

Summary Record of a Talk between the  
Prime Minister of India and Mr. Bulganin  
and Mr. Krushchev on November 19, 1955

The following were present:

India:

Shri M.R. Pillai,  
Shri K.P.S. Menon,  
Shri S. Dutt.

USSR:

Mr. Andrei Gromyko,  
Mr. M.A. Menshikov.

1. Prime Minister opened the discussion by referring to the recent Foreign Ministers' Conference at Geneva. He said India was not immediately concerned with the subjects discussed at the Conference but we were all concerned with the consequences. He would like to know whether the optimism generated by the Summit Conference at Geneva would now disappear and whether there is any cause for pessimism.
2. Mr. Krushchev, who spoke on behalf of the Soviet leaders, said that Moscow's forecasts about the Geneva Conference had proved true. The four Heads of Governments when they met in Geneva expressed their intention to lessen international tension. Each one of them, however, did not wish it sincerely. That was the impression of his colleagues and this impression has since been confirmed. It is important to bear this in mind for a correct evaluation of the results. He was going to talk frankly and hoped that the secrecy of the talks would be respected. Sometimes truthful frankness worsens the situation. Prime Minister assured Mr. Krushchev that the discussions would be frank and kept secret.
3. Mr. Krushchev said that the position of the British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, at the Summit Conference

at Geneva was more supple and agreeable. His contribution in the Soviet view was intended to lead to a better understanding. Eden's opinion about European security approached the Soviet position. If other States had agreed on the basis of the Eden suggestions some agreement would have been possible. The French delegates at Geneva (summit conference) impressed the Soviet delegation with having taken a strange position. There were two French representatives: Faure and Pinay, but there were four French opinions; the two French leaders differed between themselves. Mr. Faure took a more positive attitude but his position within the Government was not so stable. They, Mr. Krushchev continued, used to admire the greatness of France and they wished the French position were stronger. The attitude of the United States to France was almost insulting. Neither does Great Britain any longer respect France. The Soviet impression was that the unity among the three Western countries was only on the surface; it was not deep. The Soviet view was that Pinay was reactionary.

"We always respected Eisenhower as a commander of the European forces during the last war. His relations with our Military Commanders were sincere. Eisenhower does not want war and wants to lessen international tension. We cannot, however, say the same of Dulles. It required great efforts to make him even dine with us. Seated next to me at the dinner table he had to talk with a smile but I could see that it was difficult for him. Dulles will remain reactionary. He told me that he was a member of the International Conference to Denounce War as a Means of Settling International Issues held in 1907. Nothing came out of that conference and nothing will come out of

any such conference so long as Dulles remains in politics," Mr. Krushchev said.

4. The main objective of the Western Powers was to settle the German issue. The talks at Geneva (summit conference) mainly turned on the German issue,-- whether at dinner table or elsewhere. The talks at the main conference were merely formal but most of the important discussions took place at informal gatherings. Dulles wanted to prove that Western Powers could not negotiate with the Soviet Union except from a position of strength. The Western attitude was that Germany should be armed and that West German entry into NATO was a prerequisite to any negotiations with the Soviet Union. The Russian views were expressed in their speeches and in the documents presented at the Conference.

5. After a good deal of discussion the agenda was ultimately agreed upon. The German question held up the progress of the discussions for some time. The Soviet delegation firmly stated their position on the German issue and made it clear that they would not move further. The meetings became warmer and seven hours were taken in deciding on the directives to the Foreign Ministers. The Russians suggested: 1. European Security; 2. The German Question; 3. Disarmament, and 4. East-West Contact. The Western Powers placed the German question first. The Soviet delegation made it clear that they would rather go back to Moscow than agree to this suggestion. They told the French delegation that if France wanted to fight Germany once more they could do so. The USSR was not willing to take that risk. It knew too well what the Germans did to their people during the last two wars. The talks were held up for some time because President

Eisenhower said that the documents were not in order. Ultimately the documents were accepted in the form in which they were presented.

6. In order not to leave any doubt about the Soviet position they published Mr. Bulganin's statement at the Conference in a formal document. Mr. Khrushchev also stated this position at Berlin on his way back from Geneva. The statement of Mr. Bulganin was put forward as the Soviet position at the recent Foreign Ministers Conference at Geneva.

