegations from the socialist countries and shook hands with them. The journalists ran after him, pushing one another out of the way. Microphones were held out to him from all sides. Lights flashed, camera shutters clicked. When Khrushchev was literally a single step away from his place, one of the zealous correspondents accidentally trod on his heel, and his shoe flew off. I quickly retrieved the shoe, wrapped it in a napkin, and when Khrushchev sat down a moment later surreptitiously handed him the bundle under the table. As you can see, there is very little space between the seat and the table. And being plump Khrushchev was unable to bend down to the floor to put on or take off a shoe. His belly was in the way. So he sat there, turning his shoe over in his hand under the table. When the other delegate's speech agitated him, he started in his anger to bang with the thing that happened to be in his hands. If at that moment he had been holding an umbrella or a walking stick, then he would have banged with that. Evidently nobody in the crowd of journalists noticed that Khrushchev's shoe had come off. And apparently even the people sitting right next to him paid no attention to me handing him some kind of bundle. And when he began to

> bang his shoe on the table, everyone assumed that he had taken it off specially for that purpose (N. A. Zenkovich, *Sobraniye sochinenii: Tainy ushedshogo veka: Vlast, Raspri, Podopleka* [Collected Works: Secrets of the Departed Century: Power, Strife, Hidden Motives] [Moscow: OLMA-PRESS, 2000], 1:284).

The New York Times journalist James Ferron claimed that he was there and saw everything with his own eyes. Here is an excerpt from an interview with Mr. Ferron that appeared in the October 5, 1997, issue of *The New York Times*:

> Q. Was that at the time of Khrushchev and the shoe incident?
> A. I actually saw Khrushchev not bang his shoe. He never banged his shoe. He was sitting at his desk in the General Assembly, and they were banging their desks with their fists—the communists and the representatives of the Third World countries—because someone from the Philippines was speaking who was viewed as an American lackey. Khrushchev leaned over, took off a slip-on shoe, raised it, and then waved it pseudo-menacingly and put it on his desk. The only pictures available were pictures of a seated Khrushchev with the shoe resting on the desk. There is no picture of him hitting the desk, because he never did it.
> Q. How did the legend materialize that he banged the desk?
> A. The Associated Press wrote the story that way. And that was the information *The New York Times* used. [SK]

3 The familiar form of the imperative is used, which in this context expresses contempt. [SS]

4 Usually translated as "lackey" or "bootlicker." [GS/SS]

5. Alexei Adzhubei, chief editor of the newspaper *Izvestia*, who was also present at the session, adds his testimony:

> The Filipino got what he deserved: the label of lackey of imperialism. At the end of the next day, he ascended the rostrum and declared that he had looked in several Russian-English dictionaries to find out what the word *kholui* meant. According to one dictionary, it meant "lick-spittle" or "toady." According to another dictionary, an English one, it meant a base and loathsome person, a groveler. He asked Mr. Khrushchev to remove the word *kholui* from the protocols of the General Assembly. At once he had his answer: it would be done, provided that the word *kholui* remained in the protocols where it occurred in the text of the speech of the Filipino delegate. Apparently failing to grasp what this meant, the Filipino said: "I agree. Let the word *kholui* remain in my speech (Zenkovich, *Sobranie sochinenii*, 1:283). [SK]

Biographies

Acheson, Dean Gooderham (1893–1971). American politician. Assistant to the secretary of state during World War II. Headed the U.S. delegation at the Bretton Woods conference of the United Nations in 1944. U.S. representative in the Council of the Aid and Reconstruction Administration of the United Nations. As deputy secretary of state from 1945 to 1947, he contributed to the Baruch Plan for control over atomic energy, the Truman Doctrine concerning aid to Greece and Turkey, and the Marshall Plan. As secretary of state from 1949 to 1953, he was one of the organizers of the North Atlantic Treaty and the Mutual Security Program.

Adenauer, Konrad (1876—1967). West German lawyer and politician. Before World War II leading figure in Catholic Center Party. Mayor of Cologne (Köln) from 1917 to 1933. President of the Prussian State Council from 1920 to 1932. Imprisoned by Nazis in 1934 but later released. After World War II co-founder and leader of conservative Christian Democratic Union (CDU). In 1949 elected first federal chancellor of West Germany. Remained in office until retirement in 1963.

Aidit, Dipa Nusantara (1923–65). Indonesian politician. Son of forestry department employee. Studied at trade school. Organized transportation workers under Japanese occupation. Joined Communist Party of Indonesia (CPI) in 1943. Captured by British forces in 1945 and handed over to Dutch, detained until mid-1946. Became member of CPI CC in 1947 and of its Politburo in 1948. Also chairman of CPI group in Indonesian Central National Committee. Member of pro-Sukarno faction that gained control of party in 1951. From 1954 to 1959 general secretary, and from 1959 until death in 1965 chairman, of its CC. Executed during military countercoup of October 1965.

Some biographies have been adapted from the Russian edition of the memoirs. Most have been compiled with the aid of a variety of reference sources.

Where not otherwise indicated, "people's commissar," "minister," and similar designations refer to "people's commissar of the USSR," "minister of the USSR," and so on. The same applies to people's commissariats, ministries, and other government bodies.

"The party" refers to the party that became the ruling party of the Soviet Union and that was known by different names at different times: the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party or RSDLP (1898–1917), the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Bolshevik) or RSDLP(B) (1917–18), the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) or RCP(B) (1918–25), the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) or AUCP(B) (1925–52), and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or CPSU (1952–91). [SS]

Al-Badr, Mohammed (El-Badr; 1926–96). Crown prince and king of Yemen. Eldest son of Imam (King) Ahmad bin Yahya. Named crown prince in 1955. Introduced reforms promised by father during father's absence abroad for medical treatment in 1960, but reforms annulled on father's return. On father's death succeeded to throne on September 19, 1962. Declared amnesty for political prisoners. Deposed by newly appointed commander of royal guard, Colonel Abdullah As-Salal, on September 26, 1962. Fled to far north of Yemen and rallied tribes to his support, leading to civil war between royalists supported by Saudi Arabia (where he took refuge) and republicans supported by Egypt. Following negotiated end to civil war in March 1970, went into exile in Britain.

Alekseyev (Shitov), Aleksandr Ivanovich (1913–2001). Soviet diplomat and KGB intelligence officer. In Soviet embassies in Iran (1941–43), France (1944–51), and Argentina (1954–58). From 1951 to 1953 on the staff of Soviet Information Bureau (Sovinformburo). From 1958 to 1960 worked for State Committee of Council of Ministers for Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries. From 1960 to 1962 an adviser at Soviet embassy in Cuba. From 1962 to 1969 Soviet ambassador to Cuba. From 1969 to 1974 worked at central offices of MFA. From 1974 until retirement in 1980 Soviet ambassador to the Malagasy Republic (renamed in 1976 Democratic Republic of Madagascar). After retirement remained adviser to Soviet embassy in Cuba.

Alliluyeva, Nadezhda Sergeyevna (1901–32). Stalin's second wife. In 1917, while still at gymnasium, ran away from home with Joseph Stalin (then named Soso Dzhugashvili) and married him in 1918. Their son Vasily born in 1921, daughter Svetlana in 1926. Responsible work in Lenin's secretariat until his death in 1924. Became a student at the Industrial Academy in 1929 (the same year that Khrushchev went there) to study viscose production in the Faculty of Chemistry. Spent 1931–32 in Kharkov with her sister Anna. Committed suicide on November 9, 1932.

Amer, Abdel Hakim (Amir; 1919–67). Egyptian general. Marshal. Graduated from Royal Military Academy (Cairo) and commissioned in 1939. Fought in Arab-Israeli war of 1948. Played leading role in Nasser's revolution of July 1952. Appointed chief of staff in 1953. Commander in chief of joint Egyptian-Syrian military command in Suez war of 1956 against Britain, France, and Israel. Appointed vice president and minister of war in 1958 and first vice president and deputy supreme commander in 1964. Following defeat in Six Day War in June 1967, relieved of all posts and forced to retire. Arrested in August 1967 (together with more than fifty other officers and two former ministers) and charged with plotting coup against Nasser. In September 1967 given choice between taking poison and standing trial for treason. Took poison and received full military burial.

Anders, Wladyclaw (1892–1970). Polish general. Served in Russian army in World War I, then in new Polish army. Fought in Polish-Soviet war of 1920. Promoted to general in mid-1930s. Took part in defense against German attack in 1939 as commander of cavalry brigade. Captured and imprisoned by Soviet forces. Following German invasion of USSR in 1941, freed and placed in command of Wojsko Polskie (Polish Army in USSR) as lieutenant general. By agreement among Allies, transferred to Iran in spring 1942. After World War II lived in Britain.

Andropov, Yuri Vladimirovich (1914–84). Soviet official. Son of white-collar employee. Trained and worked in shipyards as water transportation engineer. In Komsomol posts from 1936. First secretary of Yaroslavl province committee of the Komsomol from 1938 to 1940 and of CC of Komsomol of Karelo-Finnish Republic of RSFSR from 1940 to 1944. Joined party in 1939. During German occupation involved in partisan movement in Karelia. From 1944 in Karelian party apparatus, from 1947 to 1951 as second secretary of CC of Communist Party of Karelo-Finnish SSR. Graduated from Higher Party School in 1950. In apparatus of party CC from 1951 to 1953. Counselor at Soviet embassy in Budapest in 1953–54. Soviet ambassador to Hungary from 1954 to 1957, playing important role in suppression of 1956 uprising. From 1957 to 1967 head of new Department for Liaison with Socialist Countries of party CC. Became member of party CC in 1961, one of its secretaries in 1962 (until 1967), and member of its Politburo in 1973. Chairman of Committee of State Security (KGB) from 1967 to 1982. In 1982 again a CC secretary, then general security from November 1982 until death in February 1984, concurrently chairman of Presidium of Supreme Soviet from June 1983. Hero of Socialist Labor (1974). Army general (1976).

Antonescu, Ion (1882–1946). Romanian general and politician. From bourgeois family. Graduated from cavalry school in 1904 and military academy in 1911. Participated in suppression of peasant revolt of 1907, Second Balkan War against Bulgaria in 1913, World War I (1916–18), and intervention against Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919. Nicknamed “the red dog” for ruthlessness. Military attaché in France and Britain from 1922 to 1926. Director of Higher War School from 1927 to 1930. Chief of General Staff in 1933–34. Minister of defense in 1937–38. Appointed prime minister in September 1940. Named himself Conducator (Leader) and relegated king to decorative role. Brought fascist Iron

Guard into government but outlawed it following rebellion in January 1941. Formed alliance with Germany and joined in attack on USSR in June 1941. Marshal (1941). Dismissed and arrested by King Michael I in August 1944. Put on trial by Communist government in May 1946. Executed in June 1946.

Antonov, Oleg Konstantinovich (1906–84). Soviet designer of transport and passenger aircraft. In youth belonged to a circle of glider enthusiasts. Graduated from aviation division of Leningrad Polytechnical Institute in 1930, then chief designer of Moscow Glider Plant. In 1938 joined A. S. Yakovlev's design bureau. In 1940, at Plant No. 23 in Leningrad, designed plane that could take off from and land on a 500-meter runway. From 1941 to 1943 led a group to build gliders to supply partisans (A-7) and for transport and paratroop landings, then rejoined Yakovlev's design bureau as his first deputy. In 1946 given his own design bureau in Novosibirsk (OKB-153) to make a small transportation biplane, tested in 1948 and named AN-2. Later designed AN-6 for meteorological observation at high altitudes, AN-4 for observing ice and fishing conditions, AN-8, AN-12, AN-22 ("Antei"), AN-26, and AN-124 ("Ruslan") for military transport and paratroop landings, AN-10 and AN-24 passenger liners, AN-14 (which can take off and land on a 60-meter runway), AN-30 for reconnaissance and mapmaking, AN-32 for use in high mountainous areas, and other models. Antei and Ruslan are still world's largest transport planes. Taught at Kharkov Aviation Institute and Kiev Institute of Civil Aviation. Became member of Academy of Sciences in 1981. Recipient of Lenin Prize and State Prize. Hero of Socialist Labor.

Antonov-Ovseyenko, Vladimir Aleksandrovich (1883–1939). Soviet official. Son of officer. Joined party in 1903. Prominent role in armed uprising of October 1917 in Petrograd. Member of first Soviet government and leader of combat operations in Ukraine and against Antonov rebellion. From 1922 head of Political Administration of Revolutionary Military Council. From 1924 to 1934 in diplomatic work. From 1934 public prosecutor of RSFSR. From 1936 Soviet general consul in Republican Spain. Executed, posthumously rehabilitated.

Apostol, Gheorghe (1913–?). Romanian politician. President of General Confederation of Labor from 1944 to 1953. Became member of CC of Romanian Workers Party in 1945 and of its Politburo in 1948. Member of party commission that investigated Ana Pauker in 1953–54 and 1956. First secretary of CC of Romanian Workers Party from April 1954 to September 1955. In March 1965 appointed first deputy prime minister. Signatory of letter criticizing Ceausescu that reached West in March 1989.

Apro, Antal (1913–94). Hungarian politician. Minister of defense and interior, then a deputy prime minister and minister of industry from 1956 to 1958. Became member of Politburo of CC of Hungarian Socialist Workers Party in 1957. First deputy prime minister from 1958 to [at least 1961], concurrently chairman of Hungarian Atomic Energy Commission. Elected speaker of parliament in 1980.

Aref, Abdel Salam (1921–66). Iraqi military officer and politician. Grandnephew of King Faisal I. In 1958 appointed deputy prime minister and deputy commander in chief of armed forces. Colonel. Played leading part in military-Baathist coup of February 1963 against Abdel Karim Kassem and became provisional president. Consolidated his power in new military coup against Baathists in November 1963, confirmed as president. Died in helicopter crash in April 1966, succeeded as president by his brother Abdel Rahman Aref.

Arnold, Karl (1901–58). West German trade union leader and politician. Shoemaker. Studied at Social High School (Munich) in 1920–21. Official of Christian Workers Union from 1920 to 1933, from 1924 its secretary for Düsseldorf region. In 1929 elected to Düsseldorf municipal assembly as representative of Catholic Center Party. Arrested by Gestapo in 1944. In 1945 organized Düsseldorf chapters of Christian Democratic Party and United Workers Union. Mayor of Düsseldorf in 1946–47. Deputy minister president of North Rhine-Westphalia in 1946–47. Minister president of North Rhine-Westphalia from 1947 to 1956. President of Bundesrat in 1949–50, briefly (September 7–12, 1949) acting president of West Germany. First vice president of Bundesrat in 1950–51. In 1956 became deputy federal chairman of Christian Democratic Union. Elected to Bundestag in 1957.

Aung San (1915–47). Burmese politician. Leader of independence movement. Organizer of student strike at Rangoon University in 1936. Graduated in 1937. Became secretary general of Dobama Asi-ayon (We Burmans Association) in 1939. Founding member of Burmese Communist Party in August 1939 and its first general secretary in 1939–40. Went to Japan and countries under Japanese occupation to assist in training of Burmese army officers. Following Japanese occupation of Burma in early 1942, returned to command Burma Independence Army. From 1943 to 1945 minister of defense in Japanese-backed government of Ba Maw, but also organized resistance movement. In August 1944 became president of newly formed Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL). In March 1945 led anti-Japanese revolt of Burmese army as part of national uprising. Following defeat of Japan, headed forces opposed to British colonial control. In September 1946 joined British governor's Executive

Council and became de facto premier, in charge of defense and foreign relations. In January 1947 negotiated independence with British government. In elections of April 1947 won overwhelming majority for AFPFL in constituent assembly. Assassinated in July 1947.

Bakayev, Viktor Georgiyevich (1902–87). Soviet official. From worker's family. Metalworker. Joined Communist Party in 1919. Graduated from Moscow Institute of Transport Engineers in 1929. From 1929 to 1936 worked as engineer for People's Commissariat of Railroads, then as port administrator for People's Commissariat of Water Transport. From 1938 to 1942 lecturer in higher education institutions. From 1943 to 1945 plenipotentiary of State Defense Committee and People's Commissariat of the Merchant Marine for ensuring unloading of food and military cargo at Murmansk port. From 1945 to 1952 deputy people's commissar (minister) of the merchant marine. Doctor of Technical Sciences (1952). In 1952–53 first deputy minister of the merchant marine. In 1953–54 deputy chairman of Bureau of Council of Ministers for Transport and Communications. From August 1954 until retirement in January 1970 minister of the merchant marine. Candidate member of party CC from 1961 to 1971.

Balewa, Abubakar Tafawa (1912–66). Nigerian politician. Studied at London University from 1944 to 1946. Teacher, held posts in educational field in colonial Nigeria. In 1947 elected to legislative assembly of Nigeria's northern region. Founder and deputy president general of Northern People's Congress. In 1951 elected to federal house of representatives. In 1952 minister of works, later minister of transport. In 1957 elected chief minister and formed coalition government. Prime minister on independence in 1960. Re-elected in 1964. Overthrown and killed in the military coup in January 1966 that brought to power the federal military government of army commander in chief Major General Johnson Aguiyi Ironsi.

Bandera, Stepan Andreyevich (1908–59). Ukrainian military leader. Son of priest. During 1920s took part in Ukrainian underground military organization created in Poland by E. Konowalcz. From 1929 member of Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Studied at Lvov Polytechnical Institute. From 1933 chairman of OUN in western Ukraine (then part of Poland). Imprisoned for attempt on life of Polish minister of internal affairs, freed in 1939 by Germans. From 1941 to 1944 led nationalist resistance of Ukrainian Insurgent Army on Ukrainian territory under German occupation, thereafter continued fighting against Soviet forces. In winter 1945 moved to Germany, remained in West Germany under pseudonym of Stefan Poppel. Killed in Munich by Soviet agent.

Barak, Rudolf (1915–95). Czechoslovak politician. Official of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from 1945 and member of its CC and Presidium from 1954 to 1962. Minister of state security from 1953 to 1961, also responsible for foreign intelligence. Vice premier from 1959 to 1962. Removed from official positions in January 1962, then arrested and imprisoned in December 1962. Officially sentenced to fifteen years for theft of foreign currency from a secret fund under his control, although according to some sources his real offense was exposing Novotny's role in Stalin-era purges. Released following January 1968 CC plenum.

Barre, Mohammed Siad (1919–). Somali general and politician. Commander in chief of army from 1965 to 1969. Major general (1966). Following military coup, chairman of Supreme Revolutionary Council and head of government from October 1969 to June 1976. President of Somali Republic from 1976 to 1991.

Batista, Fulgencio (1901–73). Cuban general and politician. Joined army in 1921. In 1933 led "sergeants' revolt" and became army chief of staff. Elected president in October 1940. In 1944, legally barred from re-election, went into exile in Florida. Staged military coup in March 1952 and installed himself as dictator, with close ties to Mafia and United States. On January 1, 1959, fled armed rebellion led by Fidel Castro Ruz to Dominican Republic. Later settled in Portugal and Spain.

Bazhan, Mikola (Nikolai) Platonovich (1903–83). Ukrainian poet, translator, and public figure. Member of "neo-romantic" school. Son of serviceman. Joined party in 1940. From 1941 to 1945 editor of newspaper *Za Radiansku Ukrainu* (For Soviet Ukraine). From 1958 editor in chief of *The Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia*. Became secretary of USSR Writers Union in 1967, member of Ukraine Academy of Sciences in 1951. From 1943 to 1948 deputy chairman of Council of People's Commissars (Soviet of Ministers) of Ukrainian SSR.

Belisheva, Liri (1923–?). Albanian politician. Graduated from Girls' Pedagogical Institute of Tirana. Active in Communist Party from early age. Removed from all posts following "suicide" or possibly murder of husband Nako Spiru in 1947, but restored after purge of Koci Xoxe in 1948. Became member of Politburo of CC of Albanian Party of Labor. Went for training to Moscow, member of Albanian delegation at Stalin's funeral in 1953. In 1960 accused of being Soviet agent and interned after telling Soviet leaders about Albanian-Chinese discussions. Released in 1991.

Ben Bella, Ahmed (born 1916). Algerian politician. Served with Free French in World War II. In 1954 founding member of National Liberation Front. In prison from 1956 until independence in 1962. Prime minister in 1962–63. President of Algeria from 1963 to 1965. Considered himself follower of Nasser. Deposed in military coup led by Boumédienne. Under house arrest until 1980, then lived in Switzerland and France. In 1984 formed opposition in exile in Paris. In 1990 allowed to return to Algeria. In 2003 elected president of International Campaign Against Aggression in Iraq.

Benes, Edvard (1884–1948). Czechoslovak politician. From 1912 to 1916 taught at Charles University (Prague). From 1916 to 1918 secretary of Czechoslovak National Council in Paris. Foreign minister of Czechoslovakia from 1918 to 1935. Prime minister in 1921–22. Member of League of Nations Council from 1923 to 1927 and president of its committee in 1927–28. President of Czechoslovakia from 1935 to 1938, then president in exile from 1938 to 1945. In 1940 organized provisional government in exile in London, in 1943 signed entente between Czechoslovakia and USSR. From 1945 again president of Czechoslovakia, resigned on June 7, 1948, following Communist takeover.

Ben-Gurion, David (Gruen; 1886–1973). Israeli politician. Emigrated from Russia to Ottoman Palestine in 1906, journalist and political activist, expelled in 1915, returned to Palestine under British mandate after World War I. Architect of Federation of Jewish Labor (Histadrut) and Haganah (paramilitary precursor of Israel Defense Force). Prime minister of Israel from independence in 1948 to 1953. Defense minister and prime minister from 1955 to 1963. Collaborated with Eden (Britain) and Mollet (France) in attack on Suez in 1956. Retired from politics in 1970.

Berling, Zygmunt (1896–1980). Polish general. Following Nazi occupation of Poland in September 1939 took refuge in USSR. On June 22, 1941, first signatory of letter to Soviet government from 13 officers of former Polish army asking for chance to fight for their homeland against Germany. In 1941–42 (as lieutenant colonel) divisional chief of staff and head of a base of Wojsko Polskie (Polish army of General Anders in USSR). Remained in Soviet Union when Anders and his army left for Iran in spring 1942. In April 1943 proposed formation of Polish military units. In 1943–44 (as colonel, major general, lieutenant general) commander of Kosciusko Division, then of First Polish Corps and Wojsko Polskie (Polish army in USSR). Active in Union of Polish Patriots in the USSR. From July to October 1944 deputy commander in chief of Wojsko Polskie and commander of its First Corps. From 1944 to 1947 studied at Military Academy of General Staff in Moscow, then head of General Staff Academy of Wojsko Polskie. From 1953 in civilian service.

Berman, Jakub (1901–84). Polish politician. Graduated in law from Warsaw University in 1925. Joined Communist Party of Poland in 1928. During World War II editor of Polish-language newspaper in Minsk, then instructor at Comintern school in Ufa. Received by Stalin in December 1943. Returned to Poland in 1944. Minister of internal security, top political adviser to Bierut. In 1948 became member of Politburo of CC of Polish United Workers Party, with responsibility for state security, propaganda, and ideology. Appointed deputy prime minister in 1954. Removed from government and Politburo and expelled from party for "Stalin-era errors" in April–May 1956. From 1957 until retirement in 1968 worked for publishing house.

Bevan, Aneurin (Nye; 1897–1960). British politician. Son of miner. Miner, activist in South Wales Miners' Federation. Attended Central Labour College, London, from 1919 to 1921. Became trade-union official in 1926 and Labour Party member of Parliament in 1929. Minister of health from 1945 to 1951, responsible for creation of National Health Service in 1948. Resigned from government in protest against introduction of charges for dental care, spectacles, and prescriptions. Minister of labor in 1951, then leader of left wing of Labour Party until 1956, when appointed shadow foreign secretary. Became deputy leader of Labour Party in 1959.

Bidault, Georges-Augustin (1899–1983). French journalist and politician. Influential columnist from 1932 to 1939. Imprisoned by Vichy regime in 1940–41, then Resistance leader. After World War II co-founder of Mouvement Républicain Populaire (Popular Republican Movement). President of provisional government in 1946. Prime minister in 1949–50. Foreign minister and defense minister at various times during period 1944–52. Vice president of the Council in 1950–51. Broke with de Gaulle over Algerian independence in 1962, went into exile in Brazil and later Belgium, organized National Council of Resistance and Secret Army Organization (OAS) to keep Algeria French. Returned to France in 1968.

Bierut, Boleslaw (1892–1956). Polish politician. Joined Communist Party of Poland in 1918. Chairman of National People's Council (provisional governing body in post-occupation Poland) from 1944 to 1947. President and chairman president of State Council from 1947 to 1952. Chairman of Council of Ministers of Poland from 1952 to 1954. Chairman from 1948 to 1954, and first secretary from 1954, of CC of Polish United Workers Party.

Biryuzov, Sergei Semyonovich (1904–64). Soviet general. Joined Red Army in 1922. At outbreak of war major general. Commander of infantry division, chief of staff of 48th Army and Second Guards Army, chief of staff of Southern, Fourth Ukrainian, and Third Ukrainian Fronts, then from October 1944 until end of war commander of 37th Army, concurrently chief Soviet military adviser to Bulgarian army. In 1946–47 deputy commander in chief of ground forces for combat training. From 1947 to 1953 commander of Maritime (Primorye) military district. In 1953–54 commander in chief of Central Group of Forces. In 1954–55 first deputy commander in chief of Antiaircraft Defense Forces. From 1955 to 1962 deputy minister of defense and commander in chief of Antiaircraft Defense Forces. In 1962–63 commander in chief of Strategic Missile Forces. From 1962 to 1964 chief of General Staff and first deputy minister of defense. Candidate member of party CC from 1956 to 1961 and member of party CC from 1961 to 1964. Died in air crash. Marshal of the Soviet Union (1955). Hero of the Soviet Union (1958).

Bobrovnikov, Nikolai Ivanovich (1909–92). Soviet engineer and official. Worker. Joined party in 1931. Graduated from Moscow Engineering-Construction Institute in 1932. From 1932 to 1934 in Red Army, then worked as waterworks engineer. In 1948–49 head of water supply for Moscow City Executive Committee. In 1949–50 deputy chairman, from 1950 to 1956 first deputy chairman, and from 1956 to 1961 chairman of Moscow City Executive Committee. From 1961 to 1963 deputy chairman of State Economic-Science Council of USSR Council of Ministers. From 1963 until retirement in 1983 head of Department of Housing and Municipal Economy of State Planning Commission (Gosplan). Member of party CC from 1956 to 1961.

Bodnaras, Emil (1904–76). Romanian politician. Officer in Royal Romanian Army from 1928 to 1932. Became Soviet spy and defected to Soviet Union in 1933. Returned to Romania in mid-1930s as agent of Soviet military intelligence, but caught and sentenced to 10 years in prison. Released in 1943 or 1944, joined top leadership of Romanian Workers Party. In August 1944 appointed head of party's secret intelligence apparatus (Patriotic Guard). From 1944 to 1947 head of secret intelligence service attached to presidency of Council of Ministers, thereafter minister of national defense, army general, and deputy prime minister. Became member of Politburo in 1948. From 1965 deputy president of State Council and member of Presidium of CC of Communist Party of Romania.

Bohlen, Charles (Chip) E. (1904–74). American diplomat. Joined U.S. Foreign Service in 1929. Worked at U.S. State Department and in U.S. embassies in Czechoslovakia (1934–36), France (1937–40), and the USSR (1943–44). From 1944 to 1946 an aide to the Secretary of State. Served as Russian interpreter for President Franklin D. Roosevelt at the Tehran and Yalta conferences and for President Harry S. Truman at the Potsdam conference. From 1947 to 1949 and from 1951 to 1953 an adviser to the State Department. From 1949 to 1951 an adviser-emissary at the embassy in France. U.S. ambassador to the USSR from 1953 to 1957, when differences with Secretary of State John F. Dulles led to his transfer to the Philippines. Special assistant for Soviet affairs from 1959 to 1962. U.S. ambassador to France from 1962 to 1968, then deputy Secretary of State until retirement in 1969.

Boland, Frederick Henry (1904–85). Irish diplomat. Represented Republic of Ireland at many international conferences, including League of Nations. Joined Department of External Affairs in 1930. First secretary of legation in Paris from 1932 to 1934. Secretary of Department of External Affairs from 1945 to 1950. Ambassador to Britain from 1950 to 1956. Appointed Ireland's first permanent representative to the United Nations in October 1956. President of UN General Assembly from 1960 to 1963. In 1963 retired from foreign service and elected chancellor of Dublin University.

Bor-Komorowski, Tadeusz (1895–1966). Polish general. Count. Joined Polish army in 1928. Appointed deputy commander of Polish Home Army in July 1941. Led Resistance in Krakow area in 1942. Appointed commander of Home Army (as brigadier general) in March 1943. Led Warsaw uprising in August–September 1944, surrendered on October 2 and interned. While imprisoned appointed commander in chief of Polish forces. On release in 1945 went to London. Prime minister of Polish government in exile (no longer diplomatically recognized) from 1947 to 1949.

Boumédienne, Houari (1927–78). Algerian politician. Active in fight for independence. Colonel (1957). Minister of national defense in 1962–63. First deputy prime minister from 1963 to 1965. Seized power in June 1965. Chairman of Council of the Revolution and prime minister from July 1965. Elected president of Algeria in December 1976.

Brandt, Wilhelm (Willy; 1913–92). West German politician. Original name Herbert Ernst Karl Frahm. Joined Social Democratic Party in 1930, then Socialist Workers Party. In 1933 adopted pseudonym "Wilhelm Brandt" and escaped from Nazis to Norway. Spent war years in Sweden. Returned to Berlin in 1946. Rejoined Social Democratic Party in 1948. Mayor of West Berlin from 1957 to 1966. Chairman of Social Democratic Party from 1964 to 1987. Foreign minister and vice chancellor from 1966 to 1969. Federal chancellor from 1969 to 1974. Received Nobel Peace Prize in 1971 in recognition of his work to improve relations with East Germany, Poland, and Soviet Union *(Ostpolitik).* Chairman of Socialist International from 1976 to 1992.

Bukharin, Nikolai Ivanovich (1888–1938). Soviet politician. Son of teacher. Joined party in 1906. A close associate of Lenin, a leader of armed uprising in Moscow in October 1917, and a leading party theoretician. From 1918 to 1929 editor of newspaper *Pravda*. Member of party CC from 1917 to 1934 and of its Politburo from 1924 to 1929. From 1926 a leader of Comintern. Elected member of Academy of Sciences in 1929. Thereafter repeatedly subject to party and state persecution as a prominent figure in the "right" opposition to Stalin. From 1929 member of Presidium of Supreme Council of National Economy. From 1932 member of collegium of People's Commissariat for Heavy Industry. From 1934 chief editor of *Izvestia*. From 1935 member of CEC of the Soviets and of Constitutional Commission. Author of numerous works on economics, sociology, politics, literary criticism, theory of science, and other subjects. Co-author of Soviet Constitution of 1936. Arrested on false charges in 1937, main defendant at third major Moscow show trial. Executed in March 1938. Rehabilitated posthumously in 1988.

Bulganin, Nikolai Aleksandrovich (1895–1975). Soviet politician. Trained as electrician. Joined party in 1917. From 1918 to 1922 in Cheka (security police). From 1922 to 1927 member of board of Electric Trust (Elektrotrest) of Supreme Council of National Economy. From 1927 to 1931 director of Moscow Electric Plant (Elektrozavod). From 1931 to 1937 chairman of Executive Committee of Moscow Soviet. From 1938 to 1944 deputy chairman of USSR Council of People's Commissars and concurrently chairman of board of State Bank. During Soviet-German war (1941–45) member of military councils of various fronts. From 1944 to 1946 deputy people's commissar of defense. From 1946 first deputy minister and from 1947 to 1949 minister of the armed forces and deputy chairman of USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of its Committee No. 2 (jet propulsion technology). From 1950 first deputy chairman and from 1955 to 1958 chairman of USSR Council of Ministers and concurrently minister of defense from 1953 to 1955. In 1958 again chairman of board of State Bank. From 1958 until retirement in 1960 chairman of Stavropol Council of National Economy. Member of party CC from 1937 to 1961 and of its Politburo (Presidium) from 1948 to 1958. Marshal of the Soviet Union (1947–58).

Cachin, Marcel (1869–1958). French politician. Professor. From 1905 to 1920 a leader of French Socialist Party. Founding member of French Communist Party in 1920. Became member of its CC and Politburo in 1923. Head of Communist faction in National Assembly until non-reelection in 1932. Elected senator in 1935. In 1930s member of Presidium of Executive Committee of Communist International. Director of party newspaper *L'Humanité* from 1918 to 1958. Also leader of Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor). Fought in Resistance to German occupation. Elected to Constituent Assembly and National Assembly in 1945.

Castro Ruz, Fidel (born 1926). Cuban revolutionary. Graduated in law from University of Havana in 1950. In 1947 organized expedition against Trujillo dictatorship in Dominican Republic. In 1948 took part in popular insurrection in Bogotá (Columbia). Helped to found Party of the Cuban People (Orthodox). In 1953 led armed struggle against Batista regime but imprisoned following failed attack on Moncada Barracks of July 26, 1953; the movement he led thereafter bore the name "July 26 Movement." Released in amnesty in May 1955 and went to Mexico and United States. Organized armed group, which in December 1956 secretly sailed to Cuba from the Yucatan in Mexico, on a small ship named the *Granma*, and began guerrilla warfare in the Sierra Maestre mountains against the Batista dictatorship. Following victory on January 1, 1959, became commander in chief of armed forces. Prime minister from February 1959 to February 1976 (when office abolished). In April 1961 became secretary general of United Revolutionary Organizations, transformed in 1962 into United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba. In October 1965 became first secretary of CC of new Communist Party of Cuba and member of its Politburo. Since December 1976 president of Council of State and president of Council of Ministers. President of Nonaligned Movement from 1979 to 1983.

Castro Ruz, Raul (born 1931). Cuban revolutionary. Younger brother of Fidel Castro. At University of Havana belonged to Socialist Youth, affiliated to Popular Socialist Party. In 1953 joined Fidel in July 26 attack on Moncada Barracks, imprisoned, released in 1955 and went to Mexico. Returned to Cuba with Fidel in 1956, led guerrilla forces in Northern Oriente. In 1959 took over command of army from Fidel and appointed minister of the revolutionary armed forces. Traveled to Prague and Moscow to ask for weapons. Led counterattack to Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961. In 1969 completed advanced course in military studies. Promoted to division commander (equivalent to general). Since December 1976 first vice president of Council of State and first vice president of Council of Ministers. Second secretary of CC of Communist Party of Cuba and member of its Secretariat and Politburo.

Ceausescu, Nicolae (1918–89). Romanian politician. Son of peasant. Shoemaker's apprentice. Factory worker from age 11. Joined Romanian Communist Party in 1932. In prison from 1936 to 1938 and from 1940 to 1944. In 1943–44 shared cell in concentration camp with Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej and became his protégé. Secretary of Young Communist League in 1944–45. From 1947 minister of agriculture, then deputy minister of the armed forces. Became member of CC of Romanian Workers Party in 1952 and of its Politburo in 1954. Became first secretary of CC of Romanian Workers Party in March 1965, president of State Council in December 1967, president of Romania in 1974. Given titles of Conducator (Leader) and Genius of the Carpathians. Overthrown by popular and military uprising in December 1989, arrested, condemned to death, and shot.

Cepicka, Alexej (1910–90). Czechoslovak politician. Son-in-law of party leader Klement Gottwald. Imprisoned in Nazi concentration camp from 1942 to 1945. Minister of domestic trade in 1947–48. Minister of justice from 1948 to 1950. Minister of national defense from 1950 to 1956. Deputy head of government from 1953 to 1956. Removed from all official posts for abuses of power in April 1956. Expelled from party in 1963.

Chaban-Delmas, Jacques (1915–2000). French politician. Educated in law and political science, then journalist, joined army in 1938. Joined Resistance in December 1940 and adopted Chaban as code name. In 1946 entered Chamber of Deputies as a Radical Socialist but soon joined de Gaulle's party. Served in several cabinets. Mayor of Bordeaux from 1947 to 1995. Chairman of National Assembly from 1958 to 1969, from 1978 to 1981, and from 1986 to 1988. Prime minister from 1969 to 1972. Author of memoirs and several other books.

Chamberlain, (Arthur) Neville (1869–1940). British politician. Early career in business and from 1911 in city government of Birmingham, in 1915 becoming lord mayor. In 1917 director of national service. In 1918 elected to parliament as Conservative. Minister of health in 1923 and from 1924 to 1929. Chancellor of the exchequer in 1923–24 and from 1931 to 1937. Prime minister from 1937 to 1940. Signed Munich Agreement on dismemberment of Czechoslovakia in September 1938. Forced to resign in May 1940 after defeat of British forces in Norway.

Chang Tsolin (1873–1928). Chinese warlord. Manchurian robber chief ("red beard"). Fought against Japanese in First Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95 and (as commander of a Manchurian militia unit) with Japanese in Russo-Japanese war of 1904–1905. In 1918 appointed inspector general of Manchuria, which with support of Japanese Kwantung Army became his power base. From 1920 tried to extend his rule southward and gain control of government in Beijing.

In 1926 his army seized Beijing and massacred Communists, but suddenly switched sides and handed over control to Kuomintang (whose forces were approaching from the south). Killed when Kwantung Army blew up train on which he was returning to Manchuria.

Chen Yi (1901–72). Chinese military commander and politician. Son of magistrate. Political instructor at Whampoa Military Academy from 1925 to 1927. Following Kuomintang-Communist split joined Fourth Red Army. Appointed acting commander of New Fourth Army in 1941 and commander in 1946. Mayor of Shanghai from 1949 to 1958. Foreign minister from 1958 to 1966. Persecuted and beaten by Red Guards in Cultural Revolution.

Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich (1828–89). Russian writer and journalist. Son of priest. Graduated from University of Saint Petersburg. In 1855 joined staff of progressive journal *Sovremennik* [The Contemporary], wrote on literature and politics. Subjected to “civil death” and exiled to Siberia in 1863, later imprisoned until 1883. In prison wrote utopian novel *What Is To Be Done?*

Chervenkov, Vylko (or Vulko; 1900–80). Bulgarian politician. Joined Bulgarian Communist Party in 1919. Youth work, newspaper editing. Took part in failed Communist uprising of September 1923, sentenced to death, fled to Soviet Union in 1925. Attended Marx-Lenin School, later its director. Worked for Comintern. From 1941 to 1944 director of radio station broadcasting to Bulgaria. Member of Bureau of CC of BCP in exile in Moscow. Returned to Bulgaria in 1944 and held government posts, including minister of culture (1947). Member of Politburo of CC of BCP from 1944 to 1962 and its general secretary from 1949 to 1954. Also president of National Council of Fatherland Front. Deputy prime minister in 1949–50, prime minister from 1950 to 1956, then again deputy prime minister until retirement in 1961. After 1956 criticized for “cult of personality” and fell gradually from power. Expelled from BCP in 1962, readmitted in 1969.

Chiang Kaishek (1887–1975). Chinese general and politician. Military and political leader of Kuomintang (National People’s Party). In 1924 appointed commandant of newly established Whampoa Military Academy. In 1925 succeeded Sun Yatsen as leader of Kuomintang. Led Northern Expedition to suppress warlords and unify China. In 1928 became president of newly proclaimed Republic of China. Fought against Chinese Communist Party and with it against Japanese invaders. Following defeat in civil war in 1949, retreated to Taiwan (thenceforth identified with Republic of China).

Chubar, Vlas Yakovlevich (1891–1939). Soviet official. Peasant. Joined party in 1907. From 1911 worker, participated in revolutions of 1905, February 1917, and October 1917. From 1918 to 1922 official of leading economic agencies. From 1923 chairman of Council of People's Commissars of Ukrainian SSR and deputy chairman of USSR Council of People's Commissars. From 1934 deputy chairman of Council of Labor and Defense. From 1937 people's commissar of finance. From 1938 first deputy chairman of Council of People's Commissars. Member of party CC from 1921 and of its Politburo from 1935 to 1938. Arrested in 1938, executed in 1939, rehabilitated posthumously in 1955.

Clay, Lucius Dubignon (1897–1978). American general. Graduated from West Point in 1918 as Army engineer. From 1924 to 1928 taught civil and military engineering at West Point. In 1934 appointed U.S. representative to Permanent International Navigation Conference in Brussels. From 1938 to 1940 directed construction of Red River Dam in Texas. In 1940–41 head of Defense Airport Program of Civil Aeronautics Authority. In 1942 promoted to Army brigadier general. Assistant chief of staff for material, then director of material for Army Service Forces. In early 1945 cleared port of Cherbourg for Allied shipping. From March 1947 until retirement in May 1949 military governor of Germany, organized Berlin airlift in 1948–49 ("Father of the Berlin Airlift").

Couve de Murville, Maurice (1907–99). French official, diplomat, and politician. Studied law, literature, and political science. During World War II worked in Ministry of Finance under Vichy regime. Minister of foreign affairs from 1958 to 1968. Minister of finance in 1968. Prime minister in 1968–69.

Cyrankiewicz, Jozef (1911–89). Polish politician. From 1941 to 1945 in Nazi concentration camps, then general secretary of Polish Socialist Party. From 1948 to 1972 member of Politburo of CC of Polish United Workers Party. From 1947 to 1952 chairman, from 1952 to 1954 deputy chairman, and from 1954 to 1970 again chairman of Council of Ministers (prime minister) of Poland. From 1970 to 1972 chairman of State Council of Polish People's Republic.

Daladier, Edouard (1884–1970). French politician, leader of Republican Party of Radicals and Radical Socialists. Member of successive cabinets after World War I. Prime minister from January to October 1933 and from January to February 1934. In April 1938 became prime minister again and also minister of national defense. Signed Munich Agreement on dismemberment of Czechoslovakia in September 1938. In 1939 also minister of war and foreign affairs. Resigned as prime minister in March 1940 but remained in cabinet until government collapsed in Nazi invasion of June 1940. Arrested by Vichy regime and interned by Germans. Liberated in 1945. Elected to National Assembly in 1946 and retained seat until 1958.

Daud Khan, Sardar (Prince) Mohammed (name also spelled Daoud or Doud; 1908–78). Afghan politician. Cousin and brother-in-law of King Mohammed Zahir Shah. Graduated from Kabul military college. In 1930s and 1940s occupied various military and administrative positions. Minister of national defense in 1946. Afghan ambassador to France, Belgium, and Switzerland in 1948–49. Deputy prime minister, minister of national defense, and member of Supreme State Council from 1949 to 1951. Prime minister from 1953 to 1963. Resigned on demand of king. In July 1973, while king abroad, led putsch by young left-wing officers to overthrow monarchy and establish Republic of Afghanistan with himself as president. In September 1975 created Party of the National Revolution and banned other parties. In April 1978 overthrown and killed in coup by People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (i.e., Communist Party).

Debré, Michel (Michel-Jean-Pierre; 1912–96). French official and politician. Son of teacher. Studied law and political science. Civil servant at Council of State. Cabinet minister from 1938 to 1940. Joined army, taken prisoner, escaped and went into hiding. In 1945–46 on de Gaulle's staff, responsible for administrative reform. Elected to senate in 1948 as Radical. Minister of justice in 1958. Prime minister from 1959 to 1962. Member of parliament from 1963 to 1989. Elected mayor of Amboise in 1966. Minister of economy and finance from 1966 to 1968. Minister of foreign affairs in 1968–69. Minister of defense from 1969 to 1973. Elected to French Academy in 1988.

de Gaulle, Charles (1890–1970). French general and politician. Graduated in 1912 from Military Academy Saint Cyr. Fought in World War I, taken prisoner in 1916. Fought for Poland in Soviet-Polish war of 1919–20. Lectured at French War College. Advocated dynamic use of concentrated armor and air forces. Fought against Nazi invasion of 1940, appointed minister of war by prime minister Paul Reynaud. When Pétain took power fled to England, whence led Free French Forces. In 1943 moved to Algeria and became co-president of French Committee of National Liberation, from May 1944 Provisional Government of the French Republic. Took part in Allied liberation of France. In November 1945 elected head of government by Constituent Assembly. Resigned in January 1946 to form political party "Rally of the French People" (disbanded in 1955). Called to form new government in 1958; as prime minister inaugurated new constitution. Elected president of France in 1958 during Algerian crisis. Resigned in 1969.

Demchenko, Mariya Sofronovna (1912–?). Soviet agronomist. From 1930 to 1936 field team leader at collective farm in Cherkass province (Ukraine). Initiated mass movement of "five-hundreders" to obtain high yields of sugar beet (at least 500 centners per hectare). Joined party in 1939. In 1945 graduated from Kiev Agricultural Institute. From 1945 to 1958 agronomist at collective farm in Kiev province. From 1958 to 1961 engaged in graduate studies, then worked on experimental plots at state farm in Kiev province until retirement in 1965. Deputy of USSR Supreme Soviet. Awarded great gold medal of All-Union Agricultural Exhibition.

Deng Xiaoping (Deng Xixian; 1904–97). Chinese politician. Studied from 1920 to 1925 in France, where joined Chinese Communist Party in 1924. In 1926 studied in Moscow. Veteran of Long March (1934–35). During Sino-Japanese War and Chinese civil war political commissar with Red armies. Became member of CCP CC in 1945, its vice chairman in 1952, member of its Politburo in 1955, and its general secretary in 1956. Deputy prime minister of Chinese People's Republic from 1952 to 1966, when denounced by Red Guards in Cultural Revolution as "Capitalist Roader No. 2," removed from all official positions, and sent to work in tractor factory. Reinstated as deputy prime minister by Zhou Enlai in 1973, purged again in 1976 after Zhou's death, and reinstated again as deputy prime minister and vice chairman of CCP CC in 1977 after Mao's death. From 1978 to 1983 chairman of All-China Committee of People's Political Consultative Council. From 1975 to 1980 chief of General Staff. From 1982 to 1987 chairman of newly created CCP Central Advisory Commission. Visited United States in 1979. From 1981 to 1989 chairman of military council of CCP CC and from 1983 to 1990 of central military council of Chinese People's Republic. De facto national leader from late 1970s to early 1990s.

Desai, Morarji (1896–1995). Indian politician. From 1918 minor functionary of British civil service in Bombay. Joined independence struggle in 1930. In 1930s and 1940s alternated time in prison with work in ministerial posts in Bombay government. Elected chief minister of Bombay in 1952. Minister of commerce and industry from 1956 until resignation in 1963. Deputy prime minister from 1967 until resignation in 1969 to join opposition to Congress Party. In 1975 arrested under Indira Gandhi's Emergency, held in solitary confinement until 1977. Prime minister of India for Hindu nationalist Janata Party from March 1977 to July 1979.

Djilas, Milovan (1911–97). Yugoslav politician and writer. Joined Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1932 while student at Belgrade University. In prison from 1933 to 1936. Became member of CC of Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1938 and of its Politburo in 1940. Commander in People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia during World War II. Lieutenant general. Sent to Moscow to meet with Stalin. Participated in liberation of Belgrade in 1944. After war vice president of Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia and head of Department of Agitation and Propaganda of CC of Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Sent to Moscow again to meet with Stalin in 1948. Widely regarded as Tito's eventual successor, but removed from all official positions in 1954 and resigned from party soon thereafter. Following publication of his book *The New Class* in 1955 and his support for Hungarian uprising, arrested and imprisoned from 1956 to 1961 and from 1962 to 1966. Critic of both Stalinist and Titoist models of socialism, author of several books.

Dobi, Istvan (1898–1968). Hungarian politician. Peasant background. Participated in Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919 and in antifascist Resistance. Member of left wing of Smallholders Party from 1945 and its chairman from 1947 to 1959, then became member of Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and of its CC. Prime minister from December 1948 to August 1952. President (chairman of Presidential Council) of Hungary from 1952 until retirement in April 1967. Awarded Lenin Peace Prize in 1962.

Dobrynin, Anatoly Fyodorovich (born 1919). Soviet diplomat. Educated as engineer. Joined diplomatic service in 1941. Joined party in 1945. Became counselor at Soviet embassy in Washington in 1952. Deputy secretary-general of the United Nations from 1957 to 1960. Soviet ambassador to the United States from 1962 to 1986. Member of party CC from 1971 to 1990. A secretary of party CC from 1986 to 1988. Adviser to President Mikhail Gorbachev from 1988 to 1991. Hero of Socialist Labor (1982).

Douglas-Home, Alec (1903–95). British politician (Conservative Party). In 1951 inherited from father the title of Earl of Home. From 1951 to 1955 minister of state at the Scottish Office. From 1955 to 1960 commonwealth relations secretary. From 1960 to 1963 foreign secretary. Prime minister in 1963–64. Received the title of Baron Home in 1974.

Duclos, Jacques (1896–1975). French politician. Joined French Communist Party in 1920. Became member of its CC in 1926 and of its Politburo in 1931. A secretary of the French Communist Party from 1931 to 1964. Under German occupation one of the leaders of the Resistance. Head of the group of Communist deputies in the National Assembly from 1946 and in the Senate from 1959.

Dulles, Allen Welsh (1893–1969). American official. Son of Presbyterian minister and brother of John Foster Dulles. On graduation from Princeton University joined foreign service and served in Vienna, Berne, Paris, Berlin, and Istanbul. In 1922 appointed chief of State Department Division of Near Eastern Affairs. During World War II (1942–45) served with Office of Strategic Services as head of U S. political intelligence in Europe. Began working for Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) on its establishment in September 1947. Director of CIA from 1953 to November 1961, when forced to resign after failure of Bay of Pigs operation in April 1961.

Dulles, John Foster (1888–1959). American official. Son of Presbyterian minister and brother of Allen Welsh Dulles. Attended Princeton University and George Washington University, then specialized in international law at New York law firm of Sullivan & Cromwell, later becoming a partner. In 1918 legal counsel to U.S. delegation to Versailles Peace Conference, then member of War Reparations Committee. Member of U.S. delegation to founding conference of United Nations in San Francisco in 1945. U.S. delegate to United Nations General Assembly in 1946, 1947, and 1950. Senator for New York from July to November 1949. Secretary of state from January 1953 to April 1959. Architect of South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), created in 1954. Advocated strategy of "brinkmanship."

