

TOP SECRET

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Record of talks between Prime Minister and  
Mr. Khrushchev in Calcutta on 1st March, 1960.

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P.M. What does His Excellency Mr. Khrushchev think of recent developments since we met last?

Mr.K. I am afraid I am not fully informed, partly because I could not read papers regularly and partly because I was on the move. As far as I can make out, nothing much has happened. Regarding the French atomic explosion in Sahara, our respective positions are the same. I may tell you confidentially that our statement on the French test, which was issued from Moscow, was actually prepared in Delhi.

While I was in Indonesia, President Soekarno told me that President Eisenhower had a very tumultuous welcome in Brazil, but there were certain troubles in Argentine.

P.M. In Argentine, the Peronistas did not welcome Eisenhower and created trouble.

Mr.K. The great news which has shaken the world is that Shah's wife is now expecting.

P.M. The great question is whether the child is going to be a boy or a girl.

Mr.K. Shah is not a wise person. We are indifferent to whether Shah's wife is pregnant, but will welcome a child regardless of whether it is a boy or a girl.

I do not know if you are aware that a committee of experts had been set up by American Congress to compare the economic progress made by Socialist countries. This committee had come to the conclusion that we will not only be able to implement our Seven-Year Plan but that we will also be catching up with the United States. This is a hard conclusion for them to swallow, but is, of course,

delightful for us. It is important in so far as it helps in clearing up minds.

P.M. I read a summary of this report.

MR.K. So did I. I saw the summary given by Tass.

P.M. Another interesting report is one on the development of atomic energy. The report came to the conclusion that while theoretically any country can develop atomic bombs, yet in terms of practical possibilities, not more than 7, 8 countries can do so. If no ban is imposed now upon the tests, then it will be more difficult to impose it later, by which time more countries would have come to possess atom bombs.

MR.K. I agree with this conclusion. The pity of it, however, is that right inferences are not drawn. What is necessary is that you have to agree to end atomic tests. The Western Powers want to continue exploding bombs under-ground. We naturally did not agree with this. Another important inference is that there should be agreement on disarmament. On this issue also there is not the requisite agreement.

I read a statement by Herter that there should be disarmament along with International Police Force. The problem of International Police Force is insoluble. They will not have International Police Force under our command. Similarly, we will not agree to their having such a force under their command. I have a suspicion that the Western powers want this International Police Force to suppress people's movement under the guise of crushing subversive activities. Anything which does not appeal to them, will be dubbed as communist subversive activity, and they will seek to suppress it through the International Police Force.

P.M. It is difficult to have an International Police Force, but if there is such a force, it must be

under joint command.

Mr.K.

I do not think the time is yet ripe for it, and frankly cannot see how it can be done. Besides, it would not be necessary to have an International Police Force if there is effective disarmament. Then there would be other means of putting pressure on countries which misbehave.

P.M.

Something like the force in Gaza Strip could, perhaps, be possible, though on a bigger scale.

Mr.K.

We will hear about it on 15th March in the Disarmament Commission in Geneva. It is interesting to note the development of a clearer understanding favouring disarmament. In U.S.A. and especially in U.K., it is being realized more clearly that the policy of "from position of strength" has failed. This makes talks on disarmament easier but progress will be slow and will take time.

I hear the United States is giving you big amounts as credit for constructing a steel plant like Shilai.

P.M.

So far there have been only vague talks. There have not been any direct talks.

Mr.K.

This approach is typical for them. Reason tells them that they should offer assistance, but capitalist practices sometimes do not allow them to implement their own ideas.

P.M.

Whenever such questions of large scale aid arise, they say that they have first to go to Congress.

Mr.K.

I met a number of Congressmen when I was in the United States. Some of them seem to have lost all sense of reality; so much so that it is even difficult to talk to them.

P.M.

They live in a different world.

Mr.Khrushchev has had a long tour. I hope when he goes back he will have some rest.

Mr.K. It does not seem possible in the near future. I have to get ready to go to France.

P.M. When exactly do you go to France?

Mr.K. I arrive in Moscow on 5th and leave for France on 15th. The situation at home is very good and is perfectly calm. We are very pleased about it.

P.M. De Gaulle is facing difficulties at home.

Mr.K. Very much so. The trouble is that his approach is unrealistic. I do not think he can solve the Algerian problem. De Gaulle had good intentions when he first made his declaration, but forces opposed to him are too strong.

P.M. But specially those forces which supported him earlier, are now against him. Besides, De Gaulle is thinking mostly in terms of grandeur of France.

Mr.K. Grandeur does not solve anything at all. If grandeur has any meaning, it must be recognised by others. France is not in a position to build up grandeur.

