

Summary Record of a Talk between the Prime Minister of India and Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev on November 21, 1955

information

23.11.55 -

Present:

INDIA -

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad,
Pandit G.B. Pant,
Shri N.R. Pillai,
Shri K.P.S. Menon,
Shri S. Dutt.

Also present:-

USSR -

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

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1. The Prime Minister referred to the German position and remarked that at present there was an impasse between the Soviet views and the views of the Western Powers. Apparently this impasse will continue. He asked whether the Soviet leaders expected any other development in the near future.
2. Mr. Khrushchev replied that in their view also a kind of impasse will continue. The Soviet leaders think, however, that contact between the two Germanys would gradually be developed, if the Western Powers maintained the same position as now. Mr. Adenauer was stubborn, of course, but the Social Democrats under the leadership of Ollenhauer are expected to come into power. Ollenhauer is in favour of making contact with East Germany. Any step towards this would lessen tension.
3. The Prime Minister thought that elections in the United States would stand in the way of the U.S. Government changing their policy. With this view Mr. Khrushchev agreed. The Prime Minister enquired whether the Soviet Union would stand by their present policy of ~~being~~ favouring ~~the~~ the development of contact between the two Germanys. Mr. Khrushchev answered in the affirmative.
4. Discussion then turned on disarmament and the Prime Minister wanted to know what the present position

was.

Mr. Khrushchev assumed that the Prime Minister knew the Soviet proposals of the 10th May. Since then they have not made any forward move. On the other hand, a step back seems to have been taken since the Western Powers have changed their position. The United States had convinced themselves that the Soviet Union would not accept the British and French proposals about the strength of the military forces in different countries, 1.5 million each in USSR, China and USA, 640,000 in Britain and France and 150,000 in other countries. United States, although not agreeing with this proposal, accepted it hoping that the Soviet Union would reject ^{the} same. The USSR in order to prove that the United States were not sincere, however accepted the proposal. To get out of this difficult situation, the United States devised the Eisenhower scheme of military inspection and flying over each other's territory. Flying would take place only over the USSR and United States. They made these proposals a condition of precedent to the acceptance of proposals for disarmament. Remarking that he was saying so in secret and not for the press, Mr. Khrushchev said that the Eisenhower proposals were not genuine. They were, however, not anxious to strain their relations with the United States and only as a tactical step Molotov once referred to these proposals as not sincere. Advised by their diplomats the Soviet Union have said that the Eisenhower proposals are interesting. That is why Molotov said: 'Let us reduce armament, prohibit nuclear and hydrogen weapons and as a last step discuss flights over the territories of each other'.

5. Mr. Khrushchev proceeding stated that his Government recognised that disarmament and inspection should go together. They, however, suggested a real and not a fantastic scheme. What would people flying

in an aeroplane over the USSR see? Further, the main military forces and installations of the United States are in England and Germany. Flying over the United States would be useless. The U.S. only want Russia to spend the money on a scheme of this kind.

On the other hand, the USSR suggested an inspection which would be real. There would be control ~~on~~ ^{and} inspection at points of importance, such as sea ports, railway centres, aerodromes, highways, etc. Let there be similar posts in United States, Austria, Germany and all countries adjoining the NATO and Warsaw Pact Powers. If there were no troop movements beyond a particular line no surprise/^{attack}would be possible. In answer to the Prime Minister's question Mr. Khrushchev said that there would be a control on all airports for heavy bombers.

Proposals for inspection did not cover the ammunition factories. The United States suggested such an inspection only from a tactical point of view. They now suggest inspection from air.

6. At Geneva Eisenhower suggested that serious discussions should take place in the lobby where problems could be discussed at buffet parties. "In the course of one such meeting he asked us our opinion on his proposal regarding inspection. In our view we could cover airports, important cities etc. but what could be seen from the skies?"

Prime Minister: What is the present position?

Mr. Khrushchev: The present position is that the Western Powers insist that the proposals for disarmament can be discussed only if we accept the Eisenhower scheme. They agree to accept our proposals about inspection but we must remember that they have in mind other proposals regarding reduction. They are withdrawing from the proposals of May 10.

7. The Prime Minister remarked that the Eisenhower scheme referred to control but not reduction of forces. Mr. Khrushchev's reply was that the Western Powers say nothing about reduction. Soviet Russia suggested prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and a solemn promise not to use them. They went further and agreed that atomic weapons can be used only as a reprisal measure with the consent of the U.N. Security Council. "We suggested this", Mr. Khrushchev said, "because provocation might occur and the provoked side might use atomic weapons". They themselves suggested use of atomic weapons in such a situation. We agreed but added that use must be ^{with} the consent of the Security Council.