Dymshits, Venyamin Emmanuilovich (1910–93). Soviet engineer and official. In 1930s played prominent role in construction of Kuznetsk, Mariupol, Magnitogorsk, and Zaporozhye metallurgical plants in Siberia and Ukraine. From 1950 to 1953 a deputy minister of construction of enterprises of heavy industry. From 1954 to 1957 a deputy minister of construction of metallurgical and chemical enterprises. From 1957 to 1959 chief engineer at the Bhilai construction site in India. From 1959 first deputy chairman and from 1962 to 1965 chairman of State Planning Commission (Gosplan) and of Council of National Economy. From 1965 to 1976 chairman of State Committee of Council of Ministers for Material-Technical Supply. From 1976 to 1985 a deputy chairman of Council of Ministers. Hero of Socialist Labor (1980).

Dzerzhinsky, Feliks Edmundovich (1877–1926). Soviet official. Son of landowner. Joined Lithuanian Social Democratic Party in 1895, worked as trade-union organizer. Arrested and exiled to Siberia in 1897, but escaped to Warsaw in 1899 and joined Social Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania. Imprisoned again in 1908, released after revolution of February 1917. In December 1917 appointed people's commissar for internal affairs and the chairman of All-Russia Extraordinary Commission for Combating

Counterrevolution and Sabotage (Cheka, security police). In September 1918 initiated Red Terror. Carried out many missions in civil war. From 1921 to 1923 people's commissar of transport of RSFSR and in 1923–24 people's commissar of transport of USSR. From 1922 to 1926 chairman of GPU–OGPU (security police), concurrently from 1924 to 1926 chairman of Supreme Council of National Economy. Member of party CC from 1907 to 1912 and from 1917, of its Secretariat in 1917, and of its Orgburo from 1921 to 1924. Died of typhus.

Eaton, Cyrus (1883–1979). Canadian-American financier and industrialist. Graduated from McMaster University. Involved in public utilities from 1906 to 1912. Organized Continental Gas & Electric Corporation. Became director of Otis & Co. banking house in 1925. Later went into coal and steel business, formed Republic Steel Corporation. In 1956 initiated Pugwash Intellectual Life Conferences, followed in 1957 by International Pugwash Conferences of Nuclear Scientists (named after his birthplace in Nova Scotia). In 1960 awarded International Lenin Prize. Fellow of American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Author of several books on politics and economics.

Eden, Anthony (1897–1977). British politician (Conservative Party). Elected member of Parliament in 1923. Parliamentary private secretary at Foreign Office from 1926 to 1929. Undersecretary for foreign affairs from 1931 to 1934. Foreign secretary from 1935 to 1938, from 1940 to 1945, and from 1951 to 1955. Prime minister from 1955 until resignation in 1957. Given title of Earl of Avon in 1961.

Eisenhower, Dwight David (1890–1969). American general and politician. Graduated from West Point in 1915. Attended Command and General Staff College in 1925–26. From 1929 to 1933 executive officer to assistant secretary of war, then chief military aide to Army chief of staff. From 1935 to 1939 assistant military adviser to Philippine government. From 1939 to 1941 in staff positions in United States. Following U.S. entry into World War II, war planning at General Staff in Washington, D.C. Commander of Allied forces landing in North Africa in November 1942. Supreme Allied Commander in Europe in 1944–45, in charge of Allied invasion of France in June 1944. From 1945 to 1951 president of Columbia University. In 1951 became supreme commander of newly assembled NATO forces. Persuaded to run for president in 1952 for Republican Party. President of United States from 1953 to January 1961 (re-elected for second term in November 1956).

Erhard, Ludwig (1897–1977). West German politician. Fought in World War I. Became market researcher. In 1947 appointed director of Economic Council in Anglo-American zone of occupation. In 1949 joined Christian Democratic Party. Minister of economic affairs from 1949 to 1963. Advocate of "social market economy," designed and implemented plan for economic recovery of West Germany. Federal chancellor from 1963 to 1966. Chairman of Christian Democratic Union in 1966–67, thereafter honorary chairman.

Erlander, Tage Fritiof (1901–85). Swedish politician. Graduated in sociology and philology from Lund University in 1928. Editor of *Swedish Encyclopedia* from 1929 to 1938. Elected to parliament as social democrat in 1932. Appointed state secretary in Ministry of Social Affairs in 1938 and minister of education in 1944. Chairman of Social Democratic Labor Party of Sweden. Prime minister from 1946 to 1969. Played leading role in creating Sweden's welfare state.

Farkas, Mihaly (1904–65). Hungarian politician. Member of Politburo of CC of Hungarian Communist Party and its deputy general secretary from 1945 to 1948. Member of Politburo of CC of Hungarian Workers Party and a CC secretary from 1948 to 1955, concurrently minister of national defense from 1948 to 1953. Orchestrated show trials in 1949. Expelled from party, arrested in 1956, tried in 1957, convicted of taking part in organization of purges of late 1940s and early 1950s. Sentenced to 16 years, but amnestied in 1960.

Farouk (Faruq; 1920–65). King of Egypt. Succeeded father Fuad I in 1936. Perceived as corrupt and extravagant. Forced to abdicate in revolution of July 1952 in favor of baby son Fuad II (monarchy abolished in June 1953). Went into exile in Italy and Monaco. Died of overeating.

Faure, Edgar (1908–88). French lawyer and politician. Fought in Resistance in 1941–42, then fled to de Gaulle's headquarters in Algiers, where appointed head of legislative department of provisional government. French counsel at Nuremberg war crimes trial in 1945–46. Deputy in National Assembly from 1946 to 1958 and from 1967 to 1980. Senator from 1959 to 1967 and in 1980. Mayor of Port-Lesney (Jura) from 1947 to 1971 and from 1983 to 1988. Mayor of Pontarlier from 1971 to 1977. Minister of finance in 1950–51. Prime minister in 1952. Foreign minister in 1955. Prime minister in 1955–56. Switched support from Radical Party to de Gaulle. Sent on unofficial mission to People's Republic of China in 1963. Minister of agriculture in 1966. Minister of education in 1968. Minister of social affairs in 1969. President of National Assembly from 1973 to 1979. Became member of French Academy in 1978. Author of several books on history, politics, and philosophy, as well as memoirs.

Fierlinger, Zdenek (1891–1976). Czechoslovak diplomat and politician. Emissary of Czechoslovakia to Netherlands, Romania, the United States, Switzerland,

and Austria. From 1928 to 1932 representative of Czechoslovakia at League of Nations. From 1937 to 1939 emissary and from 1942 to 1945 ambassador to USSR. Prime minister from April 1945 to July 1946, then deputy prime minister until 1953, then chairman of National Assembly. From 1964 until retirement in 1976 chairman of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society. Member of Presidium of CC of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from 1948 to 1966.

Franco, Francisco (1892–1975). Spanish general and politician. Graduated from Infantry Academy in Toledo in 1910. Fought against rebellious tribes in Morocco. In 1926 became youngest general in any European army and director of Military Academy in Saragossa. Following fall of monarchy in 1931, crushed miners' uprising in Asturias in 1934 and was appointed chief of General Staff. After election of left-wing government in spring 1936, colonial army took control of Morocco as base for attempted coup, sparking Spanish civil war. In September 1936 made generalissimo of Nationalist army, in October 1936 Nationalist head of state. Won Civil War and gained control of whole country in 1939. Suppressed all opposition and established dictatorship that lasted until his death.

Fulbright, James William (1905–95). American politician, businessman, lawyer, educator, and writer. Graduated from University of Arkansas in 1925, from Oxford University in 1931, and from George Washington University in 1934. Special attorney in antitrust division of U.S. Department of Justice in 1934–35. Taught at George Washington University in 1935–36 and at University of Arkansas from 1936 to 1939. President of University of Arkansas from 1939 to 1941. Also in newspaper business, lumber business, banking, and farming. Elected to House of Representatives for Democratic Party in 1943. Senator from 1945 to 1974 (re-elected four times). Chairman of Senate Committee on Banking and Currency and of Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Sponsored Fulbright Act of 1946 to fund international exchanges of students, scholars, and teachers. Counsel to law firm of Hogan & Hartson from 1974 to 1993.

Furmanov, Dmitry Andreyevich (1891–1926). Soviet writer. In 1919 commissar of 25th Infantry Division, commanded by Vasily Ivanovich Chapayev (1887–1919). In 1920 head of the Political Department of the Ninth Army in the North Caucasus. Chapayev was the inspiration for his civil war novel *Chapayev* (1923), later turned into a film (1934). Also author of other works on civil war as well as essays and diaries.

Furtseva, Yekaterina Alekseyevna (1910–74). Soviet official. Komsomol work from 1930. From 1942 to 1950 a secretary, then second secretary, then first secretary of Frunze district party committee (in Moscow). From 1950 second secretary and from 1954 to 1957 first secretary of Moscow city party committee. From 1956 to 1960 a secretary of party CC and from 1957 to 1961 a member of its Presidium. From May 1960 to 1974 minister of culture.

Gaitskell, Hugh T. N. (1906–63). British politician. Graduated from Oxford University in 1927 in philosophy, politics, and economics. In 1930s headed Department of Political Economy at University College London. Civil servant during World War II. Elected to parliament for Labour Party in 1945. Parliamentary secretary to Ministry of Fuel and Power from 1945 to 1947. Minister of fuel and power from 1947 to 1950. Minister of state for economic affairs in 1950. Chancellor of the exchequer in 1950–51. Elected leader of Labour Party in 1955. Led protest against British-French-Israeli intervention in Suez (Egypt) in 1956. Tried to change Clause IV of Labour Party program on nationalization of industry and resisted attempts to commit Labour Party to unilateral nuclear disarmament.

Gandhi, Feroze (original name Khan; 1912–60). Indian journalist and politician. Husband of Indira Gandhi (married in 1942). Joined struggle for independence in 1930. In 1946 appointed managing director of *National Herald* (Lucknow). Elected to Lok Sabha (House of the People, lower chamber of federal parliament) for Congress Party. Fought against corruption.

Gandhi, Indira Priyadarshini (1917–84). Indian politician. Only child of Jawarharlal Nehru. In 1930 became leader of Monkey Brigade (children's support group for Indian National Congress). Joined Indian National Congress in 1938. Married Feroze Gandhi in 1942. In prison in 1942–43. During father's tenure as prime minister (1947–64) acted as his hostess and confidante. Minister of information and broadcasting from 1964 to 1966. Prime minister from 1966, reelected in 1971. In August 1971 signed Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation with Soviet Union. Declared Emergency to suppress rights of opposition (June 1975–January 1977), but lost subsequent election. In January 1978 elected chair of Indian National Congress (Indira). Reelected prime minister in January 1980. Minister of foreign affairs in 1984. Following conflict sparked by Sikh extremist occupation of Golden Temple in Amritsar, assassinated by her own Sikh bodyguards on October 31, 1984. Recipient of International Lenin Prize (1985).

Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (1869–1948). Indian spiritual leader and politician, also known as Mahatma Gandhi (Mahatma meaning "Great Soul"). From 1888 to 1891 studied law in England. From 1893 to 1914 (with intervals) in South Africa, led nonviolent campaign against racial discrimination. Returned to India in 1915. Assumed leadership of Indian National Congress in 1919. First Indian campaign of civil disobedience (satyagraha) in March 1930—march to Dandi against salt tax. Repeatedly imprisoned. In 1947–48 campaigned against communalism and partition of Raj into India and Pakistan. Assassinated by Hindu extremist.

Gao Gang (1902–55). Chinese politician. Joined Chinese Communist Party in 1926. In 1945 became member of CCP CC and of its Politburo and secretary of its Northeast Bureau (for Manchuria). In 1949 appointed a deputy chairman of central people's government. Distrusted on account of strong ties with Soviet leaders. In 1953 transferred to Beijing and appointed chairman of State Planning Commission. "Exposed" and removed from all official positions in 1954 and expelled from CCP in March 1955, accused (inter alia) of relying excessively on Soviet advisers and promoting Soviet model of economic management. Died under mysterious circumstances.

Garst, Roswell ("Bob"; 1898–1977). American millionaire farmer (Coon Rapids, Iowa). Began farming in 1917. From 1926 to 1930 lived in Des Moines, capital of Iowa, and tried to sell real estate. Met Henry A. Wallace and became enthusiast for his ideas about hybrid seed corn. In 1930 Garst and his friend Charles Thomas established Garst & Thomas Hybrid Corn Company and became Midwest marketers of Wallace's Pioneer Hi-Bred corn. Visited Soviet Union and met Khrushchev and Mikoyan in the Crimea on October 7, 1955. Thereafter maintained business relations with USSR and met Khrushchev several times. On his visit to United States, Khrushchev accepted invitation to tour Garst's farm on September 23, 1959.

Gerhardsen, Einar Henry (1897–1987). Norwegian politician. Originally road worker. Active in Labor Party Youth Organization from 1919 to 1926. General secretary of Norwegian Labor Party from 1923 to 1925 and from 1935 to 1945. Elected to Oslo City Council in 1932 and became mayor of Oslo in 1940. During German occupation interned in concentration camp at Grini. Prime minister from 1945 to 1951 and (with an interval in 1963) from 1955 to 1965. Known as "father of the nation" in recognition of his achievements in postwar reconstruction and creation of a welfare state. Retired in 1969.

Gero, Erno (1898–1980). Hungarian politician. Worked for Comintern in France. Fought in Spanish civil war. Minister of transport from 1945 to 1949, minister of finance in 1949, minister of internal affairs in 1953–54. Deputy prime minister from 1952 to 1956. First secretary of CC of Hungarian Workers Party from July 1 to October 2, 1956. From 1957 to 1960 lived in Soviet Union, then returned to Hungary.

Ghaleb, Murat M. (born 1922). Egyptian diplomat. Official at Egyptian embassy in Moscow from 1953 to 1957, then head of president's political chancellery. Ambassador to Soviet Union from 1961 to 1971.

Gheorghiu-Dej, Gheorghe (1901–65). Romanian politician. Railroad worker. Joined Communist Party of Romania in 1930 and its CC in 1936. Participant in railroad strike in 1933, in prison from 1933 to 1944. General secretary of CC of Romanian Workers Party from 1945 to 1965. Minister of roads and railways in 1944–45. Minister of national economy in 1946–47. Minister of industry and commerce in 1947–48. Prime minister from 1952 to 1955. Became president of state council in 1961.

Ghosh, Ajoy Kumar (1909–62). Indian politician. Active in trade-union movement. A founding member of Communist Party of India in 1925. Member of CC of Communist Party of India from 1933, member of its Politburo from 1936 to 1943 and from 1950, and its general secretary from October 1951 (following defeat of Andhra faction, which advocated armed struggle) to 1958. Thereafter general secretary of CPI's National Council and member of its CEC. Supported Khrushchev's line on Stalin and peaceful path to socialism.

Gierek, Edward (1913–2001). Polish politician. First secretary of Katowice city committee of Polish United Workers Party from 1957 to 1970. Replaced Gomulka as party first secretary in 1970 in wake of popular unrest. Remained in post until 1980.

Gitalov, Aleksandr Vasilyevich (1915–?). Soviet public figure. Head of brigade of tractor drivers on collective farm named after the Twentieth CPSU Congress in Novo-Ukrainsky district, Kirovograd province, Ukraine. An initiator of all-sided mechanization of crop cultivation. Member of party CC from 1948 and of Presidium of Supreme Soviet from 1974 to 1989. Twice Hero of Socialist Labor.

Golikov, Filipp Ivanovich (1900–80). Soviet general. From peasant background. Joined party and Red Army in 1918. Political commissar in and after civil war. Graduated from Frunze Military Academy in 1933. Commander in occupation of western Ukraine in 1939. Deputy chief of General Staff in Soviet-Finnish war (1939–40), then head of military intelligence. Headed mission to London and Washington, D.C., in 1941 to negotiate military aid. Commanded Tenth Army in battle for Moscow in 1941–42. Commanded Bryansk, then Voronezh Front in 1942–43. Deputy people's commissar (minister) of defense for personnel from 1943 to 1945. Head of Soviet repatriation commission in 1944. From 1950 to 1957 commander of Special Mechanized Army. From 1958 to 1962 head of Main Political Administration of Army and Navy, then official in Ministry of Defense. Member of party CC from 1961 to 1966. Marshal of the Soviet Union (1960). Hero of the Soviet Union.

Gomulka, Wladyslaw (1905–82). Polish politician. Joined Communist Party of Poland in 1926. Founder of Polish Workers Party in 1942. General secretary of CC of Polish Workers Party from November 1943 to September 1948, when removed from Politburo and Secretariat for "nationalist deviation" (i.e., advocacy of a "Polish path to socialism"). Expelled from party in 1949, imprisoned in 1951, released in late 1954 or first half of 1955, reinstated in party in mid-1956. First secretary of CC of Polish United Workers Party from October 1956 to 1970.

Gottwald, Klement (1896–1953). Czechoslovak politician. Cabinet maker. Founding member of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1921. Newspaper editor and party functionary in Slovakia from 1921 to 1926. Became member of CC of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1925, head of its Central Political and Propaganda Committee from 1926 to 1929, general secretary from 1929 to 1945, chairman from 1945 to 1953. A secretary of Executive Committee of Communist International from 1935 to 1943. Vice premier of Czechoslovakia in 1945–46, premier from 1946 to 1948, president from 1948 to 1953. Died soon after attending Stalin's funeral.

Grechko, Andrei Antonovich (1903–76). Soviet general. Joined Red Army in 1919. During Soviet-German war (1941–45) occupied command posts in Southwestern, Southern, and First Ukrainian Fronts. From 1945 to 1953 commander of Kiev military district. From 1953 to 1957 commander in chief of Group of Soviet Troops in Germany. From 1957 to 1967 first deputy minister of defense, from 1957 to 1960 concurrently commander in chief of ground forces. From 1960 to 1967 commander in chief of Unified Armed Forces of Warsaw Pact. Minister of defense from 1967 to 1976. Member of party CC from 1961 and of its Politburo from 1973 to 1976. Marshal of the Soviet Union (1955).

Gromyko, Andrei Andreyevich (1909–89). Soviet politician. Joined party in 1931. Graduated in 1932 from Economics Institute (Minsk) and in 1936 completed graduate studies at All-Union Scientific Research Institute of the Economics of Agriculture. From 1936 to 1939 senior research associate at Institute of Economics of Academy of Sciences. In 1939 head of Department for the Americas in People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. From 1939 to

1943 counselor at Soviet embassy in United States. From 1943 to 1946 Soviet ambassador to United States. From 1946 to 1948 permanent representative of USSR at United Nations Security Council, concurrently deputy minister of foreign affairs. From 1949 to 1952 first deputy minister of foreign affairs. In 1952–53 Soviet ambassador to Great Britain, then again first deputy minister of foreign affairs. Obtained degree of Doctor of Economic Sciences in 1956. From 1957 to 1985 minister of foreign affairs, concurrently from 1983 to 1985 first deputy chairman of Council of Ministers. From 1985 until retirement in 1988 chairman of Presidium of Supreme Soviet. Member of party CC from 1956 to 1989 and of its Politburo from 1973 to 1988. Twice Hero of Socialist Labor.

Grotewohl, Otto (1894–1964). East German politician. Printer. Joined Social Democratic Party of Germany in 1912. President of Central Board of SPDG in 1945–46. From 1946 to 1949 member of Secretariat of Central Board and from 1949 to 1964 member of Politburo of CC of Socialist Unity Party of Germany and prime minister of German Democratic Republic.

Groza, Petru (1884–1958). Romanian politician. In 1933 founded democratic peasant organization "Plowmen's Front." From 1945 to 1947 head of coalition government. From 1947 to 1952 chairman of Council of Ministers, thereafter president of Presidium of Grand National Assembly.

Guevara de la Serna, Ernesto (nickname Che; 1928–67). Latin American physician and revolutionary. From well-off left-wing family in Argentina. In 1953 completed medical studies at University of Buenos Aires. Traveled widely in Latin America. In 1954 tried to organize resistance to U.S. aggression against Arbenz government in Guatemala. In 1955 worked at Hospital Central in Mexico City, met Raul and Fidel Castro, and joined Castro's July 26 Movement in exile. In 1956 arrested but released on intervention of Mexican ex-president Lazaro Cardenas. In November–December 1956 went to Cuba with Castro brothers on the small ship *Granma* to launch the guerrilla war in the Sierra Maestre that eventually overthrew Batista (see Guevara's *Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War).* Following Cuban revolution granted Cuban citizenship (February 9, 1959). In July–August 1959 headed Cuban delegation to UAE, Egypt, India, Thailand, Japan, Indonesia, and Pakistan, returning via Europe and Morocco. At end of 1960 headed Cuban delegation to USSR, GDR, Czechoslovakia, PRC, and North Korea. In 1964 addressed UN General Assembly. In 1965 went with group of Cubans to Congo to assist guerrilla struggle against Mobutu regime. In November 1966 arrived with group of Cubans in Bolivia to incite peasant uprising. In October 1967 captured and murdered by Bolivian army.

Haile Selassie I (Tafari Makonnen; 1892–1975). Emperor of Ethiopia from 1930 to 1974. Led fight against Italian fascist invasion of 1935–36. Deposed in September 1974 in coup led by Mengistu Haile Mariam. Killed in August 1975.

Hammarskjold, Dag Hjalmar Agne Carl (1905–61). Swedish economist and diplomat. From 1930 to 1934 secretary of a government committee on unemployment. Later became chairman of National Bank of Sweden and undersecretary of finance. From 1947 to 1951 at Foreign Office. From 1951 to 1953 minister without portfolio dealing with international economic issues. From 1953 until death in 1961 secretary-general of the United Nations. Member of the Swedish Academy (1954). Died in plane crash while on peace mission to the Congo.

Harriman, William Averell (1891–1986). American businessman and diplomat. Joined father's Union Pacific [Railroad] Company in 1915, became chairman of board in 1932. Also involved in banking and shipbuilding. In 1934–35 administrative officer of National Relief Administration. From 1937 to 1940 in Department of Commerce. In 1941 appointed chief overseas administrator of lend-lease. From 1943 to 1946 U.S. ambassador to Soviet Union. From 1946 to 1948 secretary of commerce. From 1948 to 1951 U.S. representative abroad for European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan). From 1951 to 1953 director of Mutual Security Agency and national security adviser. From 1955 to 1959 Democratic Party governor of New York. From 1961 to 1963 ambassador at large, negotiated Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. From 1963 to 1965 undersecretary of state for political affairs. From 1965 to 1968 ambassador at large for Southeast Asian affairs. Chief U.S. negotiator at start of Paris peace talks with North Vietnam in 1968. In 1978 appointed senior member of U.S. delegation to Special Session on Disarmament of United Nations General Assembly.

Hassan II (1929–99). King of Morocco. Graduated from University of Bordeaux. Became crown prince and army chief of staff in 1957. Ascended to throne in 1961 on death of father, Mohammed V. Head of government from 1961 to 1963 and (following political unrest) from 1965 to 1967. Yielded some powers to parliament in 1971. Survived series of attempted coups throughout 1970s. In 1984 appointed coalition government. Pursued neutralist foreign policy.

Herter, Christian A. (1895–1966). American politician. Began diplomatic career during World War I. In 1922 visited Soviet Union as member of a mission of American Aid Administration. After World War II played leading role in implementing Marshall Plan. From 1953 to 1957 governor of state of Massachusetts. From 1957 to 1959 deputy secretary of state. From 1959 to 1961 secretary of state. Thereafter chairman of Atlantic Council and U.S. special representative to General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

Ho Chi Minh (original name Nguyen Sinh Cung; earlier alias Nguyen Tat Thanh; pen name Nguyen Ai Quoc; 1890–1969). Vietnamese politician. Son of teacher. Educated at French lycée in Hue, then teacher and sailor. From 1915 to 1923 in France and England. At Versailles peace conference after World War I petitioned powers for equal rights for French Indochina, but ignored. Founding member of French Communist Party in 1920. Visited Moscow in 1924, then went to Guangzhou (Canton), where helped organize Vietnamese Revolutionary League and (in 1930) Communist Party of Indochina. Returned to Vietnam in 1941 to lead Vietnamese Independence League (Viet Minh) in fight against Japanese occupation. Proclaimed Democratic Republic of Vietnam in 1945 and became its president in 1946, concurrently from 1946 to 1955 prime minister. From 1946 to 1954 led Viet Minh against French reoccupation. From 1951 chairman (from 1956 to 1960 general secretary) of CC of Vietnamese Workers Party. Encouraged formation in 1960 of National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam with view to unification of country. After death embalmed and displayed in mausoleum.

Hoxha, Enver (1908–85). Albanian politician. Son of landowner and merchant. Studied at American Technical School in Tirana, later in France (1930–34) and Belgium (1934–36). Returned to Albania in 1936, worked as schoolteacher. A founder of Albanian Communist Party in 1941. Member and secretary of CC of Albanian Communist Party from 1941, its general secretary from 1943 to 1948. Political commissar of Army of National Liberation resisting Italian and German occupation. From 1948 to 1954 general secretary, and thereafter first secretary, of CC of Albanian Party of Labor, concurrently from 1944 to 1954 commander in chief of armed forces and chairman of Defense Council, from 1946 to 1954 chairman of Council of Ministers, and from 1946 to 1953 minister of foreign affairs. Semi-retired in 1983.

Husak, Gustav (1913–91). Czechoslovak politician. During 1930s studied law at Comenius University (Bratislava). Joined Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1933. Helped prepare Slovak national uprising of 1944. Head of government of Slovakia from 1946 to 1950. Arrested and imprisoned in 1951 on fabricated political charges. In April 1954 tried and sentenced to life imprisonment as a "Slovak bourgeois nationalist." Amnestied in 1960, rehabilitated and readmitted to party in 1963. Scientific associate of Institute of State and Law of Slovak Academy of Sciences from 1963 to 1968. Deputy prime minister from April to August 1968. First secretary of CC of Communist

Party of Slovakia in 1968–69. First secretary (later general secretary) of CC of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from April 1969 to 1989. President of Czechoslovakia from 1975 to 1989. Expelled from Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1990.

Ibarruri, Dolores (1895–1989). Spanish politician. Founding member of Spanish Communist Party in 1920. Elected to parliament in 1936. During Spanish civil war gained fame as orator, given name of *La Pasionaria*. After Franco's victory in 1939 took refuge in USSR. From 1942 to 1959 general secretary, and thereafter chairperson, of Communist Party of Spain. Returned to Spain in 1977 and won re-election to National Assembly.

Ilyichev, Ivan Ivanovich (1905–83). Soviet diplomat. Deputy political adviser to Soviet Control Commission in Germany from 1949 to 1952. Head of Soviet diplomatic mission to German Democratic Republic in 1952–53. Supreme commissar of USSR in Austria from 1953 to 1955. First Soviet ambassador to postwar Austria in 1955–56, then head of Department of Scandinavian Countries in Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). Head of Third European Department in MFA from 1956 to 1966.

Ilyushin, Sergei Vladimirovich (1894–1977). Soviet aircraft designer. From 1910 to 1912 and during World War I worked at Saint Petersburg (later, Petrograd) hippodrome (aerodrome), in 1916 learned to fly. Designed first Soviet training plane U-1. From 1921 to 1926 at Zhukovsky Air Force Academy, where took part in constructing gliders. Qualified as air force engineer-mechanic. Headed aircraft section of air force Scientific-Technical Committee. In 1930 appointed technical aide to director of air force Scientific-Testing Institute. From 1931 to 1933 deputy director of Central Aerohydrodynamics Institute and head of Central Design Bureau. In 1933 Central Design Bureau attached to Menzhinsky Plant and Ilyushin appointed its director and deputy director of the plant, working on bombers and attack planes. General designer until 1970. Supervised design of bombers, attack planes (most famous being IL-2), transport planes, training planes, and passenger planes. Colonel general of the engineering-technical service (1967). Made member of Academy of Sciences in 1968. Recipient of Lenin Prize and State Prize. Thrice Hero of Socialist Labor.

Ivanov, Vsevolod Vyacheslavovich (1895–1963). Soviet writer and playwright. Early stories and plays on civil war. Later novels use fantasy and grotesque. Also diaries, memoirs, autobiographical novel.

Jiang Qing (alternative transliteration: Chiang Ching; original name: Li Yunho; stage name: Lan Ping; 1914–91). Chinese actress and politician. Embarked on acting career in Shanghai in 1938. Joined Chinese Communist Party in 1938. Became Mao Zedong's third wife in 1939 and continued work in dramatic arts. Began to assume political role in 1964. In 1966 became deputy head of Cultural Revolution Group of CCP CC and from 1969 to 1976 member of its Politburo. Arrested in October 1976 after Mao's death as member of "Gang of Four" charged with abuses of power during Cultural Revolution. Sentenced to death, commuted to life imprisonment.

Johnson, Lyndon Baines (1908–73). American politician. Graduated from Southwest Texas State Teachers College in 1928. From 1935 to 1937 head of Texas National Youth Administration. Member of House of Representatives from 1937 to 1948 (except for brief period in Navy) and of Senate from 1948 to 1961. Chosen as minority leader for Democratic Party in 1953. Vice president of United States from 1961 to 1963. President from 1963 to 1969. Known for "Great Society" social reform program.

Joxe, Louis (1901–91). French diplomat and politician. Secretary of state for foreign affairs and minister of the air from 1932 to 1935. Inspector of foreign services from 1935 until recalled by Vichy government in 1940, then schoolteacher. Secretary general of French Committee for National Liberation from 1942 to 1944. In 1946 secretary general of provisional government of the French Republic, then director general at MFA. French ambassador to USSR from 1952 to 1955 and to West Germany in 1955–56, then secretary general at MFA. Minister of national education in 1960 and 1962. Minister of Algerian affairs from 1960 to 1962. Minister of administrative reform from 1962 to 1966. Minister of justice in 1967–68. Deputy in National Assembly from 1967 to 1977, then appointed to Constitutional Council.

Kadar, Janos (Csermanek or Czermanik; 1912–89). Hungarian politician. From peasant family. Mechanic and trade union activist. Joined Communist Party of Hungary in 1931. During German occupation fought in Czechoslovak resistance movement. Became member of CC of Communist Party of Hungary in 1942, one of its secretaries in 1943, and member of its Politburo in 1945. From 1946 to 1951 deputy general secretary of CC of Hungarian Communist Party (Hungarian Workers Party), concurrently from 1946 to 1948 deputy chief of Budapest police department. From 1948 to 1950 minister of internal affairs. In 1950 arrested and charged with Titoism. Released at end of 1953 and appointed secretary of district committee of Hungarian Workers Party for Thirteenth District of Budapest. First secretary, then general secretary of CC of Hungarian Socialist Workers Party from October 1956 to 1988.

Concurrently prime minister of Hungary from 1956 to 1958 and from 1961 to 1965. Introduced New Economic Mechanism. Party president in 1988–89.

Kalchenko, Nikifor Timofeyevich (1906–89). Soviet agronomist and official. From peasant background. Joined party in 1932. Graduated from Poltava Agricultural Institute in 1928, then agronomist for various organizations. From 1938 to 1941 chairman of Odessa Province Executive Committee. During Soviet-German war (1941–45) member of military councils of several armies and fronts. In 1946–47 minister of technical crops of Ukraine. From 1947 to 1950 minister of state farms of Ukraine. From 1950 to 1952 minister of agriculture of Ukraine. From 1952 to 1954 first deputy chairman of Council of Ministers of Ukrainian SSR, concurrently in 1953 minister of agriculture and procurements of Ukraine. From 1954 to 1961 chairman of Council of Ministers of Ukrainian SSR. In 1961–62 deputy chairman of Council of Ministers of Ukrainian SSR, concurrently minister of procurements of Ukraine. From 1962 until retirement in 1976 first deputy chairman of Council of Ministers of Ukrainian SSR, concurrently from 1962 to 1965 minister of production and procurement of agricultural products of Ukraine. Member of party CC from 1956 to 1961. Lieutenant general (1944). Hero of Socialist Labor (1976).

Kalinin, Mikhail Ivanovich (1875–1946). Soviet politician. Born into poor peasant family. Metalworker at armaments plant, then at Putilov Iron Works in Petrograd. Joined party in 1898. In November 1917 elected mayor of Petrograd. From March 1919 to 1938 chairman of All-Russia CEC of the Soviets, concurrently from December 1922 a chairman of USSR CEC of the Soviets. From 1938 to 1946 chairman of Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. Member of party CC from 1919, of its Orgburo in 1919–20 and in 1924–25, and of its Politburo from 1926. Retired in 1946 and died shortly after. Hero of Socialist Labor (1944). City of Königsberg in East Prussia renamed Kaliningrad in his honor.

Kamaraj, K. Perunthalaivar (1903–75). Indian politician (Madras, Tamil Nadu). Involved in struggle for independence from age 12. Joined Tamil Nadu organization of Indian National Congress in 1919 and rose to become its leading figure. Spent 9 years in prison. Chief minister of Tamil Nadu state from April 1954 to October 1963. Known as "king maker." Member of Lok Sabha (House of the People, lower chamber of federal parliament) from January 1969 until his death in October 1975. Helped to unionize tea and coffee plantation workers in 1974.

Kamenev, Lev Borisovich (Rozenfeld; 1883–1936). Soviet politician. Joined party in 1901. Close associate of Lenin. Chairman of All-Russia CEC in November

1917. Chairman of Moscow Soviet from 1918 to 1926. Deputy chairman of Council of People's Commissars from 1923 to 1926. Chairman of Council of Labor and Defense from 1924 to 1926. Director of Lenin Institute from 1923 to 1926. Member of party CC from 1917 to 1927 and of its Politburo from 1919 to 1926. In 1925–26, together with Zinoviev, a leader of so-called New Opposition, or Leningrad Opposition, and then in 1926–27 of United Left Opposition to Stalin. Expelled from party in 1927; after capitulating to Stalin, readmitted in 1928. Arrested on charges of conspiring to restore capitalism after Kirov assassination. A chief defendant (with Zinoviev) in August 1936 in first major Moscow show trial. Executed, rehabilitated posthumously in 1988.

Kang Sheng (Zhang Zongke; 1898–1975). Chinese politician. From landlord family. Joined Chinese Communist Party in 1925. Worked as labor organizer. Participated in 1927 uprising in Shanghai, but escaped to Soviet areas in countryside. Sent to Moscow in 1933 to study methods of security police work. On return to Yenan, head of Social Affairs Department (security service) from 1935 to 1949. Resumed control of security apparatus of Chinese People's Republic in mid-1950s. Became member of Secretariat of CCP CC in 1962 and member of Standing Committee of its Politburo in 1966. Closely involved in Cultural Revolution as adviser to Cultural Revolution Group under CCP CC. Posthumously expelled from CCP in 1980.

Karbyshev, Dmitry Mikhailovich (1880–1945). Russian and Soviet military engineer. Graduated from Siberian Military College in 1898, Nikolayevsky Military Engineering College in 1900, and Nikolayevsky Military Engineering Academy in 1911. Served in Russo-Japanese war and World War I. Worked on fortifications of Brest fortress from 1911 to 1914. Joined Red Army in December 1917. During civil war served as engineer of the Board of Engineering Defense of the Soviet Republic. In 1926 appointed head of department at Frunze Military Academy, and in 1936 assistant department head at General Staff Military Academy. Author of more than 100 works on military engineering and military history. Lieutenant general of engineering forces (1940). Professor. Doctor of Military Sciences (1941). In June 1941, while inspecting fortifications in Belorussia, fell into encirclement and taken prisoner. Passed through 13 German camps and prisons. Murdered at Mauthausen concentration camp during night of February 16, 1945. Posthumously made Hero of the Soviet Union (1946).

Kardelj, Edvard (1910–79). Yugoslav politician. Son of railroad worker. Graduated from Ljubljana Teachers College. Joined Yugoslav Communist Party in

1928. Imprisoned from 1930 to 1932. In 1934 went to Czechoslovakia, then Soviet Union, where he met Tito. Became member of CC of Yugoslav Communist Party on return to Yugoslavia in 1937 and of its Politburo in 1938. Fought with Tito in partisan movement against Nazi occupation. Deputy prime minister in 1945 and from 1946 to 1953, concurrently minister of foreign affairs from 1948 to 1953. From 1953 to 1960 general secretary of Socialist League of the Working People of Yugoslavia. Secretary of CC of League of Communists of Yugoslavia from 1958 to 1966. Leading ideologist and jurist. Developed concepts of socialist self-management and nonalignment in world affairs. Drafted federal Yugoslav constitution of 1946 and supervised drafting of constitutions of 1953, 1963, and 1974. Deputy chairman of Federal Executive Council from 1953 to 1963. Chairman of federal parliament from 1963 to 1967. Member of Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts. Croatian town of Ploce named Kardeljevo in his honor from 1950 to 1954 and from 1980 to 1990.

Karmen, Roman Lazarevich (1906–78). Soviet documentary film maker. Produced films on various international and domestic themes. Supervised production of twenty-part film series on Soviet-German war, shown on television in United States as *The Unknown War* (1979). Recipient of Lenin Prize (1960) and State Prize (1942, 1947, 1952, 1975). People's Artist of the USSR (1966). Hero of Socialist Labor (1976).

Kassem, Abdel Karim (Qassim; 1914–63). Iraqi general and politician. Brigadier general. Graduated from Baghdad Military Academy in 1934, then attended Staff College. Fought Zionists in Palestine in 1948. Led coup against monarchy in July 1958, became prime minister of new republic, also minister of defense and commander in chief of armed forces. Withdrew Iraq from Baghdad Pact (Central Treaty Organization) in 1959. Suppressed leftist uprising in 1959 and Kurdish uprising in 1961. Overthrown and shot in Baathist coup of February 1963. Recipient of many military awards.

Kazakov, Mikhail Ilyich (1901–79). Soviet general. Joined Red Army in 1920. In June 1941 major general. From 1941 to 1943 army chief of staff, then chief of staff of Bryansk and Voronezh Fronts. In 1943–44 army commander, then deputy commander of Bryansk and Second Baltic Fronts. From 1944 to 1946 commander of Guards Army. From 1946 to 1949 deputy commander, then chief of staff and first deputy commander of Transcaucasus military district. From 1950 to 1952 commander of Urals military district, deputy commander in chief of ground forces. From 1956 to 1960 commander of Southern Group of Forces [in Hungary]. From 1960 to 1965 commander of Leningrad military district. From 1965 to 1968 first deputy chief of General Staff and chief of staff of Unified Armed Forces of Warsaw Pact, thereafter member of Group of General Inspectors of Ministry of Defense.

Keita, Modibo (1915–77). Malian politician. Active in movement for independence of French Sudan from 1946. General secretary of Sudanese Union from 1947 to 1968. Representative for French Sudan in French National Assembly from 1956 to 1958. Head of government and president of Republic of Mali from 1960 to 1968. Deposed by military coup. Died in prison.

Kennedy, John Fitzgerald (1917–63). American politician. Graduated from Harvard University in 1940. Served in Navy during World War II. Elected for Democratic Party to House of Representatives in 1946. Elected to Senate in 1952. Elected president of United States in November 1960 and held office from January 1961 until his assassination on November 21, 1963.

Kennedy, Robert Francis (1925–68). American politician. Younger brother of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Served briefly in Navy during World War II. Graduated from Harvard University in 1948 and from University of Virginia School of Law in 1951. Junior counsel for Senator McCarthy. From 1956 to 1959 chief counsel for Senate Labor Rackets Committee. In 1961 appointed attorney general by President Kennedy. Left office after brother's assassination. Elected to Senate in November 1964. Assassinated in June 1968.

Khmelnitsky, Bogdan (Zinovy) Mikhailovich (1595–1657). Ukrainian hetman (military and political leader). Led Cossack-peasant rebellion against Polish rule from 1648 to 1654. In January 1654 at Pereyaslavl proclaimed unification of Ukraine with Russia.

Khrulyov, Andrei Vasilyevich (1892–1962). Soviet official. In 1940–41 chief quartermaster of Red Army. In August 1941 appointed deputy people's commissar of defense and head of Red Army Main Administration of the Rear. Concurrently in 1942–43 people's commissar of railroads. Army general (1943). From 1943 to 1946 chief of the rear of Soviet Army. From 1946 to 1951 chief of the rear of Armed Forces and deputy minister of USSR Armed Forces for the rear. From 1951 to 1958 deputy minister of building materials industry, deputy minister of automobile transport and highroads, and deputy minister of construction.

Kiesinger, Kurt Georg (1904–88). German politician. Official in German MFA from 1940 to 1945. Federal chancellor of West Germany from 1966 to 1969. Leader of Christian Democratic Union from 1967 to 1971.

Kliszko, Zenon (1908–89). Polish politician. Joined Communist Party of Poland in 1931. Member of CC of Polish Workers Party (and then of Polish

United Workers Party) from 1944 to 1948. Expelled from party as ally of Gomulka in 1949 and readmitted along with Gomulka in 1956. Again member of CC from 1957 to 1971 and member of its Politburo from 1957 to 1970. Vice marshal of Sejm (parliament) from 1957 until retirement in 1971.

Konev, Ivan Stepanovich (1897–1973). Soviet general. From peasant background. Lumberjack. Noncommissioned officer of tsarist army during World War I. Joined party in 1918. Commissar of an armored train during civil war, thereafter commissar, regimental and divisional commander. Graduated from Frunze Military Academy in 1934, then divisional and corps commander. From 1938 to 1940 commander of Second Far Eastern Army. In 1940–41 commander of Transbaikal and North Caucasus military districts. Commander of Nineteenth Army in battle for Moscow in 1941, then of Steppe and Second Ukrainian Fronts. In 1944–45 commander of First Ukrainian Front. In 1945–46 commander in chief of Soviet forces in Austria and Hungary (Central Group of Forces). From 1946 to 1950 commander in chief of ground forces and deputy minister of USSR Armed Forces. In 1950–51 chief inspector of Soviet Army and deputy war minister. From 1951 to 1955 commander of Carpathian military district. From 1956 to 1961 first deputy minister of defense, concurrently from 1955 to 1960 commander in chief of Unified Armed Forces of Warsaw Pact. In 1961–62 commander in chief of Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, thereafter member of Group of General Inspectors of Ministry of Defense. Member of party CC from 1952 to 1973. Marshal of the Soviet Union. Twice Hero of the Soviet Union.

Korneichuk, Aleksandr Yevdokimovich (1905–72). Ukrainian playwright, writer, and journalist. Best-known play *The Front* (1942). Became member of Academy of Sciences in 1943. Chairman of Ukrainian Union of Writers from 1946 to 1953.

Kosciuszko, Tadeusz (1746–1817). Polish military leader. Fought in American war of independence from 1775 to 1783. Leader of Polish national uprising of 1794 against Russian and Prussian rule. Wounded in battle and taken prisoner by tsarist troops. Freed from Peter and Paul Fortress in Saint Petersburg in 1796. Died in Switzerland. Ashes brought to Krakow.

Kosior, Stanislav Vikentyevich (1889–1939). Soviet official. Worker. Joined party in 1907. After 1917 a prominent party official, an organizer of CP(B) of Ukraine. A secretary of CC of CP(B) of Ukraine from 1920. Secretary of Siberian Bureau of party CC from 1922, thereafter up to 1938 general secretary of CC of CP(B) of Ukraine. At time of arrest on false charges in purges of 1938, deputy chairman of Council of People's Commissars and chairman of Soviet Control Commission. Member of party CC from 1924, of its Orgburo from 1928, and of its Politburo from 1930. Arrested in 1938, executed in 1939, posthumously rehabilitated in 1956.

Kosygin, Aleksei Nikolayevich (1904–80). Soviet official. Joined the party in 1927. Graduated from Kirov Leningrad Textile Institute in 1935. From 1935 foreman and workshop head and in 1937–38 a plant director in Leningrad. In 1938 head of the Industry and Transport Department of the Leningrad province committee of the party. In 1938–39 chairman of the Leningrad City Executive Committee. In 1939–40 people's commissar for the textiles industry. From 1940 to 1953 deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (Council of Ministers) of the USSR and concurrently deputy chairman of the Council for Evacuation in 1941, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR from 1943 to 1946, minister of finance in 1948, and minister of light industry from 1948 to 1953. In 1953–54 minister of consumer-goods industry. From 1953 to 1956 and from 1957 to 1960 deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. In 1956–57 first deputy chairman of the State Economic Commission of the Council of Ministers. First deputy chairman and in 1959–60 chairman of State Planning Commission (Gosplan). From 1960 to 1964 first deputy chairman and from 1964 to 1980 chairman of the Council of Ministers. Member of Politburo (Presidium) of party CC from 1948 to 1952 and from 1960 to 1980.

Kovalyov, Ivan Vladimirovich (1901–93). Soviet official. Born in peasant family. Fought in civil war. Joined party in 1922. Graduated in 1935 from Military Transport Academy of Red Army, then railroad inspector. From 1937 to 1939 head of administration of Western Railroad. From 1939 to 1941 head of Central Military Department of People's Commissariat of Railroads. From 1941 to 1944 first deputy head, then head of Central Administration of Military Communications. From 1944 to 1948 people's commissar (minister) of railroads. From 1948 to 1950 chief adviser to CC of Chinese Communist Party, leader of Soviet military specialists in China, and representative of USSR Council of Ministers for matters pertaining to the Chinese Changchun Railroad. In 1950–51 head of Donetsk Railroad District. From 1951 to 1957 deputy minister of the coal industry. From 1957 to 1960 senior scientific associate of Military Science Administration of General Staff. From 1960 to 1969 senior lecturer at Military Academy of General Staff, head of its research group in military economics. From 1969 until retirement in 1985 at Institute of World Economy and International Relations of USSR Academy of Sciences.

Lieutenant general of technical troops (1943). Doctor of military sciences (1967). Professor (1969).

Kozlov, Vasily Ivanovich (1903–67). Soviet official. From 1944 to 1948 first secretary of Minsk province and city committees of party. From 1948 to 1967 chairman of Presidium of Supreme Soviet of Belorussian SSR and deputy chairman of USSR Supreme Soviet. Member of party CC in 1966–67.

Kozlov, Frol Romanovich (1908–65). Soviet official. Laborer at textile factory. Joined party in 1926. From 1926 to 1928 in Komsomol work. In 1936 graduated from Leningrad Polytechnical Institute. From 1936 to 1939 manager at metallurgical factory, then in 1939–40 secretary of its party committee and party organizer for the CC. From 1940 to 1944 secretary of Izhevsk city party committee (in Udmurtia). From 1944 to 1947 working in CC apparatus. From 1947 to 1949 second secretary of Kuybyshev province party committee, then second secretary, and from 1950 first secretary, of Leningrad city party committee. In 1957–58 chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. From 1958 to 1960 first deputy chairman of USSR Council of Ministers. From 1960 until retirement in 1964 secretary of party CC for defense issues. Member of party CC from 1952 and of its Presidium from 1957 to 1964. Hero of Socialist Labor (1961).

Kozlovsky, Ivan Semyonovich (1900–93). Soviet opera singer (lyrical tenor). With Bolshoi Theater (Moscow) from 1926 to 1954. Sang in Tchaikovsky's opera *Yevgeny Onegin,* Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov,* and Wagner's *Lohengrin*. Awarded titles of People's Artist of the USSR in 1940 and Hero of Socialist Labor in 1980. Won State Prize in 1941 and 1949.

Krag, Jens Otto (1914–78). Danish politician. Social democrat. Shaped Denmark's postwar economic policies. Elected to parliament in 1947. Minister of commerce, industry, and shipping from 1947 to 1950. Minister of economy and labor from 1953 to 1957. Minister of foreign economic relations in 1957–58. Minister of foreign affairs from 1958 to 1962 and in 1966–67. Chairman of Social Democratic Party of Denmark from 1962 to 1973. Prime minister from 1962 to 1968 and in 1971–72, resigning for personal reasons after achieving goal of European Community membership for Denmark.

Kreisky, Bruno (1911–90). Austrian politician. Joined Austrian Social Democratic Party at age 15. Studied law at University of Vienna. When Nazis occupied Austria in 1938 fled to Sweden. Returned to Austria in 1945 but sent to join Austrian legation in Stockholm. In 1951 appointed assistant chief of staff and political adviser to President Theodor Körner. In 1953 became undersecretary in foreign affairs department of federal chancellery, took part in negotiating Austrian State Treaty of 1955. Elected to parliament and to Executive of Socialist Party of Austria in 1956. Foreign minister from 1959 to 1966. Vice chairman of the Socialist Party of Austria from 1959 to 1967 and chairman from 1967 to 1983. Federal chancellor from 1970 to 1983.

Krinitsky, Aleksandr Ivanovich (1894–1937). Polish-Soviet official. Son of minor official. Enrolled at Moscow University in 1913, active in student revolutionary circles. In 1915 joined party, arrested, and exiled to Eastern Siberia. In 1917 chairman of Tver province party committee. In 1918 head of Agitation and Propaganda Department of Red Army on Southern Front of civil war. From 1919 to 1921 secretary of Vladimir, then Saratov province party committee. In 1921–22 head of Organization Department of Moscow Committee of party, concurrently secretary of party committee for a Moscow district. From 1922 to 1924 secretary of Omsk province, and in 1924–25 of Donetsk province, party committee. In 1925–26 secretary of CC of Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Belorussia. From 1926 to 1929 head of Department of Agitation and Propaganda of party CC. Head of commission to select Soviet Poles to attend Congress of Poles Abroad (Warsaw, 1929). In 1929–30 secretary of Transcaucasia territory party committee. From 1930 to 1935 member of editorial board of party's theoretical journal, *Bolshevik*. From 1930 to 1932 deputy people's commissar of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. From 1933 to 1935 deputy head of Agriculture Department of party CC, concurrently head of Political Administration of People's Commissariat of Agriculture and deputy people's commissar of agriculture. Elected to party CC in 1934. Appointed first secretary of Saratov territory (province) and city party committees in 1935. Arrested, sentenced to death for "counterrevolutionary terrorist activity," and executed in October 1937. Rehabilitated in 1956.