France can, however, play a useful role between East and West if she stays neutral and does not follow the lead of West Germany. I may give you an analogy, when Tito spoiled relations with Socialist countries, He was in great demand in the West. Now when tension between East and West has lessened, Tito's importance has also been deflated. If France stays neutral, it can do a lot then by following in the wake of great powers.

P.M. France is doing more than following great powers. It is following in the wake of West Germany more than even Western powers.

Mr.K. De Gaulle, in my view, is playing a game. He is playing on Adenauer's strength, but is not in fact supporting him. De Gaulle has recognised post-war frontiers and is supporting the theme of unity of Germany. He is supporting West Germany in relation to West Berlin.

P.M. Fear of Germany is very real in France.

Mr.K. This fear has a real basis. West Germany can take a stand which will make the position of France very awkward. If West Germany, for example, effects a rapprochement with us what will become of NATO? This possibility cannot be ruled out. There is no need for guess work. One can wait and see.

P.M. West Germany likes to continue the tension between East and West.

Mr.K. That is so.

I hear you went to Suratgarh. When I went there, I formed a very good impression. The General Manager there is a very good man.

P.M. I have been there since you were there last. One of the unfortunate factors is that there has not been any rain for the last few months.

Mr.K. The answer to that is that you should have better irrigation.

P.M. We have now got canal water in a substantial part of the farm. For the rest we have to depend on rain.

Mr.K. Rain is a very bad ally. Rain is very irresponsible but the soil in Suratgarh is very good. Given a good soil you can get a lot of bread, provided you can make arrangements for water. Irrigation is the only answer, even though it is an expensive proposition.

P.M. Apart from being expensive, irrigation demands time also. In India today we have more irrigation than in many other Asian countries. We generally link irrigation with hydro-electric projects. This cannot be done everywhere. We try and do it wherever possible.

Yesterday the World Agriculture Fair closed in Delhi.

Mr.K. We want to present you something from there. Please accept it. Our Ambassador will speak to you about it in greater detail.

P.M. Thank you for the gift.

Mr.K. We are very happy with the progress that we have made in economy in our country, both in industry and agriculture.

Now we are gathering fruits of reorganization.

P.M. How about the virgin land?

Mr.K. Very well. A lot of work needs to be done there but it is going on to our satisfaction. All our investments in virgin lands have now been made good. Net proceeds alone amount to about 18 million roubles.

P.M. How many hectares of land have been brought under cultivation under this programme?

Mr.K. About 35 million hectares. We intend to add another 12 million.

P.M. Do you have single crop cultivation?

Mr.K. For the time being, the lands are producing only single crop, but we intend to rotate crops and are going in for corn production. Corn is very useful as fodder.

P.M. Do you keep large stocks of grain for use in emergencies?

Mr.K. We would like to have reserves which would last us for a year, but have not yet reached that stage. We get too many requests for help and cannot really be too strict. We give help saying that it is being given for the last time but these things repeat themselves. We will take it easy and will not force the pace. We expect, it will take five to seven years before we can build up adequate reserves.

P.M. I heard of some plan to create a big lake in Siberia which, when created, would even change the climate of the neighbouring areas.

Mr.K. There were some vague proposals, but nothing concrete was ever discussed. There is a practical proposition to divert waters of the rivers falling in the Arctic sea to Volga. This is likely to cost about 12 billion roubles. When this plan is implemented, it would give us a second navigable waterway from Volga to Arctic ocean.

P.M. Does Mr.Khrushchev still think that some progress can be made at the Summit?

Mr.K. I think there will be some progress, no matter how insignificant it may be. I do not think that others will want us to leave the Summit without gaining anything. Eisenhower wants to leave something behind as he leaves his office. Macmillan is also similarly inclined. It will be more difficult for De Gaulle. Cannot really judge De Gaulle as I have never met him. I judge him only from press reports.

When will your Second Five Year Plan be over?

P.M. In about a year and four months.

Mr.K. How is it being fulfilled?

P.M. In agriculture, we have fallen behind for lack of rains. Now we are catching up. In industry we are all right.

Mr.K. I was very happy to visit Bhilai. This may be because I spent my childhood in industry and mines. When I was in Bhilai, I felt quite at home.

P.M. A sad accident occurred there recently. You must have heard about it.

Mr.K. Yes, I heard about it. This is one of the things that happen. How is your Third Five-Year Plan being prepared?

P.M. It is in the paper stage. By the end of April it will be out as a draft Plan for discussion. After it has been discussed for about 9 months, it will be finalised.

Mr.K. Will the Third Plan be considerably more in size than the Second Five-Year Plan?

