

Note on the exchange of views between H.F.Mr.Kosygin, and the Prime Minister at their meeting on Monday, the 20th February, 1961.

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After exchanging greetings, the Prime Minister enquired about the progress of the Seven-Year Plan of the Soviet Union. Mr.Kosygin said that it was going well, but some modifications were necessitated as new resources of significance like copper, tin, lead, diamonds etc. were discovered in new regions in considerable quantities after the plan was finalised. In the sphere of development of power resources the new trend was towards construction of large capacity hydro-electric stations combined with irrigation projects. There were plans to provide irrigation facilities to 1,000,000 hectares of land for the cultivation of cotton. No new projects were contemplated in the sphere of development of atomic energy as a source of power. Only the projects already undertaken were to be completed. This was because they were far more expensive as sources of power than for example power plants utilising gas. There were plans to start two new projects utilising gas with a capacity of 2.4 million kwts, each. The trend was towards constructing large stations in one bloc and utilising maximum capacity of each plant. There was no gas available ten years ago in the Soviet Union. However, as a result of careful survey and prospecting considerable quantities of gas had been found in new regions in the North Caucasus, Ukraine, Volga and near Bokhara -- places where no one would have thought of finding gas only a few years back. Mr. Kosygin struck an optimistic note about the prospects of finding gas in India also, and said that according to Soviet experts, there may be a lot of gas in Gujarat and other parts of India.

Mr. Kosygin then touched upon the production of steel in the Soviet Union. The present production was 71 million tons a year. It was expected to increase by 6 million tons in the course of the next year. Although U.S.A. had a total installed capacity of 130 million tons, their production next year would be only 85 million tons. In comparison by 1965, the production in the USSR would rise to somewhere between 86 to 91 million tons a year. It was possible to increase this furthermore but capital investment was now being shifted to other fields. With the development of the oil and the chemical industry, new demand for steel pipes for carrying oil over long distances was increasing.

Production of oil during the current year was around 161 million tons. No difficulty was envisaged in the marketing of this oil at home or abroad despite competition from South America. Consumption of oil for industrial purposes was bound to increase in various countries. There were also bright prospects of turning out byproducts like polythelyne and terrylene. Since they had enough of these resources, they had not paid any attention to the development of synthetic oil or petrol, which had in any case been found too expensive in countries like Germany which had since rejected it.

After a brief chat regarding the progress of the Soviet rocket to the Venus, Mr. Kosygin handed over a letter from Mr. Krushchev to the Prime Minister containing references to the question of disarmament, and situation in Congo and Laos.

The Prime Minister said that this was a good and a detailed letter and he will give fullest attention to it. Of course, while the biggest issue at present was disarmament, Congo issue was the most immediate. As regards Laos, India had expressed broad agreement with the Cambodian Prime Minister's proposal for a conference on the Geneva pattern of a number of countries, but felt that time was not yet opportune to convene such a conference. In view of the urgency, the International Commission should meet first, and the conference could meet afterwards. India was agreeable to Mr. Krushchev's suggestion to hold a preliminary meeting in Delhi or elsewhere for the purpose of reconvening the International Commission. But it was a matter primarily in the hands of the Co-Chairmen, U.K. and Soviet Union. India was ready to cooperate.

Mr. Kosygin said that the Soviet Union had replied to a note from the U.K. Government and were now awaiting latter's reaction to their proposal for the reconvening of the International Commission. There should hardly be any forces working against reconvening of the International Commission. Soviet Union was in fact trying to revitalise the Commission for the last two or three years. If the Commission had been there, events in Laos would probably have been different. In any case, it was necessary to put a stop to the fighting going on in Laos. Prime Minister agreed that if the Commission had been there present troubles could have been avoided. In fact, India was not in favour of discontinuing it, but had to agree to it.