Kristo, Pandi (dates of birth and death unknown). Albanian politician. A leader of Communist Party and partisan movement in Albania during World War II. Oriented toward Tito's Yugoslavia. Member of Politburo of CC of Albanian Party of Labor from 1944 to 1948. Chairman of Central Control Commission. In June 1947 supported Xoxe in attempt to prevent break with Yugoslavia; following break with Yugoslavia, removed from official posts (July 1948). Expelled from party and arrested in November 1948. Tried in June 1949 together with Xoxe and others, sentenced to 20 years hard labor.

Krylenko, Nikolai Vasilyevich (1885–1938). Soviet military commander and official. Son of political exile. Joined party in 1904. Graduated from Faculty of History and Philology of Petersburg University in 1909 and from Faculty of Law of Kharkov University in 1914. Doctor of State and Social Sciences. Participated in revolution of 1905. Schoolteacher. In 1914–15 in Switzerland. On return to Russia arrested, then drafted into army. In February–April 1917 elected chairman of soldiers' committees, in May 1917 delegate to soldiers' congress. Delegate and member of presidium at first All-Russia Congress of Soviets. In revolution of October 1917 member of Petrograd Military-Revolutionary Committee. From November 1917 to March 1918 supreme commander in chief and people's commissar for military affairs. Helped to organize Red Army. In February–March 1918 member of Committee of Revolutionary Defense of Petrograd. From March 1918 member of collegium of People's Commissariat of Justice, helped to set up Soviet courts and procuracy. From May 1918 chairman of Revolutionary Tribunal (from 1919 Supreme Tribunal) of All-Russia CEC of the Soviets. From 1922 to 1929 deputy people's commissar of justice of RSFSR. From 1929 to 1931 procurator of RSFSR. From 1931 to 1936 people's commissar of justice of RSFSR. From 1936 to 1938 people's commissar of justice of USSR. Arrested and executed in 1938, rehabilitated posthumously in 1956.

Krylov, Ivan Andreyevich (1769–1844). Russian satirist, playwright, poet, translator, and musician. Son of army captain. Best known for his 203 animal fables. Also composed 5 comic operas. Co-editor of satirical magazine from 1789 to 1793.

Kudryavtsev, Sergei Mikhailovich (1915–?) Soviet diplomat. Entered diplomatic service in 1941. In 1950–51 deputy head of Third, then of Fourth, European Department of MFA. Political representative to Austrian government in 1952–53. Soviet deputy high commissioner in Austria from 1953 to 1955. Minister at Soviet embassy in Austria in 1955 and in West Germany from 1955 to 1957, then deputy head of Third European Department of MFA. In 1959–60 minister at Soviet embassy in France. Soviet ambassador to Cuba from August 1960 to 1962, later a consultant to MFA. Still alive in 1996.

Kun, Bela (1886–1939). Hungarian politician. Son of village clerk. Studied law at Cluj University. Joined Social Democratic Party of Hungary in 1902. Fought in Austro-Hungarian army in World War I, taken prisoner on Russian front in 1916. Joined Russian Bolshevik Party, after October 1917 worked for Bolshevik newspapers. Returned to Hungary illegally in November 1918, founding member of Communist Party of Hungary. Played key role as people's commissar of foreign and military affairs in Hungarian Soviet Republic of March–August 1919. Following defeat by Romanian, Czechoslovak, and Hungarian intervention, fled to Vienna. Held in insane asylum, allowed to go to

Russia in August 1920. In October–November 1920 member of Revolutionary Military Council of Southern Front in civil war, then appointed head of Crimean Region Revolutionary Committee. Party work in Urals from 1921 to 1923, then in Comintern. Recipient of Order of the Red Banner (1927). Reappeared in Vienna in 1928, imprisoned and sent back to USSR. Arrested in purges in 1937, died in 1939. Rehabilitated posthumously.

Kurasov, Vladimir Vasilyevich (1897–1973). Soviet general. Joined party in 1928. Graduated in 1932 from Frunze Military Academy and in 1938 from General Staff Higher Military Academy. During Soviet-German war commanded Fourth Shock Army, then chief of staff of Kalinin and First Baltic Fronts. In 1945–46 chief of staff of Soviet military administration in Germany. From 1946 to 1949 commander in chief of Central Group of Forces (Hungary, Austria, Romania). Promoted to army general in 1948. From 1949 to 1956 and from 1961 to 1963 head of General Staff Military Academy. From 1956 to 1961 deputy chief of General Staff. From 1963 to 1968 senior representative of High Command of Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact Countries in People's Army of GDR, then military inspector of Group of General Inspectors of Ministry of Defense.

Kurchatov, Igor Vasilyevich. (1902/03–60). Soviet atomic physicist and head of Soviet nuclear-weapons program. Son of forester. In early 1920s student in Faculty of Physics and Mathematics of Simferopol University in the Crimea, then in Shipbuilding Faculty of Polytechnical Institute in Petrograd (Leningrad, Saint Petersburg). While studying worked as observer at Pavlov Magnetic-Meteorological Observatory and conducted research on radioactivity of snow. Research on high-voltage isolation, electrical insulation, segneto-electricity, isomerism, and other newly discovered physical phenomena. Supervised creation of the first Soviet cyclotron (1939) and discovery of spontaneous splitting of the uranium nucleus (1940). During Soviet-German war (1941–45) worked on protecting ships against magnetic mines. Founder and from 1943 until his death first director of Institute of Atomic Energy of USSR Academy of Sciences (later named in his honor). His institute created first atomic reactor in Europe (1946), first Soviet atomic bomb (1949), world's first thermonuclear (hydrogen) bomb (1953), first atomic power plant (1954), and world's first atomic-powered icebreaker. Also wrote poetry and loved music. Doctor of Physical and Mathematical Sciences (1932). Member of USSR Academy of Sciences (1943) and of its Presidium. Awarded Lenin Prize and State Prize. Thrice Hero of Socialist Labor. In 1964 Soviet physicists artificially obtained a heavy (atomic number 104) unstable radioactive element and named it Kurchatovy (Latin name Kurtchatovium) after him. In 1983 a town in Kursk province was named Kurchatov in his honor.

Kutuzov, Mikhail Illarionovich (1745–1813). Russian general. Best known for leading Russian army in struggle against Napoleonic invasion of 1812. Also fought in Russo-Turkish wars of late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and in Russian-Austrian-French war of 1805.

Kuusinen, Otto Ville (Vilhelm; 1881–1964). Finnish-Soviet politician. Joined Russian Social Democratic Labor Party in 1904 and Social Democratic Party of Finland in 1905. From 1911 to 1917 chairman of Executive Committee of Social Democratic Party of Finland. Minister of education in short-lived Finnish revolutionary government in 1918. Founding member of Communist Party of Finland in 1918. From 1921 to 1939 member of Presidium and secretary of Executive Committee of Communist International. In 1939–40 chairman of Provisional People's Government of Finland. From 1940 to 1956 chairman of Presidium of Supreme Soviet of Karelo-Finnish SSR (set up with a view to absorbing Finland into USSR) and a deputy chairman of Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet. Became member of party CC in 1941. Secretary of party CC from 1957 to 1964 and member of its Presidium in 1952–53 and from 1957 to 1964. Elected member of USSR Academy of Sciences in 1958. Author of works on history of international communist movement. Hero of Socialist Labor (1961).

Kuznetsov, Vasily Vasilyevich (1901–90). Soviet engineer and diplomat. From peasant family. Joined party in 1927. Graduated in 1926 from Metallurgy Faculty of Leningrad Polytechnical Institute and in 1933 from Metallurgy Faculty of Carnegie Technological Institute in Pittsburgh (United States). Candidate of Technical Sciences. From 1937 to 1940 expert in special steels at People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry. From 1940 to 1943 deputy chairman of State Planning Commission (Gosplan), concurrently from 1941 deputy member of State Defense Committee. In 1943–44 chairman of CC of Ferrous Metallurgy Workers Union. From 1944 to 1953 chairman of All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, concurrently from 1946 to 1950 chairman of Soviet of Nationalities of USSR Supreme Soviet. In 1953 Soviet ambassador to Chinese People's Republic. From 1953 to 1955 a deputy foreign minister. From 1955 to 1977 first deputy foreign minister. Also Soviet representative at United Nations Security Council. From 1977 to 1986 first deputy chairman of Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet, then state adviser to Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet. Member of party CC from 1952 to 1989, of its Presidium in 1952–53, and of its Orgburo from

1946 to 1952. Twice Hero of Socialist Labor (1971, 1981). Recipient of State Prize (1941).

Le Duan (also known as Le Dung; 1907–86). Vietnamese politician. Railroad worker. Founding member of Communist Party of Indochina (1930). Imprisoned by French colonial regime for ten of next fifteen years. In 1945 became member of CC of Communist Party of Indochina. Fought in Viet Minh against French reoccupation. Following French withdrawal in 1954, organized Communist underground in South Vietnam. Oversaw collectivization of agriculture in late 1950s. First secretary of Vietnamese Workers Party from 1960 to 1976, thereafter general secretary of Vietnamese Communist Party. Leading figure after death of Ho Chi Minh in 1969.

Lenart, Jozef (1923–2004). Czechoslovak politician. Premier from September 1963 to April 1968. General secretary of CC of Communist Party of Slovakia from 1968 to 1988. In 1989 charged with high treason for attending meeting at Soviet embassy on day after Soviet military intervention in 1968 to discuss formation of new "workers and peasants government." Acquitted of all charges in 2002 due to insufficient evidence.

Leonova, Valentina Ivanovna (born 1926). Soviet physician (ear, nose, and throat specialist). Candidate of Medical Sciences (1951). From 1945 to 1951 studied at Sverdlovsk Medical Institute. From 1955 until retirement in 1984 in Therapeutic-Sanitary Division of Fourth Main Administration of USSR Ministry of Health.

Lesechko, Mikhail Avksentyevich (1909–84). Soviet official. Son of worker. Graduated from Moscow Aviation Institute in 1934. From 1936 to 1942 deputy chief engineer at aircraft factory. Joined party in 1940. From 1942 to 1946 deputy head of a main administration of People's Commissariat for Aviation Industry. From 1946 to 1948 in apparatus of Technical Council for Mechanization attached to Council of Ministers. From 1948 to 1954 head of special design bureau of Moscow Calculating Machines Factory. From 1954 to 1956 first deputy minister of machine building and instrument making. In 1956–57 minister of instrument making and automation equipment. In 1957–58 a deputy chairman of State Planning Commission (Gosplan) of Ukrainian SSR. From 1958 to 1960 first deputy chairman of USSR Gosplan. From 1960 to 1962 chairman of commission of Presidium of Supreme Soviet on questions of foreign economic relations. From 1962 until retirement in 1980 a deputy chairman of Council of Ministers, concurrently from 1962 to 1977 permanent representative of USSR to Council for Mutual Economic

Assistance (Comecon). Member of party CC from 1961 to 1981. Recipient of State Prize (1954).

Lie, Trygve Halvdan (1896–1968). Norwegian politician and diplomat. Joined Norwegian Labor Party in 1911. Legal adviser to Norwegian Trade Union Federation from 1922 to 1935. National executive secretary of Labor Party in 1926. Minister of justice from 1935 to 1939. Minister of trade and industry from July to September 1939, then minister of supply and shipping. After German invasion of April 1940, saved Norwegian ships for the Allies by ordering them to set sail for Allied ports. Went to England in June 1940. Foreign minister in Norwegian government in exile and in 1945–46. Headed Norwegian delegation to United Nations conference in San Francisco and to UN General Assembly (1946). First secretary-general of United Nations (from February 1946 to November 1952). Thereafter governor of Oslo and Akershus, also chairman of Norwegian Board of Energy.

Lin Biao (1907–71). Chinese general and politician. Trained at Whampoa Military Academy. Rose to company commander in Kuomintang army. Joined Chinese Communist Party in 1925. After CCP-Kuomintang split of 1927, leading aide to Red Army commander in chief Zhu De, then commander of a Red Army corps. Veteran of Long March (1934–35), then director of Red Academy at Yenan. Became member of CCP CC in 1945. In 1947–48 led offensive against Kuomintang in northeastern China. Became deputy chairman of Chinese People's Republic in 1954, minister of defense and member of CCP Politburo in 1959. Became second-ranking leader of CCP at start of Cultural Revolution in 1966. Died in air crash in Mongolia, apparently while trying to escape by plane to the Soviet Union following a conflict with Mao.

Liu Shaoqi (1898–1969). Chinese politician. Son of landlord. Joined Comintern organization in Shanghai in 1920, studied Russian, and went to Moscow, where joined Chinese Communist Party in 1921. Returned to China as labor organizer. Became member of CCP CC in 1927 and of its Politburo in 1934. Veteran of Long March (1934–35). Leading expert in theory of party organization. Wrote *How to Be a Good Communist* (1939). In 1943 became general secretary of CCP CC in 1943, its vice chairman in 1949, and then its chairman in 1959, replacing Mao Zedong following failure of Great Leap Forward. In 1966 denounced in Cultural Revolution as "Capitalist Roader No. 1." Resigned from all posts in October 1968 and banished to Henan. Rehabilitated posthumously in 1980.

Lloyd, John Selwyn Brooke (1904–78). British politician (Conservative Party). Elected member of Parliament in 1945. Minister of state for foreign affairs from 1951 to 1954. Minister of supply in 1954–55, then minister of defense. Foreign secretary from 1955 to 1960. Chancellor of the exchequer from 1960 to 1962. Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Commons in 1963–64. Speaker of the House of Commons from 1971 to 1976. Raised to peerage in 1976 as Baron Selwyn-Lloyd.

Lodge, Henry Cabot, Jr. (1902–85). American diplomat. Republican senator from 1937 to 1944 and from 1947 to 1953. During World War II (1944–45) served in Mediterranean and European theaters, rising to rank of lieutenant colonel. After war rose to rank of major general in U.S. Army Reserves. From February 1953 until resignation in September 1960 U.S. permanent representative at United Nations and on its Security Council. Subsequently general director of Atlantic Institute of International Relations in Paris. U.S. ambassador to Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam) in 1963–64 and from 1965 to 1967, ambassador at large in 1967–68, and ambassador to West Germany in 1968–69. Appointed by President Richard Nixon to head U.S. delegation to Vietnam peace negotiations in Paris in 1969. U.S. special envoy to the Vatican from 1970 to 1977.

Loga-Sowinski, Ignacy (1914–?). Polish politician. Joined Communist Party of Poland in 1935. Became member of CC of reformed Polish Workers Party in 1943. Delegate to Sejm (parliament) from 1947 to 1952 and from 1957 to 1972. Expelled from party in 1949 as ally of Gomulka and readmitted together with Gomulka in 1956. From 1956 to 1971 leader of Polish trade unions, deputy chairman of State Council of Polish People's Republic, and member of Politburo of CC of Polish United Workers Party, thereafter Polish ambassador to Turkey.

Lominadze, Vissarion Vissarionovich (1897–1935). Soviet official. Son of teacher. Joined party in 1917. Until 1924 occupied leading party posts. From 1925 to 1929 a prominent official of Comintern, then occupied various party posts. Former supporter of Stalin who created a left opposition group in the party in 1928–29. Accused of cooperating with S. I. Syrtsov to form a "Left-Right" opposition bloc. Committed suicide to avoid arrest. At time of death secretary of Magnitogorsk city party committee. A member of party CC from 1930.

Luca, Vasile (Laszlo; 1898–1963). Romanian politician. Fought against Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919 but in early 1920s joined Romanian Communist Party. Party secretary of Brasov region from 1924 to 1929, when elected president of United Unions. Demoted in 1930 for factionalism. Party secretary of Iasi region in 1932–33. Imprisoned from 1933 to 1939 and again in 1940. During Soviet-German war in USSR: Supreme Soviet deputy, political officer in Red Army, organized Romanian prisoners of war into Red Army divisions (together with Ana Pauker). Returned to Romania in 1944. A secretary of CC of Romanian Workers Party and member of its Politburo from 1945 to 1952. Minister of finance and deputy prime minister from 1947 to 1952. Arrested in August 1952 and charged with "right opportunism" for opposing currency devaluation. Tried in October 1954, sentenced to death, commuted to life imprisonment, for "economic sabotage." Died in prison. Rehabilitated posthumously in 1968.

Lukaszewicz, Jerzy (1931–83). Polish politician. In 1970s member of Politburo of CC of Polish United Workers Party. Head of CC Department of Propaganda from 1971 to 1983 (chief ideologist, also responsible for mass media). Ally of Eduard Gierek. Following Gdansk shipyard strike of August 1980, removed from leading positions as concession to strikers. Imprisoned after imposition of martial law by General Wojciech Jaruzelski in December 1981.

Lumumba, Patrice Emery (1925–61). Congolese politician. Educated at mission schools in Belgian Congo. Postal clerk, accountant; wrote essays and poems for publication in journals. In 1955 became regional president of an independent (from Belgium) trade union of government employees. Also active in Belgian Liberal Party. In October 1958 founded Congolese National Movement, first nationwide Congolese political party, which came first in local elections of December 1959. First prime minister of Democratic Republic of the Congo from June to September 5, 1960, when dismissed by President Kasavubu following secession of Katanga province led by Moise Tshombe. In November 1960 pursued, captured, and imprisoned by forces of Colonel Mobutu (who had seized power on September 14) and on January 17, 1961, handed over to Katanga regime and murdered. National Hero (1996).

Lunkov, Nikolai Mitrofanovich (1919– ?). Soviet diplomat. From peasant background. Secretary of factory committee of Komsomol. In 1941 sent to Higher Party School for military-diplomatic training. Entered diplomatic service in 1943, dealt with German and Austrian problems in Third European Department of MFA. Deputy political adviser to Marshal Tolbukhin, then Marshal Konev in Vienna in 1945–46. First secretary of Soviet mission in Switzerland from 1946 to 1949. Appointed counselor in 1948. From 1949 to 1951 assistant to an MFA department head. In 1951–52 acting assistant to minister of foreign affairs. From 1952 to 1954 deputy political counselor at Soviet Control Commission in Germany. From 1954 to 1957 counselor and temporary chargé d'affaires at Soviet embassy in Sweden. In 1957 deputy head of Department of International Organizations, from 1957 to 1962 deputy head, then head of Department of Scandinavian Counties of MFA. Accompanied Khrushchev on visit to United States in 1959. From 1962 to 1968 Soviet ambassador to Norway. From 1968 to 1971 head of Department for Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries, from 1971 to 1973 head of Second European Department of MFA and member of its collegium. From 1973 to 1980 Soviet ambassador to Britain and Malta. From 1980 until retirement in 1990 Soviet ambassador to Italy, also maintained contact with Vatican.

Macmillan, Harold (1894–1986). British politician (Conservative Party). Member of Parliament from 1924 to 1929 and from 1931. Parliamentary secretary to minister of supply from 1940 to 1942, then minister at Allied Headquarters in North Africa. Minister of housing from 1951 to 1954, minister of defense in 1954–55, foreign secretary in 1955, chancellor of the exchequer from 1955 to 1957. Prime minister from 1957 to 1963. Given title of Earl of Stockton.

Mahtab, Hare Krishna (1899–1987). Indian politician, writer, and newspaper editor. Joined independence movement in 1921. Worked with Gandhi to help Harijans (untouchables) from 1933 to 1937. Repeatedly imprisoned. Premier of Orissa state from 1946 to 1950. Minister for commerce and supply from 1950 to 1952. Secretary general of Congress Parliamentary Party from 1952 to 1954. Governor of Bombay state in 1955–56. Chief minister of Orissa state from 1956 to 1961. Elected to Lok Sabha (House of the People, lower chamber of federal parliament) in 1962. Deputy leader of Congress Parliamentary Party. Left Congress Party in 1966 to form Jana Congress. Author of 24 books, including novels and poetry, in English and Oriya.

Makhno, Nestor Ivanovich (1889–1934). Ukrainian anarchist (anarcho-communist or libertarian communist) organizer and military leader. Born to peasant family in village of Gulyai-Polye, Yekaterinoslav gubernia, central-southern Ukraine. Shepherd from age 7, later farmhand. Became anarchist following participation in revolution of 1905. Arrested in 1908 and condemned to death for terrorist acts, but sentence commuted to life imprisonment on grounds of youth. Released in March 1917 after fall of tsarist regime. Returned to home village and became president in turn of regional peasants' union, agricultural commission, and union of metal and carpentry workers. In August 1917, as president of Peasants and Workers Soviet of Gulyai-Polye, carried out land reform. In early 1918, when Ukraine ceded to Central Powers by Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, organized Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine to fight German and Austrian occupation forces. Between 1918 and 1921 also fought Ukrainian nationalists (Petlyurists), Whites (in temporary alliance with Red Army), and finally Red Army invasion of Ukraine. Fled to Romania, thence to Poland and Germany, eventually settled in Paris (1926). Joined Group of Russian Anarchists Abroad and co-authored organizational platform of the Libertarian Communists. Died of tuberculosis.

Malenkov, Georgy Maksimilianovich (1902–88). Soviet politician. Son of white-collar employee. Joined party in 1920. Became an official in apparatus of party CC in 1925 and in apparatus of Moscow committee of the party in 1930. From 1934 to 1939 head of CC Department for Leading Party Bodies. From 1939 to 1953 a secretary of party CC and head of its Cadres Administration. From 1941 to 1945 a member of State Defense Committee. Became a member of Politburo of party CC in 1946. From 1946 to 1953 deputy chairman, and from 1953 to 1955 chairman, of USSR Council of Ministers. From 1955 to 1957 minister of electric power plants. A member of party CC from 1939 to 1957. For participating in the so-called antiparty group of Molotov, Malenkov, and Kaganovich, removed from high-level positions in 1957 and appointed director of Ust-Kamenogorsk hydroelectric power plant, then of Ekibastuz thermoelectric power plant (both in Kazakhstan). Expelled from party in 1961.

Malik, Adam (1917–84). Indonesian politician and diplomat. Participated in fight for independence from Netherlands from early age. In 1937 established Antara Press Bureau (later to become official Indonesian Antara News Agency). Founding member of People's Party in 1946 and Murba Party in 1948. Elected to house of representatives in 1956. Appointed to Provisional Supreme Advisory Council in 1959. Indonesian ambassador to Soviet Union and Poland from November 1959 to 1963. Minister of trade from 1963 to 1965. Led Indonesian delegations to United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in 1964. Coordinating minister for implementation of guided economy in 1965–66. Deputy prime minister in 1966–67. Minister of foreign affairs from 1966 to 1978. Led Indonesian delegations to United Nations General Assembly. Chairman of People's Consultative Assembly. Vice president from 1978 to 1983.

Malinovsky, Rodion Yakovlevich (1898–1967). Soviet general. Noncommissioned officer in tsarist army. Joined Red Army in 1919. Military adviser in Spanish civil war, instructor at Frunze Military Academy, then in senior command posts. During Soviet-German war (1941–45) commanded Southern Front, Don Operational Group (1942), Second Guards Army in counteroffensive at Stalingrad (1942–43), various Fronts engaged in offensive operations in Ukraine, Romania, Hungary, Austria, and Czechoslovakia (1943–45), and Transbaikal Front in war with Japan (1945). Commander in chief of Soviet forces in Far East from 1947 to 1953. Commander of Far East military district from 1953 to 1956. First deputy minister of defense and commander in chief of ground forces in 1956–57. Minister of defense from 1957 to 1967. Marshal of the Soviet Union (1944).

Malraux, André (1901–76). French writer and politician. Author of books on archaeology, art history, and anthropology, as well as memoirs and several novels based on travels in Indochina, China, and Spain, where helped organize an air force for the Republican side in Spanish civil war (1936–39). Tank commander and Resistance leader in World War II. Close to Communist Party in 1930s, joined Gaullists in 1943. Minister of information in 1945 and 1958. Minister of culture from 1959 to 1969.

Manuilsky, Dmitry Zakharovich (1883–1959). Soviet official. Son of priest. Graduated from University of Saint Petersburg. Joined Russian Social Democratic Labor Party in 1903. Deported to Siberia for participating in 1905 revolution, fled to Paris. In 1917 returned to Russia, commissar of Petrograd Military-Revolutionary Committee. Secretary and member of Presidium of Executive Committee of Communist International from 1928 to 1943. Deputy chairman of Council of People's Commissars (Council of Ministers) and people's commissar (minister) of foreign affairs of Ukrainian SSR from 1944 to 1953. Vice chairman of United Nations Security Council in 1945 and of its Political Committee in 1946. Member of party CC from 1923 to 1952. Member of Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (1945). Author of works on international workers movement

Mao Zedong (1893–1976). Chinese politician. From landlord family. Became member of CC of Chinese Communist Party in 1923. In 1926 appointed director of Kuomintang Peasant Movement Training Institute (in context of CCP-Kuomintang alliance). In 1931 became chairman of Soviet Republic of China (based in Jiangxi). In 1933 became member of Politburo of CCP CC, in 1935 elected to its Secretariat and Standing Committee of Politburo. In 1934–35 led Long March to Yenan. Chairman of CCP CC from 1945 to 1976. Chairman of CCP Central Military Commission from 1936 to 1976. Chairman of Chinese People's Republic from 1949 to 1959, when resigned on account of failure of Great Leap Forward. Initiated Cultural Revolution (1966–76).

Markov, Aleksandr Mikhailovich (1901–82). Soviet physician. Graduated from medical faculty of Voronezh University in 1928. From 1928 to 1932 intern, then chief physician at Krasnaya Moskva (Red Moscow) sanatorium in Sochi. From 1932 to 1938 intern, then assistant at preliminary therapy clinic of Voronezh

Medical Institute, thereafter head of Department of Internal Diseases at Voronezh Stomatological Institute. During Soviet-German war (1941–45) army physician, chief practitioner of Transbaikal Front. From 1947 to 1953 scientific director, then director of Central Polyclinic, head of division of Kremlin Hospital, then deputy head of Medical-Sanitary Administration (Lechsanupr) of Kremlin. From 1953 to 1966 head of Fourth Main Administration of Ministry of Health and member of its collegium, thereafter consultant to Central Tuberculosis Institute of Ministry of Health. Professor. Doctor of Medical Sciences. Meritorious Scientist of the RSFSR.

Masaryk, Thomas (1850–1937). Czechoslovak politician. From 1900 to 1920 leader of liberal Czech People's Party, later renamed Progressive Realist Party, advocating Czech autonomy within Austro-Hungarian empire. Elected to Austrian parliament in 1907. During World War I in exile, head of Paris-based Czech National Council, helped organize Czech Legion in Russia, which in 1918 rose against Bolsheviks in Russian civil war. President of Czechoslovakia from 1918 to 1935. Author of historical and philosophical works.

Maurer, Ion Gheorghe (1902–2000). Romanian lawyer and politician. Joined Romanian Communist Party in 1936. Chief defense attorney in Ana Pauker's trial in 1936. Became member of RCP CC and of its Politburo in 1945. Undersecretary of state at Ministry of Industry and Commerce from 1945 to 1948. Deputy minister of foreign trade in 1948–49, then chairman of Association for the Dissemination of Science and Culture. Minister of foreign affairs from 1956 to 1958. In 1957 deputy president and from 1958 to 1961 president of Presidium of Grand National Assembly of Romania. Became member of Politburo of CC of Romanian Workers Party in 1960 and member of Executive Committee and Standing Presidium of CC of Romanian Communist Party in 1965. From 1961 to 1965 vice president of State Council. From 1961 to 1974 chairman of Council of Ministers.

Mazurov, Kirill Trofimovich (1914–89). Soviet official. From peasant family. Joined party in 1940. Graduated from Gomel Road Transport College in 1933 and from Higher Party School in 1947. Before Soviet-German war (1941–45) road transport engineer, then Komsomol work. In 1941–42 occupied various posts in 21st Army of Southwestern Front. From 1942 to 1944 secretary of CC of underground Belorussian Komsomol. From 1944 to 1946 second secretary, and in 1946–47 first secretary, of CC of Belorussian Komsomol. From 1948 to 1950 second, then first secretary of Minsk city party committee. From 1950 to 1953 first secretary of Minsk province party committee. From 1953 to 1956 chairman of Council of Ministers of Belorussian SSR. From 1956 to

1965 first secretary of CC of CP(B) of Belorussia. From 1965 until retirement in 1978 first deputy chairman of USSR Council of Ministers. From 1986 chairman of All-Union Council of War and Labor Veterans. Member of party CC from 1956 to 1981 and of its Politburo (Presidium) from 1965 to 1978. Hero of Socialist Labor.

Mendès-France, Pierre (1907–82). French lawyer, economist, and politician. In 1932 entered chamber of deputies as Radical Socialist. Imprisoned as opponent of Vichy regime in 1940, but escaped to England in 1941 to join Free French Forces of General de Gaulle as pilot. Minister of national economy in 1945. Became prime minister in 1954 following defeat of French forces in Vietnam at Dienbienphu and arranged armistice in Indochina at Geneva Conference. Helped to establish Western European Union. Resigned as prime minister in 1955 and as head of Radical Party in 1957. Failed to be re-elected to National Assembly in 1958. Led anti-Gaullist Union of Democratic Forces. Parliamentary deputy again in 1967–68. Author of three books.

Menon, V. K. (Vengalil Krishnan) Krishna (1897–1974). Indian politician. Son of lawyer. Studied at Law College of Madras, where joined Home Rule Movement. Lived in England from 1924 to 1952. Studied at London School of Economics and University College London, practiced law from 1934. Worked for Indian independence as journalist and secretary of India League (1929–47), associate of Nehru. Also active in British Labour Party. In 1932 secretary of parliamentary fact-finding delegation to India. In 1930s editor of Twentieth Century Library. From 1947 to 1952 Indian High Commissioner to Great Britain. Led Indian delegation to United Nations from 1952 to 1962. Member of Rajya Sabha (House of States, upper chamber of federal parliament) from 1953 to 1957. Minister without portfolio in 1956–57. Member of Lok Sabha (House of the People, lower chamber of federal parliament) from 1957 to 1967 and from 1969. Minister of defense from 1957 until resignation in 1962 following criticism for country's lack of military preparedness in Sino-Indian war. Made honorary president of World Peace Council in 1971.

Menon, Kumar Padma Shivasankar (1898–1982). Indian diplomat and public figure. In 1947–48 ambassador to China. From 1948 to 1952 secretary for foreign affairs. From 1952 to 1961 ambassador to Soviet Union (and concurrently to Poland and Hungary). From 1965 chairman of Indian-Soviet Cultural Society. From 1970 member of presidium of World Peace Council. From 1980 ambassador to Egypt. Recipient of International Lenin Prize (1979).

Menshikov, Mikhail Alekseyevich (1902–76). Soviet official. Worker. Fought in civil war. From 1922 to 1924 student at school of All-Russia CEC of the Soviets. From 1924 to 1928 accountant and chairman of factory committee at refrigerator factory. Joined party in 1927. From 1928 to 1930 economist at People's Commissariat of Domestic Trade. In 1929 graduated from Moscow Institute of National Economy as foreign trade economist. From 1930 to 1936 a director of All-Russia Cooperative Society ARKOS in England. Thereafter until 1943 held responsible positions in People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade. From 1943 to 1945 deputy director in council of United Nations Aid and Reconstruction Administration in Washington. In 1945–46 headed temporary commission of this administration in Poland. From 1946 to 1949 deputy minister of foreign trade. From 1949 to 1951 minister of foreign trade. From 1951 to 1953 in apparatus of Ministry of Foreign Trade. Soviet ambassador to India from 1953 to 1957 and to the United States from 1957 to 1961. From 1961 until retirement in 1968 minister of foreign affairs of the RSFSR.

Meretskov, Kirill Afanasyevich (1897–1968). Soviet general. From peasant background. Worker. Joined party in 1917 and Red Army in 1918. Fought in civil war. Occupied leading staff, political, and command posts. Fought in Spanish civil war (1936–37). Army commander in Soviet-Finnish war of 1939, then commander of Leningrad military district. From August 1940 to January 1941 chief of General Staff, then deputy people's commissar of defense. In summer 1941 under investigation. In Soviet-German war commanded various Armies and Fronts, then commander of a number of military districts. In 1955–56 assistant minister of defense for higher military training institutions. Member of Central Revision Commission from 1956 to 1961. From 1964 general inspector of Group of General Inspectors of Ministry of Defense. Hero of the Soviet Union (1940). Marshal of the Soviet Union (1944).

Michael I (Mihai; born 1921). King of Romania from 1927 to 1930 (with regency council governing country) and from 1940 to 1947. From 1920 to 1930 crown prince and army commander in chief. Opposed to Antonescu and assisted in coup against him in August 1944, then concluded armistice with Allies. Forced to abdicate in December 1947, left Romania for Britain in January 1948. Stripped of Romanian citizenship in 1948. Settled in Switzerland and became commercial pilot. In exile adopted title of Prince Michael of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Romanian citizenship restored in 1997, thereafter visited Romania many times. Met president of Romania in May 2001. Some of family estates returned to him.

Mickiewicz, Adam (1798–1855). Polish national poet and playwright. Founder of Polish romanticism. Exiled from Lithuania by tsarist authorities in 1824, lived in Russia and knew Pushkin and Decembrists. Emigrated in 1829. Most celebrated epic poem *Pan Tadeusz* (1834). From 1840 to 1844 lectured on Slavic literature in Paris. In 1849 editor of French democratic newspaper *Tribune du Peuple*.

Mikolajczyk, Stanislaw (1901–66). Polish politician. Son of farmer. Joined Polish army in 1920 and fought in Polish-Soviet war. Discharged wounded and returned to father's farm. Became active in Polish Peasant Party (PSL) in 1920s. Elected to Sejm (parliament) in 1929. Became vice chairman of Executive Committee of PSL in 1935 and party president in 1937. Took part in defense of Warsaw against German attack in September 1939. After fall of Warsaw fled to Hungary, then Paris. Participated in Polish government in exile as deputy chairman of Polish National Council, then from 1941 to 1943 as deputy prime minister and minister of the interior (responsible for maintaining contact with underground resistance in Poland and coordinating its finances), and in 1943–44 as prime minister. Resigned in November 1944 in protest against lack of Allied support for Warsaw uprising and over question of Poland's eastern border. Persuaded by Churchill, went to talks in Moscow in June 1945 to form Provisional Government of National Unity, then returned to Warsaw to take up posts of minister of agriculture and second deputy prime minister in this government. In August 1945 established Polish People's Party. Resigned following fraudulent elections of January 1947 and secretly fled Poland in April 1947 to avoid arrest. Settled in United States. Died in New York.

Mikoyan, Anastas Ivanovich (1895–1978). Soviet politician. From 1926 to 1930 people's commissar of domestic and foreign trade. From 1930 to 1934 people's commissar of supply. From 1934 to 1938 people's commissar of food industry. From 1938 to 1949 and again in 1953 people's commissar (minister) of foreign trade and concurrently from 1937 to 1955 a deputy chairman of USSR Council of People's Commissars (Council of Ministers). From 1955 to 1964 first deputy chairman of USSR Council of Ministers. In 1964–65 chairman of Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet. From 1965 to 1974 a member of Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet, then in retirement. A member of the Politburo (Presidium) of the party CC from 1935 to 1966.

Minc, Hilary (1905–74). Polish politician and economic planner. Member of Politburo and Secretariat of CC of Polish (United) Workers Party from 1948 to 1956. Top economic adviser to Bierut. Minister of industry from 1945 to

1949. Deputy prime minister with responsibility for economy from 1949 to 1954. A secretary of CC from November 1952 to March 1954. First deputy prime minister from 1954 until resignation in October 1956.

Mindszenty, Jozsef (original name Pehm; 1892–1975). Hungarian Catholic prelate. Ordained as priest in 1915. First book published in 1917. Arrested by Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919 for opposing state takeover of Catholic schools. Active in Smallholders Party in 1930s. Consecrated bishop of Veszprem in 1944. Imprisoned by fascist regime in 1944–45. On release appointed primate of Hungary and archbishop of Esztergom. Made cardinal in 1946. Drove through countryside in sound truck urging resistance to Communist policies. Arrested in December 1948, accused of treason, conspiracy, currency offenses, and other crimes. Tried in February 1949, sentenced to life imprisonment, but released under guard in 1955 on account of poor health. Freed on October 30, 1956, during uprising. Following entry of Soviet troops into Budapest, took refuge in U.S. embassy. Left Hungary in 1971 for Vatican, then settled in Vienna. Retired in 1974.

Mohammed V (1909–61). King of Morocco. Sultan from Alawite dynasty from 1927 to 1953 and from 1955 to 1957. After World War II demanded independence. In exile in Madagascar from 1953 to 1955. Ascended to throne in 1957.

Mollet, Guy (1905–75). French politician. Teacher. Joined French Socialist Party in 1921 In 1939 elected secretary-general of Teaching Federation. Fought in Resistance to Nazi occupation. Elected to National Assembly in 1945. General secretary of French Socialist Party from 1946 to 1969. Minister for European relations in 1950–51 and deputy prime minister in 1951. Represented France on Council of Europe. Prime minister of coalition government from January 1956 to May 1957. Vice chairman of Socialist International from 1951 to 1969. Retired in 1971.

Molotov, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich (Skryabin; 1890–1986). Soviet politician. Joined party in 1906. Participated in revolutionary movement. From 1909 to 1911 in exile in Totma, Solvychegodsk, and Vologda. From 1919 chairman of Nizhny Novgorod Province Executive Committee, then a secretary of Donetsk province committee of the party. From 1921 to 1930 a secretary of party CC. From 1930 to 1941 chairman of Council of People's Commissars. From 1942 to 1957 first deputy chairman of Council of People's Commissars (Council of Ministers). From 1941 to 1945 a deputy chairman of State Defense Committee. From 1939 to 1949 and from 1953 to 1956 people's commissar (minister) of foreign affairs. From 1957 Soviet ambassador to Mongolia. From 1960 to

1962 permanent Soviet representative at International Atomic Energy Agency. At various times member of party CC, of its Orgburo and Politburo, and of All-Russia CEC of the Soviets and USSR CEC of the Soviets. Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet from 1937 to 1958. In June 1957 removed from party posts for factional activity.

Munnich, Ferenc (1886–1967). Hungarian politician. Fought in Austro-Hungarian army in World War I, taken prisoner on Russian front in 1915. Joined Russian Bolshevik Party in 1917 and Communist Party of Hungary in 1918. Fought in Spanish civil war and Soviet-German war (1941–45). From 1946 to 1949 head of Budapest police department. From 1949 to 1954 Hungarian ambassador to Finland, then Bulgaria. From 1954 to 1956 Hungarian ambassador to USSR, then Yugoslavia. Minister of armed forces and public security in 1956–57. Deputy chairman in 1956–57, first deputy chairman in 1957–58, and chairman of council of ministers from 1958 to 1961. State minister from 1961 to 1965. Member of CC of Hungarian Socialist Workers Party from 1956 and of its Politburo from 1957 to 1965.

Naguib, Mohammed (1901–84). Egyptian general and politician. Major general. Graduated from Royal Military Academy (Cairo). Fought in Arab-Israeli war of 1948. Recruited as figurehead by “The Free Officers.” Following revolution of July 1952, appointed prime minister and commander in chief. In September 1952 made head of governing council. Became president in June 1953 on declaration of republic. Accused of dictatorial tendencies and supporting Moslem Brotherhood, forced by Nasser in November 1954 to resign and retire from public life.

Nagy, Imre (1896–1958). Hungarian politician. From peasant family. Engineering apprentice, worker. In World War I fought in Austro-Hungarian army, taken prisoner on Russian front. Joined Red Army in 1917 and Russian Bolshevik Party in 1918. On return to Hungary took charge of work of Communist Party of Hungary in countryside. Imprisoned several times. In 1928 went to Vienna and in 1929 to Moscow, where worked for Comintern and for International Agronomy Institute. Returned to Hungary in 1944. Minister of agriculture, also occupied other posts. Prime minister from 1953 to 1955, when denounced as Titoist and removed from office. In early 1956 expelled from Hungarian Workers Party. Recalled as prime minister on October 24, 1956. Following Soviet invasion on November 4, 1956, took refuge in Yugoslav embassy. Left embassy under pledge of safe conduct, then arrested. Trial and execution announced in 1958. Rehabilitated and reburied with full honors in 1989.

Naim, Sardar (Prince) Mohammed. Afghan politician. Cousin of King Mohammed Zahir Shah and brother of Mohammed Daud. Minister of foreign affairs of Afghanistan from 1956 to 1978. Visited Moscow in January 1959, in September 1960, and in subsequent years. In April 1978 killed together with Mohammed Daud in coup by People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (i.e., Communist Party).

Nakhimov, Pavel Stepanovich (1802–55). Russian admiral. Took part in round-the-world expedition commanded by explorer Mikhail Lazarev from 1822 to 1825. During Crimean War commanded squadron that annihilated Turkish fleet at Sinope in 1853, then commanded naval and land forces during siege of Sevastopol in 1854–55. Admiral (1855). Mortally wounded by sniper while inspecting forward defense positions on Malakhov Kurgan (a commanding height southeast of Sevastopol).

Nasriddinova, Yadgar Sadykovna (born 1920). Soviet politician (Uzbek). Daughter of worker. Joined party in 1942. Graduated in 1941 from Tashkent Institute of Railroad Engineers. From 1942 to 1950 in Komsomol work, from 1948 as second secretary of CC of Uzbekistan Komsomol. From 1950 to 1952 first secretary of a district party committee in Tashkent. From 1952 to 1959 minister of the building materials industry of Uzbek SSR and from 1955 to 1959 a deputy chair of Council of Ministers of Uzbek SSR. From 1959 to 1970 deputy chair of Presidium of Supreme Soviet of Uzbek SSR. From 1970 to 1974 chair of Soviet of Nationalities of USSR Supreme Soviet. From 1974 until retirement in 1978 deputy minister of the building materials industry of USSR. Member of party CC from 1956 to 1976. In 1988 charged with accepting bribes and abusing official position in 1970–75 and expelled from party, but in 1991 charges dropped and readmitted to party.

Nasser, Gamal Abdel (1918–70). Egyptian military officer and politician. Colonel. From 1949 headed Executive Committee of "The Free Officers," who seized power in July 1952. Deputy chairman, then chairman of Revolution Leadership Council. Deputy prime minister and minister of internal affairs from 1952 to 1954. Prime minister from 1954 to 1956 (with an interval). Acting president from November 1954 and president of Egypt (later of United Arab Republic) and commander in chief of armed forces from 1956. Chairman of Arab Socialist Union from 1963.

Nasution, Abdul Haris (1918–2000). Indonesian general. Strategist and hero of fight for independence from Netherlands, led guerrilla attacks against colonial regime in 1948–49. Army chief of staff from 1955 to 1966, concurrently minister of national security from 1960 to 1962 and coordinating minister for defense and security from 1962 to 1966. Suppressed rebellions in Sumatra and Sulawesi in late 1950s. Escaped assassination attempt during attempted coup of 1965.

Ne Win (Shu Maung; 1911–2002). Burmese general and politician. Comrade-in-arms of Aung San in struggle for independence. Became commander of Burmese Independence Army in 1943. Home and defense minister and commander in chief of armed forces from 1948 to 1958. Deposed U Nu in 1958 to become prime minister. Again in power following U Nu's return in 1960–62. Chairman of revolutionary council and revolutionary government from 1962 to 1974. President of Burma from 1974 to 1981. Chairman of executive committee of CC of Burmese Socialist Program Party from 1971 until retirement in 1988.

Nehru, Jawaharlal (1889–1964). Indian politician. Educated in England at Cambridge University. Returned to India in 1912 to practice law. Joined struggle for independence in 1919 after Amritsar massacre. Four times president of Indian National Congress (first time in 1929). Spent many years in prison. In July 1946 formed first Indian government. Prime minister from independence on August 15, 1947 until death. Pursued economic development by means of planning and a foreign policy of nonalignment. Founder and leader of nonaligned movement. Author of several books.

Nixon, Richard (1913–94). American politician. Graduated from Whittier College and Duke University Law School. During World War II served in Navy and rose to lieutenant commander. Elected to House of Representatives in 1946 and to Senate in 1950. Vice president from 1953 to 1961. President from 1969 to 1974 (re-elected to second term in 1972). Resigned as result of Watergate scandal.

Nkrumah, Kwame (1909–72). Ghanaian politician. Founded People's Congress Party of the Gold Coast in 1949. Head of government of Gold Coast from 1952 to 1957. Prime minister of Republic of Ghana from 1957 to 1960. President of Republic of Ghana from 1960 to 1966. Deposed by military coup. Given refuge in Guinea; recipient of International Lenin Prize (1962).

Novotny, Antonin (1904–75). Czechoslovak politician. Son of bricklayer. Locksmith in arms factory. Founding member of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1921. Arrested following Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1938. In Mauthausen concentration camp from 1941 to 1945. Member of CC of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from 1946. First secretary of Prague city committee of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from 1945 to 1953.

First secretary of CC of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from September 1953 to January 1968. President of Czechoslovakia from 1958 to 1968.

Ochab, Eduard (1906–89). Polish politician. Joined Communist Party of Poland in 1929. Participated in defense of Warsaw in 1939. Served from 1943 in the Polish Kosciusko Division, then deputy commander of First Corps of Wojsko Polskie (Polish Army in USSR). Member of CC of Polish Workers Party (later Polish United Workers Party) from 1944 to 1968 and of its Politburo from 1954 to 1968. From 1950 to 1956 and from 1959 to 1964 secretary, and in 1956 first secretary, of CC of Polish United Workers Party. From 1957 to 1959 minister of agriculture. From 1964 to 1968 chairman of state council of Polish People's Republic.

Osobka-Morawski, Edward (1909–97). Polish politician. Leader of left wing of Polish Socialist Party. Active in resistance to Nazi occupation. In July 1944 became chairman of Polish Committee of National Liberation. Minister of foreign affairs from July 1944 to May 1945. Prime minister of provisional government of national unity from June 1945 to February 1947.

Pahlavi, Mohammed Reza Shah (1919–80). Shah of Iran. Son of Reza Shah Pahlavi. Graduated from military college in Teheran. Succeeded to throne in 1941. Forced to flee Iran in 1953 during coup by prime minister Mohammed Mossadegh, returned to throne in military countercoup backed by United States and Britain. Pursued policies of modernization and land reform (the White Revolution). Forced to flee Iran again in 1979 during Islamic revolution. Went to Egypt, Morocco, Bahamas, Mexico, United States (for medical treatment), Panama, died in Egypt.

Pahlavi, Reza Shah (1877–1944). Shah of Iran. Father of Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi. Military commander, then minister of war from 1921 to 1923 and prime minister from 1923 to 1925. Proclaimed Shah by Majlis (National Assembly) in 1925. Shah of Persia from 1925 to 1935. Shah of Iran from 1935 until abdication in 1941.

Paletskis, Yustas Ignovich (1899–1980). Lithuanian-Soviet politician. Worker, then journalist, interpreter, and teacher. From 1927 to 1939 correspondent of newspapers in Latvia and Lithuania. In 1940 joined Communist Party, prime minister and acting president of Lithuanian People's Government. From 1940 to 1967 chairman of Presidium of Supreme Soviet of Lithuanian SSR. From 1966 until retirement in 1970 chairman of Council of Nationalities of USSR Supreme Soviet. Candidate member of party CC from 1952 to 1971. Hero of Socialist Labor (1969).

Pauker, Ana (Hannah Rabinsohn; 1893–1960). Romanian politician. Daughter of butcher. Teacher. Joined Romanian Workers Social Democratic Party in 1915. Went to Switzerland in 1919 to pursue further education. Founding member of Romanian Communist Party in 1921, member of CC from 1922 and of its Secretariat from 1935. Imprisoned in 1923–24 and 1924–25. Left country in 1926, lived in Prague, Berlin, Paris, and Vienna. Enrolled as student at Lenin School in Moscow in 1928, seconded to Latin Secretariat of Comintern in 1930. On Comintern work in France from 1930 to 1932, then at Comintern headquarters in Moscow. Probably returned to Romania in 1934. Arrested in 1935, tried in 1936, sentenced to ten years, but returned to USSR in May 1941 through prisoner exchange. Representative of Romanian Communist Party in Executive Committee of Communist International from 1941 to 1943, then head of Comintern's Foreign Bureau in 1943–44. Directed *Free Romania* radio station and (together with Vasile Luca) organized Romanian prisoners of war into Red Army divisions. Returned to Romania in September 1944. Elected to parliament in November 1946. Member of Politburo and a secretary (initially, in 1944–45, general secretary) of CC of Romanian Workers Party from 1945 to 1952, with responsibility for organizational matters until 1948 and then for agriculture. Concurrently minister of foreign affairs from 1947 to 1952. Criticized as "peasantist" for opposing forced collectivization and supporting higher prices for agricultural products. Arrested in February 1952, released from prison in 1953 but under house arrest until 1956, then worked as translator.

Peng Zhen (Peng Chen; 1902–97). Chinese politician. Joined Chinese Communist Party in 1923. Arrested in 1929, after release in 1935 head of Organization Department of CCP Northern Bureau. Member of CCP CC and of its Politburo from 1945 to 1966 and from 1979 to 1987. First secretary of Beijing city committee of CCP from 1949, mayor of Beijing from 1951. From 1954 to 1966 and from 1979 to 1983 deputy chairman, and from 1983 chairman, of Standing Committee of National People's Congress. In 1980 appointed secretary of Political and Legal Affairs Commission of CCP CC. Retired in 1988.