7. The following is the Soviet position. The Soviet Union would never agree to Germany being reunified and a reunified Germany joining NATO. NATO is directed against the Soviet Union and the East European democracies and the USSR would not agree to anything which would strengthen NATO. If West Germany joined NATO, why should the USSR assist East Germany also to do the same? The Soviet Union insisted that the important question was European security. The German issue was only a "partial question". If the Western Powers and the United States wished to settle the European security problem, the problem could easily be solved without German issue being brought into it. Several alternatives were put forward by the Soviet delegation at Geneva. Either there should be an agreement between the NATO Powers and the Warsaw Pact Powers, West Germany being a member of NATO and East Germany of the Warsaw Pact. This was suggested by the Soviet delegation at the Summit Conference. If in the Western view that would amount to recognition of East Germany there could be, in place of an agreement between all these powers, an agreement between the NATO group as a whole and the Warsaw Pact group. That might

not amount to recognition of East Germany. In the first case even Spain might join in the security arrangements. In the second case the agreement would be signed by the two organizations as such.

A third alternative would be for West and East Germany not to participate in the European security arrangement. To this the Western Powers would not at all agree.

8. Sir Anthony Eden suggested that in order to ensure security of the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, the United States, France and Germany would guarantee Soviet security. The Russians refused this suggestion with a protest. The proposal was humiliating to the Soviet Union as though Soviet security depended on the other powers. "We can defend our security. We do not want our security to be guaranteed by others," said Mr. Krushchev. Eden said that if such a guarantee were to be offered to Great Britain she would not refuse it. The Russian reply was that it was up to Great Britain to decide what it should do.

9. The Western wish was obviously to strengthen its own bloc. The Russians suggested that the Germans should settle their own issue and for this purpose create an organ which would unite them. In any arrangement it was important to see that the social achievements in East Germany were preserved. An all-German Council should first be created and thereafter everything would depend on the Germans themselves. The Soviet Union offered to withdraw their troops from Germany if the Western Powers would withdraw theirs. This was not agreed to.

10. The Western Powers now wish to increase the temperature again. This, however, was not possible. People do not want war. Dulles spoke in the old way after the Geneva Conference, but the American people did not

support him, and he had to change his tone. He says one thing but means another. There may be an increase in tension for some time but there can be no return to cold war. The Soviet Union would not give them a chance. The sentiments of the American people were against the continuance of the cold war. In the forthcoming presidential election in the United States the main slogan will be: "Who will preserve peace?" Mr. Dulles would *will* have to talk of peaceful negotiations.

11. Proceeding Mr. Khrushchev referred to Soviet performances. They achieved an agreement with Austria which is working well. Good relations have been established with Yugoslavia. The Soviet base on Finnish soil had been liquidated and the Soviet-Finnish Treaty of Friendship has been extended. (This was done after the Summit Conference). Diplomatic relations have been established with West Germany. The Soviet armed forces have been reduced by 640,000 and the troops withdrawn from Finland have been demobilized. Russia is ready to reduce her armed forces even further if the Western Powers would reduce theirs. The Russian leaders *have* had a meeting with the Prime Minister of Norway who is at the moment in the Soviet Union. They have good relations with Norway although that country is a member of the NATO. A meeting with the Prime Minister of Sweden has been arranged in April. Denmark and Iceland are small countries, but the relations with them are not bad. With France Soviet relations are neither good nor bad. The Government of France cannot afford to take a strong position and therefore are blaming the USSR.

12. The Soviet Union supported Czechoslovakia *when* they had an agreement with Nasser in Egypt. This in the Soviet

view is a good step. The Western Powers wanted to create a situation in which the Arab states could be forced with the help of the United States. The Arab states are now able to take their own position and thereby the position of those in favour of peace is strengthened. The Arabs are an old people, cultured, but are being pressed by a small country like Israel. This must be prevented. That is the reason why the Soviet Union supported the Arab states.

13. The Soviet Union was not happy about Britain's support to the Baghdad Pact and Iran. Iran started well but has now been won over.

14. Such in brief, Mr. Krushchev said, is the situation. In the Soviet view "the situation of war" has not increased. This is how they assess the situation. In the scales of war and peace the peace scales are heavier. People do not want war. The Western Powers think that Germany would be their main card in a future war. The United Kingdom and the United States do not want to fight another war. Germans themselves have not forgotten what war means.

15. The Prime Minister enquired whether the Soviet Government envisaged unification of the two Germanys at any time. Mr. Krushchev's reply was that it was difficult to say anything now because this would depend on the steps to be taken by both sides. The Prime Minister <sup>asked</sup> whether if satisfaction on European security could be given that would lead to unification of Germany. Mr. Krushchev said France does not like Germany to be united. The British also were not keen on unification. The U.S. wanted unification at the cost of liquidation of East Germany.

France was afraid of Germany but does not want to say so. She therefore throws the blame on the Soviet Union. The British are clever. They show as if they are

keen on unification without intending it. "We consider," said Mr. Krushchev, "that the unification of Germany on the Western basis is not feasible. Whether it is possible in future is very difficult to say. The situation may develop as in a game of cards. We are, however, keen on the preservation of social achievements in East Germany."

(The talks were interrupted at this stage because the visitors had to leave for the Civic Reception)

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