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EMBASSY OF INDIA,
MOSCOW.

No. 404.

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My dear Bukharin,

All over the Soviet Union, preparations are under way for the celebration of the 43rd Anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The fact that top Party leaders from all Communist countries including Mr. Liu Shao Chi of China have arrived in Moscow for what is expected to be a rather important and decisive meeting is normally of the greatest interest. Yet it is customary in any report on an Anniversary of this sort to provide some analysis of the slogans which are published in the Press some days before the actual event with particular reference to any differences which might exist between them and those published in April this year before May Day and those published last October. Though too much should not be read into the changes which are introduced, they are probably at least worth recording.

2. The section which normally receives the most careful scrutiny is that which covers relations with other countries. As far as China is concerned, there is one interesting difference; last year's reference to the friendship between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union as being an invincible guarantee of peace throughout the world has been dropped this year. This particular epithet has been transferred to the slogan which refers to the "mighty socialist camp". In the context of Sino-Soviet ideological differences and the importance the Soviet Union attaches to the strengthening of the unity of the bloc, this change might be considered to be of some significance.

3. India retains the good position it has had for some time in the slogans; it continues to head the list of non-socialist countries to which ardent greetings are extended. This year's slogan goes a little further than last year's in that it calls not only for "strengthening" but also for the "further development" of the friendship and co-operation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and India. The Indian and Indonesian peoples are the only ones which merit the description of "great" peoples - Indonesia joined this category only last April. New additions to the list of countries which receive special mention are the Congo and Cuba - this is a reflection of the closer relations which the Soviet Union has developed with these countries over the last year.

4. The reference to Yugoslavia is somewhat warmer this year; the slogan not only calls for friendship (last year) between the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples, but also for co-operation and not only should these be strengthened (last year) but they should also develop. No particular significance should be attached to this

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change since the ideological differences between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia have not been resolved and have, if anything, been aggravated since last year.

5. One of the most noticeable innovations has been the bracketing of United States, Britain and France into one slogan whereas last year, they were treated to a separate slogan each. Of the three, the United States suffers most, for in the May Day slogans there was actually a reference to developing relations which were considered to be in the interests of the strengthening of peace throughout the world and the security and prosperity of all humanity. Though several other countries such as Finland and Austria merit separate slogans, it is somewhat galling for the other Great Powers to see that Italy whose relations with the Soviet Union are no better than their own has a slogan all to itself.

6. The slogan about colonialism is much more sharply worded this year and it more or less reflects the contents of Mr. Khrushchev's resolution in the United Nations General Assembly.

7. On the German question there have also been some slight changes; the call for the conclusion of a Peace Treaty with Germany is not qualified by the condition that it should be speedily achieved as was done last year and there is an added protest this year against the supply of nuclear weapons to the German revanchists.

8. On disarmament, the slogans appear almost inadequate; whereas last year, they called for an immediate cessation of nuclear tests, this year the word "immediate" has been dropped and it is altogether surprising that there is no mention at all of "complete and total disarmament".

9. Under the slogan which refers to the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union, there are some minor changes; as against last year, it is described as a "peace-loving" foreign policy this year and there is an additional reference as there was in May to respect for the freedom and independence of all peoples. Of the two changes the latter is probably of greater import.

10. As far as internal affairs are concerned, there have been very few changes. The most interesting of these is the introduction of a new slogan which calls for an conscious effort to consolidate socialist property. It goes on to reproduce the famous dictum which Stalin frequently used, viz., "He who does not work shall not eat". This question is very much in the forefront just now and even a serious theoretical journal like KOMMUNIST has found it necessary to devote several pages of its last issue to a discussion of a growing tendency on the part of certain sections of Soviet Society to

shirk work and indulge in practices which reveal a shocking lack of socialist morality.

11. In the slogan which calls for the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan there is a small innovation. Instead of this achievement being related to the benefits it would bring to the "socialist motherland", this year it is considered to be a means of building up the "material and technical base for communism". In this somewhat different interpretation, one merely sees a reproduction of the ideas which Mr. Khrushchev first expressed at the XXI Party Congress when he called for an all-out effort to construct communism.

12. As is customary on such an occasion, PRAVDA spelt out various reasons the Soviet people had to be satisfied with themselves in an editorial devoted to the slogans. Only two small points in what was otherwise a routine summary of achievements attracted attention. The first was a reference to the principle "He who does not work shall not eat" - the fact that it forms the subject of a new slogan and is repeated in the editorial indicates the importance which is attached to it. The second interesting point is that the editorial interprets the greetings of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party to all other Communist Parties as calling for "their inviolable unity and cohesion and urging "stronger united actions" in the spirit of proletarian internationalism - here the emphasis laid on the need for solidarity between all Communist Parties finds repeated and more pointed expression.

13. A separate report on the October Revolution Celebrations will follow by next week's bag.

Yours sincerely,
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(A.S. Gonsalves)
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