Mr. Kosygin then referred to the complicated situation in Congo on which Mr. Krushchev had written another special letter to the Prime Minister. The letter had been delivered to the Indian Ambassador in Moscow. Mr. Kosygin started by saying that they had welcomed Prime Minister's speech in which he had stated that all the Belgian troops and advisers should be withdrawn from Congo, the Congolese Parliament should be re-convened, and the legitimate government of Congo should be made effective. Soviet Union felt that positive measures on Congo were necessary now and it was high time that arbitrary rule was ended and immediate action taken to arrest and punish the guilty. They regretted that Mr. Dag Hammerskjeld did not act as he should have, and dealt with the Government which was not the legitimate Government of Congo. The Security Council had stated that the first task was to withdraw Belgian troops. But nothing happened. Instead the Secretary General in agreement with the Belgium and other colonial powers used forces against the legitimate government. It was Mr. Lumumba who had asked for the help of the U.N. but the U.N. forces were ultimately used against him and in support of the illegitimate government of bandits. He was not even allowed to use the radio station. Mr. Hammerskjeld knew about it, but did not do anything. In contrast Col. Mobutu took over the radio station for his own purposes, and the U.N. did not do anything to stop him from doing so. The U.N. troops created such a situation in Congo that while no help could be given to the legitimate government of Congo, others could always get help from outside. This helped Mobutu and Tshombe to set up their arbitrary rule. The Soviet Government held Mr. Hammerskjeld responsible, and refused to accept him as Secretary General. He had shown by his deeds that he helped and supported Mobutu and Tshombe. If he did not have enough forces, he could have easily found them if he wanted to defend the legitimate government of Congo. He was the one at fault for events in Congo. He went against the democratic elements in Congo. Such a situation would not have arisen if the Soviet proposals for the reorganization of the U.N. had been accepted and a triumvirate set up in place of the present Secretary-General.

The Prime Minister observed that in order to put an end to the arbitrary rule, strong forces were necessary. As for punishing the guilty, gradually full enquiry should be held into their conduct and further steps taken. It would be better to proceed in some organised way if situation was to be cleared up. It did not matter whether there was one Secretary General or three. Ultimately it depended upon how the U.N. functioned. If the U.N. was inactive or passive, the situation would not change for the better. U.N. forces were not used against Mr. Lumumba, but that those forces remained passive and in the meanwhile Belgium supplied arms to trouble makers.

After the Security Council's instructions, it is true that a good part of the Belgian forces did withdraw. Later on there was an internal conflict between President Kasavubu and Prime Minister Lumumba. The Parliament met and confirmed both in their respective positions. However, when they split up President Kasavubu detained Lumumba. UN should have taken action to stop this. It was also wrong on the part of the U.N. to have denied the use of radio station to Lumumba. Then there was the coup by Col. Mobutu. Probably he was helped by Belgians, certain Western powers, Tshombe, and the big Belgian mining syndicates in Katanga. The U.N. troops did at one stage push out Mobutu and his forces. But they came in again to participate in the U.N. Day Parade and refused to go out. Prime Minister said he did not know what the views of Mr. Hammerskjeld were at this time. He wanted to control them but did not have enough forces or authority. It only points out to the weakness of the U.N. and it is not clear how Hammerskjeld was encouraging Belgians. Mr. Rajeshwar Dayals second report submitted in October 1960 reporting Belgian intervention and recommending that it should be ended was not considered or even discussed fully by the U.N. General Assembly. The report contained a clear indictment of those supporting Mobutu and Tshombe. About this time Kasavubu went to New York, and the U.N. General Assembly accepted him as the President of Congo and gave prestige and authority to him. This only strengthened the hands of Mobutu and others and made things still difficult for Hammerskjeld. Mention has been made of what the legitimate government of Congo. A strictly legitimate government really comprised of both Kasavubu and Lumumba as President and Prime Minister respectively. When they split up, there was really no single legitimate government as such. One could not say that half of this government and half of the other was legitimate. However, more important thing now was what was to be done to improve the situation. Belgian and other foreign interventionists should be pushed out, Congolese Parliament should meet, take charge of the situation and punish the guilty after full enquiry. Civil war should be prevented and present disturbances should cease.

Mr. Kosygin replied that if the present state of affairs continues even if the Parliament is convened, Mobutu and Tshombe could make it vote for anything by sheer force. Therefore, before the Parliament is convened, the foreign troops must be withdrawn first and Mobutu and Tshombe and their forces should be disarmed and arrested. Only after that the Parliament should be convened to decide about the future shape of things. However, what has happened in Congo has not added to the prestige of the UN or to the prestige of Secretary-General. The way things have gone on in Congo have only meant that no colonialist country fighting for independence will now come to the UN for help, and they may have to look for other ways for preserving their freedom.