Peng Dehuai (1898–1974). Chinese military commander and politician. Coal miner and dam builder. Graduated from Hunan Military Academy as Kuomintang officer. Joined Chinese Communist Party in 1927. Veteran of Long March (1934–35). Deputy commander in chief of Red forces in anti-Japanese war. Commander of First Field Army in civil war. Commander of Chinese forces in Korean War. Minister of defense and member of Politburo of CCP CC from 1954 to 1959. People's Liberation Army Marshal (1955). Disgraced in 1959 for criticizing Great Leap Forward. Deputy prime minister from 1959 to 1965. Persecuted by Red Guards in Cultural Revolution. Removed from official positions and arrested in 1967. Rehabilitated posthumously in 1978.

Pervukhin, Mikhail Georgiyevich (1904–78). Soviet engineer, official, and diplomat. Joined party in 1919. In 1920s mainly in journalism and Komsomol work. Graduated from Plekhanov Institute of National Economy in 1929, then electrical engineer in industry. In 1937–38 official in People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry. In 1938–39 deputy, then first deputy people's commissar of heavy industry. In 1939–40 people's commissar of electric power plants and electrical industry. From 1940 to 1944 deputy chairman of Council of People's Commissars, concurrently from 1942 to 1950 people's commissar (minister) of chemical industry. From 1950 to 1955 a deputy chairman and from 1955 to 1957 first deputy chairman of Council of Ministers, concurrently from 1953 to 1955 minister of electric power plants and electrical industry. In 1956–57 chairman of State Economic Commission, then minister of medium machine building. In 1957–58 chairman of State Committee of Council of Ministers for Foreign Economic Relations. Removed from high-level positions for supporting "antiparty group" of Molotov, Malenkov, and Kaganovich. From 1958 to 1962 Soviet ambassador to East Germany. Member of CPSU CC from 1939 to 1961 and of its Presidium from 1952 to 1957. Lieutenant general of Engineering and Technical Branch. Hero of Socialist Labor (1949).

Peters, Yakov Khristoforovich (1886–1938). Soviet security police official. From peasant family. Worker. Joined Russian Social Democratic Labor Party in 1904 and British Labour Party in 1909. After 1917 occupied leading posts in All-Russia Cheka (security police) in Petrograd, Moscow, Kiev, Tula, and Turkestan. From 1923 member of Collegium of OGPU (security police). Member of Central Control Commission from 1923 to 1934, then member of Party Control Commission. From 1930 to 1934 chairman of Party Control Commission of Moscow province. Executed, posthumously rehabilitated.

Pham Van Dong (1906–2000). Vietnamese politician. From prominent Mandarin family, son of private secretary to Emperor Duy Tan. Educated at French lycée in Hue. Led student demonstration in 1929, sentenced by French colonial regime to seven years' hard labor in penal colony. On release in 1936 resumed underground work, then fled to join Ho Chi Minh in China. Founding member of Vietnamese Independence League (Viet Minh, 1941), led Viet Minh in 1942–43 when Ho in jail. Led Vietnamese delegation in talks with French in 1946 and again in 1954. Prime minister of Democratic Republic of Vietnam from 1955 to 1976, concurrently minister of foreign affairs from 1954 to 1961.

Prime minister of [reunited] Socialist Republic of Vietnam from 1976 until resignation in 1987, but remained government adviser until 1997. Member of Politburo of CC of Vietnamese Workers (Communist) Party from 1951 to 1986.

Pilsudski, Jozef Klemens (1867–1935). Polish military leader and politician. From impoverished noble family. In 1885–86 studied medicine at Kharkov University but suspended, arrested, and exiled to Siberia in 1887. On release in 1892 founded Polish Socialist Party, published underground newspaper. Imprisoned in 1900, escaped in 1901. Visited Japan in 1904. In 1908 formed secret military organization (from 1910 called Riflemen's Association) to train Polish military officers. In World War I commanded Polish Legion (as brigadier general) within Austro-Hungarian army, in 1916 appointed minister of war in Polish regency government, but in 1917 imprisoned by Germans for refusing to swear loyalty to Central Powers. After release, became chief of state (president) of new Polish republic and commander in chief of its armed forces in November 1918. Field marshal (March 1920). Launched offensive against Soviet Russia in April 1920, war ended by Treaty of Riga (1921). Resigned as chief of state in 1922 and as commander in chief in 1923, went into retirement outside Warsaw, but returned to power in coup d'état in 1926, thereafter de facto dictator. Prime minister from 1926 to 1928 and in 1930, also held posts of minister of defense and inspector general of armed forces.

Pliyev, Issa Aleksandrovich (1903–79). Soviet general. Joined Red Army in 1922. Became member of Communist Party in 1926. From 1939 to 1941 commander of a cavalry regiment. At outbreak of war colonel. Commanded 50th Cavalry Division, then cavalry corps, and in 1944–45 mechanized cavalry groups in Western, Southern, Southwestern, Steppe, Third Ukrainian, First Belorussian, Second Ukrainian, and Transbaikal Fronts. Took part in battles of Moscow and Stalingrad, Belorussia and Melitopol operations, liberation of Odessa, Budapest, and Prague, and defeat of Japanese forces in Manchuria. From 1958 to 1968 commander of North Caucasus Military District, with interval as commander of Group of Soviet Forces in Cuba. General of the Army (1962). From 1961 to 1966 candidate member of party CC. Twice Hero of the Soviet Union (1944, 1945).

Podgorny, Nikolai Viktorovich (1903–83). Soviet politician. Joined party in 1930. From peasant background. Metalworker, then from 1921 to 1923 secretary of a county committee of Komsomol in Poltava province. Graduated in 1931 from Kiev Technological Institute of Food Industry. From 1931 to 1939 engineer in Ukrainian sugar industry. Deputy people's commissar of food industry of Ukrainian SSR in 1939–40 and of USSR from 1940 to 1942. From 1942 to 1944 director of Moscow Technological Institute of Food Industry. From 1944 to 1946 deputy people's commissar of food industry of Ukrainian SSR. From 1946 to 1950 permanent representative of Council of Ministers of Ukrainian SSR to USSR Council of Ministers. From 1950 to 1953 first secretary of Kharkov province committee of CP(B) of Ukraine. From 1953 second secretary, and from 1957 to 1963 first secretary, of CC of CP(B) of Ukraine. From 1963 to 1965 a secretary of CPSU CC. From 1965 until retirement in 1977 chairman of Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet. Member of Central Inspection Commission of CPSU from 1952 to 1956. Member of party CC from 1956 to 1981 and of its Presidium (Politburo) from 1960 to 1977. Twice Hero of Socialist Labor.

Ponomarenko, Panteleimon Kondratyevich (1902–84). Soviet official and diplomat. From a peasant background. Joined party in 1925. In 1932 graduated from the Moscow Institute of Transport Engineers. From 1932 to 1936 battalion commander in Red Army. From 1938 to 1947 first secretary of CC of CP(B) of Belorussia. During Soviet-German war (1941–45) member of several military councils and from 1942 chief of the central staff of the partisan movement. From 1944 to 1948 chairman of Council of People's Commissars (Council of Ministers) of Belorussia. Secretary of party CC from 1948 to 1953, concurrently minister of procurements from 1950 to 1952. In 1952–53 deputy chairman of Council of Ministers for agricultural procurements. In 1953–54 minister of culture. In 1954–55 first secretary of CC of CP(B) of Kazakhstan. Appointed Soviet ambassador to Poland in 1955, to India and Nepal in 1957, and to Netherlands in 1959. From 1962 to 1964 Soviet representative at International Atomic Energy Agency. From 1964 to 1974 lecturer at Institute of Social Sciences under party CC. Retired in 1965. Member of party CC from 1939 to 1961 and of its Presidium in 1952–53. Lieutenant general (1943).

Ponomaryov, Boris Nikolayevich (1905–95). Soviet party official. From 1932 to 1936 deputy director of Institute of Red Professors, then director of Institute of Party History under Moscow province party committee. In 1943–44 deputy director of Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute under party CC. From 1944 to 1946 deputy head of department in party CC. From 1947 to 1949 deputy head, then head of Soviet Information Bureau (Sovinformburo) under USSR Council of Ministers. From 1948 first deputy head and from 1955 to 1961 head of International Department of party CC. From 1961 to 1986 a secretary of party CC. Member of party CC from 1956 to 1989 and candidate member of its Politburo from 1972 to 1986. Became member of USSR Academy of Sciences in 1962.

Popovic, Koci (1908–80). Yugoslav politician. Joined Yugoslav Communist Party in 1933. Fought in Spanish civil war from 1937 to 1939, then interned in

France. During World War II in People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, partisan commander in Serbia. Chief of general staff of Yugoslav armed forces from 1945 to 1953. Foreign minister of Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia from 1953 to 1965. Led Yugoslav delegation to United Nations General Assembly several times. Vice president in 1966–67. In 1971–72 member of collective presidency, resigning in protest against policies restricting autonomy of the federal republics. People's Hero.

Poskrebyshev, Aleksandr Nikolayevich (1891–1965). Soviet official. Joined party in 1917. From 1922 instructor (position in party apparatus) and aide to general secretary (Stalin). From 1928 to 1953 head of special sector of Secretariat of party CC and of its Secret Department. From 1939 member of party CC and from 1952 a secretary of its Presidium.

Postyshev, Pavel Petrovich (1887–1939). Soviet politician. Worker. Joined party in 1904. Participated in revolutions of 1905, February 1917, and October 1917. From 1917 to 1922 occupied a number of military, party, and state posts in Far East, and from 1923 in Ukraine. From 1926 to 1930 secretary of Kharkov district committee of CP(B) of Ukraine. From 1930 to 1933 a secretary and from 1933 to 1937 second secretary of CC of CP(B) of Ukraine, concurrently in 1933–34 first secretary of its Kharkov province committee and from 1934 to 1937 first secretary of its Kiev province committee. In 1937–38 a secretary of Kuibyshev party province committee. From 1934 to 1938 candidate member of Politburo of party CC. Arrested in 1938, executed in 1939, rehabilitated posthumously in 1956.

Prasad, Rajendra (1884–1963). Indian lawyer and politician. Son of philologist. Studied and then taught English literature, history, economics, and law at Calcutta University. In 1916–17 barrister at High Courts of Bihar and Orissa. Met and began working with Gandhi in 1917, joined Indian National Congress in 1920. In prison for long periods. Raised funds for victims of Bihar earthquake of 1934. Elected president of Indian National Congress in 1934, 1939, and 1947–48. President of India from January 1950 until retirement in May 1962. Author of many works. Recipient of Bharat Ratna (India's highest civilian award).

Raab, Julius (1891–1964). Austrian politician. Trained as an engineer, also known as an economist. In 1938 organized the first trades union congress in Austria, appointed minister of commerce. After World War II a co-founder of the Austrian People's Party. Vice chairman of (conservative) Austrian People's Party from 1945 to 1951 and its chairman from 1951 to 1960. Federal chancellor of Austria from 1953 to 1961.

Radek, Karl Berngardovich (Karol Sobelsohn; 1885–1939). Soviet journalist and party official. Studied law at University of Krakow in 1902–1903. Joined Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania in 1904. Participated in revolution of 1905. Leading contributor to social democratic press of Central and Eastern Europe from 1906 to 1917. During World War I in Switzerland. Joined Bolshevik party after revolution of October 1917 and worked for its International Bureau in Stockholm. Member of Soviet delegation to Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations with Germany. In 1918 went to Germany as representative of Bolshevik party CC to help organize German Communist Party. On return to Russia in 1920, leading official of Comintern. Joined Left Opposition in 1923, leading to expulsion from CC in 1924 and from party in 1927. Recanted and readmitted to party in 1930. Wrote for *Izvestia*. Co-author of Soviet Constitution of 1936. Defendant in second Moscow show trial in 1937. Believed to have died in labor camp.

Radhakrishnan, Sarvapalli (or Sarvepalli) (1888–1975). Indian philosopher, diplomat, and politician. Graduated in philosophy from Madras Christian College in 1908, then taught there and at Mysore and Calcutta universities. Lectured on comparative religion and ethics at Oxford University from 1929 to 1949. Headed several Indian delegations to United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) between 1946 and 1950, in 1948 elected to executive board of UNESCO and chairman of its University Education Committee. President of UNESCO in 1952. Indian ambassador to Soviet Union from 1949 to 1952. Vice president of India and chairman of Rajya Sabha (House of States, upper chamber of federal parliament) from 1952 to 1962. President of India from May 1962 to May 1967. Author of many works on philosophy, ethics, and religion. Recipient of Bharat Ratna, India's highest civilian award (1954).

Rajagopalachari, Chakravarthi (Rajaji; 1878–1972). Indian politician. Educated in law at Bangalore and Madras, then barrister. Joined Indian National Congress after World War I. Close to Gandhi. Several terms in prison. Last governor-general of India from 1948 to 1950. Home minister in 1950–51. Chief minister of Tamil Nadu state from April 1952 to April 1954. In 1959 established Swatantra [Freedom] Party. Published English and Tamil translations of many important Hindu religious works.

Rakosi, Matyas (1892–1971). Hungarian politician. Served in Austro-Hungarian army in World War I, taken prisoner on Russian front. Joined Communist Party of Hungary on return to Hungary in 1918. Commander of the Red Guard and deputy people's commissar of commerce in Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919. Fled to Moscow when Soviet Republic crushed, worked for Comintern. Returned to Hungary in 1924, but imprisoned in 1925 and not released until 1940. Again worked in Moscow for Comintern from 1940 to 1945. General secretary of CC of Hungarian Communist Party (Hungarian Workers Party) from 1945 to July 1956. Concurrently prime minister of Hungary in 1946 and in 1952–53. After fall from power lived in Soviet Union. Expelled from Hungarian Socialist Workers Party in 1962.

Rankovic, Aleksandar (1909–83). Yugoslav politician. Joined Yugoslav Communist Party in 1928 and its CC in 1937. Fought with partisans against Nazi occupation. From 1945 to 1948 minister of internal affairs (in charge of security police). From 1948 to 1966 Tito's second in command in Yugoslav government, from 1963 to 1966 vice president of the republic. In 1966 accused of abuse of power, removed from all official positions, and expelled from Yugoslav League of Communists.

Redens, Stanislav Frantsevich (1892–1940). Soviet official. Joined party in 1914. Prominent official of OGPU and NKVD (security police). From 1935 commissar of state security of the first rank. Arrested, exiled, and executed. Posthumously rehabilitated.

Reuther, Walter (1907–70). American trade-union leader. Apprentice tool and die maker, then automobile worker and union organizer. Studied law at Detroit City College. Before World War II active in Socialist Party, later joined Democratic Party. After being fired for union activity by Ford Motor Company in 1933, left United States and worked for a time at a Soviet automobile factory. On return to United States joined General Motors and United Automobile Workers (UAW). Led several strikes, hospitalized in 1937 and 1940 after assaults by hired thugs, also survived two assassination attempts. In 1946 elected president of UAW and in 1952 president of Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Following merger of CIO with American Federation of Labor (AFL) in 1955, became director of Industrial Union Department of AFL-CIO. Supported social welfare legislation and civil-rights movement, opposed war in Vietnam. In 1968 led UAW out of AFL-CIO and in 1969 formed Alliance for Labor Action together with Teamsters Union. Died in plane crash.

Ribbentrop, Joachim von (1893–1946). German diplomat. Minister of foreign affairs of Germany from 1938 to 1945. Sentenced to death by the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg.

Rimsky-Korsakov, Nikolai Andreyevich (1844–1908). Russian composer, conductor, music teacher, and theorist. From 1856 to 1862 attended Naval Academy in Saint Petersburg. From 1862 to 1865 on naval cruise, completed first symphony on board ship. In 1971 left navy and joined faculty of Saint Petersburg Conservatory. Students included Sergei Prokofiev and Igor Stravinsky. Composed 15 operas, many based on Russian history and folklore, and several symphonies. Best known for symphonic suite *Scheherazade* (1888).

Rochet, Waldeck (1905–83). French politician. Joined French Communist Party in 1924, member of CC from 1937 to 1976, of its Politburo from 1950 to 1972, and of its Secretariat from 1959 to 1972. Imprisoned and sent to Algeria when Communist Party declared illegal at outbreak of World War II. Freed in 1943 and worked with Free French Forces. Became deputy general secretary of the CC of the French Communist Party in 1961 and was general secretary from 1964 to 1972, thereafter honorary chairman. For many years deputy in National Assembly.

Rockefeller, Nelson Aldrich (1908–79). American businessman and politician. Grandson of industrialist John D. Rockefeller. Graduated in 1930 from Dartmouth College, then joined family business. Coordinator of inter-American affairs for the U.S. government from 1940 to 1944. Assistant secretary of state for Latin American affairs in 1944–45. Head of International Development Advisory Board in 1950–51. Undersecretary of health, education, and welfare in 1953–54. Special aide to president on foreign policy in 1954–55. Chairman of Presidential Advisory Committee on Government Organization from 1952 to 1958. Republican governor of New York from 1959 to 1973. Chairman of National Commission on Critical Choices for America in 1973–74. Vice president from 1974 to 1977.

Roerich, Nikolai Konstantinovich (1874–1947). Russian artist, writer, traveler, and archeologist. Father of Svyatoslav Nikolayevich Roerich and Yuri Nikolayevich Roerich. Emigrated to India in early 1920s. Paintings inspired by landscape and mythology of ancient Rus, India, and Tibet. From 1923 to 1928 and in 1934–35 on expeditions (together with son Yuri) to India, China, Mongolia, and other countries of Central and East Asia. Director (together with son Yuri) of Himalayan Research Institute "Urusvati" in Darjeeling from 1928 to 1942. Initiated movement to protect objects of cultural value. Author of several works, mainly travelogues and poetry. Paintings brought to Soviet Union after his death by son Yuri.

Roerich, Svyatoslav Nikolayevich (1904–93). Russian artist. Son of Nikolai Konstantinovich Roerich and brother of Yuri Nikolayevich Roerich. Lived in India. Painted portraits, landscapes, and symbolic compositions. Honorary member of USSR Academy of Arts (1978).

Roerich, Yuri Nikolayevich (1902–60). Russian Orientalist. Son of Nikolai Konstantinovich Roerich and brother of Svyatoslav Nikolayevich Roerich. Graduated in Oriental languages from University of London in 1919, Harvard University in 1922, and University of Paris in 1923. From 1923 to 1928 and in 1934–35 on expeditions (together with father) to India, China, Mongolia, and other countries of Central and East Asia. Director (together with father) of Himalayan Research Institute "Urusvati" in Darjeeling from 1928 to 1942. Taught at University of Kalimpong (India) from 1949 to 1957. Returned to Soviet Union in 1957 to head Sector of History of Indian Religion and Philosophy at Institute of Oriental Studies of USSR Academy of Sciences. Brought father's paintings to USSR. Author of works on Tibet and Buddhist philosophy and religion.

Rokossovsky, Konstantin Konstantinovich (1896–1968). Soviet-Polish general. Son of locomotive driver. Building worker. Joined party in 1919. Red Guard in 1917. Fought in civil war, then in various command posts. Arrested in 1937. Released and reinstated in 1940. Commander of Sixteenth Army in battle for Moscow in 1941–42. Commander of Don Front in battle for Stalingrad in 1942–43, then of Central Front in battle for Kursk. In 1944 commander of First, then Second Belorussian Front. From 1945 to 1949 commander in chief of Soviet forces in Poland (Northern Group). From 1949 to 1956 minister of national defense and deputy chairman of Council of Ministers of Polish People's Republic, member of Politburo of CC of Polish United Workers Party. In 1956–57 deputy minister of defense of USSR, then commander of Transcaucasus military district. From 1958 to 1962 deputy minister of defense and chief inspector of USSR Ministry of Defense, thereafter member of Group of General Inspectors of USSR Ministry of Defense. Candidate member of party CC from 1961 to 1968. Marshal of the Soviet Union. Twice Hero of the Soviet Union.

Rola-Zymierski, Michal (1890–1989). Polish general. From January to July 1944 commander in chief of People's Army (Armia Ludowa), then commander in chief of Wojsko Polskie. From 1945 to 1949 minister of national defense. Marshal of Poland (1945).

Rusk, Dean (1909–94). American politician, lawyer, and teacher. Graduated from Davidson College (North Carolina) in 1931. Studied at Oxford University and University of California, Berkeley. Worked as college teacher. Served in Burma in World War II. Joined Office of United Nations Affairs of Department of State in February 1945. Appointed deputy undersecretary of state in 1949 and assistant secretary of state for Far Eastern affairs in 1950.

Played central role in decision to enter Korean War. Became president of Rockefeller Foundation in 1952. Secretary of state from 1961 to 1969. Taught international law at University of Georgia from 1970 to 1984.

Rybak, Natan Masuilovich (Samoilovich) (1912/13–78). Ukrainian writer of historical novels. Awarded State Prize in 1950.

Rykov, Aleksei Ivanovich (1881–1938). Soviet politician. Joined party in 1898. People's commissar of internal affairs of RSFSR from November 1917. Chairman of Supreme Council of National Economy from 1918 to 1921 and from 1923 to 1924. Deputy chairman of Council of People's Commissars and of Council of Labor and Defense from 1921. Chairman of Council of People's Commissars from 1924 to 1930 and chairman of Council of Labor and Defense from 1926 to 1930. People's commissar of posts and telegraphs (people's commissar of communications) from 1931 to 1936. Member of party CC from 1905 to 1907, in 1917–18, and from 1920 to 1934, of its Politburo from 1922 to 1930, and of its Orgburo from 1920 to 1924. Member of All-Russia CEC of the Soviets and of USSR CEC of the Soviets. Arrested in 1937, executed in 1938, posthumously rehabilitated in 1988.

Sabri, Ali (1920–91). Egyptian military officer and politician. Prime minister from September 1962 to October 1965, then vice president and head of Arab Socialist Union. Dismissed in May 1971 and arrested on charges of plotting coup against government of Anwar Sadat.

Said, Nuri (As-Said; 1888–1958). Iraqi politician. Trained as officer in Ottoman army, but defected to Arab nationalist cause. Fought with T. E. Lawrence in Arab revolt of 1916–18. In 1922 appointed minister of defense under pro-British monarch Faisal ibn Ali. Occupied numerous cabinet posts. Prime minister in 1930–32, 1938–40, 1941–44, 1946–47, 1949, 1950–52, 1954–57, and 1958. Fled Iraq briefly during attempted coups of 1936 and 1941. Helped found Arab League in 1945. Executed leading Communists in 1949. Signed Baghdad Pact (Central Treaty Organization) in 1954. Resigned May 1958. Killed in republican coup of July 1958, corpse dragged through streets of Baghdad.

Savchenko, Sergei Romanovich (1904–66). Soviet security police official. From peasant family. Night watchman, clerk. Started work in Cheka in 1922. Joined party in 1930. Graduated from Higher Border Troop School of OGPU and served in border troops from 1922 to 1941, rising to deputy head of Ukrainian border troops. Deputy people's commissar of internal affairs of Ukrainian SSR from 1941 to 1943. Deputy people's commissar of state security of Ukrainian SSR, then people's commissar (minister) of state security of Ukrainian SSR from 1943 to 1949. Lieutenant general (1945). Oversaw liquidation of Ukrainian nationalist underground in western Ukraine in 1947. From 1949 to 1953 head of foreign intelligence, concurrently from 1951 to 1953 deputy minister of state security of USSR. In 1953 appointed first deputy head of foreign intelligence, but then transferred to Second Main Administration and finally to Administration of Construction Troops in Ministry of Internal Affairs. Forced to retire in 1955 as "unsuitable for the service."

Schmidt, Helmut (born 1918). West German politician. Elected a deputy of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SDP) in the Bundestag in 1953. From 1967 to 1969 leader of the SDP fraction in the Bundestag. Between 1968 and 1983 deputy chairman of the SDP. From 1969 to 1974 minister of defense, economy, and finance. From 1974 to 1982 federal chancellor of West Germany.

Sékou Touré, Ahmed (1922–84). Guinean politician. From poor family. Trade union activist in youth. In 1945 became general secretary of Postal Workers Union. In 1946 co-founder of Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (African Democratic Assembly). In 1947 became general secretary of Democratic Party of Guinea. In 1956 organized General Union of Workers of Black Africa and elected deputy for Guinea to French National Assembly and mayor of Conakry. After independence referendum, elected president of Guinea in 1958, re-elected unopposed in 1982. In 1978 reoriented country from Soviet Union toward West. Recipient of International Lenin Prize (1961).

Semyonov, Vladimir Semyonovich (1911–92). Soviet diplomat. In 1940–41 an adviser at Soviet embassy in Berlin. In 1945–46 deputy political adviser and from 1946 to 1949 political adviser to Soviet military administration in eastern Germany. From 1949 to 1953 political adviser to Soviet Control Commission in Germany. In 1953–54 supreme commissar of the USSR in Germany and Soviet ambassador to East Germany. From 1955 to 1978 a deputy minister of foreign affairs. From 1978 to 1986 Soviet ambassador to West Germany.

Serov, Ivan Aleksandrovich (1905–90). Soviet security police official. In 1939 head of Chief Directorate of Worker-Peasant Militias of NKVD, then deputy head of NKVD Chief Directorate of State Security. From 1939 to 1941 people's commissar of internal affairs of Ukrainian SSR. In 1941 first deputy people's commissar of state security. From 1941 to 1954 deputy, then first deputy people's commissar (minister) of internal affairs. From 1954 to 1958 chairman of KGB. From 1958 to 1963 head of Chief Intelligence Directorate of General Staff (GRU, military intelligence). Retired in 1965.

Shehu, Mehmet (1913–81). Albanian politician. In 1930s studied at military college in Naples, later fought in Spanish civil war. Interned in France from 1939 to 1942, then joined Albanian Communist Party and partisan movement. In 1944–45 member of Antifascist Council of National Liberation (provisional Albanian government). From November 1944 deputy chief of staff of army, from 1946 (after military studies in Moscow) chief of staff. In 1948 became member and (until 1953) a secretary of CC of Albanian Party of Labor and member of its Politburo. From 1948 to 1954 deputy chairman of Council of Ministers, concurrently minister of internal affairs. From 1954 until death chairman of Council of Ministers, concurrently from 1974 minister of people's defense. In 1981 involved in power struggle and accused of being Yugoslav spy. Found dead with bullet in head, unclear whether murder or suicide.

Shelepin, Aleksandr Nikolayevich (1918–94). Soviet official. Son of railroad employee. Joined party in 1940. Graduated in 1941 from Moscow Institute of History, Philosophy, and Literature. In 1939–40 Red Army commissar in Soviet-Finnish war. From 1940 in Komsomol work. From 1943 secretary, then second secretary, and from 1952 to 1958 first secretary of Komsomol CC. From April to December 1958 head of Department of Party Bodies of party CC, then until November 1961 chairman of State Security Committee (KGB). From 1961 to 1967 a secretary of party CC, concurrently from 1962 to 1965 chairman of Party-State Control Committee and a deputy chairman of USSR Council of Ministers. From 1967 to 1975 chairman of All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. From 1975 until retirement in 1984 deputy chairman of State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education. Member of party CC from 1952 to 1975 and of its Politburo (Presidium) from 1964 to 1975.

Shepilov, Dmitry Trofimovich (1905–95). Soviet politician. Joined party in 1926. From 1935 in party work. Major general (1945). After World War II in journalism. In 1946–47 and from 1952 to 1956 chief editor of *Pravda*. From 1947 to 1952 in apparatus of party CC, including period as first deputy head of Department of Propaganda and Agitation, then deputy head of its commission for ideology. In 1956–57 minister of foreign affairs. Removed from political positions in 1957 for participation in so-called antiparty group of Molotov, Malenkov, and Kaganovich. From 1957 to 1960 director, then deputy director of Institute of Economics of Kazakhstan Academy of Sciences. From 1960 until retirement in 1982 archivist in Chief Archives Administration of Council of Ministers. Member of party CC from 1952 to 1957, one of its secretaries from 1955 to 1957, and candidate member of its

Presidium in 1956–57. Expelled from party in 1962 for supporting "antiparty group" of Molotov, Malenkov, and Kaganovich. Readmitted to party in 1976.

Shermark, Abdirashid (1919–69). Somali politician. In 1943 founding member of Club of Somali Youth (renamed in 1947 League of Young Somalis). Prime minister from 1960 to 1964. President of Somali Republic from 1967 to 1969. Killed in October 1969 in military coup led by Barre.

Shevchenko, Taras Grigoryevich (1814–61). Ukrainian poet and artist. From peasant family. In 1838 entered Petersburg Academy of Arts. In 1847 arrested for participation in Society of Cyril and Methodius and sent to serve in army as private. Returned to Petersburg in 1858. Wrote several collections of verse and a play. Work infused by protest against social and national oppression. Pictures and drawings, including watercolor landscapes, psychological portraits, and etchings, in realistic style.

Sholokhov, Mikhail Aleksandrovich (1905–84). Soviet writer and public figure. Member of USSR Academy of Sciences (1939). Twice Hero of Socialist Labor. Author of *Don Tales* (1926), novels *The Quiet Don* (1928–1940) and *Virgin Soil Upturned* (1932–1960), unfinished composition *They Fought for the Motherland*, and many other works. Awarded Nobel Prize for Literature in 1965.

Shvernik, Nikolai Mikhailovich (1888–1970). Soviet party official. Joined RSDLP in 1905. From 1903 worker at electrical engineering plant in Saint Petersburg. Active participant in revolution of 1905. Underground party work in Saint Petersburg, Nikolayev, Tula, and Samara. In 1917–18 chairman of a plant committee and secretary of a district party committee in Samara. In 1925–26 secretary of Leningrad province party committee and of Northwestern Bureau of party CC. In 1926–27 a secretary of party CC. From 1927 to 1929 secretary of Urals province party committee. In 1929 secretary and from 1930 to 1944 and from 1953 to 1956 chairman (first secretary) of All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. From 1944 to 1946 chairman of Presidium of RSFSR Supreme Soviet. From 1946 to 1953 chairman of Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet. From 1956 until retirement in 1966 chairman of Party Control Committee under party CC. A member of Presidium (Politburo) of party CC in 1952–53 and from 1957 to 1966.

Siroky, Viliam (1902–71). Czechoslovak politician. Vice premier in 1953, premier from March 1953 to December 1963, when removed from official positions on account of responsibility for purges of early 1950s.

Skarbek (Scacki), Boleslaw (1888–1934). Polish-Soviet official and editor. Of noble origin. Joined party in 1917. In 1917–18 member of Kharkov Soviet of

Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. In 1918 head of Department of Culture and Education of Commissariat of Polish Affairs in Kharkov. Head of Polish Section of Military Revolutionary Council of Western Front in civil war. In 1919 member of editorial boards of newspapers *Komunista pol'ski* (Polish Communist) and *Glos komunisti* (Communist Voice), head of Polish Section of Federation of Foreign Communist Groups in Ukraine and editor of its newspaper *Shtandar komunizmu* (Standard of Communism), a founder of Kiev Group of Communist Workers Party of Poland. In 1920 a plenipotentiary of Revolutionary Committee of Poland in Grodno. In 1921 head of Political Administration in Ukraine, head of Polish Bureau of Kiev district committee of CP(B) of Ukraine, member and later head of Polish Bureau of CC of CP(B) of Ukraine and editor of Kharkov newspaper *Proletars'ka pravda* (Proletarian Truth). In 1926 representative of Ukrainian government in Moscow. In 1926–27 deputy editor of Kharkov newspaper *Serp* (Sickle). From 1927 to 1929 in Moscow in apparatus of party CC and deputy editor of newspaper *Sovetskaya tribuna* (Soviet Tribune). In 1929 returned to Kiev to edit newspaper *Kievsky proletary*, then head of department in district committee of CP(B) of Ukraine, director of Institute of Polish Proletarian Culture of All-Ukraine Academy of Sciences. In October 1932 appointed head of Department of Culture and Propaganda of Chernigov province committee of CP(B) of Ukraine. Arrested in September 1933, sentenced to death in March 1934 as alleged member of Polish Military Organization, executed in June 1934. A victim of the purge of officials of Polish origin. Rehabilitated posthumously in February 1958.

Skripko, Nikolai Semyonovich (1902–87). Soviet general. Joined Red Army in 1919. During Soviet-German war deputy commander of Long Range Air Forces (1942–44) and first deputy commander of Eighteenth Air Army (1944–45). Helped organize air combat in battles of Leningrad, Stalingrad, and Kursk, in liberation of North Caucasus, the Crimea, Belorussia, and the Baltic, and in the assault on East Prussia. From 1950 to 1969 commander of military transportation and paratroop transportation in air force. Air force marshal (1944).

Slansky, Rudolf (1901–52). Czechoslovak politician. Founding member of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1921, member of its CC from 1929. Following German occupation of Sudetenland in October 1938, fled to Soviet Union. Returned to Czechoslovakia in 1944 to play leading role in Slovak national uprising. General secretary of CC of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from 1945 to September 1951. First secretary of Prague city party committee from September until arrest in November 1951. Tried in November 1952 and found guilty of "Trotskyite-Titoist-Zionist activities in the service of American imperialism." Executed on December 2, 1952. Rehabilitated posthumously.

Slavsky, Yefim Pavlovich (1898–1991). Soviet engineer and official. From peasant family. Worker. Joined party and Red Army in 1918, rising in 1927 to commissar of cavalry regiment. Graduated in 1933 from Moscow Institute of Nonferrous Metals and Gold, then engineer and director of various factories. In 1945–46 deputy people's commissar of nonferrous metallurgy. From 1946 to 1953 deputy head, then first deputy head of First Main Administration of Council of Ministers. From 1953 to 1957 deputy minister, then first deputy minister of medium machine-building, concurrently in 1956–57 head of Chief Administration for Use of Atomic Energy. From 1957 to 1963 and from 1965 to 1986 minister of medium machine-building. From 1963 to 1965 chairman of State Production Committee for Medium Machine-Building. Retired in 1986. Member of party CC from 1961 to 1990. Thrice Hero of Socialist Labor (1949, 1954, 1962). Recipient of Lenin Prize (1980) and State Prize (1949, 1951, 1983).

Sokolovsky, Vasily Danilovich (1897–1968). Soviet general. Joined Red Army in 1918. In 1941 lieutenant general. Chief of staff of Western Front and (at times concurrently) of Western Area. Helped plan and carry out counteroffensive in battle for Moscow. From February 1943, as commander of Western Front, took part in several offensive operations between Moscow and Smolensk. In April 1944 became chief of staff of First Ukrainian Front, then in April 1945 deputy commander of First Belorussian Front, participating in liberation of western Ukraine and Poland and in assault on Berlin. In 1945–46 deputy commander in chief, and from 1946 to 1949 commander in chief, of Group of Soviet Forces in Germany. From 1949 to 1952 first deputy minister of USSR Armed Forces (war minister). From 1952 to 1960 chief of general staff and first deputy minister of defense, thereafter member of Group of General Inspectors of Ministry of Defense. Member of party CC from 1952 to 1961. Marshal of the Soviet Union (1946). Hero of the Soviet Union.

Soong, Chingling (Madame Sun Yatsen; 1893–1981). Chinese public figure. Second of three daughters of industrialist and missionary Charlie Soong. Graduated from Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia, United States, then worked with Sun Yatsen in Japan and married him in 1915. In 1924 became head of Women's Department of Kuomintang. After Sun's death in 1925, elected in 1926 to CEC of Kuomintang. Following Kuomintang-Communist split of 1927, went to

Moscow and later to Hong Kong. Established Women's Political Training School (1927), China League for Civil Rights (1932), and China Defense League (1939; renamed China Welfare Institute in 1950). During Chinese civil war headed Revolutionary Committee of Kuomintang (wing close to Communists). Vice president of Chinese People's Republic from 1949 to 1975. Honorary president of All-China Women's Federation. President of Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. In 1949 co-founded *China Reconstructs* magazine (later renamed *China Today)*. In 1951 awarded Stalin Peace Prize. From 1968 to 1972 joint head of state. In 1981 joined Chinese Communist Party and made honorary president of Chinese People's Republic.

Spychalski, Marian (1906–80). Polish politician. Joined Communist Party of Poland in 1931. Chief of general staff of the Guardia Ludowa (People's Guard) from 1942. Mayor of Warsaw in 1944–45. First deputy minister of national defense from 1945 to 1948. Member of Politburo of CC of Polish Workers Party (then Polish United Workers Party) from 1944 to 1948. Expelled from party as close ally of Gomulka in 1949, imprisoned in 1950, accused of being "Titoite." Tortured in prison and forced to appear in show trial in 1951 and give false testimony there against Gomulka. Released and reinstated in party in 1956. Member of Politburo of CC of PUWP from 1959 to 1970. Minister of national defense from 1956 to 1968. Chairman of State Council of Polish People's Republic from 1968 to 1970. Marshal (1963).

Stevenson, Adlai Ewing (1900–65). American politician and lawyer. Graduated from Princeton University in 1922. Attended law school at Harvard University and Northwestern University. Practiced law. Special counsel to Agricultural Adjustment Administration 1933–34. Assistant general counsel to Federal Alcohol Bureau 1934. Assistant to the secretary of the Navy from 1941 to 1944. Appointed special assistant to the secretary of state in 1945. Member of U.S. delegation to founding conference of United Nations in San Francisco in 1945. U.S. delegate to UN General Assembly in 1946 and 1947. Elected Democratic governor of Illinois in 1949. Democratic presidential candidate in 1952 and 1956. Permanent U.S. representative at United Nations and U.S. representative in United Nations Security Council from 1961 until death. Author of several books.

Stoica, Chivu (1908–75). Romanian politician. Prime minister from 1955 to 1961. President of State Council from March 1965 to 1967.

Stramentov, Andrei Yevgenyevich (1902–?). Soviet municipal engineer. Following graduation from Construction Faculty of Moscow Bauman Higher

Technical School, engaged in building of river embankments in Moscow from 1924 to 1942. Demolition work in army from 1941 to 1943, then engaged in road building and restoration of Warsaw and Kiev (especially the Kreshchatik, its main street). From 1948 professor at Moscow Engineering-Construction Institute.

Subandrio (1914–2004). Indonesian politician, diplomat, and physician. Active in nationalist youth movement against Dutch colonial regime. Socialist. Graduated in surgery from medical college in Jakarta in 1941, then in general medical practice. Worked with resistance against Japanese occupation (1942–44). From 1945 to 1949 special envoy in Europe, established information office in London in 1947. Indonesian ambassador to Britain from 1950 to 1954 and to Soviet Union from 1954 to 1956. Secretary general of MFA in 1956–57. Appointed foreign minister in 1957, second deputy prime minister and chief of intelligence in 1960, and minister for foreign economic relations in 1962. Following military countercoup of October 1965, accused of involvement in attempted Communist coup, arrested, and sentenced to death, but sentence commuted to life imprisonment at request of British government. Released in 1995 because of ill health.

Sukarno, Ahmed (1901–70). Indonesian politician. Active in independence movement since teens. Graduated in architecture from Bandung Institute of Technology in 1926. Founding member of National Party of Indonesia in 1927, later its chairman. In prison from 1929 to 1931 and in exile from 1933 to 1942. Collaborated with Japanese occupation from 1942 to 1944. Elected president of Indonesia in 1945 (but independence not recognized by Netherlands until 1949). A convenor of Bandung Conference in 1955. Introduced "Guided Democracy" in 1959. Following attempted coup and countercoup of 1965, demoted to acting president in 1967, then deposed and placed under house arrest in 1968. Recipient of International Lenin Prize (1960).

Sun Yatsen (1866–1925). Chinese politician. Widely regarded as father of modern China. Spent teenage years with brother in Hawaii. Graduated in 1892 from Hong Kong College of Medicine for Chinese. In 1894 set up Xing Zhong (Revive China) Society among Chinese exiles in Hong Kong. In 1895, following failure of attempted coup, left for Europe, United States, Canada, and Japan. Returned to China in 1911 on learning that military uprising had overthrown Ching dynasty. Chosen by provincial representatives as provisional president of Republic of China, proclaimed January 1, 1912 but dependent on Beiyang Army of General Yuan Shikai. In 1912 founded National People's Party (Kuomintang). Went to Japan in 1913 after conflict with Yuan Shikai.

Returned to China in 1917. In 1921 elected president of government at Guangzhou (Canton). In 1923 proclaimed "Three Principles of the People." In 1924 established Whampoa Military Academy with a view to organizing Northern Expedition to unite China.

Suslov, Mikhail Andreyevich (1902–82). Soviet party official. From 1939 to 1944 first secretary of the Ordzhonikidze [previously and currently Vladikavkaz] territory committee of the party. From 1944 to 1946 chairman of Bureau of party CC for Lithuanian SSR. From 1947 to 1982 a secretary of party CC, with special responsibility for questions of ideology, and concurrently chief editor of the newspaper *Pravda* from 1949 to 1951. In 1952 appointed head of the CC commission for ideology. A member of the Politburo (Presidium) of the party CC from 1952 to 1953 and from 1955 to 1982.

Suvorov, Aleksandr Vasilyevich (1730–1800). Russian general. Celebrated as great Russian military strategist and tactician who never lost a battle. Fought in Seven Year War (1756–63) and in Russo-Turkish wars of 1768–74 and 1787–91. Took part in suppression of Cossack rebellion of Yemilyan Pugachev (1774) and Polish rising of 1794. Led expeditions against French forces in Italy and Switzerland in 1799. Author of works on military theory, strategy, and tactics.

Svoboda, Ludvik (1895–1979). Czechoslovak general and politician. Joined Austro-Hungarian army in 1915, deserted and fought in Czech Legion for Russia. In 1922 became officer in Czechoslovak army. From 1931 to 1934 taught at military academy. In June 1939 illegally left occupied Czechoslovakia for Poland, where formed first Czechoslovak armed unit to fight Nazis. Following occupation of Poland in September 1939 took his unit to USSR. In 1942–43 commander of First Czechoslovak Independent Battalion, then Brigade. Colonel, general (1943), army general (1945). From 1943 to 1945 commander of First Czechoslovakian Corps in Red Army, participated in liberation of Czechoslovakia. In 1945 chief of Czechoslovak General Staff. From 1945 to 1950 minister of national defense and commander in chief of army. Following Communist takeover of February 1948 joined Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, elected to National Assembly. Under pressure from Stalin left army in 1950. In 1950–51 deputy chairman of government and chairman of Committee for Physical Culture and Sport. Convicted and imprisoned in purges, released after Stalin's death. Visited by Khrushchev on June 16, 1954. Head of Klement Gottwald Military Academy from 1955 to 1959. Retired but emerged from retirement in March 1968 to serve as president of Czechoslovakia and commander in chief of armed forces until May 1975. Hero of the Soviet

Union (1965). Hero of the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic (1965, 1970, 1975). Awarded International Lenin Prize (1970).

Syrtsov, Sergei Ivanovich (1893–1937). Soviet official. White-collar worker. Joined party in 1913. Fought in civil war. Prominent party figure in Donbas. From 1921 official in apparatus of party CC. From 1924 editor of newspaper *Kommunisticheskaya revolyutsiya* (Communist Revolution). From 1926 secretary of Siberian territory committee of the party. From 1929 chairman of RSFSR Council of People's Commissars. After 1931 in various leading administrative and party posts. Candidate member of Politburo of party CC in 1929–30. Supposedly the central figure in a right opposition group in the party. Accused of cooperating with V. V. Lominadze to form a "Right-Left" opposition bloc. Expelled from CC and lost leading positions in 1930. Arrested during purges and died in detention. Posthumously rehabilitated.

Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-Maurice (1754–1838). French diplomat, famous for his mastery of diplomatic intrigue. Minister of foreign affairs from 1797 to 1799 (under Directory), from 1799 to 1807 (under Consulate and Empire of Napoleon I), and in 1814–15 (under Ludovic XVIII). Head of French delegation at Congress of Vienna in 1814–15. From 1830 to 1834 French ambassador to Great Britain.

Thant, U (1909–74). Burmese diplomat. Graduated from University College Rangoon, then teacher and journalist. Government press director in 1947–48. Director of broadcasting in 1948–49, then secretary at Ministry of Information. Headed Burmese delegations to United Nations General Assembly from 1957 to 1961. Following death of Dag Hammarskjold, elected acting secretary-general of UN in November 1961, then secretary-general from November 1962 until retirement in 1971 (two terms). Author of books on history of Burma and League of Nations.

Thompson, Llewellyn E. (Tommy; 1904–72). American diplomat. In U.S. embassies and consulates in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Switzerland, the USSR (from 1940 to 1944), Britain, Italy, and Austria. U.S. ambassador to the USSR from 1957 to 1962 and from 1967 to 1969. For a number of years occupied responsible positions in the State Department.

Thorez, Maurice (1900–64). French politician. Mineworker. Joined French Communist Party in 1920, a member of its CC from 1924 and of its Politburo from 1925. General secretary of French Communist Party from 1930 (in 1964 its chairman). Elected to national assembly in 1932. Member of Executive Committee of Communist International from 1928 to 1943 and of its Presidium from 1935 to 1943. Lived in Moscow from 1940 to 1944. Member of French coalition government from 1945 to 1947.

Timoshenko, Semyon Konstantinovich (1895–1970). Soviet general. From peasant background. Joined party in 1919. During civil war, commander of a cavalry brigade and a cavalry division, thereafter occupied various command posts. From 1933 to 1937 deputy commander of Belorussian, then of Kiev, military district. In 1937 commander of North Caucasus and Kharkov military districts. In 1938–39 commander of Kiev special military district. In 1939 commander of Ukrainian Front in expulsion of Polish forces from western Ukraine, and of Northwestern Front in war against Finland. In 1940–41 people's commissar of defense. From 1941 to 1945 representative and member of supreme headquarters and commander in chief of various fronts. After World War II commander of Baranovichi, South Urals, and Belorussian military districts. From 1960 member of Group of General Inspectors of Ministry of Defense. From 1961 chairman of Soviet Committee of War Veterans. From 1939 to 1952 member of party CC. Marshal of the Soviet Union (1940).

Tito, Josip Broz (1892–1980). Yugoslav politician. Metalworker. Joined Social Democratic Party of Croatia and Slovenia in 1910. Fought in Austro-Hungarian army in World War I, taken prisoner on Russian front in 1915. Fought on Soviet side in Russian civil war. Joined Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1920. Became member of CC of Communist Party of Yugoslavia, member of its Politburo in 1934, and its general secretary in 1940. In 1935–36 worked for Balkan Section of Comintern in Moscow. Supreme commander in chief of People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia from 1941 to 1945, as minister of defense remained commander in chief of Yugoslav armed forces until 1953. Marshal (1943). Chairman of Socialist League of the Working People of Yugoslavia from 1945 to 1963. Chairman of Council of Ministers from 1946 to 1953. President of Yugoslavia from 1953 to 1971, thereafter chairman of collective presidency. Chairman of League of Communists of Yugoslavia from 1966.

Togliatti, Palmiro (1893–1964). Italian politician. Lawyer. Founding member of Italian Communist Party in 1921, member of its CC from 1922 and of its leadership from 1923. General secretary of CC of Italian Communist Party from 1926 to 1964. Member of Executive Committee of Communist International from 1924, of its Presidium from 1928, and of its Secretariat from 1935. Comintern chief in Spain during civil war. Took refuge in Soviet Union in 1940, returned to Italy in 1944. Held cabinet posts in Italian coalition governments from 1944 to 1946. From 1944 director of party newspaper *Rinascita*.

From 1948 chairman of parliamentary group of Italian Communist Party. Advocate of "polycentrism" in world Communist movement.

Tolstoy (or Tolstoi), Lev (or Leo) Nikolayevich (1828–1910). Russian novelist, publicist, and moral philosopher. From noble family. Studied languages and law at University of Kazan. From 1851 to 1855 in army, serving in Caucasus and taking part in defense of Sevastopol in Crimean War. Set up school for peasant children. Best known works: *War and Peace* (1862–69), *The Cossacks* (1863), *Anna Karenina* (1873–76), and an autobiographical trilogy (1852–57). In 1876 converted to anarcho-pacifist doctrine of Christian love and nonresistance to evil. Wrote many works to propagate his doctrine. Excommunicated by Russian Orthodox Church in 1901.

Trenyov, Konstantin Andreyevich (1876–1945). Russian writer of stories, songs, and historical plays. Awarded State Prize in 1941.

Truman, Harry S. (1884–1972). American politician. Farmer. Fought in France in World War I, discharged from army as major. In haberdashery business from 1919 to 1921. Studied at Kansas City Law School. County court judge from 1922 to 1924. Presiding judge from 1926 to 1934. Elected to Senate in 1934, reelected in 1940. From 1935 to 1945 chairman of Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program (uncovering waste and corruption). Elected vice president under F. D. Roosevelt in 1944. Inaugurated as president of United States on April 12, 1945, following Roosevelt's death. Reelected president in 1948. Left presidency and retired in 1953.

Tshombe, Moise Kapenda (name also spelled Tschombe; 1919–69). Congolese politician. Related to royal family of Lunda people. Educated at mission schools in Belgian Congo. In 1951 elected to advisory provisional council of Katanga province. In 1959 became president of Belgian-supported Conakat party, which in general elections of 1960 gained control of Katanga provincial legislature. Following Congolese independence proclaimed secession of Katanga. In August 1960 elected president of Katanga. Complicit in murder of Lumumba in January 1961. Arrested by central government in April 1961, released on promise to reunite Katanga with Congo but reneged. In 1963, when UN forces occupied Katanga, went into exile in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), later went to Spain. Returned to head government of national reconciliation from July 1964 to October 1965. Accused of treason, returned to Spain, sentenced to death in absentia. In June 1967 abducted, taken to Algeria, jailed, then kept incommunicado until death in 1969.

Tsybin, Nikolai Ivanovich (1909–84). Soviet general. Air force lieutenant general. Joined air force in 1927. Graduated from Leningrad Military-Theoretical School for Pilots and Borisoglebsk Military School for Pilots. During Soviet-German war (1941–45) served with Khrushchev as his personal pilot (with rank of lieutenant colonel) in Southwestern, Stalingrad, Voronezh, and First Ukrainian Fronts. From 1953 to 1959 commander of a special-purpose air division in service of top leadership. From 1959 to August 1964 deputy head of Main Administration of the Civilian Air Fleet of the USSR (Aeroflot), then first deputy minister of civil aviation until retirement in 1965.