P.M. It would almost be double of the Second Plan.

Mr.K. Americans must help you to finance some of the projects. Lippman, Harriman have been speaking in your favour.

P.M. It is true that these gentlemen have been speaking in our favour. Our expectation is that United States will give us aid but in dribblets. Major aid will have to come through Congress. The World Bank sent a party of three men to India and South-East Asia to find out how planning was progressing there. The process of industrial

development and agriculture is bound to go on. The question is of speed.

Mr.K. That is the main problem.

P.M. There the big factor is the enormous agricultural population. A part of this population is being absorbed in industry but even the remaining balance is colossal.

Mr.K. These are big problems. We too have a surplus of agricultural population.

P.M. Even now?

Mr.K. Abroad they say that we are cutting down our armed forces, because we are short of hands. This is nonsense. We have a surplus of man power in agriculture. As efficiency in agriculture is growing, more and more hands are becoming surplus. When Stalin died, we were told that we were short of hands and we looked for help to China. We even entered into a Treaty with China. When, however, we learnt more about economy and reorganization, we found that there was no lack of labour in our own country.

P.M. More and more people are drifting towards industry.

Mr.K. But on the other hand, as machines are being made, more and more automatic, an ever increasing number of people is being released from work. So we are reducing working hours which otherwise would lead to unemployment.

P.M. Looking into the future when automation is implemented in a big way, when, for example, weeks' work is done in a couple of hours, what would happen?

Mr.K. Working hours will have to be made shorter still, and then people may work for 2 to 3 days in a week.

P.M. In U.S. there is the problem of leisure.

Mr.K. For the time being, this matter is in the realm of of fantasy.

P.M. I told you when we met last that I would write to you about vaccines for small-pox etc. I hope to be



able to send you the letter soon.

Mr.K.

Please do so, we will consider it.

P.M.

I will meet Macmillan about 10 days before the Summit.

Mr.K.

Are your relations with Macmillan close and intimate?

P.M.

Not terribly intimate but good.

Mr.K.

Macmillan is quite sociable, but Eden was better.

P.M.

Even Eden made a mess in Suez.

Mr.K.

Eden is an intelligent person and I have great respect for him.

P.M.

He is now writing a book on Suez with a view to justifying what he did there.

Mr.K.

It would be difficult for him to justify his attitude to Suez.

If you know Macmillan well, perhaps you may advise him to play a positive role at the Summit.

P.M.

Of course, I will do that not only privately but also during our discussions at the conference.

Mr.K.

I am concerned at Eisenhower's decision to share atomic secrets. This may have bad results. So far we have not shared our secrets with other Socialist countries, but if America were to share her secrets with her allies, it will place us in a difficult situation.

Confidentially, I may tell you that I intend to send a message to Eisenhower on this matter. Although it will have no effect on him, it will at least serve as a warning.

P.M.

This is a matter of concern for us also. It leads to an uncontrollable situation, about which I talked earlier. Perhaps, the type of secrets they want to share are those which are, more or less, known to everyone.

Mr.K.

Perhaps.

P.M.

Are you thinking of going to Africa?

Mr.K.

I have invitations from a number of African countries but cannot say if I will succeed in going there. I would very much like to go to Ethiopia. The Emperor of Ethiopi

created a good impression on us by his heroic activities during the war against his country.

P.M. I also formed a good impression of him. He is a quiet and dignified man. I have been wanting to go there myself. He has asked me several times, but do not know when I will be able to go.

Mr.K. We have good relations with Ethiopia, but this time I am definitely going to Korea which is our neighbour. I have been postponing it, but cannot do so any longer.

P.M. Your country stretches far and wide; so you have many neighbours.

Mr.K. Rumania and Bulgaria have also invited me. They feel hurt that I have been in other countries of Eastern Europe but not to them. I would also like to go to Austria.

P.M. I first went to Austria in 1910 when the old Emperor was still there. That was about 50 years ago.

There have been some changes since then ! !

Mr.K. I was in Vienna in 1946 incongnito immediately after the war. I took Civil Engineering <sup>experts</sup> Land Architects to study the situation in Vienna.

P.M. When I went to Suratgarh I thought of having three more such farms in the neighbourhood when water came to the area about 2 to 3 years later.

Mr.K. I welcome that and have full sympathy for it. Mechanised large scale farming is the answer for shortage of food.

P.M. The limiting factor is, of course, water.

Mr.K. I was told that when canal was built, there will be water.

P.M. Canal there will be, but the water in the canal will be limited. This is a problem which we have with Pakistan.

It will be some years before another dam is built which will give us more water. In any case, we hope that there will be enough water within the next 2 to 3 years for about three farms.

  
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