Turyanitsa, Ivan Ivanovich (1901–55). Soviet politician. Joined party in 1925. Participant in Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919. From 1928 to 1930 secretary of Mukachevo, then of Uzhgorod city committee of the party. Studied at Kharkov Communist Institute of Journalism, then continued to take part in revolutionary movement of Transcarpathia. From 1944 to 1946 chairman of People's Council of Transcarpathian Ukraine (by 1945 secretary of CC of Communist Party of Transcarpathian Ukraine). Until 1948 first secretary of Transcarpathian province committee of CP((B) of Ukraine and chairman of Transcarpathian province executive committee. From 1949 member of CC of CP(B) of Ukraine.

U Ba Swe (Yangon Ba Swe; 1915–86). Burmese politician. General secretary of Antifascist People's Freedom League from 1947 to 1952. Founding member, later general secretary of Socialist Party of Burma. President of Trades Union Congress of Burma in 1951. Vice president of Burma in 1952. Minister of defense in 1952–53. Prime minister from June 1956 to February 1957, then deputy prime minister. Chairman of Bureau of Asian Socialist Conference. President of Burma from 1958 to 1963, thereafter critic of Ne Win regime. Took up painting.

U Nu (Thakin Nu; 1907–95). Burmese politician. Founding member of Antifascist People's Freedom League. Prime minister of Burma from 1947 to 1956, in 1957–58, and from 1960 to 1962. Overthrown by General Ne Win in 1958 and again in 1962. Under house arrest for some years, left country on release, lived in various countries including India and Thailand, later returned to Burma. Rearrested after military coup of 1988, charged with trying to set up rival government, under house arrest from 1989 to 1992.

Ulbricht, Walter (1893–1978). East German politician. Son of tailor. Trained as joiner. Served on front in World War I. Joined Social Democratic Party of Germany in 1918. Founding member of Communist Party of Germany in 1919. Attended International Lenin School of Comintern in Moscow in 1924–25.

Elected to regional parliament of Saxony in 1926. Member of German parliament (Reichstag) from 1928 to 1933. On Hitler's accession to power went into exile in Paris and Prague and then from 1938 to 1945 in Moscow. After World War II returned to Berlin to assume leadership of German Democratic Republic (GDR). General secretary, then first secretary of CC of Socialist Unity Party of Germany from 1950 to 1971, thereafter honorary chairman of party. Chairman of State Council of GDR from 1960 until death.

Ushakov, Fyodor Fyodorovich (1745–1817). Russian admiral. Served in Russo-Turkish war of 1768–74. Commanded yacht of Empress Catherine II and defended Russian merchant ships in Mediterranean from British pirates. Supervised construction of naval base at Sevastopol (Crimea). In Russo-Turkish war of 1790–91 defeated Turks at Fidonisi. Admiral (1799). Sent to Mediterranean in 1799 to support Suvorov's Italian campaign against Napoleon, but recalled to Russia in 1800. Resigned command in 1807 and became monk.

Vatutin, Nikolai Fyodorovich (1901–44). Soviet general. Joined Red Army in 1920. Chief of staff of Kiev special military district from November 1938 to September 1939, then head of Operational Administration of General Staff. At start of Soviet-German war lieutenant general and chief of staff of Northwestern Front. From May 1942 deputy chief of General Staff, concurrently representative of Supreme Headquarters in Bryansk Front. From July 1942 commanded in turn Voronezh, Southwestern, again Voronezh, and (from October 1943) First Ukrainian Front. Army general (1943). Took part in planning Stalingrad offensive, in battles of Stalingrad and Kursk, and in liberation of eastern and central Ukraine. Badly wounded on February 29, 1944, died on April 15. Hero of the Soviet Union (1965).

Vinogradov, Sergei Aleksandrovich (1907–70). Soviet diplomat. Professor. Joined party in 1926. Graduated from Leningrad University in 1934 and from Institute of Red Professors in 1938, then taught history. Entered diplomatic service in 1940. From 1941 to 1948 Soviet ambassador to Turkey. In 1948–49 head of Department of United Nations Affairs and in 1949–50 head of First European Department in MFA. From 1950 to 1953 chairman of Committee of Council of Ministers for Radio Broadcasting. From 1953 to 1965 ambassador to France. From 1967 to 1970 ambassador to Egypt.

Voroshilov, Kliment Yefremovich (1881–1969). Soviet general and politician. Worker. Joined party in 1903. Participated in revolutions of 1905, February 1917, and October 1917 and in civil war. From 1921 to 1925 commander of North Caucasus, then Moscow, military districts. From 1925 to 1940 people's commissar of military and naval affairs (from 1934 people's commissar of defense). From 1940 to 1946 deputy chairman of Council of People's Commissars. From 1946 to 1953 deputy chairman of Council of Ministers. From 1953 chairman of Presidium of Supreme Soviet. Marshal of the Soviet Union (1935). From 1926 to 1960 a member of Politburo (Presidium) of party CC. From 1960 a member of Presidium of Supreme Soviet.

Vukmanovic-Tempo, Svetozar (1912–76). Yugoslav politician. Joined Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1933 and member of its CC from 1939. Member of supreme command of People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia during World War II. Sent on missions to Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania. Tito's representative in Macedonia. From 1945 to 1948 deputy minister of national defense. From 1953 to 1958 deputy chairman of government in charge of economic affairs. From 1958 to 1967 head of Yugoslav trade unions. National Hero of Yugoslavia.

Vyshinsky, Andrei Yanuaryevich (1883–1954). Soviet official. From a gentry background. Joined Menshevik wing of Russian Social Democratic Labor Party in 1903 and Russian Bolshevik Party in 1920. Jurist. After 1917 in social, administrative, lecturing, and judicial work. From 1925 to 1928 rector of First Moscow University, then member of collegium of People's Commissariat of Enlightenment of the RSFSR. From 1931 an official of the judiciary. From 1935 to 1939 public prosecutor. Chief prosecutor in three major Moscow show trials (1936–38). From 1939 to 1944 deputy chairman of Council of People's Commissars. From 1940 to 1949 deputy minister, and from 1949 to 1953 minister, of foreign affairs, then permanent representative of the USSR at the United Nations. Became member of party CC in 1939. Candidate member of CC Presidium in 1952–53. Author of works on law. Recipient of State Prize (1947).

Wang Ming (Chen Shaoyu; 1904–74). Chinese politician. Studied at Shanghai University. Sent in 1925 by Chinese Communist Party to Sun Yatsen University in Moscow. Translator for Comintern from 1927 to 1929. Returned to China in 1930. Elected to CCP CC and its Politburo in 1931 with Comintern support. Leader of anti-Mao "internationalist" group in CCP. Dominant position in CCP until Mao gained ascendancy in 1935. CCP representative at Comintern and member of Presidium of Comintern Executive Committee from 1932 to 1943. Allowed to return to Moscow in 1956 and remained there until his death.

Wasilewska, Wanda (1905–64). Pro-Communist Polish writer. Daughter of conservative Polish politician Leon Wasilewski. In September 1939 moved to USSR and became Soviet citizen. During Soviet-German war (1941–45) in

Red Army (as regimental commissar, then colonel) as agitator for Main Political Administration. Editor of newspaper *Za Radyansku Ukrainu* (For Soviet Ukraine). From 1943 to 1945 editor in chief of newspaper *Wolna Polska* (Free Poland). Chair of Union of Polish Patriots in the USSR.

Wilson, Harold (1916–95). British politician. Son of industrial chemist. Graduated from Oxford University in 1937 in philosophy, politics, and economics. From 1938 to 1945 lectured at New College, then University College London. During World War II statistician and economist for coal industry; in 1943–44 director of economics and statistics at Ministry of Fuel and Power. Elected to parliament for Labour Party in 1945. Parliamentary secretary to Ministry of Works from 1945 to 1947. Secretary for overseas trade, then president of Board of Trade (making several trips to USSR). Resigned from government in 1951 together with Bevan in protest at imposition of National Health Service charges. Succeeded Gaitskell as leader of Labour Party in 1963. Prime minister from 1964 to 1970 and again from 1974 until resignation from leading positions in 1976. Stressed crucial importance of technological progress for Britain's future. Remained member of parliament until 1983, then elevated to peerage.

Winzer, Otto (1902–75). East German diplomat. Joined Communist Party of Germany in 1925. In exile from 1935 to 1945. Joined Socialist Unity Party of Germany and its CC in 1946. Secretary of state (head of chancellery of president) from 1949 to 1956. Deputy minister of foreign affairs from 1956 to 1959. First deputy minister of foreign affairs from 1959 to 1965. Minister of foreign affairs from 1965 to 1975. Took part in negotiation of treaty between the two German states in 1970.

Wu Peifu (1874–1939). Chinese general. Son of tradesman. Joined Beiyang Army of General Yuan Shikai (see Biography of Sun Yatsen). Later became warlord based in central China. In early 1920s had effective control over Kuomintang government in Beijing. In 1923 broke northern railroad strike and in 1926 suppressed Communists in Beijing. Toward end of life became a monk.

Xoxe, Koci (1917–49). Albanian politician. Tinsmith. In 1945 directed special tribunal of Council of Ministers to try war criminals. Vice premier, minister of internal affairs, organizational secretary of CC of Albanian Party of Labor, and member of its Politburo from 1946 to 1948. Oriented toward Tito's Yugoslavia and regarded as principal rival of Enver Hoxha. In June 1947 (together with Pandi) attempted to prevent break with Yugoslavia; following break with Yugoslavia removed as organizational secretary of CC (September 1948) and then from government posts (October 1948). Expelled from party in November 1948. Tried with others and convicted as Yugoslav agent in June 1949, executed the next day.

Yakovlev, Nikolai Dmitriyevich (1898–1972). Soviet general. From 1941 to 1945 and from 1946 to 1948 head of Main Artillery Administration of Red Army, concurrently from 1946 to 1948 first deputy commander of artillery of USSR Armed Forces. From 1948 to 1952 deputy minister of USSR Armed Forces. Arrested in 1952, released and rehabilitated in 1953. From 1953 to 1955 first deputy commander in chief, and from 1955 to 1960 commander in chief, of Antiaircraft Defense Forces, thereafter member of Group of General Inspectors of Ministry of Defense. Marshal of Artillery (1944).

Yakubovsky, Ivan Ignatyevich (1912–76). Soviet general. First deputy commander in chief and commander in chief of Group of Soviet Forces in Germany from 1957 to 1965. Commander in chief of Unified Armed Forces of Warsaw Pact from 1967 to 1976. Marshal of the Soviet Union (1967).

Yasnov, Mikhail Alekseyevich (1906–91). Soviet official. From peasant background. Worker, then manager in construction organizations. Joined party in 1925. From 1938 to 1949 deputy chairman of Moscow City Executive Committee. In 1949–50 deputy minister of city construction. From 1950 to 1956 chairman of Moscow City Executive Committee. In 1956–57 chairman of RSFSR Council of Ministers. From 1957 to 1966 first deputy chairman of RSFSR Council of Ministers. From 1966 until retirement in 1985 chairman of Presidium of RSFSR Supreme Soviet. Member of party CC from 1952 to 1986. Hero of Socialist Labor (1976).

Yudin, Pavel Fyodorovich (1899–1968). Soviet philosopher, public figure, and diplomat. Author of works on historical materialism and scientific communism. Joined Communist Party in 1918. Graduated from Institute of Red Professors in 1931. Director of Institute of Red Professors from 1932 to 1938. Director of Institute of Philosophy of USSR Academy of Sciences from 1938 to 1944, concurrently, from 1937 to 1949, director of Association of State Publishing Houses. Also in apparatus of party CC. From 1947 to 1953 editor-in-chief of *For Lasting Peace, For People's Democracy*, journal of Communist Information Bureau (Cominform), initially based in Belgrade. Played key role in Soviet-Yugoslav conflict in 1947–48. In 1953 political adviser to chairman of Soviet Control Commission in Germany, then deputy supreme commissar of USSR in Germany. Soviet ambassador to Chinese People's Republic from 1953 to 1959. Member of party CC from 1952 to 1961. Elected member of USSR Academy of Sciences in 1953. Recipient of State Prize (1943).

Zahir Shah, Mohammed (born 1914). King of Afghanistan. Ascended to throne in November 1933 following assassination of father, Nadir Shah. Educated in Afghanistan and France. In 1963 forced resignation of prime minister Daud and reassumed full power. In 1964 introduced program of social and constitutional reforms. Overthrown by Daud in 1973 while taking mud baths for lumbago near Naples. Remained in exile in Italy awaiting invitation to return to position of power in Afghanistan. In December 2001 gave his blessing to Afghan leader Hamid Karzai.

Zambrowski, Roman (1909–77). Polish politician. Joined Communist Party of Poland in 1928, member of its CC from 1930 to 1938. Political officer in First Polish Army of Polish Forces during Soviet-German war (1941–45). Member of Presidium of National People's Council in 1944–45. Chairman of Special Commission for Struggle Against Abuses from 1945 to 1954. Vice Marshal of Legislative Assembly (Sejm) from 1947 to 1952. Member of State Council in 1947 and 1955. Minister of state control in 1955–56. Member of CC of Polish (United) Workers Party from 1944 to 1964, head of its Organization Department in 1944–45, member of its Politburo from 1945 to 1963 and of its Orgburo from 1948 to 1954. A CC secretary from 1956 to 1963. Deputy chairman of Supreme Control Chamber from 1963 to 1968.

Zapotocky, Antonin (1884–1957). Czechoslovak politician. Joined Social Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia in 1900; founding member of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1921. Secretary of CC of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from 1922 to 1929 and member of its Politburo from 1925 to 1938 and after 1945. Member of Executive Committee of Trade Union International (Profintern) from 1928. Candidate member of Executive Committee of Communist International from 1935. In Nazi prisons and concentration camps from 1939 to 1945. Deputy prime minister from 1945 to 1948. Prime minister from 1948 to 1953. President of Czechoslovakia from 1953 to 1957.

Zasyadko, Aleksandr Fyodorovich (1910–63). Soviet official. Son of worker. Metalworker and fitter at coal mines. Joined party in 1931. Graduated in 1935 from Donetsk Mining Institute, then coal-mining engineer and manager in Donbas. From 1939 to 1941 deputy head of Coal Administration [Glavugol], then head of Stalin Coal [Stalinugol] in Stalino [now Donetsk] province (where he became acquainted with Khrushchev). In 1941–42 head of Molotov Coal [Molotovugol]. From 1942 to 1946 deputy people's commissar of the coal industry. In 1946–47 deputy minister for the construction of fuel enterprises. In 1947–48 minister of the coal industry for the western regions of the USSR.

From 1948 to 1955 minister of the coal industry. Became member of party CC in 1952. From 1955 to 1957 deputy minister of the coal industry. In 1957–58 head of Coal Industry Department of State Planning Commission (Gosplan). From 1958 to 1962 deputy chairman of USSR Council of Ministers for problems of the metallurgical and coal-mining industries, concurrently from 1960 to 1962 chairman of State Economic-Science Council of USSR Council of Ministers. Retired in 1963. Hero of Socialist Labor (1957).

Zavenyagin, Avraamy Pavlovich (1901–56). Soviet engineer and official. Son of steamship pilot. Joined party in 1917. From 1918 to 1923 in local party and soviet posts. Graduated from Moscow Mining Academy in 1930. In 1930–31 director of Steel Institute, then of State Institute for Design of Ferrous Metallurgy Plants. From 1931 to 1933 deputy head of Main Administration of Metallurgical Industry of Supreme Council of National Economy. From 1933 to 1937 director of Dzerzhinsky Metallurgical Plant, then of Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine. In 1937–38 first deputy people's commissar of heavy industry. From 1938 to 1941 director of Norilsk Mining-Metallurgical Combine. From 1941 to 1950 deputy people's commissar (minister) of internal affairs, concurrently from 1945 to 1950 head of Ninth Administration (responsible for special institutes) of Ministry of Internal Affairs (security police) and from 1945 to 1953 deputy head of First Main Administration under Council of People's Commissars (Council of Ministers). From 1953 to 1955 deputy minister of medium machine-building, thereafter minister of medium machine-building and deputy chairman of Council of Ministers. Member of party CC in 1956. Twice Hero of Socialist Labor (1949, 1954). Lieutenant general.

Zawadzki, Aleksander (1899–1964). Polish politician. Member of Communist Party of Poland from 1923 to 1938. In prison from 1925 to 1931, then exiled to Soviet Union. Returned to Poland (Transcarpathia) in 1939, immediately arrested, but freed by Soviet troops. Joined Polish Army of General Anders, in 1944–45 (as general) deputy commander in chief of Polish Army. After World War II representative of Polish government in former German territory of Silesia. Elected to Sejm (parliament) in 1947. From 1948 to 1964 member of CC of Polish United Workers Party and of its Politburo, from 1948 to 1954 member of its Orgburo and a CC secretary. From 1949 to 1952 deputy chairman of Council of Ministers. From 1952 to 1964 chairman of State Council of Polish People's Republic (president). From 1954 to 1956 member of Presidium and from August to November 1956 chairman of All-Poland Committee of the National Front. From 1958 to 1964 chairman of All-Poland Committee of National Unity Front.

Zheltov, Aleksei Stepanovich (1904–91). Soviet general and official. Joined Red Army in 1924. In June 1941 corps commissar. In 1939–40 member of Military Council of Volga military district. During Soviet-German war (1941–45) member of Military Councils of Far Eastern, Karelian, Don, Southwestern, and Third Ukrainian Fronts. Participated in battle of Stalingrad. Colonel general (1944). From 1945 to 1950 deputy supreme Soviet commissar in Allied Commission for Austria and member of Military Council of Central Group of Forces. In 1950–51 member of Military Council of Turkestan military district. From 1951 to 1953 head of Main Administration for Cadres of Ministry of Defense. From 1953 to 1958 head of Main Political Administration of Soviet Army and Fleet. In 1958–59 head of Administrative Department of party CC. From 1959 to 1971 director of Lenin Military-Political Academy. From 1971 to 1981 military consultant to Group of General Inspectors of Ministry of Defense. From 1981 to 1987 chairman of Soviet Committee of War Veterans.

Zhivkov, Todor Khristov (1911–98). Bulgarian politician. Printer. Joined Communist Party of Bulgaria (CPB) in 1932. Partisan leader under Nazi occupation, headed coup against monarchy in September 1944. Became member of CC of CPB in 1948, member of its Politburo in 1951, and its first secretary in 1954. Prime minister of Bulgaria from 1962 to 1971, then president. Ousted in November 1989. Convicted on corruption charges in 1992, but conviction overturned in 1996.

Zhou Enlai (1898–1976). Chinese politician. Studied in Japan from 1915 to 1918. Formed overseas branch of Chinese Communist Party in France in 1920. Also lived in Britain and Germany. Returned to China in 1924 to work with Sun Yatsen. In 1926 appointed deputy director of Political Department of Whampoa Military Academy. Worked as labor organizer. Veteran of Long March (1934–35). During Sino-Japanese war (1937–45) CCP ambassador to Kuomintang government. From 1949 prime minister of Chinese People's Republic, concurrently from 1949 to 1958 foreign minister. Covert target of Red Guards in Cultural Revolution (1966). Architect of detente with United States, met Nixon in 1972. Promoted the "four modernizations." Hospitalized in 1974.

Zhu De (1886–1976). Chinese politician. Son of landlord. Graduated from Yunnan Military Academy in 1911. Took part in overthrow of Ching dynasty. Warlord in Sichuan from 1916 to 1920. Joined Chinese Communist Party in 1922 while studying in Germany but expelled in 1925 and returned to China via Soviet Union. In 1927 member of Revolutionary Committee in Nanchang uprising and took command of Ninth Corps of Chinese Red Army. In 1931 elected member of Soviet government of China and people's commissar for military and naval affairs. Veteran of Long March (1934–35). Became member of CCP CC and Politburo in 1934. Commander of Eighth Army from 1937 to 1945. Played important role in developing guerrilla tactics. Commander in chief of People's Liberation Army from 1945 to 1954. Deputy chairman of Chinese People's Republic from 1954 to 1959. Became member of Standing Committee of Politburo of CCP CC in 1956. Chairman of Standing Committee of National People's Congress from 1959 to 1967, when denounced by Red Guards in Cultural Revolution. Rehabilitated and restored to previous positions in 1971.

Zhukov, Georgy (Yuri) Aleksandrovich (1908–91). Soviet journalist and official. From teacher's family. Joined party in 1943. Worked in railroad workshops, in 1927 entered journalism. Graduated from Moscow Tractor Institute in 1932. From 1932 to 1938 head of department of *Komsomolskaya Pravda*. From 1938 to 1940 traveling correspondent for *Nasha Strana* (Our Country). In 1940–41 head of department of *Novy Mir* (New World). During Soviet-German war (1941–45) military correspondent and member of editorial board of *Komsomolskaya Pravda*. From 1946 to 1957 worked at *Pravda* as international observer, correspondent in France, and (from 1952) a deputy chief editor. From 1957 to 1962 chairman of State Committee of Council of Ministers for Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries. From May 1962 until retirement in 1988 again at *Pravda* as political observer, concurrently deputy chairman, and from 1982 to 1987 chairman, of Soviet Peace Committee. Member of Central Control Commission of the party from 1956 to 1976. Candidate member of party CC from 1976 to 1989. Awarded Lenin Prize (1960). Hero of Socialist Labor (1978).

Zilliacus, Konni (1894–1971). British politician. Son of activist in Finnish independence movement. Spent childhood in Sweden, Finland, United States, and Britain. Graduated from Yale University in 1915 in science, social science, and history. Served as medical orderly in World War I, then as intelligence officer for British interventionary force in Russian Far East in early 1918. On return to Britain joined Labour Party. In 1919 became member of Information Section of League of Nations Secretariat. Resigned from League of Nations in 1938 over handling of Czechoslovak crisis. During World War II, censor for Ministry of Information. Elected to Parliament in 1945. Strong supporter of United Nations. In 1948 opposed formation of NATO and in 1949 voted against Britain joining NATO, leading to expulsion from Labour Party and loss of parliamentary seat in 1950. Readmitted to Labour Party in 1952 and reelected to Parliament in 1955. Supported movement for unilateral nuclear disarmament. In 1965 protested against American intervention in Vietnam.

Zinoviev, Grigory Yevseyevich (Radomyslsky; 1883–1936). Soviet politician. Joined party in 1901. Close associate of Lenin in exile from 1908 to 1917. Returned to Russia with Lenin in April 1917. From December 1917 to 1926 chairman of Petrograd Soviet, concurrently chairman of All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions (1918), chairman of Council of People's Commissars of Petrograd Labor Commune (1918–19), and chairman of Executive Committee of Communist International (Comintern; 1919–26). Member of party CC from 1907 to 1927 and of its Politburo from 1921 to 1926. From 1917 to 1927 member of All-Russia CEC of the Soviets. Leader of so-called Leningrad Opposition against Stalin in 1925–26, then of United Left Opposition in 1926–27. Expelled from party in 1927, reinstated after capitulating to Stalin in 1928. From 1928 to 1932 rector of Kazan University. In 1932–33 in exile in Kazakhstan. Arrested in December 1934. A chief defendant (with Kamenev) in first major Moscow show trial, executed in August 1936. Posthumously rehabilitated in 1988.

Zyryanov, Pavel Ivanovich (1907–92). Soviet general. Entered military service in 1924. Graduated from Omsk Infantry College in 1927, then occupied various posts in OGPU (security police) troops. Graduated from Frunze Military Academy in 1937, then served in Far East and Maritime Border Troop districts. From 1952 to 1956 and from 1957 until retirement in 1972 head of Chief Administration of KGB Border Troops. Colonel general.

Chronology, 1953–1964

Compiled by Sergei Khrushchev, Anastasiya Karponosova, and Anya (Anna) Rasulova from the newspapers *Pravda* and *Izvestia*

1953

January 5–6	Khrushchev reports to the Plenum of the Moscow regional committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).
January 12	At the Bolshoi Theater concert by Polish artists, present in the balcony are Stalin, Molotov, Malenkov, Beria, Voroshilov, Khrushchev, and others.
January 27	Khrushchev speaks at the Column Hall of the House of Unions at the meeting of workers of the trade and food union of Moscow.
February, 15	Khrushchev participates in the funeral of L. Z. Mekhlis on Red Square.
March 1–5	Khrushchev sits beside the ailing Stalin at his dacha (countryside residence) in the village of Volynskoye, west of Moscow.
March 5	Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee decides that Khrushchev should focus on working in the CPSU Central Committee and releases him from his duties as Secretary of the Moscow Committee of the CPSU.
March 9	Khrushchev speaks at the 4th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.
May 1	Khrushchev stands on the Tribune at the Lenin Mausoleum in Red Square in Moscow, watching the military parade and Muscovite procession on the occasion of May 1, Labor Day.
June 27	Khrushchev speaks at a session of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, as the initiator of the arrest of Beria, which occurred in the Kremlin.
June 27	Khrushchev and other members of the Presidium of the Central Committee are at the Bolshoi Theater at Yu. Shaporin's opera *The Decembrists* (a group of military officers who mounted a rebellion in December 1825).

Entries marked [SK] include information that was not published in the media.

July 2	Khrushchev speaks at a Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, discussing the arrest of Beria.
August 4	Khrushchev and other members of the Presidium of the Central Committee visit the exhibit of the People's Republic of China at the Central Park of Culture and Rest (Gorky Park).
August 23	Khrushchev attends a reception at the Diplomatic Mission of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) in Moscow.
August 23	Khrushchev and others attend an air show at Tushino Airfield in Moscow.
September 3	Khrushchev gives a report at a Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee dedicated to the reform of agriculture.
September 7	The Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee elects Khrushchev as the First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.
September 18	Khrushchev attends a reception at the Embassy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.
November 6,	Khrushchev attends the formal session at the Bolshoi Theater in commemoration of the 36th anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 7	Khrushchev is on the Tribune at the Lenin Mausoleum on Red Square in Moscow, watching the military parade and Muscovite procession in commemoration of the anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
December 12	Khrushchev is at a reception at the Embassy of the Czechoslovak Republic in Moscow.

1954

January 20	Khrushchev attends the funeral of M. F. Shkiryatov in Red Square in Moscow.
January 21	Khrushchev is at the Bolshoi Theater at the formal-mourning session dedicated to the memory of Lenin and gives a short speech.
January 25	Khrushchev is at the Kremlin at the all-union meeting of workers of the machine tractor stations.
February 3	Khrushchev is at the Kremlin at the all-union meeting of workers of the state farms.
February 11	Khrushchev is at the Kremlin at the All-Russia meeting of workers of agriculture.

February 14	Khrushchev attends a reception at the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Moscow.
February 22	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally of the members of the Young Communist League (Komsomol) of the Moscow region about cultivating the virgin lands in Kazakhstan and Siberia.
February 23	Khrushchev reports at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee about cultivating the virgin lands.
March 6	Khrushchev makes a campaign speech to the voters of the Kalinin constituency of Moscow.
March 11	Khrushchev speaks at the second congress of the Polish United Workers' Party in Warsaw.
March 19	Khrushchev is present at the opening of the 12th Congress of the All-Union Young Communist League (Komsomol).
April 15	Khrushchev and others attend J.-B. Molière's play, *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme,* performed by the Comédie Française.
April 17	Khrushchev turns 60 and is given the title of Hero of Socialist Labor and is awarded the Gold Star with the Sickle and Hammer and the Order of Lenin.
April 21–27	Khrushchev is present in the Kremlin at the opening of the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union and then speaks at the debate.
April 24	Khrushchev is at the Bolshoi Theater at a concert of Ukrainian art and skill on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of Ukraine joining Russia.
May 1	Khrushchev and others stand on the Tribune at the Lenin Mausoleum on Red Square in Moscow, watching the military parade and Muscovite procession on the occasion of May 1st, Labor Day.
May 10	Khrushchev and others are at the Bolshoi Theater to see K. Dankevich's opera *Bogdan Khmelnitsky*, performed by the Kiev Theater of Opera and Ballet named after T. G. Shevchenko.
May 29	Khrushchev attends the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), dedicated to the 300th anniversary of Ukraine joining Russia.
May 29	Khrushchev and others are present at the Bolshoi Theater at the concert in honor of the 300th anniversary of Ukraine joining Russia.

May 30	Khrushchev is on the Tribune at the Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow during the procession of a demonstration on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of Ukraine joining Russia.
May 30	Khrushchev and others attend the reception in the Kremlin in honor of the 300th anniversary of Ukraine joining Russia.
June 6	Khrushchev receives V. I. Svistun, the chairman of the Canadian Comradeship of Cultural Ties with Ukraine.
June 7	Khrushchev is at the Kremlin at the opening of the 11th congress of the Trade Unions of the USSR.
June 12	Khrushchev speaks at the 10th congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in Prague.
June 15	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally on Starometski Square in the city of Prague.
June 16	Khrushchev attends a reception in Prague Grad.
June 21	Khrushchev attends an air show at Tushino Airfield in Moscow
July 3	Khrushchev and others visit the exhibition “Democratic Germany” in Moscow.
July 18	Khrushchev and others are at the sport club “Dinamo” for festivities in honor of “The Day of Sport.”
July 25	Khrushchev and others visit the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition in Moscow (later known as the Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy of the USSR and then as the Exhibition Center).
July 28	Khrushchev attends a reception in honor of Chou Enlai (People’s Republic of China) and Pham Van Dong (Democratic Republic of Vietnam).
July 29	Khrushchev receives Chou Enlai, the prime minister of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China.
July 29	Khrushchev attends a dinner given by the Soviet government in honor of Chou Enlai and Pham Van Dong.
July 29	Khrushchev attends a reception at the Embassy of the People’s Republic of China, in Moscow.
July 30	Khrushchev attends a reception of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, in Moscow.
August 10	Khrushchev attends a dinner given by the Soviet government in honor of the delegation from the British Labour Party, headed by Clement Attlee.
September 25	Khrushchev receives John Bernal, a British physicist.

September 29–October 12	Khrushchev is in China at the celebration of the 5th anniversary of the People's Republic of China. He speaks upon arrival in the city of Beijing.
September 30	Khrushchev speaks at a formal session in Beijing.
October 1	Khrushchev and others watch a military parade in Beijing.
October 13	Khrushchev and others arrive in the city of Vladivostok, where they spend some time, and also visit Sakhalin island (without notifying the press). [SK]
October 31	Khrushchev is on Red Square for the funeral of A. N. Kuzmin, minister of ferrous metallurgy of the USSR.
November 6	Khrushchev is at the Bolshoi Theater at a formal session in commemoration of the anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 7	Khrushchev is on the Tribune at the Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow, watching the military parade and Muscovite procession on the occasion of the anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 7	Khrushchev is at the reception in the Kremlin in honor of the anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 14–15	Khrushchev is in Tajikistan.
November 17–19	Khrushchev is in the city of Tashkent (Uzbekistan) at a meeting of cotton growers.
November 28	Khrushchev is present at a reception in the Embassy of Yugoslavia in Moscow.
November 30 and December 7	Khrushchev is at the Kremlin at a meeting of construction workers, where he speaks.
December 2	Khrushchev is present at a dinner given by the Soviet government in honor of the delegations from the countries taking part in the conference of European countries for peace and security in Europe.
December 10	Khrushchev is present at a public rally in Moscow in accordance with the 10th anniversary of the French-Soviet treaty of alliance and mutual aid.
December 13	Khrushchev and others are at the Bolshoi Theater at a concert of the Chinese People's Liberation Army Song and Dance Ensemble.
December 15	Khrushchev is present in the Kremlin at the opening of the 2d Congress of Soviet Writers.
December 26	Khrushchev is at a reception in the Kremlin to mark the closing of the 2d Congress of Soviet Writers.

1955

January 7	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally of Moscow's youth who are going to the virgin lands to develop new agricultural areas.
January 25	Khrushchev at the Plenum of the Central Committee delivers a report on "The Increase of Production of Products of Livestock Husbandry."
February 1	Khrushchev receives Marshall McDuffey, an American lawyer.
February 3	Khrushchev is at the Kremlin at the opening of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.
February 5	Khrushchev gives an interview to the Americans V. R. Hearst, John L. Kingsberry, and F. Konnif.
February 8	Khrushchev proposes to the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet the appointment of Bulganin as head of government.
February 11	Khrushchev and others are at the Bolshoi Theater for a Belorussian performers' concert.
February 21	Khrushchev and others are at the Bolshoi Theater for the final concert of the Belorussian ten-day festival in Moscow.
March 8	Khrushchev is at the Bolshoi Theater for the formal session celebrating International Women's Day.
March 22	Khrushchev receives Dr. Subandrio, the ambassador of Indonesia.
March 22	Khrushchev attends the funeral of Marshal L. A. Govorov on Red Square in Moscow.
March 23	Khrushchev is at the Kremlin for the opening of the session of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR.
March 30	In the city of Voronezh, Khrushchev speaks at a meeting of agricultural workers of the Central Black-Soil Region.
April 4	Khrushchev attends a reception at the Embassy of the Hungarian People's Republic.
April 6	Khrushchev and others attend a concert in the Bolshoi Theater.
April 7	Khrushchev speaks at the Kremlin at a meeting of agricultural workers of the Non-Black Soil Region.
April 15–16	Khrushchev participates in a meeting in the Kremlin dedicated to technical progress.
April 21	Khrushchev speaks in Warsaw at a public rally dedicated to the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Soviet-Polish Treaty.

May 1	Khrushchev stands on the Tribune at the Lenin Mausoleum in Red Square in Moscow, watching the military parade and Muscovite procession on the occasion of May 1, Labor Day.
May 9	Khrushchev ais at the formal session in the Bolshoi Theater in commemoration of WWII Victory Day.
May 9	Khrushchev attends a reception in the Embassy of the German Democratic Republic.
May 9	Khrushchev attends a reception at the Embassy of Czechoslovakia.
May 18	Khrushchev speaks at a meeting of industrial workers in the Kremlin.
May 18	Khrushchev and others attend a concert in the Bolshoi Theater.
May 26–June 3	Khrushchev and others visit Yugoslavia; Khrushchev speaks upon arrival in the city of Belgrade.
June 3–4	Khrushchev and others are in the city of Sofia, Bulgaria.
June 4–5	Khrushchev and others are in the city of Bucharest, Romania.
June 6	Khrushchev and others attend a concert of Bashkir Republic performers in the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow.
June 6–11	Khrushchev participates in negotiations with Jawaharlal Nehru, the prime minister of India.
June 11	Khrushchev, J. Nehru, and others attend Tchaikovsky's ballet *Swan Lake* at the Bolshoi Theater.
June 16	Khrushchev speaks at a meeting of agricultural workers of the Baltic Republics, in the city of Riga.
June 21	Khrushchev is at the "Dinamo" stadium in Moscow at a public rally in honor of Jawaharlal Nehru.
June 21	Khrushchev, Jawaharlal Nehru, and others attend B. Asafiev's ballet *The Fountain of Bakhchisaray* at the Bolshoi Theater.
June 25	Khrushchev and others are at a Yugoslav performers' concert at the Bolshoi Theater.
July 3	Khrushchev and others attend an air show on Tushino Airfield in Moscow.
July 4	Khrushchev and others attend a reception at the U.S. Embassy.
July 10	Khrushchev reports at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee about his trip to Yugoslavia.
July 14	Khrushchev participates in negotiations with Ho Chi Minh, the president of Vietnam.

July 14	Khrushchev attends a reception at the Embassy of France in Moscow.
July 17–23	Khrushchev participates in the negotiations of the Four Powers (United States, USSR, Great Britain, France) in the city of Geneva.
July 24–27	Khrushchev and others are in the city of Berlin.
August 1	Khrushchev and others attend a reception at the Embassy of Switzerland, in Moscow.
August 4	Khrushchev is at the Kremlin at the opening of the session of the Soviet Council of USSR.
August 7	Khrushchev is at a country residence, attending a reception given by the Soviet government for the heads of diplomatic representations.
August 22	Khrushchev speaks in the city of Bucharest at the 11th anniversary of the liberation of Romania.
September 9–13	Khrushchev and others participate in negotiations with Konrad Adenauer, the chancellor of West Germany.
September 9	Khrushchev and others are at a reception in the Embassy of Bulgaria, in Moscow.
September 10	Khrushchev, Konrad Adenauer, and others attend a performance of Prokofiev’s ballet *Romeo and Juliet* at the Bolshoi Theater.
September 12	Khrushchev and Bulganin receive U.S. Senators.
September 16	Khrushchev attends a reception at the Embassy of Mexico.
September 16–19	Khrushchev and others lead negotiations with U. K. Paasikivi, the president of Finland.
September 17–21	Khrushchev and others negotiate with Otto Grotewohl, the prime minister of the GDR,
September 19	Khrushchev receives Walter Ulbricht, the first secretary of the central committee of the United Socialist Party of Germany.
September 21	Khrushchev and Bulganin receive a Japanese parliamentary delegation.
September 21	Khrushchev receives Liu Xiao, the ambassador of China.
September 22	Khrushchev and Bulganin receive a delegation from the French parliament.
October 4	Khrushchev answers a question for the newspaper *Pravda* about French North Africa.
October 6	Khrushchev and Mikoyan, in the city of Yalta, Crimea, receive Roswell Garst, an American farmer.
October 11	Khrushchev and Bulganin receive in Yalta L. B. Pearson, the external minister of foreign affairs Canada.

October 13	Khrushchev and others participate in a meeting about the future of the Soviet Navy in Sevastopol (without notifying the press). [SK]
October 14	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally in the city of Sevastopol, celebrating the award to the city of the Order of the Red Banner, the highest military award.
October 15	Khrushchev in the city of Yalta receives Pietro Nenni, the general secretary of the Italian Socialist Party.
October 17	Khrushchev in Yalta receives Keith Holyoak, the deputy prime minister of New Zealand.
October 26	Khrushchev in Yalta receives U Nu, the deputy prime minister of the Union of Burma.
November 2	Khrushchev attends a dinner in the Kremlin in honor of U Nu and his wife Do Mia I.
November 2	Khrushchev, Bulganin, and Mikoyan receive U Nu in the Kremlin.
November 6	Khrushchev attends a formal session at the Bolshoi Theater in commemoration of the anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 7	Khrushchev stands on the Tribune of the Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow, watching the military parade and Muscovite procession, then attends a reception in the Kremlin celebrating the anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 11	Khrushchev, Bulganin, and Mikoyan receive E. Gerhardsen, the prime minister of Norway, in the Kremlin.
November 11	Khrushchev, E. Gerhardsen, and others attend the Bolshoi Theater for B. Asafiev's ballet, *The Fountain of Bakhchisaray*.
November 12	Khrushchev attends a reception at the Embassy of Norway and carries out other protocol activities in connection with the visit of E. Gerhardsen.
November 14	Khrushchev talks with the ministers of agriculture of the USSR and of the Union Republics at the CPSU Central Committee.
November 15	Khrushchev and Mikoyan for the second time receive E. Gerhardsen in the Kremlin.
November 16	Khrushchev, Bulganin, and Mikoyan visit an exhibition of Indian handicrafts.
November 17–December 1	Khrushchev and Bulganin visit India (the cities of Delhi, Nangal, where an electric station is being built, Bombay, Puna, Bangalore, Madras, and Calcutta).
December 1–7	Khrushchev and Bulganin visit Burma (the cities of Rangoon, Mandalay, Taungi, Rangoon).

December 8–14	Khrushchev and Bulganin visit Afghanistan (the city of Kabul).
December 15–19	Khrushchev and Bulganin speak at a public rally in the city of Tashkent.
December 20	Khrushchev speaks at the meeting of agricultural workers in the city of Tashkent.
December 21	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally at the Central Airport in Moscow.
December 26	Khrushchev is present in the Kremlin at the opening session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and speaks at the session of the Supreme Soviet about the trip to the countries of Asia.
December 27	Khrushchev receives Mong Ona, ambassador of Burma.
December 30	Khrushchev, Bulganin, and Molotov receive Otto Grotewohl (head of the GDR government) and Lothar Boltz (foreign minister) and participate in protocol activities.

1956

January 3	Khrushchev and others attend a reception at the Embassy of the GDR in Moscow, in honor of the 80th birthday of Wilhelm Pieck, GDR president.
January 11	Khrushchev receives Mohammad Soyadi, member of the Iranian parliament.
January 11	Khrushchev and others attend George Gershwin's opera *Porgy and Bess,* performed by the American troupe "Everyman's Opera" in the musical theater named after K. S. Stanislavsky and V. I. Nemirovich-Danchenko.
January 12	Khrushchev receives Harold Wilson, member of the British Parliament.
January 12	Khrushchev, Voroshilov, and Molotov receive a delegation from the Iranian parliament.
January 21	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a public rally of youth who distinguished themselves in cultivating the virgin lands.
January 23	Khrushchev speaks at the opening of the session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin.
January 24	Khrushchev and others attend J. Kalman's operetta *Silva* performed by artists of the Budapest Theater, in the theater named after K. S. Stanislavsky and V. I. Nemirovich-Danchenko.
January 25	Khrushchev gives an interview to Graham Stanford, a British journalist from the newspaper *News of the World.*

January 25	Khrushchev receives Marshal McDuffie, American lawyer.
January 26	Khrushchev attends a reception in the Embassy of Finland on the occasion of handing over the military base in Porkkala-Udd.
January 26	Khrushchev attends a reception in the Embassy of India.
January 26	Khrushchev receives Dobrivoje Vidic, the ambassador of Yugoslavia.
January 27	Khrushchev and others attend a concert at the Bolshoi Theater in commemoration of the 200th birthday of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.
January 31	Khrushchev and others attend a concert of amateur performers from Moscow at the Bolshoi Theater.
February 2	Khrushchev attends a reception at the Embassy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in Moscow.
February 6	Khrushchev receives Marshal Zhu De, deputy-head of government of the People's Republic of China.
February 12	Khrushchev receives Dobrivoje Vidic, the ambassador of Yugoslavia.
February 14	Khrushchev gives a report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 20th congress of the Communist Party.
February 16	Khrushchev and others attend the Moscow Repertory Theater's performance of N. Pogodin's *The Kremlin Chimes.*
February 18	Khrushchev and others attend a performance of M. Gorky's *Foma Gordeyev* at the theater named after E. Vakhtangov.
February 21	Khrushchev and others attend a performance at the Bolshoi Theater by amateur artistic groups of the trade unions.
February 25	Khrushchev gives his "secret" speech to the 20th congress of the Party about Stalin (without notifying the press). [SK]
February 27	Khrushchev and others visit the Experimental Design Bureau (OKB-1) of Sergei P. Korolev, where they discuss and view ballistic missiles and discuss the launch of a sputnik, an artificial earth satellite (without press publicity). [SK]
February 27	At a CPSU Central Committee meeting, Khrushchev is reelected first secretary and a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee, as well as chairman of the Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee for the RSFSR.
February 28	Khrushchev receives a delegation from China to the 20th congress of the CPSU.

February 29	Khrushchev and Malenkov attend a performance of N. Ostrovsky's *Money* at the Maly Repertory Theater.
March 3, 5, 6	Khrushchev, Bulganin, Mikoyan, and Molotov receive H. K. Hansen, the prime minister of Denmark.
March 7	Khrushchev attends a dinner at Molotov's marking the departure from Moscow of Vidic, the ambassador of Yugoslavia.
March 15–21	Khrushchev is in the city of Warsaw at the funeral of Boleslaw Bierut, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP).
March 30	Khrushchev, Bulganin, and Molotov twice receive Tage Erlander, the prime minister of Sweden.
April 2	Khrushchev attends a reception in the Embassy of Sweden in Moscow.
April 4	Khrushchev and others attend a reception in the Embassy of Hungary in Moscow.
April 11	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a meeting of young construction workers.
April 12	Khrushchev takes part in the funeral of P. A. Yudin on Red Square in Moscow.
April 13	Khrushchev and others visit an exhibition of British art at the Pushkin Museum in Moscow.
April 18–27	Khrushchev and Bulganin visit Great Britain (the cities of London and Edinburgh).
April 30	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally at the Central Airfield in Moscow.
May 1	Khrushchev stands on the Tribune at the Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow, watching the military parade and Muscovite procession in honor of May 1, Labor Day.
May 4–5	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the French socialist party.
May 9	Khrushchev receives a delegation of public figures from France, including Jacques Mitterand.
May 14	Khrushchev visits agricultural districts in Krasnodar, Kuban, and Rostov regions.
May 16–19	Khrushchev participates in negotiations with Guy Mollet, the prime minister of France, and with Christian Pino, the minister of external affairs, and carries out protocol activities.
May 24	Khrushchev and Bulganin receive Sartono, the chairman of the parliament of Indonesia.

May 24	Khrushchev attends a performance of M. Drshicha's *Dundo Maroe* performed by the Yugoslav Drama Theater.
May 24	Khrushchev, Bulganin, and Molotov receive Christian Pineau, the minister of foreign affairs of France.
May 29	Khrushchev receives Duncan Sandys, a minister of the British government.
May 31	Khrushchev and Bulganin receive a delegation from the parliament of Denmark.
May 31	Khrushchev and others attend a reception in the Embassy of Great Britain in Moscow.
June 4–6	Khrushchev receives Josip Broz Tito, president of Yugoslavia, and participates in protocol activities.
June 4	Khrushchev, Tito, and others attend a performance of A. Krein's ballet *Laurencia* at the Bolshoi Theater.
June 11–14	Khrushchev and Tito are in the cities of Stalingrad, Krasnodar, Sochi, Novorossiysk, and on the cruiser *Frunze* of the Black Sea fleet.
June 16	Khrushchev and Bulganin receive Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, the vice president of India, and participate in protocol activities and talks.
June 19	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally at the "Dinamo" stadium in Moscow, dedicated to the departure of Tito from the USSR.
June 20	Khrushchev receives Mong Ona, the ambassador of Burma.
June 23	Khrushchev receives Emir Selfaul Islam Mohammed El Badr, the crown prince of Yemen, and participates in protocol activities.
June 24	Khrushchev is at the Moscow Tushino Airfield at an air show.
June 26	Khrushchev, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, the shah of Iran, and others are at the Bolshoi Theater at B. Asafiev's ballet *The Fountain Bakhachisaray*.
June 26	Khrushchev takes part in the funeral of I. A. Likhachev, the minister of the automobile industry, on Red Square.
June 27–28	Khrushchev participates in negotiations with Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, the shah of Iran, and takes part in protocol activities.
June 28 and 30	Khrushchev receives a delegation form the French Communist Party.
July 3	Khrushchev receives Dag Hammarskjold, the UN secretary general.

July 4	Khrushchev attends a reception at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.
July 3	Khrushchev receives Norodom Sihanouk, the crown prince of Cambodia, and takes part in protocol activities.
July 7	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Communist Party of Belgium.
July 10	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Communist Party of Great Britain.
July 11	Khrushchev is at the opening session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin.
July 11	Khrushchev receives a delegation of the Communist Party of Italy.
July 14	Khrushchev receives G. V. Morgan, an American engineer who participated in building the first Metro line in Moscow.
July 14	Khrushchev attends a reception at the Embassy of France in Moscow.
July 16–17	Khrushchev participates in negotiations with Otto Grotewohl, the head of the government of the GDR.
July 19–20	Khrushchev is in the city of Sverdlovsk and speaks at a meeting of agricultural workers.
July 23	Khrushchev gives a speech at a public rally while he is in the city of Chkalovsk (Orenburg).
July 24	Khrushchev speaks in the city of Novosibirsk, at a meeting of agricultural workers of Siberia.
July 28	Khrushchev speaks in the city of Alma-Ata (now Almaty) at meeting of the agricultural workers of Kazakhstan.
July 31	Khrushchev speaks at the opening of the stadium in Luzhniki in Moscow.
August 1	Khrushchev receives Mong Ona, the ambassador of Burma.
August 4	Khrushchev takes part in the funeral of I. I. Nosenko, the minister of shipbuilding, on Red Square.
August 5	Khrushchev is at the stadium in Luzhniki taking part in the opening of the sports competition of the people of the USSR.
August 6	Khrushchev receives Allen Ellender, a U.S. senator.
August 10	Khrushchev receives Antonin Novotny, Rudolf Barak, and Jiri Henrik from Czechoslovakia.
August 10	Khrushchev receives Mamoru Shigemitsu, the minister of foreign affairs of Japan.
August 14	Khrushchev attends a meeting of coal workers in the city of Stalino (Donetsk), Donbas, Ukraine.

August 15	Khrushchev is at a meeting of coal workers in the city of Krasny Lug, Voroshilovgrad (Lugansk) region.
August 16	Khrushchev is in the city of Stalino (Donetsk) visiting factories.
August 17	Khrushchev speaks at a meeting of workers in the coal industry of Ukraine in the city of Stalino (Donetsk) and then at a public rally of the residents of the city.
August 18	Khrushchev is at a meeting of metallurgy workers in the city of Dnipropetrovsk in Ukraine and then visits factories.
August 20	Khrushchev visits the coal workers of the Novovolynsk district of the Lvov region.
August 21	Khrushchev speaks at a meeting of coal workers in the city of Chervonograd in the Lvov region.
August 23	Khrushchev attends a reception at the Embassy of Romania in Moscow.
August 28	Khrushchev receives Tahir Mohammad Magdi Hussein, governor of the province of Tahrir, Egypt.
August 28	Khrushchev and Bulganin receive Edgar Faure, former prime minister of France.
August 28–31	Khrushchev takes part in talks with Ahmed Sukarno, the president of Indonesia, as well as in protocol activities.
August 30	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Ceylon.
August 30	Khrushchev receives Thomas Dreiberg, a member of the National Executive Committee of the British Labour Party.
September 19–27	Khrushchev is in Yugoslavia (the cities of Belgrade, Pule, Kopar, the Brioni Islands).
September 27–October 5	Khrushchev and Tito are in Crimea (the cities of Yalta and Sevastopol).
October 12–18	Khrushchev participates in talks with Ichiro Hatoyama, the prime minister of Japan, and in protocol activities.
October 16, 17, 18	Khrushchev receives Ichiro Kono, the Japanese minister of agriculture and forestry.
October 17–18	Khrushchev takes part in negotiations with Sardar Muhammad Daud, the prime minister of Afghanistan, and in protocol activities.
October 18	Khrushchev receives Konni Zilliacus, a Labour member of the British Parliament,
October 18	Khrushchev and Sardar Muhammad Daud, the prime minister of Afghanistan, and others are at the Bolshoi Theater for the performance of Tchaikovsky's ballet *Swan Lake*.

October 19	Khrushchev is in Warsaw leading negotiations with Wladyslaw Gomulka, the newly elected first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party.
October 22	Khrushchev receives a delegation of active community leaders of Italy.
October 22	Khrushchev and others attend a concert of Bulgarian performers in the Tchaikovsky Concert Hall in Moscow.
October 26	Khrushchev attends a reception at the Embassy of Iran in Moscow.
October 27	Khrushchev receives Gaston Palevsky, a French politician.
October 28–29	Khrushchev in Moscow conducts negotiations with a Chinese delegation headed by Liu Shaoqi on the Hungarian crisis (without press notification). [SK]
October 29	Khrushchev is at a public rally in the Hall of Columns of the House of the Unions in honor of the prime minister of Afghanistan.
October 30	Khrushchev is present at the signing of the Soviet-Afghan communiqué and at a reception in honor of the prime minister of Afghanistan.
October 31–November 2	Khrushchev visits the cities of Brest and Bucharest and Yugoslavia and leads talks with leaders of socialist countries about the Hungarian crisis (without press notification). [SK]
November 3	Khrushchev is present at a reception given by Voroshilov in honor of Shukri Al-Kuatli, the president of Syria.
November 6	Khrushchev is at the Bolshoi Theater at a formal session in commemoration of the anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 7	Khrushchev is on the Tribune at the Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow, watching the military parade and Muscovite procession dedicated to the anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 16–18	Khrushchev participates in talks with the delegation of Poland headed by Wladyslaw Gomulka and in protocol activities.
November 16	Khrushchev, Voroshilov, and Bulganin receive Wladyslaw Gomulka, A. Zawadzki, J. Cyrankiewicz, and Stefan Andrichowski.
November 19	Khrushchev and Bulganin receive peace activists from Western and Eastern Germany.

November 23	Khrushchev receives Nguyen Luong Bang, the ambassador from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV).
November 28	Khrushchev receives Chivu Stoica, the head of the government of Romania.
November 28	Khrushchev and others are at a reception at the Embassy of Albania in Moscow.
November 29	Khrushchev, Voroshilov. and Bulganin receive a delegation of the Chinese Congress of People's Representatives and attend a reception at the Embassy of the People's Republic of China, where Khrushchev gives a speech.
November 29	Khrushchev and others attend a reception at the Embassy of Yugoslavia in Moscow.
November 30	Khrushchev is at a reception in honor of members of the Chinese parliament.
December 8	Khrushchev receives Isabella Blum, secretary of the World Peace Congress.
December 11	Khrushchev attends a formal session in the Bolshoi Theater in commemoration of the 100th birthday of G. V. Plekhanov.
December 19	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a meeting of agricultural workers of the Moscow region.
December 25	Khrushchev and others attend an Estonian performers' concert at the Bolshoi Theater.
December 29	Khrushchev receives the writer Abdel Rahman El-Hamis, and the journalist Farouk El-Kadi from Egypt.

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January 1	Khrushchev gives an interview to the Czech newspaper *Rude Pravo.*
January 1	Khrushchev gives an interview to the French newspaper *L'Humanité.*
January 1	Khrushchev is at a New Year reception in the Kremlin.
January 1–4	Khrushchev and Malenkov are in Budapest at a meeting with the leaders of Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia.
January 4	Khrushchev, Walter Ulbricht, and others attend M. Mussorgsky's opera *Boris Godunov* at the Bolshoi Theater.
January 4–8	Khrushchev takes part in talks with the delegation of the GDR (Otto Grotewohl and others) and accompanying protocol activities.

January 5	Khrushchev attends a reception in the Embassy of the German Democratic Republic.
January 7–10, and then 17–January 18	Khrushchev takes part in negotiations with the delegation of the People's Republic of China, headed by Chou Enlai, and in protocol activities.
January 9	Khrushchev is at a reception in honor of the Soviet participants in the 16th Olympics held in Melbourne, Australia.
January 9	Khrushchev, Chou Enlai, and others are at the Bolshoi Theater to see Tchaikovsky's ballet *Swan Lake.*
January 10	Khrushchev takes part in a meeting in Moscow with representatives of Hungary, China, and the USSR.
January 12	Khrushchev is in the city of Tashkent.
January 13	Khrushchev speaks at a ceremony dedicated to awarding Uzbekistan the Order of Lenin.
January 14	Khrushchev speaks at a meeting of agricultural workers of Uzbekistan and visits the city of Tashkent's textile factory, where he gives a speech.
January 15	Khrushchev is in the city of Frunze (Bishkek), where he speaks at the awarding of the Order of Lenin, and then travels to the Chuysk Steppes.
January 16	Khrushchev is in Tashkent and speaks at the ceremonial giving of awards to the best workers of Uzbekistan.
January 17	Khrushchev speaks at a reception at the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Moscow.
January 24	Khrushchev is at a dinner in honor of Luigi Longo and others, leaders of the Italian Communist Party.
January 25–29	Khrushchev takes part in negotiations with the delegation of Czechoslovakia (Antonín Novotny and others) and in accompanying protocol activities.
January 25	Khrushchev attends a reception at the Embassy of India.
January 26	Khrushchev, A. Novotny, and others are at the Bolshoi Theater to hear G. Bizet's opera *Carmen*.
January 30	Khrushchev is at a breakfast given by Bulganin in honor of K. A. Fagerholm, prime minister of Finland.
January 31	Khrushchev receives Peng Zhen, member of the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party.
January 31	Khrushchev is present at the awarding of the Order of Lenin to the Moscow region.
February 1	Khrushchev is at a reception at the Embassy of Finland, given in honor of K. A. Fagerholm, the prime minister.

February 4	Khrushchev is present at a meeting of construction workers of Moscow, in the Palace of Sports in Luzhniki.
February 5	Khrushchev speaks at the Kremlin at the opening of the session of USSR Supreme Soviet.
February 13	Khrushchev delivers a report to the Plenum of the Central Committee “About the Future Development of Management of Industry and Construction.”
February 14	Khrushchev is at a reception in the Kremlin in honor of cotton growers.
February 15	Khrushchev is at the Bolshoi Theater participating in a formal session commemorating the 100th anniversary of the death of the composer M. I. Glinka.
February 16	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Bulgaria headed by Todor Zhivkov.
February 16–20	Khrushchev takes part in negotiations with the delegation of Bulgaria and in the accompanying protocol activities.
February 16	Khrushchev receives Liu Xiao, the ambassador of China.
February 16	Khrushchev receives Veljko Micunovic, the ambassador of Yugoslavia.
February 18	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a public rally celebrating friendship with Bulgaria.
February 18	Khrushchev speaks at the Embassy of Bulgaria at a reception in honor of the Bulgarian delegation.
February 19	Khrushchev, T. Zhivkov, and others are at the Bolshoi Theater to attend A. Borodin’s opera *Prince Igor*.
February 19	Khrushchev gives an interview to Joseph Alsop, an America journalist.
March 9	Khrushchev speaks at a meeting of agricultural workers in the city of Krasnodar and visits collective farms and state farms.
March 11	Khrushchev speaks in the city of Rostov-on-Don at a meeting of agricultural workers of the South Caucasus and North Caucasus regions and visits several collective farms and state farms.
March 12	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally at the central square of the city of Rostov.
March 16	Khrushchev is at a public rally at the Palace of Sports in Luzhniki dedicated to the 100th anniversary of “Krasny Proletary” (Red Proletarian) factory.
March 17	Khrushchev and others are at Ella Roman’s *Kolomba*, performed by the Bucharest Theater of Operetta.

March 18	Khrushchev receives Masaharu Hatanaki, a Japanese journalist.
March 19	Khrushchev is interviewed by the editor of the American newspaper *Grand Rapids Herald.*
March 20–22	Khrushchev takes part in negotiations with the Hungarian delegation headed by Janos Kadar and in the accompanying protocol activities.
March 21	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Hungary.
March 30	Newspapers publish Khrushchev's theses about the decentralization of the Soviet economy.
March 30	Khrushchev speaks at a meeting of agricultural workers of the Non-Black Earth Region, in the Kremlin.
April 2–4	Khrushchev speaks at a meeting of agricultural workers of the Central Black Earth Region, in the city of Voronezh, and visits factories.
April 5–8	Khrushchev speaks at a meeting of agricultural workers of the Volga region, in the city of Gorky (Nizhny Novgorod), and visits collective farms.
April 8	Khrushchev is awarded his second gold medal, "Sickle and Hammer," and the Order of Lenin, for the cultivation of the virgin lands.
April 10	Khrushchev is at a breakfast at Bulganin's in honor of Viliam Siroky, the leader of the government of Czechoslovakia.
April 11–18	Khrushchev takes part in negotiations with a delegation from Albania and in accompanying protocol activities.
April 11	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Albania.
April 15	Khrushchev speaks at a reception at the Embassy of Albania.
April 18–20	Khrushchev takes part in negotiations with Jozef Cyrankiewicz, the head of the government of Poland, and in accompanying protocol activities.
April 19	Khrushchev speaks at a reception at the Embassy of Poland.
April 20	Khrushchev receives S. Kadowaki, the ambassador of Japan.
April 20	Khrushchev and others are at the Bolshoi Theater at a Tajik performers' concert.
April 22	Khrushchev and others are at the Bolshoi Theater at a formal session in commemoration of Lenin's birthday.
April 29	Khrushchev and others are at a reception at the Embassy of Japan in Moscow.

April 30	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally at the subway station “Frunzenskaya,” dedicated to the opening of the “Crimea Square–Luzhniki” Metro line.
May 1	Khrushchev is on the Tribune of the Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow, watching the military parade and Muscovite procession of May 1, Labor Day.
May 7	Khrushchev reports to the session of the Supreme Council of the USSR about reform and decentralization of the Soviet economy.
May 8	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the German Communist Party headed by Max Reiman.
May 8	Khrushchev gives an interview to the Chinese newspaper *Renmin Ribao* and to the Xinhua News agency.
May 9	Khrushchev and others are at a reception in the Embassy of Czechoslovakia.
May 10	Khrushchev gives an interview to Turner Catledge, the chief editor of the newspaper *The New York Times*.
May 11	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Mongolia.
May 11–15	Khrushchev takes part in negotiations with the delegation from Mongolia headed by Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal and in accompanying protocol activities.
May 14	Khrushchev, Tsedenbal, and others are at the Bolshoi Theater to attend Glinka’s opera *Ruslan and Ludmila.*
May 15	Khrushchev gives an interview to Polish journalists.
May 19	Khrushchev takes part in a meeting with intellectuals at Stalin’s former countryside residence, “Semenovskoye.”
May 20	Khrushchev is in the city of Leningrad speaking at a public rally at the Kirov factory, and then at a collective farm.
May 22	Khrushchev speaks at a meeting of the agricultural workers of the North-West region, in the city of Leningrad.
May 28	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally on Dvortsovaya Square in Leningrad.
May 28	Khrushchev is present at the opening session of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR in the Kremlin.
May 28	Khrushchev gives an interview to a representative of the Columbia Broadcasting System.
June 1	Khrushchev receives Nguyen Van Kin, the ambassador of Vietnam.
June 2	Khrushchev speaks at the opening of the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition in Moscow.

June 4	Khrushchev and others visits “Detsky Mir (Children’s World),” the new and largest children’s department store in Moscow.
June 4	Khrushchev and others are at the Bolshoi Theater at a Tatar performers’ concert.
June 6–13	Khrushchev and Bulganin visit Finland (the cities of Helsinki, Lahti, Tampere, Helsinki).
June 15	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally at the square by the Leningrad Railroad Station in Moscow.
June 17	Khrushchev and others attend a reception at the Embassy of Bulgaria in Moscow.
June 18–22	Session of the Presidium of the Central Committee where the Stalinists try to overthrow Khrushchev.
June 18	Khrushchev and all the other members of the Presidium of the Central Committee meet with Hungarian journalists.
June 18	Khrushchev gives an interview to the chief editor of the Japanese newspaper *Asahi Shimbun.*
June 18	Khrushchev and others are at a reception at the Embassy of Egypt in Moscow.
June 19	Khrushchev and others are at a reception at the Embassy of Yugoslavia in Moscow.
June 24	Khrushchev and Bulganin receive General Gosnjak, the minister of defense of Yugoslavia.
June 29	Khrushchev and Bulganin receive a delegation from the parliament of Burma.
June 22–29	Khrushchev speaks at the Plenum of the Central Committee on the conspiracy of Malenkov, Molotov, and Kaganovich, along with D. T. Shepilov.
July 1	Khrushchev and others are at the Bolshoi Theater at the Kabardino-Balkarian performers’ concert.
July 5	Khrushchev receives Veljko Micunovic, the ambassador of Yugoslavia.
July 6	Khrushchev gives a speech at the Leningrad factory “Elektrosila” to commemorate the 250th anniversary of the foundation of Saint Petersburg (Leningrad).
July 7	Khrushchev and others are at a concert at the Leningrad Opera and Ballet Theater.
July 8–16	Khrushchev and Bulganin visit Czechoslovakia (the cities of Cierna nad Tisou, Prague; Khrushchev speaks at the factory “CHKD-Stalingrad”; Bratislava, Ostrava, Prague, Plzen, Prague).
July 16	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally at the stadium in Luzhniki in Moscow.

July 17–19	Khrushchev takes part in negotiations with Muhammad Zahir Shah, the king of Afghanistan, and in accompanying protocol activities.
July 17	Khrushchev receives Ho Chi Minh, the president of Vietnam.
July 17	Khrushchev receives Edvard Kardelj and Alexander Rankovic, members of the executive committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.
July 17	Khrushchev and others meet with the leaders of communist and labor parties (E. Hoxha, T. Zhivkov, E. Kardelj, A. Rankovic, and others who are in Moscow at the time).
July 18	Khrushchev receives Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria.
July 19	Khrushchev receives Muhammad Zahir Shah, the king of Afghanistan.
July 20	Khrushchev receives Ali Sastroamijoyo, an Indonesian politician.
July 24	Khrushchev receives G. M. Malalasekera, the ambassador of Ceylon.
July 24	Khrushchev meets with a group of 26 American tourists.
July 25	Khrushchev and Bulganin receive, K. S. Timaya, the chief of staff of the Indian army.
July 26	Khrushchev takes part in the reception of members of the executive committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions, in the Kremlin's Granite Palace.
July 27	Khrushchev and others receive a delegation of the Italian Communist Party.
July 28	Khrushchev is at the stadium in Luzhniki participating in the opening of the World Festival of Youth and Students.
July 29	Khrushchev gives an interview to a group of journalists from Nepal.
July 29	Khrushchev and Bulganin give a dinner in honor of a delegation from Syria.
August 1–2	Khrushchev and others in Romania meet with a Yugoslavian delegation headed by Josip Broz Tito.
August 5	Khrushchev is at a reception in the Kremlin in honor of the participants of the World Youth and Students Festival.
August 6	Khrushchev is at a reception at the CPSU Central Committee in honor of a delegation from the Italian Communist Party.
August 7–14	Khrushchev and others visit GDR (the cities of Berlin, Leipzig, Stralsund, Magdeburg, Rostock, Berlin).

August 14	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally at the stadium in Luzhniki in Moscow.
August 23	In the city of Yalta, Khrushchev receives Ho Chi Minh, the president of Vietnam.
September 9	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the French Republican Party of Radicals and Radical Socialists in the city of Yalta.
September 17	Khrushchev receives Aneurin Bevan and Jennie Lee, Labour members of the British Parliament, in Yalta, Crimea.
September 27	Khrushchev receives Eleanor Roosevelt, the widow of U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in the city of Yalta.
October 2–4	Khrushchev is in the city of Kiev at the Army maneuvers (without press notification). [SK]
October 5	Khrushchev is at a dinner in the Kremlin in honor of a governmental delegation from Hungary.
October 5	Khrushchev receives the veterans of the liberation war in Yugoslavia.
October 7	Khrushchev gives an interview to James B. Reston, a correspondent of the newspaper *The New York Times*.
October 7	Khrushchev and others attend a reception at the Embassy of the GDR in Moscow.
October 8	Khrushchev receives S. Osborne and G. Kirby, members of the British Parliament.
October 11	Khrushchev and others are at the concert of performers from Adygeya and Karachaevo-Cherkessia in the Theater named after K. Stanislavsky and V. I. Nemirovich-Danchenko.
October 15	Khrushchev attends a reception at the Embassy of Afghanistan in Moscow.
October 16	Khrushchev is at the Kremlin, at a dinner in honor of a governmental delegation from Bulgaria.
October 24	Khrushchev receives V. I. Svistun, chairman of the Canadian Association of Cultural Ties with Ukraine.
October 28–29	Khrushchev speaks at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the USSR, which releases Marshal Zhukov from all his positions.
October 29	Khrushchev attends a reception at the Embassy of Turkey in Moscow.
November 1	Khrushchev and Bulganin receive A. Masud Insari, the ambassador of Iran.
November 2	Khrushchev receives Abdel-Hakim Amer, the defense minister of Egypt.

November 2	Khrushchev takes part in negotiations and protocol activities resulting from the visits to the USSR of Mao Zedong, and leaders of other countries, arriving in Moscow for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 4	Khrushchev receives Mao Zedong.
November 4	Khrushchev receives Ho Chi Minh, president of Vietnam.
November 5	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Mongolia.
November 6	Khrushchev speaks at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet commemorating the 40th anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 7	Khrushchev is on the Tribune at the V. Lenin Mausoleum in Red Square and at the reception at the Kremlin dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 10	Khrushchev and Mikoyan receive a delegation from Czechoslovakia.
November 10	Khrushchev and others are at the Bolshoi Theater to hear D. Kabalevsky's opera *Nikita Vershinin.*
November 11	Khrushchev receives Mao Zedong.
November 11	Khrushchev receives Professor John Bernal, a British scientist.
November 12	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Romania.
November 12	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Bulgaria.
November 13	Khrushchev and other members of the Presidium of the Central Committee receive a delegation from Czechoslovakia in accordance with the death of Antonin Zapotocky, the president of the Republic.
November 14	Khrushchev speaks at the meeting of representatives of Communist and workers' parties in Moscow.
November 14	Khrushchev gives an interview to Henry Shapiro, a correspondent form United Press.
November 15	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Hungary.
November 15	Khrushchev and Mao Zedong are at the Bolshoi Theater to see P. I. Tchaikovsky's ballet *Swan Lake.*
November 16	Khrushchev attends a reception at the Embassy of Egypt in honor of Abdel Hakim Amer.
November 17	Khrushchev and others are at the Moscow Vnukovo Airport inspecting new passenger jet planes.
November 17	Khrushchev is at a dinner in the Kremlin in honor of foreign delegations who came to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.

November 18	Khrushchev gives an interview to Muhammad H. Heikal, chief editor of the Egyptian newspaper *Al-Ahram*.
November 18	Khrushchev and others are at the Embassy of Czechoslovakia to offer condolences on the death of Antonin Zapotocky.
November 19	Khrushchev is at a reception at the Kremlin in honor of Abdel Hakim Amer.
November 19	Khrushchev and others attend talks with Abdel Hakim Amer.
November 20	Khrushchev is at a dinner at the Kremlin in honor of a delegation from China.
November 22	Khrushchev gives an interview to W. R. Hearst, publisher of the Hearst newspapers in the United States.
November 23	Khrushchev and others are at the Tchaikovsky Concert Hall at a concert of the song and dance ensemble of the Russian Army named after A. V. Alexandrov.
November 25	Khrushchev speaks at a reception in the Kremlin in honor of the graduates of the military academies.
November 27	Khrushchev, Voroshilov, and Bulganin receive a Chinese military delegation headed by Marshal Peng Dehuai.
November 27	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Japanese Communist Party.
November 29	Khrushchev and others are at the Bolshoi Theater at P. Maiboroda's Opera *Milana,* performed by the Kiev Opera and Ballet Theater.
November 29	Khrushchev is at a reception at the Embassy of Yugoslavia in Moscow.
November 30	Khrushchev is at a reception in the Kremlin in honor of a military delegation from China.
November 30	Khrushchev receives U Cho Nein, the prime minister of Burma.
December 1–3	Khrushchev takes part in negotiations with U Cho Nein and in accompanying protocol arrangements.
December 6	Khrushchev and others attend a reception at the Embassy of Finland in Moscow.
December 7	Khrushchev and others visit the All-Union Painting and Sculpture Exhibition.
December 17	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Republic of Syria.
December 17	Khrushchev and others are at the Bolshoi Theater at a Yakutia artists' concert.
December 19	Khrushchev is present in the Kremlin at the opening session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

December 19	Khrushchev gives an interview to E. Pickering, chief editor of the British Newspaper *Daily Express.*
December 21	Khrushchev speaks at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet about the international situation.
December 25	Khrushchev speaks at the anniversary session of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the creation of the Ukrainian state.
December 30	Khrushchev and others are at a reception in Kiev, given by the government of Ukraine in honor of the 40th anniversary of the Ukrainian SSR.
December 30	Khrushchev attends a breakfast in the Kremlin given in honor of Saif Ul-Islam Mohammed El-Badr, crown prince of Yemen.

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January 1	Khrushchev speaks at the New Year's reception in the Kremlin.
January 2	Khrushchev attends negotiations with Vilian Siroky, the head of the government of Czechoslovakia, and accompanying protocol activities
January 3–10	Khrushchev is on vacation in Poland and meets with W. Gomulka.
January 14	Khrushchev gives an interview to the chief editor, V. Sinnbeck, of the Dutch newspaper for youth, *Dansk Folkiture.*
January 19–23	Khrushchev is in Belorussia.
January 22	Khrushchev speaks in the city of Minsk at a meeting of the agricultural workers of Belorussia.
January 23	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally at the central square in Minsk.
January 24	Khrushchev is at the 13th Moscow City Party Conference.
January 25	Khrushchev and others receive Todor Zhivkov and other leaders of Bulgaria.
January 27	Khrushchev is at a reception at the Embassy of India.
January 28	Khrushchev and others are at the Kremlin at the opening session of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR.
January 26–29	Khrushchev participates in the negotiations with a delegation from Egypt and in accompanying protocol activities.
January 29	Khrushchev gives an interview to Axel Springer, the West German publisher, and to Hans Zehrer, the chief editor of the newspaper *Die Welt*.

January 31	Khrushchev is at the Moscow regional party conference.
January 31	Khrushchev gives an interview to Averah McDonald, editor of the British newspaper *The Times.*
January 31	Khrushchev and others are at the Tchaikovsky Concert Hall for a Moldavian performers' concert.
February 3	Khrushchev and others receive V. Siroky, the head of the government of Czechoslovakia.
February 4	Khrushchev attends a reception at the Embassy of Romania.
February 8	Khrushchev speaks at the Kremlin at a reception in honor of Soviet intellectuals.
February 17	Khrushchev receives V. Micunovic, the Yugoslavian ambassador.
February19	Khrushchev speaks at the Kremlin at the All-Union meeting of cotton growers.
February 19	Khrushchev and others are at the Palace of Sports in Luzhniki to attend a concert by performers representing the peoples of the USSR.
February 20	Khrushchev is at a reception in the Kremlin in honor of cotton growers.
February 23	Khrushchev speaks at a formal meeting, at the Palace of Sports in Luzhniki, in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the Armed Forces of the USSR.
February 23	Khrushchev is at a reception at the Kremlin in honor of the 40th anniversary of the Armed Forces of the USSR.
February 25	Khrushchev reports to the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee about the reorganization of the machine tractor stations.
March 8	Khrushchev is at the Bolshoi Theater at the formal session on International Women's Day.
March 10	Khrushchev gives an interview to Z. Borianski and M. Lutskoi, journalists of the *Tribuna Ludu* Polish newspaper.
March 14	Khrushchev makes a campaign speech at a meeting of the voters at the Kalinin voting district in Moscow.
March 17	Khrushchev receives American representatives, who arrive in the USSR to observe the elections of the USSR Supreme Soviet.
March 19	Khrushchev gives an interview to Serge Groussard, a French correspondent of the newspaper *Figaro.*
March 20	Khrushchev speaks at the Kremlin at a reception in honor of the graduates of the engineering academies of the Air Force.

March 22	Khrushchev gives an interview to Eric Ridder, the owner of the American newspaper *Journal of Commerce,* and to Gants Ludiks, its editor.
March 24	Khrushchev and others are at the Bolshoi Theater at A. Machavariani's ballet *Othello*, performed by the Tbilisi Ballet and Opera Theater named after Z. Paliashvili.
March 24	Khrushchev receives Dag Hammarskjold, the UN Secretary General.
March 24	Khrushchev gives an interview to Giuseppe Palozzo, a correspondent of the Italian newspaper *Tiempo.*
March 25	Khrushchev is at the Kremlin at a dinner in honor of Dag Hammarskjold.
March 27	The Supreme Council of the USSR appoints Khrushchev chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.
March 27	Khrushchev reports to the session of the Supreme Council of the USSR about the reorganization of machine tractor stations.
March 29	Khrushchev receives D. Morse, the director general of the International Labor Organization.
April 1	Khrushchev and others are at the Bolshoi Theater at a Georgian performers' concert.
April 2–10	Khrushchev visits Hungary (the cities of Budapest, Stalinvarosz, Cegled, Tatabanya, Budapest).
April 10	Khrushchev attends a public rally in the Palace of Sports at Luzhniki.
April 12	Khrushchev receives Kumar (Krishna) P. S. Menon, the ambassador of India.
April 14	Khrushchev receives Queen Elisabeth of Belgium.
April 14	Khrushchev and others are at a conservatory at the closing of the first Tchaikovsky Music Competition.
April 16	Khrushchev and others receive the Romanian government delegation headed by prime minister Chivu Stoica.
April 17	Khrushchev and others are at the Palace of Sports at Luzhniki for a concert dedicated to the 13th congress of the Young Communist League (Komsomol).
April 18	Khrushchev speaks at the 13th congress of the Young Communist League at the Kremlin.
April 19	Khrushchev is at a public rally at the Kremlin for the 13th congress of the Young Communist League.
April 19	Khrushchev receives the ambassador of China, Liu Xiao.
April 19	Khrushchev receives the ambassador of Japan, M. Akagi.
April 19	Khrushchev receives A. Hussein, the ambassador of Pakistan.

April 21	Khrushchev speaks at a reception at the Embassy of Poland in Moscow.
April 21–May 3 and May 12	Khrushchev receives Gamal Abdel Nasser, the president of Egypt, leads the negotiations with the Egyptian delegation, and participates in protocol activities.
April 22	Khrushchev is at the Bolshoi Theater at the formal meeting celebrating the birthday of Lenin.
Aril 23	Khrushchev and others visit the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition.
April 23	Khrushchev receives Finn Mu, chairman of a committee of the Norwegian Storting (parliament).
April 25	Khrushchev is in the city of Kursk speaking at a public rally to mark the region's receiving the Order of Lenin.
April 26	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally in the city of Kiev to celebrate the Kiev region's receiving the Order of Lenin and participates in a reception in the October Palace of Culture.
April 30	Khrushchev, Nasser, and others attend a performance of Tchaikovsky's ballet *Swan Lake* at the Bolshoi Theater.
May 1	Khrushchev is on the Tribune at the Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow, watching the military parade and Muscovite procession, in celebration of May 1, Labor Day.
May 4	Khrushchev gives an interview to C. Lambrakis, a Greek publisher.
May 6	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the parliament of Mongolia.
May 6	Khrushchev reports at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee about accelerating the development of the chemical industry.
May 11	Khrushchev speaks at the opening of the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition in Moscow.
May 12	Khrushchev attends a meeting at the Kremlin, dedicated to the automation of industry.
May 15	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally at the Kremlin celebrating the visit of G. A. Nasser to the USSR.
May 17	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the parliament of Burma.
May 17	Khrushchev receives Patriarch Aleksey and Metropolitan Nikolai.
May 19	Khrushchev receives G. Kroll, the ambassador of West Germany.

May 20–23	Khrushchev participates in the meeting of the heads of states belonging to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECOM).
May 22	Khrushchev receives A. Novotny, president of Czechoslovakia.
May 22	Khrushchev receives W. Gomulka, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party.
May 22	Khrushchev receives T. Zhivkov, first secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party.
May 22	Khrushchev receives D. Damba and L. Tsend, leaders of Mongolia.
May 22	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the GDR.
May 22	Khrushchev receives Urho Kaleva Kekkonen, president of Finland.
May 23–30	Khrushchev leads the talks with Kekkonen and partakes in protocol activities.
May 23	Khrushchev, U. K. Kekkonen, and others are at the Bolshoi Theater to attend Mussorgsky's opera *Boris Godunov*.
May 23	Khrushchev receives Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, the first secretary of the Romanian Communist Party.
May 24	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Hungary headed by Janos Kadar.
May 24	Khrushchev receives W. Gomulka, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, and Jozef Cyrankewicz, the head of the government of Poland.
May 24	Khrushchev speaks at a dinner at the Kremlin honoring the participants in the conference of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.
May 24	Khrushchev speaks at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of states participating in the Warsaw Pact.
May 30	Khrushchev speaks at the Kremlin at a public rally celebrating the visit of U. K. Kekkonen to the USSR.
May 31–June 9	Khrushchev is in Bulgaria at a congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.
May 31	Khrushchev speaks at the opening of the All-Union Industrial Exhibition in Moscow.
June 3	Khrushchev speaks at the congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.
June 7	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally in the city of Sofia.

June 10	Khrushchev receives a group of public figures from Great Britain.
June 10	Khrushchev and others are at a ballet from *Le Grand Opéra,* performed by a French troupe.
June 12	Khrushchev and others attend a reception at the Embassy of Great Britain.
June 17	Khrushchev reports to the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee about the reorganization of the machine tractor stations and the new rules for the preparation of agricultural products.
June 22	Khrushchev receives Bir Bikram Shah Deva, the king of Nepal.
June 23	Khrushchev attends a breakfast in honor of the ambassadors of the countries participating in the Bandung Conference.
June 24	Khrushchev receives Prince Prem Purachatra, the Thai scientist.
June 24	Khrushchev gives an interview to John Waters, the editor of the Australian newspaper *Herald.*
June 25	Khrushchev receives E. Brodland, the ambassador of Norway.
June 26	Khrushchev and others are at a construction exhibition in Moscow.
June 29	Khrushchev and others are at the stadium in Luzhniki at the festival of Soviet youth.
July 2–4	Khrushchev receives Antonin Novotny, the president of Czechoslovakia, conducts talks with him, and partakes in protocol activities.
July 3	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Youth Congress of India.
July 4–6	Khrushchev and A. Novotny are in the city of Leningrad.
July 7	Khrushchev receives Anton Yugov, the head of the Bulgarian government.
July 8–11	Khrushchev is at the Fifth Congress of the United Socialist Party of Germany in the GDR (the cities of Berlin, Galle, Bitterfeld).
July 11	Khrushchev speaks at the 5th congress of the United Socialist Party of Germany.
July 11	Khrushchev attends a reception in Moscow in honor of A. Novotny.
July 12	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally at the Palace of Sports in Luzhniki on the occasion of the visit of A. Novotny.

July 16	Khrushchev receives members of the parliament of Cambodia.
July 16	Khrushchev receives Abebe Retta, an Ethiopian minister.
July 16	Khrushchev receives V. Micunovic, the ambassador of Yugoslavia.
July 18	Khrushchev receives G. A. Nasser, the president of Egypt.
July 20	Khrushchev and others are at an air show at Tushino Airfield in Moscow.
July 21	Khrushchev receives Aruji Kartawinata, the chairman of the parliament of Indonesia.
July 22–24	Khrushchev participates in negotiations with a delegation from Austria and in accompanying protocol activities.
July 22	Khrushchev receives Julius Raab, the federal chancellor of Austria.
July 22	Khrushchev speaks at a reception at the Embassy of Poland in Moscow.
July 25	Khrushchev receives members of the Executive Committee of the International Union of Architects.
July 29	Khrushchev gives an interview to journalists from India.
July 31–August 2	Khrushchev is in the city of Beijing negotiating with Mao Zedong.
August 5	Khrushchev receives Adlai Stevenson, leader of the Democratic Party in the United States.
August 6	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Italian Communist Party.
August 6	Khrushchev receives General José Rafael Gabaldón from Venezuela.
August 9–12	Khrushchev is at the collective farm near the city of Kuibyshev and at enterprises in the city.
August 10	Khrushchev speaks at the opening of the Kuibyshev Hydroelectric Station.
August 13	Khrushchev receives Mendès-France, the French politician.
August 13	Khrushchev receives P. Malalasekera, the ambassador of Ceylon.
August 13	Khrushchev is in the Smolensk region.
August 16	Khrushchev speaks about vegetable growing at a meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU.
August 28	Khrushchev in the city of Yalta receives Paul Robeson, the American singer, and they visit the children's camp "Artek."
August 29	Khrushchev gives an interview to a correspondent of the newspaper *Pravda.*

September 1	Khrushchev in the Kremlin receives Cyrus Eaton, American-Canadian industrialist.
September 4	Khrushchev in the Kremlin receives K. Zilliacus, a Labour member of the British Parliament.
September 8–10	Khrushchev is in Kapustin Yar firing range, observing and examining models of missile and aviation armaments [Operation "Topol"]. He conducts a meeting on the development of new missiles and other weapons (without press publicity). [SK]
September 11	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally at the central square in the city of Stalingrad and travels around the Stalingrad region.
September 13	Khrushchev in the city of Yalta receives K. Yasue, a Japanese politician.
September 16	Khrushchev in Yalta receives Liu Xiao, the ambassador of China.
September 20	Khrushchev sends the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee a memorandum about the reform of the system of higher education.
September 21	Khrushchev gives an interview to a correspondent of the newspaper *Pravda.*
September 23	Khrushchev gives an interview to A. E. Iogan, a West German journalist.
October 5	Khrushchev gives an interview to a correspondent from the Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union (TASS).
October 6	Khrushchev is in Pitsunda peninsula, Abkhazia (his countryside residence), and receives Eric Johnston, the president of the National Association of Movie Producers in the United States.
October 8	Khrushchev, in Yalta, receives V. Micunovic, the ambassador of Yugoslavia.
October 14	Khrushchev travels around the Crimea and speaks at a public rally in the city of Stavropol.
October 15	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally in the city of Krasnodar and travels around the region.
October 16	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally in the city of Rostov on Don and travels around the region.
October 18	Khrushchev is in the village of Kalinovka, in the Kursk region.
October 20	Khrushchev receives Abdel Hakim Amer, the vice president of Egypt.
October 20	Khrushchev is at a dinner at the Embassy of Egypt.

October 21–24	Khrushchev receives Abdel Hakim Amer, conducts talks with him, and participates in the accompanying protocol activities.
October 22	Khrushchev speaks at a reception in the Kremlin in honor of the participants at the Tashkent congress of writers from Asian and African countries.
October 23	Khrushchev receives S. Samii, the Iranian ambassador.
October 24	Khrushchev gives an interview to Walter Lipmann, the American publisher.
October 25	Khrushchev. Wladyslaw Gomulka, and others attend a concert of Kyrgyz artists at the Bolshoi Theater.
October 25–28 and November 5–8	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Poland headed by W. Gomulka, leads negotiations with them, and participates in protocol activities.
October 26	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally of youth on Red Square in Moscow, marking the 40th anniversary of the Young Communist League.
October 27	Khrushchev, Wladyslaw Gomulka, and others attend a performance of Prokofyev's opera *War and Peace* at the K. S. Stanislavski and V. I. Nemirovich-Danchenko Musical Theater.
October 29	Khrushchev receives Y. Tsedenbal, the Mongolian leader.
October 29	Khrushchev receives Nhiek Tulon, the ambassador of Cambodia.
October 29	Khrushchev speaks at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League (Komsomol), dedicated to its 40th anniversary.
October 30	Khrushchev speaks at a meeting of the CPSU Central Committee in regard to beet growing.
November 3	Khrushchev and W. Gomulka speak at a public rally at the Baltic factory in the city of Leningrad.
November 4	Khrushchev and W. Gomulka speak at a public rally in Palace Square in Leningrad.
November 6	Khrushchev is at the Bolshoi Theater at a formal session in commemoration of the anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 7	Khrushchev stands on the Tribune at the Lenin Mausoleum on Red Square in Moscow, watching the military parade and Muscovite procession, then attends a reception at the Kremlin celebrating the anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 10	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally at the Kremlin marking the visit of a delegation from Poland.

November 12	Khrushchev receives John Cockcroft, a British physicist.
November 12	Khrushchev presents to the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee the theses of his report to the 21st congress of the CPSU.
November 14	Khrushchev speaks at a reception at the Kremlin in honor of the graduates of military academies.
November 18	Khrushchev receives a delegation of lawyers from India.
November 19	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the municipality of Baghdad, Iraq.
November 21	Khrushchev receives a delegation of Iraqi public figures.
November 24	Khrushchev receives a delegation of workers from China.
November 26	Khrushchev receives L. Moisov, the ambassador of Yugoslavia.
November 27	Khrushchev gives a press conference in the Kremlin on Berlin.
November 29	Khrushchev is at a reception at the Embassy of Albania in Moscow.
November 29	Khrushchev is at the Embassy of Czechoslovakia to offer condolences on the death of Jaromir Vosaglik, the ambassador.
November 29	Khrushchev receives, Dr. Subandrio, the Indonesian foreign minister.
November 29	Khrushchev receives Lazaro Cárdenas, the former president of Mexico.
November 30	Khrushchev is in Bulgaria to offer condolences on the death of Gheorghe Damianov, the chairman of the Presidium of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.
December 1	Khrushchev receives Hubert Humphrey, the American senator.
December 7	Khrushchev is at the Kremlin at the opening of the First Congress of Writers of the RSFSR.
December 7	Khrushchev and others attend a Chinese performers' concert at the Kremlin Theater.
December 12	Khrushchev gives an interview to G. Kempski, a correspondent of the West German newspaper *Suddeutsche Zeitung.*
December 12	Khrushchev and others attend reception at the Embassy of Czechoslovakia.
December 12	Khrushchev and others attend a Kazakh performers' concert at the Bolshoi Theater.
December 13	Khrushchev speaks at a reception in the Kremlin in honor of Russian writers.

December 13	Khrushchev receives, L. Pietromarcu, the Italian ambassador.
December 14	Khrushchev reports to the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee about the results of agricultural development for the past five years and about plans for the future.
December 16	Khrushchev receives Philip Noel-Baker, a Labour Party member of the British Parliament.
December 18	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the municipality of Paris, France.
December 20	Khrushchev is at the opening ceremony of the monument to F. E. Dzerzhinsky in Moscow.
December 22	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at the opening of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.
December 22	Khrushchev receives Kumar (Krishna) P. S. Menon, the ambassador of India.
December 24	Khrushchev and N. G. Ignatov examine new agricultural machines at the All-Union Agriculture Exhibition.
December 26	Khrushchev is at the Kremlin at the opening of the session of the Supreme Council of the RSFSR.
December 29, 1958	Khrushchev receives S. Bata, the ambassador of Mongolia.

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January 1	Khrushchev speaks at the New Year reception at the Kremlin.
January 1	Khrushchev receives Sardar Muhammad Naim, the minister of foreign affairs of Afghanistan.
January 2	Khrushchev for the second time receives Sardar Muhammad Naim, the minister of foreign affairs of Afghanistan.
January 3–5	Khrushchev is in the city of Minsk, Belorussia, speaking at the session of the Supreme Soviet of Belorussia, to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Republic, and is present at the reception following.
January 19	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the People's Congress of Poland, headed by Zenon Novak, the deputy head of the government.
January 20	Khrushchev receives the Americans Dr. William Dubya and Sherri Graham, a writer.
January 20	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally of physics students graduating from Moscow State University.
January 22	Khrushchev is in the city of Leningrad meeting with U. K. Kekkonen, the president of Finland, attends a breakfast in

	honor of Kekkonen; both then attend a performance of Prokofiev's ballet *Kammenniy Tsvetok* (Stone Flower) at the Kirov Opera and Ballet Theater.
January 23	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
January 26	Khrushchev and others attend a reception at the Embassy of India in Moscow.
January 27	Khrushchev reports to the 21st congress of the CPSU about plans for the development of the economy from 1959 to 1965.
January 30	Khrushchev and others attend a Ukrainian performers' concert at the Kremlin Theater.
February 2	Khrushchev receives G. Kroll, the ambassador of West Germany.
February 4	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Hungary headed by Janos Kadar.
February 4	Khrushchev and others are at a reception at the Embassy of Ceylon in Moscow.
February 4	Khrushchev and others attend a concert at the Kremlin Theater.
February 5	Khrushchev delivers the closing remarks at the 21st congress of the CPSU.
February 6	Khrushchev receives Antonin Novotny, the president of Czechoslovakia.
February 6	Khrushchev is at the Kremlin at a reception in honor of the foreign delegations that came to the 21st congress of the CPSU.
February 7	Khrushchev and Chou Enlai, the chairman of the Chinese Government Committee, sign an agreement about the expansion of economic collaboration.
February 7	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the GDR headed by Walter Ulbricht.
February 7	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Bulgaria headed by Todor Zhivkov.
February 7	Khrushchev receives Ho Chi Minh, the president of Vietnam.
February 7	Khrushchev gives a dinner at the Kremlin in honor of the delegation from China headed by Chou Enlai.
February 8	Khrushchev receives a delegation of Italian communists headed by Palmiro Togliatti.
February 9	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Albania headed by Enver Hoxha.

February 9	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Mongolia headed by Y. Tsedenbal.
February 9	Khrushchev receives Kumar (Krishna) P. S. Menon, the ambassador of India.
February 9	Khrushchev receives O. Gundersen, the ambassador of Norway.
February 10	Khrushchev and Y. Tsedenbal sign an agreement about economic collaboration with Mongolia, and Khrushchev hosts a dinner for this occasion.
February 10	Khrushchev receives Abdel Wahab Mahmud, the ambassador from Iraq.
February 10	Khrushchev and others visit the GDR exhibition dedicated to the use of plastic in construction.
February 10	Khrushchev and others visit a furniture exhibition.
February 11	Khrushchev receives a delegation of French communists headed by Jacques Duclos.
February 13	Khrushchev speaks at a meeting of agricultural workers of the Ryazan region.
February 14	Khrushchev and others are at the Bolshoi Theater for a performance of the opera *Dirom,* performed by the Uzbek Theater of Opera and Ballet named after S. Aini.
February 15	Khrushchev receives W. Gomulka and Zenon Kliszko, Polish leaders.
February 17	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally in the city of Tula on the occasion of awarding the region the Order of Lenin.
February 18	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally at the chemical plant in town of Stalinogorsk in the Tula region.
February 21–26, and also March 2–3	Khrushchev receives Harold Macmillan, the prime minister of Great Britain, conducts negotiations with him, signs an agreement on nonaggression, and then participates in protocol activities.
February 22	Khrushchev receives H. Macmillan at Gorky-9, a Moscow countryside residence.
February 24	Khrushchev makes a campaign speech to voters of the Kalinin voting region in Moscow.
February 24	Khrushchev receives the members of the Bureau of the World Peace Congress.
February 25	Khrushchev, H. Macmillan, and others attend a performance of Prokofiev's ballet *Romeo and Juliet* at the Bolshoi Theater.

February 26	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Iraq.
February 28	Khrushchev receives G. P. Malalasekera, the ambassador from Ceylon.
March 4–7	Khrushchev visits the Leipzig Fair in Germany.
March 8–12	Khrushchev visits Berlin.
March 9	Khrushchev in Berlin receives F. Ollenhauer, the chairman of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.
March 13	Khrushchev receives A. Karjalainen, the minister of trade and industry of Finland.
March 16	Khrushchev receives K. Schmidt and F. Erler, leaders of the Socialist Democratic Party of Germany.
March 16	Khrushchev and Dr. Mohammed sign an agreement on economic collaboration with Iraq.
March 19	Khrushchev gives a press conference about the possibilities of signing a peace treaty with Germany.
March 20	Khrushchev receives Batochirin Jambaldorj, the ambassador of Mongolia.
March 20	Khrushchev receives Mohammed H. El-Nil, the ambassador of Sudan.
March 23	Khrushchev is at the Kremlin at the opening of the 12th congress of trade unions.
March 27	Khrushchev in Pitsunda peninsula at a countryside residence receives Dag Hammarskjold, the UN Secretary General.
March 28	Khrushchev in Pitsunda receives Roswell Garst, an American farmer.
April 4	Khrushchev gives an interview to a correspondent from the newspaper *Pravda.*
April 7	Khrushchev in Pitsunda receives Abdul Hakim Shahalami, the ambassador of Afghanistan.
April 10	Khrushchev in Pitsunda receives Tsoi En Gen, the chairman of the parliament of North Korea.
April 27	Khrushchev in the Kremlin receives S. Markezinis, a Greek politician.
April 29	Khrushchev receives British Field Marshal Montgomery.
April 29–30	Khrushchev receives Kumar (Krishna) P. E. Menon, the ambassador of India.
April 30	Khrushchev receives Avandia Karan Singh, the governor of the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir.
May 1	Khrushchev stands on the Tribune at the Lenin Mausoleum in Red Square, watching the military parade and Muscovite procession on the occasion of May 1, Labor Day.

May 4	Khrushchev visits the site of the American exhibition in the Sokolniki district of Moscow.
May 4	Khrushchev receives L. Thompson, the U.S. ambassador.
May 5	Khrushchev receives R. Dvorak, the Czechoslovakian ambassador.
May 5	Khrushchev gives an interview to the editors of Social-Democratic newspapers of West Germany.
May 7	Khrushchev gives an interview to a correspondents of the newspaper *Pravda.*
May 7	Khrushchev receives Ahmed Sukarno, the president of Indonesia, conducts talks with him, and participates in protocol activities.
May 7	Khrushchev gives an interview to R. K. Karanjia, the editor of the Indian newspaper *Blitz.*
May 7	Khrushchev receives Professor Prasandra Chandra Mahalanobis, the Indian scientist.
May 8	Khrushchev receives the Finnish politician A. Korejwo.
May 9	Khrushchev receives American veterans of World War II.
May 9–10	Khrushchev is in the city of Kiev and visits the collective farms in the Kiev region.
May 11	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally in Kiev commemorating Ukraine's receiving the Order of Lenin.
May 14	Khrushchev is in Moldavia, speaking at a public rally celebrating the Republic's receiving the Order of Lenin.
May 16	Khrushchev at the Kremlin receives the International Lenin Peace Prize.
May 18	Khrushchev is at the Kremlin at the opening of the 3d Congress of Writers of the USSR.
May 19	Khrushchev receives Muhammad Daud, the prime minister of Afghanistan, and gives a breakfast in his honor.
May 19	Khrushchev receives Sardar Swarn Singh and Manubhai Shah, Indian ministers.
May 19	Khrushchev meets with tourists from Florida.
May 20	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the World Federation of Scientists.
May 20	Khrushchev for the second time receives Muhammad Daud, the prime minister of Afghanistan, and attends a breakfast given in his honor.
May 21	Khrushchev speaks at the reception in the Kremlin in honor of M. Daud.
May 22	Khrushchev receives Mohammed A. El Kun, the ambassador of Egypt.

May 22	Khrushchev speaks at the 3d Congress of Soviet Writers.
May 23	Khrushchev receives D. Eccles, the minister of trade of Great Britain.
May 23	Khrushchev receives U Chin, the ambassador of Burma.
May 23	Khrushchev receives A. Hussein, the ambassador of Pakistan.
May 23	Khrushchev and others are at the Kremlin at a reception in honor of the 3d Congress of Writers of the USSR.
May 25–June 4	Khrushchev visits Albania (the cities of Tirana, Shkoder, Elbasan, Korca, Tirana, Sardana, Tirana).
June 4–5	Khrushchev visits Hungary (the city of Budapest).
June 6	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally at the Palace of Sports in Luzhniki in Moscow.
June 7	Khrushchev gives an interview to the Hungarian Telegraph Agency and the newspaper *Nepszabadsag*.
June 8–9 and June 19–20	Khrushchev receives Walter Ulbricht, conducts talks with the delegation from East Germany, and participates in protocol activities.
June 10–12	Khrushchev and W. Ulbricht are in the city of Riga, Latvia; both speak at a meeting in Riga.
June 12	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
June 16	Khrushchev speaks at the opening of the All-Union Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy.
June 19	Khrushchev speaks at the Kremlin at a public rally on the occasion of the visit of a delegation from the GDR to the USSR.
June 23	Khrushchev receives Averell Harriman, the former U.S. ambassador to the USSR.
June 25	Khrushchev receives a Chinese delegation from the society of Chinese-Soviet friendship.
June 26	Khrushchev receives A. Masud Ansari, the Iranian ambassador.
June 27	Khrushchev receives Walter Loridan, the ambassador of Belgium.
June 28	Khrushchev is at the stadium at Luzhniki in Moscow at the festival of Soviet youth.
June 29	Khrushchev speaks at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, dedicated to the development of productive forces.
June 30	Khrushchev receives Haile Selassie I, the emperor of Ethiopia, and takes part in talks and protocol activities.

June 30	Khrushchev, Haile Selassie I, and others attend a performance of Tchaikovsky's ballet *Swan Lake* at the Bolshoi Theater.
July 3	Khrushchev receives Ho Chi Minh, the president of Vietnam, and is present at the Kremlin at a breakfast in his honor.
July 6	Khrushchev receives the participants of the 18th session of the Committee on Human Settlements of the Economic Commission for Europe of the United Nations.
July 6	Khrushchev visits the Experimental Design Bureau (OKB-52) of the academician V. Chelomei in the town of Reutov near Moscow, examines designs of new missiles, and gives the OKB-52 the Order of Lenin (without press notification). [SK]
July 1959	Khrushchev is in the city of Sevastopol for the presentation of new models of naval armament and then conducts a meeting of the Defense Council (without press notification). [SK]
July 7	Khrushchev receives a delegation of seven U.S. governors.
July 8	Khrushchev receives an agricultural delegation from Poland.
July 12	Khrushchev receives Haile Selassie I at his Moscow countryside residence.
July 14–22	Khrushchev visits Poland (the cities of Warsaw, Katowice, Szczecin, Poznan, Rzeszow, Warsaw).
July23	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally at the Palace of Sports in Luzhniki, about the results of the visit to Poland.
July 24	Khrushchev speaks at the opening of an American exhibition at Sokolniki in Moscow.
July 24	Khrushchev gives a breakfast at the Kremlin in honor of Richard Nixon, the Vice President of the United States.
July 25	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Cyprus.
July 25	Khrushchev is at a dinner at the American Embassy in honor of R. Nixon.
July 26	Khrushchev receives R. Nixon at the country residence in Moscow's periphery, in Novoye Ogarevo.
July 26	Khrushchev and A. Tupolev are at the Moscow Vnukovo Airport examining R. Nixon's two Boeing-707 planes.
July 28, 29	Khrushchev is in the city of Dnepropetrovsk inspecting new missile designs and speaking at the meeting at

	M. Yangel's missile factory and then at the Pipe and other factories.
August 5	Khrushchev gives a press conference on Soviet-American relations.
August 17	Khrushchev in the city of Yalta receives I. Kenning, the ambassador of the GDR.
August 19	Khrushchev in Yalta receives a delegation from the Republic of Guinea.
August 20	Khrushchev in Yalta receives Y. Tsedenbal.
August 30–September 1	Khrushchev is in the Don region, at the Cossack village of Veshenskaya, visiting the writer Mikhail Sholokhov. He also speaks at a public rally in Veshenskaya.
September 2	Khrushchev at the Kremlin receives A. Masud Ansani, the ambassador of Iran.
September 3	Khrushchev speaks at the Kremlin at a reception in honor of the graduates of military academies.
September 4	Khrushchev speaks at the opening of a Polish exhibition at Gorky Park in Moscow.
September 4	Khrushchev receives Jozef Cyrankiewicz, the head of the government of Poland.
September 4	Khrushchev receives H. Gaitskell, A. Bevan, D. Hill, and D. Ennals, leaders of the British Labour Party.
September 5	Khrushchev is at an exhibition of Czechoslovakian glass.
September 6	Khrushchev publishes an article on peaceful coexistence in the American journal *Foreign Affairs.*
September 11	Khrushchev receives Takeo Mikki; a Japanese politician; Naotsugu Nabesiba, member of the parliament of Japan; and Kadzusige Harsawa, the chief editor of the newspaper *Japan Times.*
September 12	Khrushchev receives Kumar (Krishna) P. S. Menon, the ambassador of India,
September 12	Khrushchev receives Maurice Thorez, the general secretary of the Communist Party of France, and Walter Ulbricht, the first secretary of the United Socialist Party of Germany.
September 12	Khrushchev receives P. Sudreau, the French minister of construction.
September 15–27	Khrushchev visits the United States (the cities of Washington, D.C., New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Des Moines, Pittsburgh, and Washington, D.C., and Camp David).
September 28	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally at the Palace of Sports at Luzhnik about his visit to the United States.

September 29	Khrushchev gives an interview to a correspondent from TASS.
September30– October 4	Khrushchev visits China (the city of Beijing).
October 2	During the visit to Beijing, Khrushchev receives John Bernal, the British scientist.
October 4–7	Khrushchev is in the city of Vladivostok, speaks at a public rally at the main city square, and visits enterprises.
October 7	Khrushchev is in the city of Irkutsk.
October 8	Khrushchev is in the city of Bratsk.
October 9	Khrushchev is in the city of Krasnoyarsk.
October 10	Khrushchev is in the city of Novosibirsk.
October 13	Khrushchev at the Kremlin receives Adolf Scharf, the president of Austria, and speaks at a reception at the Embassy of Austria.
October 13	Khrushchev receives a Bulgarian delegation from the agricultural union.
October 16	Khrushchev receives Maurice Dejean, the ambassador of France.
October 16	Khrushchev receives A. Masud Ansani, the ambassador of Iran.
October 17	Khrushchev receives Del Vo, the minister of domestic trade of Italy.
October 19–25	Khrushchev visits Romania.
October 27	Khrushchev is at the Kremlin at the opening of the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.
October 27	Khrushchev receives Maurice Dejean, the ambassador of France.
October 31	Khrushchev speaks at the session of the Supreme Council of the USSR on international affairs.
November 4	Khrushchev gives an interview to Salhal Salem, an Egyptian editor.
November 4	Khrushchev speaks at a meeting of Soviet government about the fulfillment of the plan for 1959.
November 6	Khrushchev is at the formal session at the Bolshoi Theater commemorating the anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 6	Khrushchev receives Faisal As-Samir, the minister of Iraq.
November 6	Khrushchev receives Raiko Damianov, the minister of internal trade of Bulgaria.
November 7	Khrushchev is on the Tribune at the Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow, watching the military parade and Muscovite procession, and later attends a reception at the Kremlin

	on the occasion of the anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 9	Khrushchev receives K Kleemola, the minister of public work of Finland.
November 9	Khrushchev is at the Kremlin at a breakfast in honor of the Iraqi delegation.
November 10	Khrushchev receives Tadeusz Gede, the ambassador of Poland.
November 11	Khrushchev at the Kremlin examines the Mi-4 helicopter.
November 12	Khrushchev is at the Column Hall of the House of Unions at the opening of the Congress of Journalists.
November 12	Khrushchev receives Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria.
November 13	Khrushchev and others are at the House of Architects inspecting plans for the Hotel "Rossiya" in Zariadye near the Kremlin and for a resort in Abkhazia on the cape of Pitsunda.
November 14	Khrushchev speaks at the Kremlin at a reception in honor of the creation of the Union of Journalists.
November 23	Khrushchev in Pitsunda peninsula at state country residence, receives Sékou Touré, the president of the Republic of Guinea, and gives a dinner in his honor.
November 24–25	Khrushchev in the government residence at Pitsunda peninsula conducts a meeting on perspectives for the development of electric energy production (without press notification). [SK]
November 27	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
November 27	Khrushchev receives Abd Ar-Rahman, a prince of Yemen.
November 28	Khrushchev speaks at the All-Union Conference on Electric Energy Development.
November 29–December 7	Khrushchev is in Hungary (the city of Budapest).
December 1	Khrushchev speaks at the 7th congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.
December 8	Khrushchev is in the town of Mukachevo, Ukraine.
December 9	Khrushchev is in the city of Lvov.
December 10	Khrushchev visits peasants in Lvov and Ternopol regions.
December 11	Khrushchev is in the city of Kiev.
December 13	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
December 15	Khrushchev receives a trade delegation from the United States.
December 15	Khrushchev receives L Moisov, the Yugoslav ambassador.

December 15	Khrushchev receives R. Depling, the ambassador of East Germany.
December 16	Khrushchev receives A. Masud Ansari, the ambassador of Iran.
December 21	Khrushchev receives Boleslaw Jaszczuk, the ambassador of Poland.
December 21	Khrushchev receives A. Rosenzweig Diaz, the ambassador of Mexico.
December 23	Khrushchev and others are at the Kremlin Theater at a Volga region people's folk concert.
December 23	Khrushchev speaks at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee about the development of agriculture.
December 31	Khrushchev is awarded the "For Work Prowess" (Trudovaya Doblest) medal.
December 31	Khrushchev gives an interview to Japanese mass media.

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January 1	Khrushchev speaks at the New Year's reception at the Kremlin.
January 4	Khrushchev answers the questions of R. Noble, the director of the Argentinean newspaper *Klarin*.
January 6	Khrushchev receives Kumar (Krishna) P. S. Menon, the ambassador of India.
January 6	Khrushchev receives Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, an Indian intellectual, and Ali Sardar Jafri, a poet.
January 8	Khrushchev receives P. Kronaker, the chairman of the house of representatives of the Belgian parliament.
January 9	Khrushchev attends the New Year's children's party at the Kremlin.
January 12	Khrushchev receives U Chin, the ambassador of Burma.
January 13	Khrushchev receives Llewellyn Thompson, the U. S. ambassador.
January 14	Khrushchev reports to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR about the cutback in the military.
January 15	Khrushchev is awarded the medal of the World Peace Council of Peace.
January 16	Khrushchev receives Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo, leader of the trade unions in Yugoslavia.
January 18	Khrushchev receives G. Kroll, the ambassador of West Germany.

January 28	Khrushchev receives Soviet statesmen headed by Dmitry Polyansky, the head of the government of the RSFSR, departing on a state visit to the United States.
January 28	Khrushchev is at the Column Hall of the House of Unions at the opening of the Moscow city Party conference.
January 29	Khrushchev and others are at the Bolshoi Theater at the formal session in commemoration of the 100th birthday of Anton Chekhov.
January 30	Khrushchev answers the questions of Pierre Cot, the director of the French magazine *Horizons.*
January 30	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Romanian Workers Party headed by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej.
February 1	Khrushchev receives Manua Amatyakul, the ambassador of Thailand.
February 1	Khrushchev receives A. A. Maramis, the ambassador of Indonesia.
February 2–4	Khrushchev is at the conference of the representatives of communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries for knowledge exchange in the area of agriculture (Moscow).
February 2	Khrushchev is in the Column Hall of the House of Unions at the opening of the 15th Moscow region Communist Party Conference.
February 3	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Bulgarian Communist Party headed by Todor Zhivkov.
February 3	Khrushchev receives the delegation from the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party headed by Janos Kadar.
February 4	Khrushchev participates in the conference of the Political Consulting Committee of participating countries in the Warsaw Pact.
February 4	Khrushchev receives Wladyslaw Gomulka and Jozef Cyrankiewicz, Polish leaders.
February 5	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the GDR headed by Walter Ulbricht and Otto Grotewohl.
February 5	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Albania headed by Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu.
February 5	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) headed by Kim II Sung.
February 5	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Mongolia headed by Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal.
February 5	Khrushchev receives public figures from Sicily, Italy.

February 6	Khrushchev receives Giovanni Gronchi, the president of Italy.
February 6	Khrushchev receives Fernando Santi, the deputy of the general secretary of the General Italian Confederation of Labor.
February 7	Khrushchev receives Giovanni Gronchi, the president of Italy, at his Moscow-countryside residence in Novoye Ogarevo. They dine with Khrushchev's family.
February 7	Khrushchev, Giovanni Gronchi, and others attend a performance of Tchaikovsky's ballet *Swan Lake* at the Bolshoi Theater.
February 8	Khrushchev participates in negotiations with Giovanni Gronchi and in protocol activities.
February 8	Khrushchev receives Henry Cabot Lodge, the U.S. representative to the United Nations.
February 9	Khrushchev receives Maurice Dejean, the ambassador of France.
February 9	Khrushchev is present at the funeral of the academician Igor Kurchatov at Red Square in Moscow.
February 11–15	Khrushchev visits India (the cities of Delhi, Suratgarh, Bhilai, and Calcutta).
February 16–18	Khrushchev visits Burma (the city of Rangoon).
February 18–29	Khrushchev visits Indonesia (the cities of Jakarta, Bogor, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Bali, Bogor, and Jakarta).
March 1	Khrushchev is in Calcutta (India).
March 2–5	Khrushchev visits Afghanistan (Kabul).
March 5	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally in Luzhniki Sport Palace.
March 7	Khrushchev receives Jacques Chaban-Delmas, the chairman of the national assembly of France.
March 8	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at the formal session commemorating the 50th anniversary of International Women's Day.
March 8	Khrushchev receives George Christopher, the mayor of San Francisco, California.
March 22	Khrushchev receives Sir Eliot, the ambassador of Ghana.
March 22	Khrushchev receives G. Tesemma, the ambassador of Ethiopia.
March 23–April 2	Khrushchev visits France (the cities of Paris, Bordeaux, and Nimes in Provence, Marseille, Dijon, Verdun, Reims, Roanne, Lille, Paris, Rambouillet, Versailles, Rambouillet, and Paris).

April 4	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally in Luzhniki Sport Palace about his visit to France.
April 6	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a reception in honor of the establishment of the Union of Composers of the Russian Federation.
April 7	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at the 6th Miners Convention.
April 12–13	Khrushchev consults with Marshal Rodion Malinovsky and other ministers along with the general designer Vladimir Chelomei and other scientists in the city of Yalta regarding questions of developing spacecraft (without media publication). [SK]
April 20	Khrushchev receives Walter Nash, the prime minister of New Zealand, in Pitsunda peninsula countryside residence.
April 24–26	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally in the city of Baku in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of Soviet Azerbaijan and visits the oil rigs Neftyaniye Kamni (Oil Cliffs) by the Caspian Sea.
April 29	Khrushchev is in the city of Kharkov at a turbine factory and holds a meeting of members of the regional economic council (sovnarhoz).
May 1	Khrushchev stands on the tribune of the Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow, watching the military parade and Muscovite procession in honor of May 1, Labor Day.
May 3	Khrushchev receives Antonin Novotny, the president of Czechoslovakia, holds negotiations with him, and participates in protocol activities.
May 3	Khrushchev and Antonin Novotny attend the opening of the Czechoslovak exhibition.
May 3	Khrushchev receives Maurice Dejean, the ambassador of France.
May 5	Khrushchev announces, at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin, that individual taxation of Soviet citizens will be abolished.
May 6	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the parliament of Ghana.
May 6	Khrushchev receives Jamsarangin Sambu, the head of the parliament of Mongolia.
May 7	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet regarding international relations and reports about the shooting down of the American U-2 spy plane near the city of Sverdlovsk (Yekaterinburg).

May 9	Khrushchev is in Luzhniki Sport Palace at the public rally in commemoration of the 15th anniversary of victory over Germany.
May 9	Khrushchev attends reception at the Embassy of Czechoslovakia where he holds negotiations with Llewellyn Thompson, the U.S. ambassador.
May 10	Khrushchev receives Takeo Fukuda, the minister of agriculture of Japan.
May 11	Khrushchev gives a press conference regarding bringing down the American U-2 spy aircraft.
May 13	Khrushchev receives Mohammed Daud, the prime minister of Afghanistan.
May 14–18	Khrushchev is in the city of Paris at a summit of leaders of the USSR, United States, France, and England.
May 20	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally in the city of Berlin.
May 21	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
May 22	Khrushchev and others attend a performance by Austrian artists, “Ice Review,” in Luzhniki Sport Palace.
May 24	Khrushchev and others are at the Kremlin Theater at a concert of Polish artists.
May 27	Khrushchev receives a group of parliamentarians of Austria.
May 28	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a meeting of shock workers.
June 1	Khrushchev gives an interview to a correspondent of the newspaper *Izvestia.*
June 1	Khrushchev and others visit an exhibit of Russian works of art on Manege Square in Moscow.
June 1	Khrushchev and others visit an exhibition of works of the artists Nikolai and Svyatoslav Roerich in the Museum of Fine Arts.
June 2	Khrushchev and others visit the British exhibition of plastics in industry in the Polytechnic Museum.
June 3	Khrushchev receives Antonio Nunez Jimenez, the minister of economy of Cuba.
June 3	Khrushchev gives a press conference in the Kremlin.
June 4	Khrushchev answers the questions of the correspondent of the newspaper *Pravda* about relationships with the United States.
June 10	Khrushchev receives Eleutherios Venizelos, the leader of the Liberal Party of Greece, in Pitsunda peninsula country residence.

June 11	Khrushchev inspects tourist hotels on Pitsunda cape in Abkhazia.
June 18	Khrushchev examines the new passenger aircraft AN-24 at the Moscow Vnukovo Airport.
June 18–27	Khrushchev is present at the 3d convention of the Romanian Workers Party in Bucharest.
June 19	Khrushchev speaks at the opening of the Soviet exhibition in Bucharest.
June 28	Khrushchev receives Palmiro Togliatti, the general secretary of the Communist Party of Italy.
June 28	Khrushchev is present in the Kremlin at a reception in honor of the graduates of the military academies.
June 29	Khrushchev receives I. Paschalidis, the chairman of the Unified Democratic Left Party of Greece.
June 29	Khrushchev receives Rajendra Prasad, the president of the Republic of India.
June 29	Khrushchev receives Morarji Desai, the minister of finance of India.
June 30–July 8	Khrushchev visits Austria (the cities of Vienna, Linz, Salzburg, Klagenfurt, and Vienna).
July 9	Khrushchev speaks at the All-Russia Conference of Teachers in the Kremlin.
July 12	Khrushchev gives a press conference in the Kremlin.
July 12	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the parliament of Bolivia.
July 12	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the National Maritime Union of the United States.
July 13–15	Khrushchev participates in the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU.
July 17	Khrushchev and others attend a meeting with intellectuals at Semionovskoye, formerly Stalin's country residence, on Moscow's periphery.
July 18	Khrushchev and Leonid Brezhnev are shown the new automobile "Zaporozhets" in the Kremlin.
July 18	Khrushchev and others inspect the model peasant houses in the village Usovo on Moscow's periphery.
July 18	Khrushchev receives Raúl Castro, the minister of defense of Cuba.
July 19	Khrushchev and others visit the construction site of the Moscow Ring Road.

July 20–21	Khrushchev visits the Kapustin Yar firing range for a demonstration of the latest designs of missile and aviation armaments (without media coverage). [SK]
July 21–23	Khrushchev is in the city of Stalingrad visiting the factories and collective farms of the region.
July 25–27	Khrushchev is in the city of Astrakhan inspecting the delta of the Volga River and visits factories.
July 28	Khrushchev is in the city of Kiev.
August 5	Khrushchev is in the city of Yalta hosting a government delegation from Ghana.
August 9	Khrushchev answers questions of a correspondent of the newspaper *Pravda.*
August 10	Khrushchev is in the city of Yalta hosting Maurice Thorez, the general secretary of the Communist Party of France.
August 18	Khrushchev receives Tahmoures Adamiyat, the ambassador of Iran, in the city of Yalta.
August 27	Khrushchev is in the village of Kalinovka, Kursk region.
August 29	Khrushchev receives M. Suzuki, the chairman of the Socialist Party of Japan.
August 30	Khrushchev and Janos Kadar are present at the opening of the Hungarian industrial exhibition in Gorky Park in Moscow.
September 2–4	Khrushchev visits Finland for the 60th birthday of President Urho Kaleva Kekkonen.
September 7–8	Khrushchev receives Sékou Touré, the president of the Guinean Republic, participates in negotiations with him, and participates in protocol activities.
September 8	Khrushchev receives Llewellyn Thompson, the U.S. ambassador.
September 8	Marking the death of the president, Wilhelm Pieck, Khrushchev visits the Embassy of the GDR to express his condolences.
September 19–October 14	Khrushchev attends the session of the UN General Assembly in New York dedicated to decolonization; he speaks repeatedly and meets with leaders of other states.
October 8	Khrushchev holds a press conference in the UN building.
October 9	Khrushchev appears on American television.
October 18	Khrushchev receives G. Kroll, the ambassador of West Germany, in the Kremlin.

October 20	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally in Luzhniki Sport Palace.
October 22	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Republic of Ghana.
October 22	Khrushchev gives an interview to journalists from Cuba.
October 23	Khrushchev is in Luzhniki Sport Palace at the performance of an American ballet group directed by Lucia Chase and Oliver Smith.
October 24	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Transport and General Workers Union from Britain.
October 25	Khrushchev receives A. Masud Ansari, the ambassador of Iran.
October 25	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at the opening of the session of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR.
November 5	Khrushchev receives D. Johnson, the ambassador of Canada.
November 6	Khrushchev is at the formal session in the Bolshoi Theater to commemorate the anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 6	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the People's Republic of China headed by Liu Shaoqi.
November 7	Khrushchev stands on the Tribune of the Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow, watching the military parade and Muscovite procession, then attends a reception in the Kremlin in commemoration of the anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 8–30	Khrushchev participates in a meeting of representatives of the communist and workers parties in Moscow.
November 11	Khrushchev is at a reception in the Embassy of Cuba in honor of Ernesto Che Guevara.
November 12	Khrushchev and others attend G. Maiboroda opera *Arsenal* in the Bolshoi Theater, performed by artists of the Kiev Theater of Opera and Ballet named in honor of Taras Shevchenko.
November 15	Khrushchev receives Kumar (Krishna) P. S. Menon, the ambassador of India.
November 16	Khrushchev and others attend a concert of Ukrainian artists in Luzhniki Sport Palace.
November 17	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally on the occasion of the creation of the University of Friendship of People in Moscow.

November 19	Khrushchev is at a ceremony in the Bolshoi Theater commemorating the 50th anniversary of the death of Leo Tolstoy.
November 20	Khrushchev and Walter Ulbricht are in the Bolshoi Theater to attend G. Zhukovsky's opera *Pervaya Vesna* (First Spring), performed by the Kiev Theater of Opera and Ballet named in honor of Taras Shevchenko.
November 21	Khrushchev receives Ho Chi Minh, the president of Vietnam.
November 21–29	Khrushchev receives Urho Kaleva Kekkonen, the president of Finland, hosts a dinner in his honor, and participates in negotiations and protocol activities.
November 22	Khrushchev receives Mohammed el Kuni, the ambassador of Egypt.
November 22	Khrushchev answers questions from a correspondent of the newspaper *Pravda.*
November 23	Khrushchev and others attend a concert of Ukrainian performers in the Bolshoi Theater.
November 25	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at a reception in honor of the participants in the decade of Ukrainian artists in Moscow.
November 25	Khrushchev and others are at Manege Exhibition Hall at an exhibition of Ukrainian art.
November 25	Khrushchev receives Aníbal Escalante, the representative of the People's Socialist Party of Cuba.
November 26	Khrushchev receives a military delegation from Morocco.
November 26	Khrushchev receives Wladyslaw Gomulka, the first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party.
November 28–December 2	Khrushchev receives Norodom Sihanouk, the head of Cambodia, and holds negotiations and protocol activities.
November 29	Khrushchev receives Luiz Carlos Prestes, the head of the Communist Party of Brazil.
November 30	Khrushchev receives Walter Ulbricht, the chairman of the State Council of the GDR.
November 30	Khrushchev, Frol Kozlov, and Mikhail Suslov host Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, and Peng Zhen, representatives of China.
December 2	Khrushchev receives Maurice Thorez, the general secretary of the Communist Party of France.
December 2	Khrushchev receives Yumjaagiyn Tsenedbal, the head of the government of Mongolia.

December 2	Khrushchev receives the delegation from the Korean People's Democratic Republic (North Korea), headed by the head of government Kim II Sung.
December 2	Khrushchev and others are in the Kremlin theater to see L. Delibes's ballet *Coppelia*, performed by dancers from Cuba.
December 7	Khrushchev is in Luzhniki Sport Palace at a public rally dedicated to Soviet-Chinese friendship.
December 7	Khrushchev receives Liu Shaoqi, the chairman of the People's Republic of China.
December 7	Khrushchev receives Abdel al-Hakim Amer, the vice president of Egypt.
December 19	Khrushchev receives Ernesto Che Guevara, the head of the economic committee of Cuba.
December 19	Khrushchev receives M. Ansari, the ambassador of Iran.
December 20	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at the opening of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.
December 26	Khrushchev receives Sir Frank Roberts, the ambassador of the United Kingdom.
December 27	Khrushchev receives H. Haymerle, the ambassador of Austria.

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January 1	Khrushchev speaks at the New Year's reception in the Kremlin.
January 2	Khrushchev speaks at a reception in the Embassy of Cuba in Moscow.
January 3	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the government of Indonesia headed by Abdul Haris Nasution, the minister of defense.
January 3	Khrushchev is at the New Year's children party in the Kremlin.
January 4	Khrushchev receives Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the minister from Pakistan.
January 4	Khrushchev receives P. Torsteinsson, the ambassador of Iceland.
January 6	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin before members of the Academy of Public Sciences and other similar institutions and reports on the results of the meeting of the Communist Parties.

January 10–18	Khrushchev participates in a meeting of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU.
January 10	Khrushchev receives artists of Ecuador.
January 13	Khrushchev receives Kumar (Krishna) P. S. Menon, the ambassador of India.
January 17	Khrushchev speaks at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU.
January 18	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Japan-USSR association headed by S. Matsumoto, a member of the Japanese parliament.
January 23	Khrushchev and others attend an exhibition of textile products.
January 24–28	Khrushchev is in the city of Kiev at a meeting of the Plenum of the CC Ukrainian Communist Party, visits the subway, and attends Korneichuk's play *Nad Dneprom* in the theater named in honor of I. Franko.
January 28	Khrushchev speaks at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine.
January 30–February 1	Khrushchev is in the city of Rostov-on-Don at a meeting of the workers of agriculture of northern Caucasus and visits collective farms.
February 2	Khrushchev and Kliment Voroshilov are in Rostov-on-Don attending exhibitions of agricultural machinery.
February 3–8	Khrushchev is in the city of Tbilisi at a meeting of agricultural workers of the Transcaucasus, speaks on February 7, and visits collective farms in Kakhetia. On February 7, Khrushchev attends an exhibition of machinery for grape and tea plantations.
February 9–11	Khrushchev is in the city of Voronezh; on February 11 he speaks at a meeting of the agricultural workers of Russia's Central Black Soil Zone.
February 12	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
February 13	Khrushchev receives Ahmed Mestiri, the ambassador of Tunisia.
February 13	Khrushchev receives Mohammed el-Kuni, the ambassador of Egypt.
February 18	Khrushchev receives Muhammad Yamin, the chairman of the council of planning of Indonesia.
February 23	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a meeting of agricultural workers of Central Russia.

February 23	Khrushchev and others attend a concert at the Bolshoi Theater.
February 25	Khrushchev visits William Zebulon Foster, the honorary chairman of the U.S. Communist Party, in Moscow to celebrate his 80th birthday.
February 25	Khrushchev receives Otto Grotewohl, the head of the government of the GDR.
February 28–March 3	Khrushchev is in the city of Sverdlovsk; on March 2 he speaks at a meeting of agricultural workers of the Urals.
March 4	Khrushchev is in the city of Kurgan and awards the Order of Lenin to the region.
March 5	Khrushchev is in the city of Novosibirsk at an exhibition of agricultural machinery.
March 8	Khrushchev is present in the city of Novosibirsk at a meeting of agricultural workers of Siberia.
March 9	Khrushchev receives Llewellyn Thompson, the U.S. ambassador, in Novosibirsk.
March 10	Khrushchev is in the Siberian Science Center (the city of Akademgorodok).
March 12–16	Khrushchev is in the city of Akmolinsk (now Astana, Kazakhstan) at a meeting of agricultural workers of the Virgin Lands Territory and speaks on March 14.
March 17–21	Khrushchev is in the city of Alma-Ata (now Almaty) at a meeting of agricultural workers of Kazakhstan and speaks on March 21.
March 19	Khrushchev meets the geologists of Kazakhstan in the Academy of Sciences in the city of Alma-Ata.
March 21	Khrushchev is awarded the “Medal for Reclamation of Virgin Lands” in Alma-Ata.
March 24	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
March 24	Khrushchev receives Kumar (Krishna) P. S. Menon, the ambassador of India.
March 27	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Romania headed by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej.
March 28	Khrushchev receives Janos Kadar and Ferenc Munnich (Hungary).
March 28	Khrushchev is present in Moscow at a meeting of the Political Consulting Committee of the Warsaw Pact.
March 30	Khrushchev is at a dinner in honor of the participants of the meeting.
March 30	Khrushchev receives Antonin Novotny, Wiliam Siroky, and Otto Simunik (Czechoslovakia).

March 30	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Bulgaria headed by Todor Zhivkov.
March 30	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Mongolia headed by Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal.
March 30	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) headed by Kim Hwan Hyo-Bom, the minister of defense.
March 31	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the GDR led by Walter Ulbricht.
March 31	Khrushchev receives Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, the minister of foreign affairs of Ceylon.
March 31	Khrushchev receives General Ne Win, the commander in chief of the armed forces of Burma.
April 1	Khrushchev receives Llewellyn Thompson, the U.S. ambassador.
April 1	Khrushchev attends a breakfast in the Kremlin in honor of General Ne Win.
April 4	Khrushchev receives a delegation from China headed by the minister of trade, Ye Xichuan.
April 5	Khrushchev receives Sardar Mohammed Daud, the prime minister of Afghanistan, holds negotiations with him, and participates in protocol activities.
April 5	Khrushchev and others are at the Exhibition of National Economic Achievements (in Moscow), inspecting projects of electric power stations.
April 5	Khrushchev and others are at the Museum of Russian Architecture inspecting the plan of the 1967 Moscow World Fair.
April 5	Khrushchev and others are at the studio of the sculptor Lev Kerbel, inspecting the model of the monument to Karl Marx to be erected in Moscow.
April 7	Khrushchev receives John Bernal, the British scientist.
April 7	Khrushchev receives Sardar Mohammed Daud, the prime minister of Afghanistan.
April 7	Khrushchev receives a parliamentary delegation from Libya.
April 12	Khrushchev holds a telephone conversation with cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin after the completion of his space flight.
April 14	Khrushchev meets Yuri Gagarin at Moscow Vnukovo Airport and speaks at the public rally in his honor at Red Square and at a reception in the Kremlin.

April 18	Khrushchev receives Souvanna Phouma, the prime minister of Laos, in Pitsunda peninsula countryside residence, and hosts a breakfast in his honor.
April 24	Khrushchev receives G. Kroll, the ambassador of West Germany, in Pitsunda.
May 1	Khrushchev stands on the Tribune of the Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow, watching the military parades and Muscovite procession, on the occasion of May 1st, Labor Day.
May 3	Khrushchev receives parliamentarians of Egypt headed by Anwar el-Sadat.
May 3	Khrushchev receives Leao de Maura, the head of a trade delegation from Brazil.
May 4	Khrushchev receives a youth delegation from Cuba.
May 5–10	Khrushchev is in Armenia at the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet rule; on May 6 he is in the city of Yerevan; on May 8 he visits the Byurakan Observatory headed by the academician Victor Ambartsumyan; on May 9 he visits collective farms in the Ararat valley; and on May 10 he is in the city of Kirovakan.
May 11–14	Khrushchev is in the city of Tbilisi at the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet rule in Georgia; on May 12 he speak at a public rally in the city of Tbilisi; on May 13 he visits an electric locomotive factory; on May 14 he is in the town of Telavi (Kakhetiya).
May 17	Khrushchev receives Ruslan Abdulgani, the chairman of the supreme advisory council of Indonesia.
May 18	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at the 3d All-Union Congress of Architects.
May 18	Khrushchev and others attend a concert of the dance ensemble of Cuba.
May 19	Khrushchev and others are in the Kremlin theater at a concert dedicated to the Plenum of the Union of Composers of the Russian Federation.
May 19	Khrushchev and others are in Sokolniki Park at the opening of a British commercial-industrial exhibition.
May 20	Khrushchev receives D. Birla, an Indian manufacturer.
May 22	Khrushchev receives M. K. Setalvada, the procurator general of India.
May 23	Khrushchev and Yekaterina Furtseva are in Luzhniki Sport Palace at a performance of the American group "Ice Capades."

May 25	Khrushchev receives Kumar (Krishna) P. S. Menon, the ambassador of India.
May 25	Khrushchev receives Abdirashid Ali Shermark, the prime minister of Somalia, holds negotiations, and participates in protocol activities.
May 25	Khrushchev and Abdirashid Ali Shermark are in the Bolshoi Theater at performances of the ballets *Chopiniana, Paganini,* and *Nochnoi Gorod* (City at Night).
May 26	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the parliament of Bolivia.
May 27	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Communist Party of Indonesia headed by its chairman, Dipa Nusantara Aidit, and hosts a dinner in their honor.
May 27	Khrushchev leaves Moscow for the city of Vienna to meet with the U.S. President, John F. Kennedy.
May 28–30	Khrushchev is in the city of Kiev at the grave of the poet Taras Shevchenko in the town of Kanev and at the construction site of the city of Kiev hydroelectric power station in Vyshgorod.
May 31–June 2	Khrushchev is in Czechoslovakia (the city of Bratislava).
June 3–4	Khrushchev holds negotiations with John F. Kennedy in Vienna.
June 5	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
June 6	Khrushchev receives Prince Souvanna Phouma, the prime minister of Laos, and Prince Souphanouvong.
June 6	Khrushchev meets with Ahmed Sukarno, the president of Indonesia, congratulates him on his 60th birthday, holds negotiations, and participates in protocol activities.
June 6–8	Khrushchev and Ahmed Sukarno are in the city of Leningrad.
June 9	Khrushchev receives Ahmed Sukarno.
June 9	Khrushchev receives an economic mission from Nigeria.
June 10	Khrushchev is present at a meeting in the Kremlin in honor of the visit of Ahmed Sukarno, the president of Indonesia.
June 11	Khrushchev and Ahmed Sukarno are at the stadium in Luzhniki at a soccer match and then attend Yury Milyutin's operetta *Moskva-Cheryomushki* in the Operetta Theater.
June 12	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at the All-Union Conference of Soviet Scientists.
June 14	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at the reception in honor of the Soviet scientists.

June 15	Khrushchev speaks on radio and television about the results of his meeting with the U.S. president, John F. Kennedy.
June 17	Khrushchev is awarded a third Gold Medal, “The Sickle and Hammer,” and the Order of Lenin for his support of space exploration (along with 6,924 participants in this work).
June 19	Khrushchev reports to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU “About the Project of the Program of the CPSU.”
June 20	Khrushchev receives Abdel Wahab Mahmoud, the ambassador of Iran.
June 21	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a public rally in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the German invasion of the USSR.
June 24–25	Khrushchev is in the city of Alma-Ata (now Almaty) speaking at a reception in honor of the 40th anniversary of the Kazakh Socialist Soviet Republic.
June 27	Khrushchev receives Pham Van Dong, the prime minister of Vietnam, holds negotiations, and participates in protocol activities.
June 28	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally in the Kremlin in honor of the visit of Pham Van Dong.
June 29	Khrushchev receives Kim II Sung, the head of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (North Korea), holds negotiations, and participates in protocol activities.
July 2	Khrushchev and others are at the premiere performance of the Royal Ballet of the United Kingdom in the Bolshoi Theater.
July 3	Khrushchev receives Pham Van Dong, the prime minister of Vietnam, and attends a reception at the Embassy of Vietnam in his honor.
July 3	Khrushchev receives Prince Souphanouvong of Laos.
July 4	Khrushchev and others attend a reception at the U.S. Embassy.
July 4	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at the All-Union Conference of Faculty of Higher Education Institutions.
July 5	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin for a breakfast in honor of Chen Yi, the minister of foreign affairs of China.
July 5	Khrushchev speaks at a reception in the Embassy of North Korea in honor of Kim II Sung.

July 6	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally in the Kremlin dedicated to the visit of Kim II Sung.
July 7	Khrushchev speaks at a reception in the Kremlin in honor of the faculty of higher education institutions.
July 8	Khrushchev speaks at a reception in the Kremlin in honor of the graduates of military academies.
July 8	Khrushchev receives Koca Popovic, the secretary of foreign affairs of Yugoslavia.
July 9	Khrushchev and others are on Moscow Tushino Airfield at an air show.
July 11	Khrushchev receives Kwame Nkrumah, the president of Ghana, holds negotiations, and participates in protocol activities.
July 11	Khrushchev receives Subimata Datta, the ambassador of India.
July 22	Khrushchev receives Ibrahim Abboud, the prime minister of Sudan, in Pitsunda peninsula countryside residence.
July 23	Khrushchev receives Maurice Thorez and Todor Zhivkov in Pitsunda.
July 27	Khrushchev receives Pham Van Dong, the prime minister of Vietnam, in Pitsunda.
July 31–August 12	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Romania headed by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej in the Kremlin, holds negotiations, and participates in protocol activities.
July 31	Khrushchev receives ambassadors of African countries.
August 2–4	Khrushchev twice receives Amintore Fanfani, the prime minister of Italy, holds negotiations, and participates in protocol activities.
August 3	Khrushchev speaks in Luzhniki Sport Palace at a public rally in honor of the World Youth Forum.
August 5	Khrushchev receives Sadok Mokadem, the state secretary of foreign affairs of Tunisia.
August 7	Khrushchev has a telephone conversation with the cosmonaut German Titov after his landing.
August 7	Khrushchev speaks on radio and national television regarding the situation in Germany (the construction of the Berlin Wall).
August 7	Khrushchev receives Cesar J. Barros Urtrado, the ambassador of Argentina.
August 7	Khrushchev receives Bashir Ben Abbes, the ambassador of Morocco.

August 7	Khrushchev receives L. Mojsov, the ambassador of Yugoslavia.
Beginning of August	Khrushchev holds a conference for nuclear scientists in the Kremlin, where the decision is made to resume testing of nuclear weapons (without media publicity). [SK]
August 8	Khrushchev receives Raymond Schmittlein, a French parliamentarian.
August 9	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally on Red Square and at a reception in the Kremlin in honor of the cosmonaut German Titov.
August 10	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Brazil headed by Vice President Joao Belchior Marques Goulart.
August 10	Khrushchev and others are at the construction site of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.
August 11	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a meeting in honor of the visit of a delegation from Romania.
August 24	Khrushchev gives an interview to Drew Pearson, the American journalist, in Pitsunda.
August 27 and 29	Khrushchev twice receives Kwame Nkrumah, the president of Ghana, in the city of Yalta, Crimea.
August 31	Khrushchev receives Sir L. Plummer and K. Zilliacus, members of the British parliament, in the city of Yalta.
September 5	Khrushchev receives Maurice Thorez, the general secretary of the Communist Party of France.
September 5	Khrushchev and others visit the French exhibition in Moscow.
September 5	Khrushchev is in Moscow to pay his respects at the coffin of William Z. Foster, the chairman of the national committee of the Communist Party of the United States.
September 6	Khrushchev receives Jawaharlal Nehru, the prime minister of India, holds negotiations, and participates in protocol activities.
September 6–9	Khrushchev receives several times Jawaharlal Nehru and Kwame Nkrumah, who presents him with a letter from leaders of nonaligned countries, and holds conversations with them.
September 7	Khrushchev gives an interview to Cyrus Sulzberger, a columnist of *The New York Times.*
September 8	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a public rally in honor of Jawaharlal Nehru.

September 10	Khrushchev is in the city of Stalingrad and speaks at the opening of the Volga hydroelectric power station.
September 14	Khrushchev receives Ahmed Mestiri, the ambassador of Tunisia.
September 14	Khrushchev receives Mamadou Falnala Keita, the ambassador of the Republic of Mali.
September 14	Khrushchev receives Sory Kaba, the ambassador of Guinea.
September 14	Khrushchev receives H. Yamada, the ambassador of Japan.
September 15	Khrushchev receives Paul Renault, a French parliamentarian.
September 16	Khrushchev receives a military delegation from Iraq.
September 16	Khrushchev receives Dr. Subandrio, the minister of foreign affairs of Indonesia.
September 16	Khrushchev receives Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado, the president of Cuba.
September 18	Khrushchev receives Mohammed Naim, the minister of foreign affairs of Afghanistan, and hosts a breakfast in his honor.
September 19	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville) headed by Mossaba Dobba, a minister.
September 19	Khrushchev receives Paul-Henri Spaak, the former prime minister of Belgium.
September 20	Khrushchev answers questions from correspondents of the newspapers *Pravda* and *Izvestia.*
September 20	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a public rally in honor of the visit of Osvaldo Dorticos, the president of Cuba.
October 7	Khrushchev inspects the new Palace of Congresses in the Kremlin.
October 8	Khrushchev receives Abdullah Hakim Shahalami, the ambassador of Afghanistan.
October 9	Khrushchev receives Mohammed Murat Ghaleb, the ambassador of Egypt.
October 9	Khrushchev receives Adolfo Lopez Mateos, the ambassador of Mexico.
October 14	Khrushchev presents to the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee drafts of reports to the 22d Congress of the CPSU.
October 17	Khrushchev reports to the 22d Congress of the CPSU.

October 18	Khrushchev reports to the 22d Congress of the CPSU Central Committee a second time on the new program of the Party.
October 27	Khrushchev gives the closing remarks at the 22d Congress of the CPSU.
October 29	Khrushchev speaks at the unveiling of the monument to Karl Marx in Moscow.
October 30	Khrushchev speaks at the closing ceremony of the 22d Congress of the CPSU. (Title of his talk: "Our Aims Are Clear and Tasks Are Defined! To Work!")
November 3	Khrushchev receives G. Codacci-Pisanelli, the president of the International Parliamentary Union.
November 3	Khrushchev and others attend a concert of Chinese artists at the Bolshoi Theater.
November 4	Khrushchev receives Janos Kadar, the leader of Hungary.
November 4	Khrushchev receives Blas Roca and Carlos Rodríguez, from Cuba.
November 5	Khrushchev receives Dipa Nusantara Aidit, the chairman of the central committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia.
November 6	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at the formal session and reception in commemoration of the anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 6	Khrushchev receives a delegation from East Germany headed by Walter Ulbricht.
November 7	Khrushchev on the Tribune of the stands Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow, watching the military parade and Muscovite procession, then attends the reception in the Kremlin in honor of the anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 9	Khrushchev receives Ho Chi Minh, the president of Vietnam.
November 9	Khrushchev receives Luis Carlos Prestes, the chairman of the Communist Party of Brazil.
November 9	Khrushchev receives G. Kroll, the ambassador of West Germany.
November 11–17	Khrushchev is in the city of Tashkent visiting collective and state farms of the Golodny Steppe and attends a meeting of the cotton industry.
November 16	Khrushchev speaks in the city of Tashkent at a meeting of agricultural workers in Central Asia, Kazakhstan, and Azerbaijan.

November 18–23	Khrushchev is in the city of Tselinograd (Astana) and visits collective farms and the Institute of Grain Growing.
November 22	Khrushchev speaks in Tselinograd at a meeting of agricultural workers.
November 24	Khrushchev receives Urho Kaleva Kekkonen, the president of Finland, in the city of Novosibirsk.
November 24–27	Khrushchev, in the city of Novosibirsk, visits the fields of the Altai Agriculture Research Institute.
November 26	Khrushchev speaks in the city of Novosibirsk at a meeting of agricultural workers of Siberia.
November 28	Khrushchev visits the construction site of Bratsk hydroelectric power station.
November 29	Khrushchev is at construction sites in the city of Krasnoyarsk.
November 29	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
December 2	Khrushchev receives H. Lange, the minister of foreign affairs of Norway.
December 6	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at the opening session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.
December 9	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at the 5th World Congress of Trade Unions.
December 10	Khrushchev and others attend a performance of Tchaikovsky's opera *Charodeika* (Witch) at the Bolshoi Theater.
December 10	Khrushchev speaks at a reception in the Kremlin in honor of the delegates of the 5th World Congress of Trade Unions.
December 14	Khrushchev is present in the Kremlin in the Palace of Congresses at a conference of agricultural workers of the Central, Northwestern, and Volga-Vyatka economic regions.
December 14	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at the opening session of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR.
December 18	Khrushchev receives Alfa Diallo, the state secretary of foreign affairs of Guinea.
December 18	Khrushchev receives D. B. Eliot, the ambassador of Ghana.
December 19–23	Khrushchev is in the city of Kiev.
December 22	Khrushchev speaks at a meeting of agricultural workers of Ukraine.
December 25	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at the opening of the all-union conference on questions of ideological work.
December 26	Khrushchev receives Kaoru Yasui, the chairman of the All-Japan Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons.
December 27	Khrushchev receives Mahdjubi Ahardan, the minister of defense of Morocco.

December 27	Khrushchev receives Tsvetin Mijatovic, the ambassador of Yugoslavia.
December 30	Khrushchev receives the representatives of the Communist Party of Finland headed by Ville Pessi.

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January 1	Khrushchev gives an interview to Minoru Oda, the chief editor of the Japanese newspaper *Yubu Nippon.*
January 1	Khrushchev speaks at the New Year's reception at the Kremlin.
January 10–13	Khrushchev is in the city of Minsk visiting collective farms and attending an agriculture exhibition.
January 12	Khrushchev speaks at a meeting of agricultural workers of Belorussia.
January 26	Khrushchev receives U Chin, the head of an economic delegation from Burma.
February 7	Khrushchev receives in Pitsunda peninsula at his country residence R. Assumpcao de Araujo, the acting representative of Brazil.
February	Khrushchev holds a meeting in the government residence at Pitsunda peninsula with missiles designers and military high-command officers for consideration of the results of long-range missile development and of opportunities for sending a man to the Moon (without media publicity). [SK].
February 16	Khrushchev, in the government residence at Pitsunda, receives Omar Dani, the chief of staff of the air force of Indonesia, along with Adam Malik, the ambassador.
February 19	Khrushchev receives N'Famara Keita, the minister of trade of Guinea, and Sory Kaba, the ambassador, in Pitsunda.
February 25	Khrushchev is in the city of Kursk at a factory of synthetic fibers.
February 26 and 27	Khrushchev twice receives Walter Ulbricht, the leader of the GDR.
March 3	Khrushchev receives Rashid Barmad, the minister of defense of Syria.
March 5	Khrushchev reports to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU about problems in agriculture.
March 7	Khrushchev and others are at a concert in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

March 8	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at a formal session and reception in honor of International Women's Day.
March 16	Khrushchev makes a campaign speech to voters about his candidacy to the USSR Supreme Soviet at the Kalinin electoral district of the city of Moscow.
March 23	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Communist Party of Denmark.
March 25	Khrushchev and others are in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at a concert of the philharmonic society of Vienna.
March 26	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at the opening of the 3d Congress of Composers of the USSR.
March 27	Khrushchev speaks at the Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU for the RSFSR about changes in the administration of agriculture.
March 30	Khrushchev and others inspect the new trucks at the Exhibition of National Economic Achievements in Moscow and visit the prefabricated concrete panel factory "Prokatdetal" and the Moscow exhibition of construction equipment.
March 31	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a reception in honor of the 3d Congress of Composers of the USSR.
April 1	Khrushchev attends the opening of the 2d Tchaikovsky Music Competition.
April 2	Khrushchev is at a concert in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in honor of the 3d Congress of Composers (invited by D. D. Shostakovich).
April 4	Khrushchev receives Zenon Kliszko, secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party.
April 12	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at a reception dedicated to Cosmonautics Day.
April 16	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at the opening of the 14th congress of the Komsomol (Young Communist League).
April 16	Khrushchev receives N. Guine, the ambassador of Romania.
April 19	Khrushchev speaks at the 14th congress of "Komsomol."
April 20	Khrushchev gives an interview to Gardner Cowles, an American publisher.
April 22	Khrushchev is in the Bolshoi Theater at the formal session commemorating Lenin's birthday.
April 23	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at the opening of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

April 25	Khrushchev is reports to the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet about the project of the new constitution of the USSR.
April 25	Khrushchev reports to the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.
April 25	The Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet appoints Khrushchev as chairman of the committee for writing the draft of the new constitution of the USSR.
April 28	Khrushchev receives Osmani Cienfuegos and Joaquin Ordoqui, statesmen from Cuba.
April 29	Khrushchev and Alexei Kosygin are in the town of Klin at the industrial complex producing chemical fiber.
April 30	Khrushchev meets Queen Elizabeth of Belgium in Moscow.
May 1	Khrushchev stands on the Tribune of the V. Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow, watching the military parade and Muscovite procession, at the reception in the Kremlin in honor of May 1st, Labor Day.
May 3	Khrushchev speaks at the Plenum of the Leningrad region committee of the CPSU.
May 4	Khrushchev is at the Baltic shipbuilding yard in the city of Leningrad.
May 5	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at a conference in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the newspaper *Pravda*.
May 5	Khrushchev receives Faure Chomon Mediavilla, the ambassador of Cuba.
May 6	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a reception in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the newspaper *Pravda*.
May 7	Khrushchev receives Ichiro Kono, the minister of agriculture of Japan.
May 7	Khrushchev attends the closing concert of the participants in the Tchaikovsky Music Competition in the Great Concert Hall of the Conservatoire.
May 8	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at the opening of a meeting of railroad workers.
May 8	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Indonesia headed by Dr. Subandrio, the minister of foreign affairs.
May 8	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at a reception for participants in the Tchaikovsky Music Competition.
May 9	Khrushchev and others are at an exhibition of machines for railroad transport.

May 10	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a meeting of railroad workers.
May 11	Khrushchev and others are at a concert in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.
May 12	Khrushchev receives Pierre Salinger, press secretary to the president of the United States, in Novoye Ogarevo, a Moscow country residence.
May 14–19	Khrushchev visits Bulgaria (the cities of Sofia, Haskovo, Varna, Tolbuhin, Pleven, and Sofia).
May 20	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
May 21–23, then May 29–30	Khrushchev receives Modibo Keita, the president of the Republic of Mali, holds negotiations with him, and participates in protocol activities.
May 23	Khrushchev, Modibo Keita, and others attend performances of the ballets *Paganini, Chopiniana,* and *Nochnoi Gorod* (City at Night) in the Bolshoi Theater.
May 25	Khrushchev speaks on radio and television regarding international relations.
May 26	Khrushchev is in the Moscow City Council inspecting projects of reconstruction for Moscow and visits the exhibition of new finishing materials.
May 27	Khrushchev hosts Van Cliburn, the American pianist, at the country residence Gorki-9.
May 28	Khrushchev speaks at the opening of an Italian exhibition in Sokolniki Park.
May 30	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a public rally in honor of Modibo Keita.
June 1	Khrushchev speaks at the opening of the "Pioneer's Palace" on Vorobyov Hills in Moscow. (The Pioneers are a youth organization similar to the Scouts; creative activities like painting, sculpting, singing, dancing, and sports training are carried out in the Pioneer "palaces.")
June 2	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a public rally of friendship between Soviet and Cuban youth.
June 2	Khrushchev receives a military delegation from Laos headed by General Kong Le.
June 4	Khrushchev receives Walter Ulbricht, the leader of the GDR.
June 4	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the parliament of Czechoslovakia headed by Zdenek Fierlinger.
June 4	Khrushchev receives Sourou Migan Apithy, the vice president of the Republic of Dahomey (after 1975, Benin).

June 5 and June 13–16	Khrushchev receives Mamadou Dia, the head of the government of Senegal, holds negotiations, and participates in protocol activities with Mamadou Dia.
June 6–9	Khrushchev is present and speaks at the meeting of representatives of the countries of COMECON (Council of Mutual Economic Assistance).
June 7	Khrushchev receives Wladyslaw Gomulka, the leader of Poland.
June 8	Khrushchev receives Antonin Novotny, the president of Czechoslovakia.
June 8	Khrushchev receives Janos Kadar, the leader of Hungary.
June 8	Khrushchev receives Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, the leader of Mongolia.
June 9	Khrushchev receives L. Preti, the minister of foreign commerce of Italy.
June 11	Khrushchev receives Vasco Leitao da Cunha, the ambassador of Brazil.
June 11	Khrushchev receives Vittorio Valletta, the head of the Fiat concern of Italy.
June 12	Khrushchev receives Avery Brundage, the chairman of the International Olympic Committee.
June 16	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Sejm (the representative assembly or parliament in Poland) headed by Czeslaw Wieciech.
June 16	Khrushchev is in the Great Hall of the Moscow Conservatoire at a concert by the American pianist Van Cliburn.
June 17–25	Khrushchev is on an official visit to Romania (the cities of Bucharest, Onesti, Hunedoara, Craiova, Constanza, and Bucharest).
June 25	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
June 27	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a meeting of agricultural workers.
June 28–29, then July 3–5	Khrushchev twice receives Alphons Gorbach, the federal chancellor of Austria, holds negotiations, and participates in protocol activities.
June 30	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Communist Party of Spain headed by Dolores Ibarruri, the chairman of the party.
July 1	Khrushchev and others are in the Bolshoi Theater at A. Melikov's ballet *Legend of Love,* performed by the Leningrad Kirov Theater of Opera and Ballet.

July 2	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the parliament of Yugoslavia headed by Petar Stambolic.
July 2	Khrushchev speaks on radio and television about the results of his visit to Romania.
July 3	Khrushchev receives Raúl Castro, the minister of armed forces of Cuba.
July 4	Khrushchev and others attend a reception in the American Embassy.
July 5	Khrushchev speaks at a reception in the Kremlin in honor of graduates from the military academies.
July 5	Khrushchev receives an economic delegation from Yugoslavia.
July 8	Khrushchev hosts a dinner in honor of the Cuban delegation headed by Raúl Castro.
July 10	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at the World Congress for Disarmament and Peace.
July 10	Khrushchev receives L. John Collins, a British canon.
July 11	Khrushchev and others are in the Scientific Research Agriculture Institute in Nemchinovka in Moscow's periphery and at the experimental farm "Gorki Leninskiye."
July 13	Khrushchev gives an interview to a group of American journalists.
July 13	Khrushchev receives C. Straneo, the ambassador of Italy.
July 14	Khrushchev and Anastas Mikoyan are at the Circus on Tsvetnoi Boulevard in Moscow at a performance of the Guangyuan circus from China.
July 16	Khrushchev is in the city of Petrozavodsk at a factory for paper-making machinery and at other industrial complexes.
July 17	Khrushchev is in Zapolyarny (Murmansk region) at the construction site of the Borisoglebsk hydroelectric station and visits frontier-guards' facilities.
July 18	Khrushchev is in the city of Murmansk at the fishing port and speaks at a public rally on the main city square.
July 21–23	Khrushchev is at a naval exercise of the northern fleet (Severomorsk naval base, the city of Arkhangelsk) and at a demonstration of new naval weapons (operation "Kasatka").
July 21	Khrushchev gives the crew of the submarine *Leninksy Komsomol* orders for their underwater expedition to the North Pole.

July 23	Khrushchev is in the city of Arkhangelsk at timber processing mills.
July 24	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
July 25	Khrushchev receives Llewellyn Thompson, the U.S. ambassador.
July 25	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at a session of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR.
26 July	Khrushchev receives Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, the leader of Mongolia.
26 July	Khrushchev receives Modibo Keita, the ambassador of the Republic of Mali.
July 26	Khrushchev receives Bashir Ben Abbes, the ambassador of Morocco.
July 26	Khrushchev receives Rafik Asha, the ambassador of Syria.
July 27	Khrushchev visits collective farms in the Tula and Oryol region and an iron-ore quarry at Kursk Magnetic Anomaly in the city of Zheleznogorsk.
July 28	Khrushchev is in his home village of Kalinovka in the Kursk region.
July 29	Khrushchev speaks at the opening of the Kremenchug hydroelectric power station on the Dnieper River in Ukraine.
July 30	Khrushchev is in the city of Dnepropetrovsk visiting a tire factory as well as the missile factory and design bureau of Mikhail Yangel.
July 31	Khrushchev visits collective farms in the Kherson region in Ukraine.
August 1	Khrushchev is on vacation in the city of Yalta, in Crimea.
August 6–10	In Crimea, Khrushchev receives Mohammed Zahir Shah, the king of Afghanistan, along with Shah Sardar Abdul Walid Khan, the crown prince, and spends several days with them.
August 11	Khrushchev talks on the radio with the cosmonaut Andrian Nikolayev, who is in Earth orbit.
August 12	Khrushchev talks on the radio with the cosmonaut Pavel Popovich, who is in Earth orbit.
August 18	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally on Red Square and at a reception in the Kremlin in honor of the cosmonauts Andrian Nikolayev and Pavel Popovich.
August 22	Khrushchev receives businessmen of Japan in the city of Yalta.

August 28	Khrushchev receives the leader of the GDR, Walter Ulbricht, in Yalta.
August 28	Khrushchev, in Yalta, receives U Thant, the UN secretary general.
August 30	Khrushchev receives Ernesto Che Guevara and Emilio Aragones Navarro, leaders of Cuba, in the city of Yalta.
September 3	Khrushchev visits collective farms in the Kuban region.
September 6	Khrushchev receives Stewart L. Udall, the U.S. secretary of the interior, at the government residence in Pitsunda peninsula.
September 7	Khrushchev receives Robert Frost, the American poet, in Pitsunda.
September 11	Khrushchev receives G. Kroll, the ambassador of West Germany, in Pitsunda.
September 12	Khrushchev receives Ahmed Shukeiry, a minister of Saudi Arabia, in Pitsunda.
September 17	Khrushchev receives Bruno Pitterman, the vice chancellor of Austria, in the Kremlin.
September 20	Khrushchev is in the town of Ramenskoye in Moscow's periphery at an exhibit of new agricultural machines.
September 24	Khrushchev receives Victor Kanga, the minister of the economy of Cameroon.
September 24	Khrushchev and others examine the passenger airliner IL-62 and helicopters designed by Mikhail Mil.
September 26–30	Khrushchev is in Turkmenistan (the cities of Ashgabat, Mari, and Nebitdag).
October 1–2	Khrushchev is in Tajikistan (the city of Dushanbe), at the exhibition of agricultural goods produced in the republic.
October 3–8	Khrushchev is in Uzbekistan (the city of Tashkent, at an agricultural exhibit on the Golodny Steppe; the town of Almalyk, the center of nonferrous metals production; Tashkent, at an aircraft plant; and is present at a meeting of local activists).
October 10	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
October 11	Khrushchev receives Max Reiman, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.
October 11	Khrushchev receives Igor F. Stravinsky, the composer.
October 12	Khrushchev and others are in the Kremlin theater at a performance of P. Danilov's *Levonikha* by the Vitebsk Classic Dramatic Theater.

October 13	Khrushchev and others inspect new stations of the Kaluzhskaya of the Moscow line subway.
October 14	Khrushchev hosts a dinner in honor of Liu Xiao, the ambassador of China.
October 15	Khrushchev receives Urho Kaleva Kekkonen, the president of Finland.
October 15	Khrushchev and Urho Kaleva Kekkonen attend a performance of Adolphe Adam and L. Delibes' ballet *Corsair* at the Moscow Musical Theater named in honor of K. Stanislavsky and N. Nemirovich-Danchenko.
October 16	Khrushchev receives Foy D. Kohler, the U.S. ambassador.
October 16	Khrushchev and Urho Kaleva Kekkonen attend a performance of P. I. Tchaikovsky's opera *Eugene Onegin* at the Bolshoi Theater.
October 17	Khrushchev hosts a dinner in honor of Urho Kaleva Kekkonen.
October 18	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at a formal session commemorating the 150th anniversary of the First Great Patriotic War (against invasion by Napoleon in 1812).
October 19	Khrushchev receives a military delegation from East Germany headed by the army general G. Gofman.
October 23–28	Khrushchev, along with the U.S, President John F. Kennedy, works on the resolution of the Cuban crisis.
October 23	Khrushchev and Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, the leader of Romania, are at the Bolshoi Theater for a performance of Mussorgsky's opera *Boris Godunov*.
October 24	Khrushchev receives William Knox, the president of the American company Westinghouse Electric, Inc.
October 26	Khrushchev receives Keshava Deva Malaviya, the minister of mining of India.
October 26	Khrushchev receives Mahmud Forugi, the deputy minister of foreign affairs of Iran.
October 26	Khrushchev and others are in the Moscow Tchaikovsky Concert Hall at a concert of Cuban artists of the "Los Bocucos" orchestra.
October 28	Khrushchev and others are in the Kremlin Theater at P. Yavorov's play *U Podnozhnya Vitosh,* presented by the Ivan Vazov National Theater (Bulgaria).
October 30	Khrushchev receives Antonin Novotny, the president of Czechoslovakia, and hosts a dinner in his honor.

October 30	Khrushchev receives Sardar Mohammed Naim, the minister of foreign affairs of Afghanistan.
November 1	Khrushchev, Walter Ulbricht, and others are at a concert in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.
November 2	Khrushchev receives Walter Ulbricht, the leader of the GDR, and hosts a dinner in his honor.
November 3	Khrushchev receives Todor Zhivkov, the leader of Bulgaria, and hosts a dinner in his honor.
November 4	Khrushchev receives Wladyslaw Gomulka, the leader of Poland, and hosts a dinner in his honor.
November 6	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at a formal session in commemoration of the anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 7	Khrushchev stands on the Tribune of the Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow, watching the military parade and Muscovite procession, then attends a reception in the Kremlin commemorating the anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 8	Khrushchev receives Janos Kadar, the leader of Hungary, and hosts a dinner in his honor.
November 9	Khrushchev receives T. N. Kaul, the ambassador of India.
November 9	Khrushchev receives Jibril Maiga, the ambassador of the Republic of Mali.
November 19	Khrushchev reports to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU about reform of the administrative structure of the economy.
November 20	Khrushchev and others are at the Bolshoi Theater for the premiere of Giuseppe Verdi's opera *Falstaff.*
November 22	Khrushchev and others are in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at Tchaikovsky's opera *Mazepa,* performed by the Kiev National Academic Theater of Opera and Ballet named in honor of Taras Shevchenko.
November 24	Khrushchev receives T. N. Kaul, the ambassador of India.
November 24	Khrushchev and others are in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at P. Maiboroda opera *Arsenal,* performed by the Kiev National Academic Theater of Opera and Ballet named in honor of Taras Shevchenko.
November 28	Khrushchev receives Arnold C. Smith, the ambassador of Canada.
November 28	Khrushchev receives Crecencio Perez, a Cuban statesman.

November 30	Khrushchev presides at a meeting of the Council of Ministers of the USSR that considers questions regarding the regulation of the country's economy.
November 30	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at N. Lysenko's opera *Taras Bulba,* performed by the Kiev National Academic Theater of Opera and Ballet named in honor of Taras Grigorevich Shevchenko.
December 1	Khrushchev and others are in the Manege Hall at an exhibition on the 30th anniversary of the Moscow Artists Union.
December 3	In the Moscow district of Cheryomushki, Khrushchev visits a weaving factory located in a building built with windowless American technology.
December 5	Khrushchev receives Josip B. Tito, the president of Yugoslavia.
December 5	Khrushchev, Josip B. Tito, and others are in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at Giuseppe Verdi's opera *Un ballo in maschera,* performed by the Kiev National Academic Theater of Opera and Ballet.
December 6–8	Khrushchev twice receives the president of Yugoslavia, Josip B. Tito, holds negotiations, and participates in protocol activities.
December 8	Khrushchev and others are in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at a concert of Ukrainian performers.
December 10	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at the opening of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.
December 11	Khrushchev receives Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, the director of the Institute of Agrarian Reform of Cuba, and hosts a dinner in his honor.
December 12	Khrushchev reports to the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on international affairs.
December 12	Khrushchev receives Shripad Amrid Dange, the chairman of the Communist Party of India.
December 14	Khrushchev and others are in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at a concert of Kazakh artists.
December 15–16	Khrushchev and Josip B. Tito are in the Zavidovo hunting preserve on Moscow's periphery.
December 17	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Poland headed by Marian Spychalski, the minister of defense.
December 17	Khrushchev is in the Dom Priemov (reception hall) in the Vorobyov Hills in Moscow, at a meeting with intellectuals.

December 18	Khrushchev receives Biro Boubacar Barry, the ambassador of Guinea.
December 19–20	Khrushchev and Josip B. Tito are in the city of Kiev.
December 24	Khrushchev in Kiev speaks at a meeting on the reformation of the economy.
December 25	Khrushchev visits the Research Institute of Superhard Materials in Kiev.
December 29	Khrushchev receives Wladyslaw Gomulka, Jozef Cyrankiewicz, and Zenon Kliszko, Polish leaders, in Kiev.

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January 1	Khrushchev answers questions from a correspondent of the English newspaper *Daily Express.*
January 1	Khrushchev speaks at the New Year's reception at the Kremlin.
January 2	Khrushchev receives John Gollan, the leader of the Communist Party of Great Britain.
January 3	Khrushchev receives Pan Xili, the ambassador of China.
January 5	Khrushchev and others are at an exhibition of machines and automation devices.
January 9	Khrushchev receives Eero A. Wuori, the ambassador of Finland.
January 10	Khrushchev is in the city of Brest.
January 11–13	Khrushchev and Nikolay Podgorny are in the city of Warsaw.
January 14	Khrushchev is in the GDR.
January 16	Khrushchev is present at the 6th convention of the United Socialist Party of Germany, in Berlin.
January 17–22	Khrushchev is in East Germany and visits the frontier guards of the GDR, Checkpoint Charlie, factories in Berlin, metallurgists of Eisenhuttenstadt, and Soviet troops in Germany.
January 23	Khrushchev is in the city of Warsaw.
January 27	Khrushchev answers questions from a Mexican reporter of the newspaper *Espana Popular*.
January 28	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
January 29	Khrushchev and others are in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at Rimsky-Korsakov's opera *Sadko.*
February 1	Khrushchev receives Antonin Novotny, the president of Czechoslovakia, and hosts a dinner in his honor.
February 1	Khrushchev and others are in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at a performance of Georgian dancers.

February 4	Khrushchev receives Geza Revesz, the ambassador of Hungary.
February 5	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Communist Party of Algeria.
February 6	Khrushchev receives Richard Dvorak, the ambassador of Czechoslovakia.
February 9	Khrushchev gives an interview to French television.
February 9	Khrushchev familiarizes himself with new construction projects in Moscow, including Novy Arbat.
February 9	Khrushchev receives Sir Roy Thomson, the publisher and chairman of a British newspaper *Consortium.*
February 11	Khrushchev presides at a session of the Council of Defense at the factory named in honor of M. V. Khrunichev (Branch No. 1 Experimental Design Bureau-52 of Vladimir Chelomei) on advanced missile technology (without media publicity). [SK].
February 13	Khrushchev receives Savang Vatthana, king of Laos, and participates in protocol activities.
February 14	Khrushchev receives Souvanna Phouma, the prime minister of Laos.
February 19	Khrushchev receives Todor Zhivkov, the leader of Bulgaria.
February 20	Khrushchev receives members of the executive committee of COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance).
February 21	Khrushchev receives Ahti Karjalainen, the prime minister of Finland, and hosts a dinner in his honor.
February 22	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at a formal session commemorating the 45th anniversary of the Armed Forces.
February 22	Khrushchev receives Ahti Karjalainen.
February 23	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Communist Party of Brazil headed by Luis Carlos Prestes.
February 25	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia headed by Jiri Henrik.
February 27	Khrushchev makes a campaign speech to voters in his candidacy to the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR in the Kalinin voting district of the city of Moscow.
March 1	Khrushchev receives R. K. Nehru, the general secretary of the ministry of foreign affairs of India.
March 1	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a reception in honor of Ahti Karjalainen.

March 3	Khrushchev is in the Bolshoi Theater for a performance of Giuseppe Verdi's opera *La Traviata*.
March 6	Khrushchev receives Adam Malik, the ambassador of Indonesia.
March 6	Khrushchev receives Sir Humphrey Trevelyan, the ambassador of Great Britain.
March 7–8	Khrushchev is present in the Kremlin at a meeting of writers, painters, and other artists.
March 8	Khrushchev is in the Bolshoi Theater at the formal session in honor of International Women's Day.
March 9	Khrushchev receives H. Grepper, the ambassador of West Germany.
March 9	Khrushchev receives U Pe Kin, the ambassador of Burma.
March 12	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a meeting of the officials of territorial agricultural administrations.
March 14	Khrushchev is in the towns of Novomoskovsk and Shchekino in the Tula region and visits a chemical industrial complex.
March 15	Khrushchev is in the city of Kursk at a factory producing synthetic fibers.
March 16	Khrushchev is in the Donetsk region in the town of Lisichansk, visiting a chemical industrial complex.
March 17	Khrushchev is in the town of Nevinnomyssk, visiting a chemical industrial complex in Stavropol region.
March 30	Khrushchev gives an interview to P. Silveyra, director of the Brazilian newspaper *Ultima Ora.*
April 1	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the parliament of Somalia at the Pitsunda peninsula country residence.
April 3	Khrushchev receives Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo, the leader of trade unions of Yugoslavia, at the Pitsunda peninsula country residence.
April 20	Khrushchev receives Ali Sabri, the prime minister of Egypt, in the Kremlin.
April 20	Khrushchev gives an interview to I. Pietro, director of the Italian newspaper *Giorno.*
April 22	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at a formal session in commemoration of Lenin's birthday.
April 24	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at a meeting of industrial managers of the Russian Federation.
April 24	Khrushchev receives Sir Humphrey Trevelyan, the ambassador of Great Britain.

April 26	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Communist Party of Canada.
April 26	Khrushchev receives Averell Harriman, the U.S. deputy secretary of state.
April 28	Khrushchev receives a military delegation from Czechoslovakia headed by General Bohumir Lomsky.
April 28	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally in Red Square in honor of the leader of Cuba, Fidel Castro.
April 29	Khrushchev receives Fidel Castro.
May 1	Khrushchev stands on the Tribune of the Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow, watching the military parade and Muscovite procession, then attends a reception in the Kremlin in honor of May 1, Labor Day.
May 2	Khrushchev and Fidel Castro are at the stadium in “Luzhniki” at a sport festival.
May 2	Khrushchev and Fidel Castro are at a concert in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.
May 3	Khrushchev receives a military delegation from Mongolia headed by General J. Lhagvasuren.
May 3–5	Khrushchev and Fidel Castro are in the Zavidovo hunting preserve on the Moscow periphery.
May 8	Khrushchev receives British industrialists.
May 10	Khrushchev receives Abdul Hakim Shahalami, the ambassador of Afghanistan.
May 10	Khrushchev receives I. Sipka, the ambassador of Hungary.
May 10	Khrushchev receives Roswell Garst, an American farmer.
May 11	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Communist Party of Uruguay.
May 11	Khrushchev receives Tahmuras Adamiyat, the ambassador of Iran.
May 11	Khrushchev receives T. B. Subasinghe, the ambassador of Ceylon.
May 11	Khrushchev receives F. Zuhir, the ambassador of Tunisia.
May 13	Khrushchev receives a parliamentary delegation from Mexico.
May 13	Khrushchev inspects new construction sites in Moscow: Novy Arbat, Vosstaniya Square, Manege Square, and Novye Cheremushki district.
May 14	Khrushchev receives Bertold Beitz, one of the managers of Krupp, the West German company.
May 14	Khrushchev visits the Moscow prefabricated-concrete-panel factories “Prokatdetal” and “Metrostoy.”

May 17	Khrushchev inspects projects of monuments to Lenin and Space Explorers.
May 17	Khrushchev and others watch the German documentary film *Russian Miracle*.
May 24	Khrushchev speaks at the stadium in Luzhniki at a public rally in honor of Fidel Castro and then at a reception in his honor in the Kremlin.
May 24	Khrushchev and Fidel Castro visit the intercontinental missiles base in Kalinin (Tver) region.
May 24-June 2	Khrushchev and Fidel Castro are at Pitsunda peninsula country residence and at Lake Ritsa in Abkhazia, then in the city of Tbilisi and the town of Rustavi in Georgia.
May 27	Khrushchev receives Larbi Bouhali, the leader of the Algerian communists.
June 2	Khrushchev receives Victorio Codovilla, leader of the communists of Argentina.
June 3–5	Khrushchev is in the city of Yaroslavl at a tire factory, a synthetic rubber factory, and the Novoyaroslavsk oil refinery.
June 6	Khrushchev receives an economic delegation from Indonesia in the Kremlin.
June 8	Khrushchev answers questions from the correspondents of the Italian newspapers *Paese Sera* and *Ora*.
June 8	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Egypt headed by the vice president, Marshal Abdel Hakim Amer.
June 10	Khrushchev receives Harold Wilson, the leader of the British Labour Party.
June 11	Khrushchev receives Luigi Longo, the deputy of the leader of the Italian communists, and hosts a dinner in his honor.
June 11	Khrushchev receives Mohammad Zafarullah Khan, the chairman of the 17th session of the UN General Assembly and the representative of Pakistan to the U.N.
June 12	Khrushchev receives Julian Amery, the minister of aviation of Great Britain.
June 12	Khrushchev receives a parliamentary delegation from Turkey.
June 14	Khrushchev talks on the radio with the cosmonaut Valery Bykovsky who is in earth orbit.
June 16	Khrushchev talks on the radio with Valentina Tereshkova who is in orbit.
June 21	Khrushchev speaks at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

June 22	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally in Red Square in Moscow and at a reception in the Kremlin in honor of the cosmonauts Valery Bykovsky and Valentina Tereshkova.
June 26	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at the reception in honor of the graduates of military academies.
June 29–July 3	Khrushchev is in the city of Berlin to celebrate the 70th birthday of Walter Ulbricht, the leader of the GDR (visits a Berlin machine-tool factory, the Group of Soviet Troops, and appears at a public rally in Berlin).
July 4	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
July 8	Khrushchev receives Paul-Henri Spaak, the former prime minister of Belgium, in the city of Kiev.
July 10	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Hungary headed by Janos Kadar.
July 11	Khrushchev receives a military delegation from Romania headed by General Leontin Salajan.
July 11	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Hungary headed by Janos Kadar and hosts a breakfast in his honor.
July 11	Khrushchev, Janos Kadar, and others attend a performance of Tchaikovsky's ballet *Swan Lake* by the Novosibirsk State Academic Opera and Ballet Theater in the Bolshoi Theater.
July 13	Khrushchev is at the Exhibition of National Economic Achievements (in Moscow) at a competition of sheep shearing, including Godfrey Bowen from New Zealand, the world champion.
July 15	Khrushchev receives Averell Harriman, the U.S. deputy secretary of state.
July 15	Khrushchev receives Lord Hailsham, the minister of science and technology of Great Britain.
July 16	Khrushchev receives Maurice Dejean, the ambassador of France.
July 17	Khrushchev receives Mohammed Benyahya, the ambassador of Algeria.
July 17	Khrushchev receives Mikael Imru, the ambassador of Ethiopia.
July 19	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a public rally in honor of the delegation from Hungary.
July 19	Khrushchev speaks at a reception in the Embassy of Hungary in Moscow.
July 20	Khrushchev is at an Indian exhibition in Sokolniki Park.

July 20	Khrushchev attends a dinner in honor of the delegation from the Communist Party of China headed by Deng Xiaoping.
July 20	Khrushchev is present at a reception in the Kremlin in honor of the delegation from Hungary.
July 21	Khrushchev, Janos Kadar, and others are aboard the passenger ship *Maxim Gorky,* travel along the Moscow-Volga canal, and later attend a track and field athletic competition between the USSR and the United States at "Luzhniki" Moscow Stadium.
July 22	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Communist Party of Indonesia headed by Dipa Nusantara Aidit and hosts a dinner in their honor.
July 25	Khrushchev attends a breakfast in the Embassy of India in honor of Indira Gandhi (daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru).
July 26	Khrushchev receives Averell Harriman.
July 26	Khrushchev hosts a dinner in honor of Averell Harriman and Lord Hailsham.
July 26	Khrushchev participates in a conference of the consultative committee of the Warsaw Pact countries and COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) and hosts a dinner in honor of the delegations.
July 27	Khrushchev answers questions from the correspondents of the newspapers *Pravda* and *Izvestia.*
July 27	Khrushchev receives Indira Gandhi.
July 27	Khrushchev receives Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, the leader of Mongolia.
July 29	Khrushchev receives Manolis Glezos, the Greek politician, and hosts a dinner in his honor.
July 30	Khrushchev receives an agricultural delegation from the United States headed by Orville L. Freeman, the agriculture secretary
July 30	Khrushchev is in the Moscow City Council studying the plans of the reconstruction of the city (the subway, traffic in the downtown area, the southwestern district, and the resort area near the Klyazma Water Reservoir).
July 31	Khrushchev visits the new resort area at the Klyazma Water Reservoir near Moscow.
August 2	Khrushchev hosts a dinner in honor of Abdirashid Ali Shermark, the prime minister of Somalia.

August 5	Khrushchev is present in the Kremlin at the signing ceremony of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in three environments.
August 5	Khrushchev receives Dean Rusk, the U.S. secretary of state.
August 5	Khrushchev receives Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the British foreign secretary.
August 5	Khrushchev receives U Thant, the UN secretary general.
August 5	Khrushchev speaks at a reception in the Kremlin commemorating the signing of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in three environments.
August 9	Khrushchev receives Dean Rusk, the U.S. secretary of state, at the Pitsunda peninsula country residence.
August 13	Khrushchev receives a group of Soviet and European writers in Pitsunda.
August 14	Khrushchev receives Cvetin Mijatovic, the ambassador of Yugoslavia, in Pitsunda.
August 16	Khrushchev receives in Pitsunda Earl Warren, the chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, Drew Pearson, a correspondent of *The New York Times,* and Mrs. A. Meyer.
August 20–September 3	Khrushchev on vacation in Yugoslavia (the cities of Belgrade, Skopje, Cetinje, Split, the Brioni islands, Ljubljana, Velenje, Bled, Zagreb, and Belgrade).
September 3	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
September 4	Khrushchev receives Thomas Dehler, the deputy of the West German Bundestag.
September 5	Khrushchev is at a Bulgarian exhibition in Sokolniki Park.
September 8	Khrushchev and others are in the Kremlin Theater for a concert by the Sofia chamber choir.
September 11	Khrushchev is in the Agriculture Research Institute for the Non Black Soil Region examining kidney-bean harvesters.
September 11	Khrushchev receives Frederick Erroll, the secretary of trade of Great Britain.
September 16–17	Khrushchev visits collective farms in the Volgograd region and the Volga Chemical Industrial Complex.
September 18–24	Khrushchev is in the city of Astrakhan.
September 25	Khrushchev is in the Kuban region visiting collective farms.
September 26	Khrushchev is in the city of Krasnodar speaking at a meeting of agricultural workers.
September 26	Khrushchev is in the Kherson region, Ukraine.

September 27	Khrushchev is in the city of Novaya Kakhovka and then departs to the city of Yalta for a vacation.
October 17	Khrushchev is in the town of Krasnoperekopsk in Crimea and speaks at the opening ceremony of the Severokrimsky Canal (North Crimean Irrigation Canal).
October 21–22	Khrushchev twice receives in the Kremlin Solomon West Ridgeway Dias Bandaranaike, the prime minister of Ceylon (Sri Lanka).
October 23	Khrushchev twice receives Tulsi Giri, the head of the government of Nepal.
October 23	Khrushchev and Tulsi Giri attend a performance of Tchaikovsky's opera *Eugene Onegin* at the Bolshoi Theater.
October 25	Khrushchev receives the participants in the Third World Congress of Journalists in Moscow.
October 28	Khrushchev receives Solomon West Ridgeway Dias Bandaranaike and is present at a meeting in the Kremlin in his honor.
October 28	Khrushchev is present at the opening of the 13th congress of trade unions in the Kremlin.
October 29	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the socialist parties of France headed by Guy Mollet.
October 30	Khrushchev receives Prince Souvanna Phouma, the prime minister of Laos, and hosts a breakfast in his honor.
November 1	Khrushchev speaks at a reception in honor of Prince Souvanna Phouma.
November 2	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at the closing of the 13th congress of trade unions.
November 2	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Burma.
November 2	Khrushchev and others are at a concert in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.
November 3	Khrushchev attends the wedding ceremony of the cosmonauts Valentina Tereshkova and Andrian Nikolayev.
November 6	Khrushchev receives presidents of various American companies (about 20 people).
November 6	Khrushchev is at a formal session in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses commemorating the anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.
November 7	Khrushchev stands on the Tribune of the Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow, watching the military parade and Muscovite procession, then attends a reception commemorating the anniversary of the October 1917 revolution.

November 19	Khrushchev receives General A. Nasution, the minister of defense of Indonesia, in the city of Kiev.
November 20	Khrushchev receives Per Haekkerup, the minister of foreign affairs of Denmark, in Kiev.
November 23	Khrushchev visits the U.S. Embassy to offer condolences on the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.
November 25	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Czechoslovakia headed by Antonin Novotny.
November 26	Khrushchev, Antonin Novotny, and others are in the Bolshoi Theater for Adolphe Adam's ballet, *Giselle.*
November 30	Khrushchev receives Urho Kaleva Kekkonen, the president of Finland, and hosts a dinner in his honor.
December 3	Khrushchev receives Urho Kaleva Kekkonen.
December 9	Khrushchev reports to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU on the plans for the development of the chemical industry and for increasing the production of fertilizers.
December 10	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Czechoslovakia headed by Jiri Henrik and hosts a breakfast in their honor.
December 13	Khrushchev speaks at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU with closing remarks.
December 16	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at the opening of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.
December 16	Khrushchev speaks at a reception in honor of the delegation from Czechoslovakia.
December 17	Khrushchev is in the Moscow City Council examining plans for the reconstruction of the city, a model for country houses, and machinery for street cleaning.
December 18	Khrushchev and others are at an exhibition of nonwoven fabric.
December 19	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Algeria and hosts a breakfast in their honor.
December 20	Khrushchev receives Carlos Rafael Rodrigues, a member of the Cuban leadership.
December 22	Khrushchev answers questions from the editors of the African newspapers *Ghanaian Times, People, Alje Republican,* and *Botataun.*
December 24	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at the opening of the session of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR.
December 26	Khrushchev attends the 17th Moscow city party conference.
December 26	Khrushchev receives A. Pszczulikowski, the ambassador of Poland.

December 26	Khrushchev receives Stojan Karadjov, the ambassador of Bulgaria.
December 26	Khrushchev receives R. Shulman, the ambassador of Sweden.
December 26	Khrushchev receives Jibril Maiga, the ambassador of the Republic of Mali.
December 27	For the second time Khrushchev receives the delegation from Algeria and is present at a reception in their honor.
December 28	At the All-Union Exhibition of National Economic Achievements (in Moscow) Khrushchev examines the exhibition of the chemical industry and later visits the “Prokatdetal” prefabricated concrete panel factory.
December 28	Khrushchev and others are in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses to attend Prokofiev’s opera *The Love of Three Oranges,* performed by the Lithuanian National Opera and Ballet Theater.
December 29	Khrushchev and others are in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at a concert of Lithuanian performers.
December 31	Khrushchev answers the questions of Henry Shapiro, the Moscow correspondent of United Press.

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January 1	Khrushchev speaks at the New Year’s reception at the Kremlin.
January 2	Khrushchev answers questions from Pablo Pesche, the editor of the Uruguayan newspaper *El Diario*.
January 4–5	Khrushchev visits Poland (the city of Warsaw and its surroundings).
January 10	Khrushchev receives Walter Ulbricht, the leader of the GDR.
January 11	Khrushchev receives Adam Malik, the ambassador of Indonesia.
January 13	Khrushchev receives Fidel Castro Ruz the Cuban leader and hosts a breakfast in his honor.
January 14	Khrushchev and Fidel Castro Ruz are in the Kremlin at the New Year’s children’s party.
January 15–17	Khrushchev and Fidel Castro Ruz are in Zavidovo hunting preserve on Moscow’s periphery.
January 17	Khrushchev and Fidel Castro Ruz speak at a public rally in the city of Kalinin (now Tver).
January 18	Khrushchev and Fidel Castro Ruz are at a stud farm on Moscow’s periphery.

January 20	Khrushchev and Fidel Castro Ruz are on the state farm "Belaya Dacha" on Moscow's periphery.
January 21	Khrushchev speaks at a reception in the Kremlin in honor of Fidel Castro Ruz.
January 22	Khrushchev and Fidel Castro Ruz are in the city of Kiev.
January 27	Khrushchev receives Valery Giscard d'Estaing, the minister of finance of France, in the city of Kiev.
January 30	Khrushchev visits the construction site of the Kiev hydroelectric power station and a vegetable factory (greenhouses).
February 1	Khrushchev and others are in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at A. Turenkov's opera *Novy Rassvet* (New Dawn), performed by the Opera and Ballet Theater of Belorussia.
February 3	Khrushchev receives Lee Song-Un, the ambassador of the Korean Peoples Democratic Republic (North Korea).
February 7	Khrushchev receives Luis Carlos Prestes, the leader of the Communist Party of Brazil.
February 7	Khrushchev receives Maurice Dejean, the ambassador of France.
February 8	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Vietnam headed by Le Duan and hosts a dinner in their honor.
February 14	Khrushchev speaks at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU regarding the question of specialization in agriculture.
February 17	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Bulgaria headed by Todor Zhivkov and hosts a dinner in their honor.
February 17	Khrushchev receives Cyrus Eaton, the American-Canadian industrialist.
February 18	Khrushchev for the second time receives the delegation from Bulgaria headed by Todor Zhivkov.
February 19	Khrushchev examines the project for the monument to the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko in Moscow.
February 19	Khrushchev is at a reception in honor of the Soviet Olympic champions.
February 20	Khrushchev receives Jens Otto Krag, the prime minister of Denmark, and hosts a breakfast in his honor.
February 21	Khrushchev for the second time receives Jens Otto Krag and hosts a breakfast in his honor.
February 21	Khrushchev receives the director of the Italian publishing house "Julio Elmaudi Editorio."

February 27	Khrushchev receives Jens Otto Krag again and is present at a reception in his honor held in the Kremlin.
February 27	Khrushchev receives Cvetin Mijatovic, the ambassador of Yugoslavia.
February 28	Khrushchev speaks at a meeting of agricultural workers in the Kremlin.
March 9	In Pitsunda peninsula, Khrushchev receives a medal in commemoration of the 150th birthday of the poet Taras Shevchenko, as well as the anniversary edition of *Kobzar,* a book of his poems.
March 9	Khrushchev receives the award named in honor of Taras Shevchenko.
March 10	Khrushchev receives A. Araouzos, the minister of foreign affairs of Cyprus, and V. Lissaridis, a Cyprian parliamentarian.
March 13	At the Pitsunda peninsula country residence, Khrushchev receives Mohammed Benyahya, the ambassador of Algeria.
March 16	In Pitsunda, Khrushchev receives a delegation from Romania headed by Ion Gheorghe Maurer.
March 16	Khrushchev receives Mongi Slim, the secretary of state of foreign affairs of Tunisia, in Pitsunda.
March 20	Khrushchev receives Marshal Abdullah Al-Sallal, the president of Yemen, in Pitsunda.
March 20–23	Khrushchev conducts a meeting in Pitsunda on the future development of the electric power industry (without media publicity). [SK].
March 28	Khrushchev receives I. Gjine, the ambassador of Romania, in the Kremlin.
March 28	Khrushchev receives Edgar Faure, the French statesman.
March 31–April 10	Khrushchev visits Hungary (the cities of Budapest, Komarom region, Budapest, Miskolc, and the Budapest Optical Industrial Complex).
April 11	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
April 12	Khrushchev speaks on radio and television about the results of his visit to Hungary.
April 13–14	Khrushchev twice receives a delegation from Poland headed by Wladyslaw Gomulka and is present at a reception in the Kremlin in their honor.
April 14	Khrushchev receives a military delegation from Cambodia headed by General Lon Nol.

April 14	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses on the occasion of the visit of the delegation from Poland.
April 17	Khrushchev is awarded the Gold Star for a Hero of the Soviet Union and the Order of Lenin to commemorate his seventieth birthday.
April 17	Khrushchev gratefully attends a dinner in the Kremlin on the occasion of his seventieth birthday.
April 20	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Kenya and hosts a breakfast in their honor.
April 22	Khrushchev and other members of Soviet leadership visits Bulgarian Embassy to offer condolences on death of Dimitri Ganev, Chairman of Presidium of People Assembly of Bulgaria.
April 22	Khrushchev receives Finley Moodick, President of American "Finley Moodick Corporation," pork meat manufacturer.
April 22	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at a gathering on the occasion of V. Lenin's birthday.
April 22	Khrushchev and others are in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at Vano Muradeli's opera "October."
April 23	Khrushchev distributes a memorandum "About the Intensification in Agricultural Production" (published in newspapers on April 24).
April 23	Khrushchev is in Bolshoi Theater at the formal session dedicated to the 400th Birthday of British poet and play writer William Shakespeare.
April 25	Khrushchev receives Ahmed Ben Bella, the president of Algeria.
April 25	Khrushchev receives Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, the leader of Mongolia.
April 25	Khrushchev receives Mannaya Sofian, the ambassador of Indonesia.
April 26	Khrushchev and Ben Bella are in Novoye Ogarevo, the Moscow country residence.
April 27	Khrushchev holds negotiations with Ben Bella and hosts a breakfast in his honor.
April 30	Khrushchev inspects the reconstructed Arbat in Moscow, the underground pedestrian crossing at Revolution Square, the new building of the Hotel "Minsk," and other new building projects in Moscow.

May 1	Khrushchev stands on the Tribune of the Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow, watching the military parade and Muscovite procession, on the occasion of May 1, Labor Day.
May 2–4	Khrushchev and Ben Bella are in Crimea.
May 8–25	Khrushchev visits Egypt (the cities of Alexandria and Cairo, the construction site of the hydroelectric power station in Aswan, Luxor, Port Said, Alexandria, Cairo), negotiating with leaders of Arab countries during the visit.
May 25	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
May 27	Khrushchev speaks on radio and television about the situation in the Middle East.
May 27	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Romania headed by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej.
May 27	Khrushchev visits the Embassy of India to offer condolences for the death of Jawaharlal Nehru, the prime minister.
May 28	Khrushchev and others visit the British agricultural exhibition in Moscow.
May 28	Khrushchev receives W. Benton, the publisher of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (published in the United States).
May 29	Khrushchev receives Walter Ulbricht, the leader of the GDR, and hosts a dinner in his honor.
May 30	Khrushchev, W. Ulbricht, and others attend a performance of L. Minkus's ballet *Don Quixote* at the Bolshoi Theater.
May 30	Khrushchev receives W. Ulbricht.
June 1	Khrushchev receives Mohammad Yusuf, the prime minister of Afghanistan.
June 2	Khrushchev receives Cvetin Mijatovic, the ambassador of Yugoslavia.
June 2	Khrushchev receives Harold Wilson, the leader of the Labour Party of Great Britain.
June 3	Khrushchev receives Ashraf Pahlavi, the Iranian princess.
June 3	Khrushchev is in the Tchaikovsky Concert Hall at a concert of the chorale "Singing Voices of Japan."
June 7–9	Khrushchev meets with Josip B. Tito, the president of Yugoslavia, in the city of Leningrad.
June 9	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
June 10	Khrushchev speaks at the opening ceremony for the monument to the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko in Moscow.
June 10	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin at the opening of the session of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR.

June 11	Khrushchev receives Walter Ulbricht and gives a reception in his honor in the Kremlin.
June 11	Khrushchev receives a military delegation from Iraq headed by General Abdel Salam Mohammed Aref.
June 11	Khrushchev and others are in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at a concert of Azeri performers.
June 12	Khrushchev speaks at a public rally in the Kremlin in honor of the delegation from the GDR.
June 16–21	Khrushchev visits Denmark (the city of Copenhagen, meets prime minister Jens Otto Krag and King Frederic IX, visits farmers in Odense, Copenhagen).
June 22–27	Khrushchev visits Sweden (the city of Stockholm, meets prime minister Tage Erlanger and King Gustav IV Adolf; visits Göteborg and farmers in Harpsund, Stockholm).
June 28-July 4	Khrushchev visits Norway (the city of Oslo, meets Prime Minister E. Gerhardsen and King Olaf V, visits Bergen, Oslo).
July 6	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
July 7	Khrushchev speaks on radio and television about the results of the trip to Scandinavia.
July 8	Khrushchev speaks at a reception in the Kremlin honoring the graduates of the military academies.
July 8	Khrushchev receives Joseph Luns, the minister of foreign affairs of the Netherlands.
July 9	Khrushchev receives Sidi Mohamed Deyine, the minister of foreign affairs of Mauritania.
July 9	Khrushchev receives a military delegation from Afghanistan headed by General Khan Mohammed.
July 10	Khrushchev meets with the artist Sergei Konenkov.
July 11	Khrushchev speaks at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU about reforms in agriculture.
July 12	In Novoye Ogarevo, the Moscow country residence, Khrushchev receives a delegation from Indonesia headed by Dr. Subandrio, the minister of foreign affairs.
July 13	Khrushchev reports to the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on beginning to pay pensions to members of collective farms and increasing the wages of teachers and doctors.
July 13	Khrushchev holds negotiations and is present at a dinner in the Kremlin in honor of the Romanian delegation headed by Ion Gheorghe Maurer.

July 14	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the Socialist Party of Japan and hosts a dinner in their honor.
July 18	Khrushchev distributes a memorandum about the reform in agriculture (without media publicity). [SK].
July 18	Khrushchev receives Jalil Tutuiji, the ambassador of Jordan.
July 20	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at a concert of the Polish ensemble "Szlenske."
July 21–23	Khrushchev visits Poland (Warsaw) for the 20th anniversary of the People's Poland Republic.
July 28	Khrushchev receives Richard A. Butler, the minister of foreign affairs of Great Britain.
July 29	Khrushchev receives U Thant, the UN secretary general, and hosts a breakfast in his honor.
July 29	Khrushchev is in the town of Reutovo at the Experimental Design Bureau No. 52 (OKB-52; later called research-and-production association "Mashinostroyeniye"); meets General Designer Vladimir Chelomei; inspects new missiles (without media publicity). [SK]
July 31	Khrushchev receives David Rockefeller, the president of the Chase Manhattan Bank.
July 31	Khrushchev inspects projects of the construction of industrial plants (based on prefabricated concrete panel technology) [the exhibition is in the Kremlin].
July 31	Khrushchev is in the Operetta Theater at a concert of performers from Cambodia.
August 3	Khrushchev gives an interview to the editors of the newspapers *Pravda* and *Izvestia.*
August 4	Khrushchev visits collective farms in of Saratov region.
August 5	Khrushchev visits collective farms in Volgograd region, meeting with farmers.
August 6	Khrushchev visits collective farms in Rostov region, meeting with farmers.
August 7–8	Khrushchev is in the city of Ordzhonikidze, is present at the 40th anniversary of the North Osetian Autonomous Republic, passes through the fields, and meets with farmers.
August 9	Khrushchev is in the city of Kazan, passes through the fields of Tatarstan, and meets with farmers.
August 10	Khrushchev is in the city of Bugulma meeting with the oil workers of Bashkiria.

August 11	Khrushchev is in the city of Ufa, capital of the Bashkir Autonomous Republic, visiting chemical plants.
August 12	Khrushchev is on the virgin lands of Kustanai region.
August 13	Khrushchev is on the virgin lands of Tselinograd region and is present at a meeting in the city of Tselinograd (Astana).
August 13–14	In Tselinograd, Khrushchev receives Sir Roy Thompson, the British publisher and chairman of a British newspaper *Consortium*, and invites him on a trip across the fields.
August 15–16	Khrushchev is in the city of Frunze (Bishkek) in Kirgizia and speaks at a session of the Supreme Soviet of Kirgizia on the occasion of the Kirgizia's being awarded the Order of Lenin.
August 17	Khrushchev is at Lake Issyk-Kul and on the agricultural fields of the Issyk-Kul Valley.
August 18	Khrushchev speaks in the city of Frunze at a meeting of irrigation workers of Central Asia.
August 18	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
August 21–22	Khrushchev is in the city of Simferopol to offer condolences on the death of Palmiro Togliatti, the leader of the Italian Communist Party, who died while on vacation in the Crimea.
August 23	Khrushchev receives Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, the leader of Mongolia, in the city of Yalta.
August 24	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
August 25	Khrushchev receives a delegation of the union parties of Sudan and Mali.
August 26	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Guinea.
August 27–September 5	Khrushchev visits Czechoslovakia (the cities of Prague, Banska Bystrica, and Prague) on the 20th anniversary of the Slovak uprising.
September 7	Khrushchev speaks on Soviet radio and television about the results of his visit to Czechoslovakia.
September 7	Khrushchev visits an international exhibition of construction and road-building machines.
September 8	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a meeting of cotton growers from the Golodnaya Steppe and Karakum Canal zone.
September 8	Khrushchev is in the Bolshoi Theater at Giacomo Puccini's opera "Turandot."

September 9	Khrushchev receives Y. B. Chavan, the minister of defense of India.
September 9	Khrushchev receives the canon Félix Kir, the mayor of Dijon, France.
September 9	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at the concert of Cuban State Ballet artists.
September 10	Khrushchev is in the Bolshoi Theater at Verdi's opera *Il Trovatore,* performed by the Italian La Scala opera.
September 11	Khrushchev receives Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the president of India.
September 11	Khrushchev receives Alvarez Sanchez, the ambassador of Cuba.
September 12	Khrushchev receives S. Radhakrishnan for the second time.
September 14	Khrushchev is in the town of Kubinka in Moscow's periphery examining new weaponry and meets with generals (without media publicity). [SK]
September 15	Khrushchev receives Ali Baligh Sabri, the prime minister of Egypt.
September 15	Khrushchev receives a delegation from the parliament of Japan headed by Kendem Fukunaga.
September 16	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at the opening of the World Youth Forum.
September 16	Khrushchev receives Ali Baligh Sabri for the second time.
September 16	Khrushchev is in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at the concert given for the participants of the World Youth Forum.
September 18	Khrushchev and Anastas Mikoyan meet with S. Radhakrishnan.
September 19	Khrushchev receives a delegation from Cyprus.
September 19	Khrushchev speaks in the Kremlin at a reception in honor of the participants of the World Youth Forum.
September 21	Khrushchev meets with Ali Sabri, the prime minister of Egypt.
September 22	Khrushchev receives the Cubans: Ambassador Alvarez Sanchez and the statesman Risket Valdez.
September 23	Khrushchev meets Ali Baligh Sabri at the Moscow Sheremetyevo Airport.
September 24–25	Khrushchev inspects the missile and space technology at the firing range in the cosmodome Baikonur (Operation "Palma") (without media publicity). [SK]

September 28	Khrushchev receives Montanes Oropesa, minister of communications of the Republic of Cuba.
September 28	Khrushchev visits an Auto-Motor Research Institute and inspects last models of quarry dump trucks.
September 28	Khrushchev speaks in the Bolshoi Theater to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the First International.
September 29	Khrushchev meets at the Moscow airport and then receives in the Kremlin Sukarno, the president of Indonesia.
September 29	Khrushchev receives T. B. Illangaratne, the minister of trade of Ceylon.
September 30	Khrushchev receives President Sukarno for the second time.
October 2	Khrushchev is in Crimea visiting the poultry farms "Yuzhny" and "Krasny."
October 3	Khrushchev receives in Pitsunda peninsula countryside residence Japanese parliamentarians headed by Aiichiro Fujiyama.
October 4	In Pitsunda, Khrushchev receives a delegation from the parliament of Pakistan headed by Fazluk Kader Woudri, the speaker.
October 12	Khrushchev and Anastas Mikoyan talk by radio with the cosmonauts Vladimir Komarov, Konstantin Feokistov, and Boris Yegorov, who are orbiting Earth.
October 13	Khrushchev receives in Pitsunda Gaston Palewski, the French State Minister for Science, Nuclear, and Space Research.
October 13	Khrushchev returns to Moscow.
October 13–14	Khrushchev participates in the session of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee.
October 14, 1964	The Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee releases Khrushchev from all his duties.

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Compiled by Dr. Irina L. Lynden
Assistant Professor
Graduate School of Library and Information Studies
University of Rhode Island

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