8. Mr. Khrushchev continuing said that the Western Powers suggested inspection of atomic plants. The Russians said that this would be espionage - it was not control ~~is~~. For instance, from a technical point of view if atomic energy is used for electric power the same energy can be used for the construction of atomic bombs. They saw that their point was weak and inspection would be useless. ^{Then} they said that if there were no means of discovering atomic bombs, there was no need to discuss the use of atomic weapons at all. They said that since the Soviet are very powerful in conventional weapons ^{and} they must balance such superiority with superiority in atomic weapons. ~~Therefore~~ Thus the discussions were proceeding in a vicious circle. That is why the most important thing is for the people to fight for peace and disarmament.

9. The Prime Minister referred to experimental explosion of atomic weapons. Mr. Khrushchev said that the Western Powers refused to discontinue such experiments.

10. The talk then moved on to the Council for peaceful uses of atomic energy. The Prime Minister

pointed out that in the Government of India's view the Council should be a larger body than that envisaged and should consist of representatives of different territories. Mr. Khrushchev said that they also were in favour of broadening the Council and giving of equality to all members.

Mr. Gromyko said that at Washington this question was discussed and the Russian Delegation submitted their proposals before the General Assembly.

11. Referring to the informal talks in Washington on peaceful uses of atomic energy Mr. Khrushchev said that he was not acquainted with the details of the discussion.

12. On the question of ^{admission} ~~appointment~~ of new members to U.N. the Prime Minister wanted to know what the Soviet views were. Mr. Khrushchev's reply was that they were in favour of admission of all the 18 countries although they had misgivings about the admission of one or two. They were not against Spain's admission but had some doubt about Japan. They withdrew their objections, however, in order not to create any difficulty in the solution of this problem. In fact, the United States thought that the Soviet Union would not accept the package deal and therefore favoured this as a tactical manoeuvre. When the Soviet Union agreed the United States took the position that they cannot support Outer Mongolia. "We are in favour of the whole bunch; otherwise we are against all". France might go against the People's Democracies like Albania and Mongolia.

13. Mr. Khrushchev said that the likelihood of Chiang Kai Shek opposing the package deal was discussed behind the scene and they were told that ^{Nationalist} China would do whatever was advised by the United States. Mr. Khrushchev ^{of the People's Govt of China} doubted whether the question of representation would be decided at the current session. It seems that another

year will pass before this question is settled. If the ^{of} position to Outer Mongolia is pressed, the package deal will fall through.

14. In reply to a question from Pandit Pant, Mr. Khrushchev said that some kind of an attempt will be made to increase the tension following the failure of the recent Geneva talks but tension will not increase. The situation is such that militant powers will not find an opportunity of increasing tension although the process of restoration of confidence will be retarded. "In Russia~~y~~ we say that if God wants to punish some man He will deprive him of his reason". He gave an example of U.S. stupidity - how after Russia agreed to buy millions of dollars worth of hybrid corn seeds and wanted to send a delegation for the purchase, ~~and~~ U.S. would not permit the delegation until a counter-delegation was allowed into Russia. This American delegation would have nothing to do in USSR because the purchase would take place in the United States. Therefore the deal fell through and with it the U.S. lost millions of dollars worth of business.

15. Mr. Khrushchev said that this year the Soviet Government gave visa to any United States citizen who wished to visit the USSR. They did not object even to SCHWARZ, whom normally they would not allow to cross their threshold. As many as 11 Senators have visited the USSR. On the other hand, some Soviet journalists ~~were~~ now visiting the U.S. surrounded by Americans as if they suffered from infectious diseases. "We have patience and we will keep our nerves. We will continue to hope that the situation will improve".

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L. Khrushchev
29.11.55

MIDDLE EAST

16. The Prime Minister referred to the present relations between Israel and the Arab States - how

they are opposed to each other. Israel is better *armed*. The Arab States are buying arms from Czechoslovakia because nowhere else they can get them. This has produced a reaction in U.K. and U.S. What was Mr. Khrushchev's appreciation?

17. Mr. Khrushchev said that the facts published in the press corresponded to reality. Nasser requested Czechoslovakia for the sale of some weapons. Some weapons have been sold to him and a portion has already reached Egypt. Czechoslovakia consulted the Soviet Union and they advised Czechoslovakia to sell to Egypt. Our advice was governed by our desire not to let any country dominate Egypt. Soviet Russia liked Nasser's policy of resisting the pressure from the Western Powers. "We supported Nasser to help maintain his independent policy. We consider the deal useful for Arab States; useful not only for the Arab States but also for the Western Powers. It will give the latter a sense of reality. Eden and Eisenhower telegraphed us about this deal. We replied saying that it was a purely economic deal". This deal was useful both politically and ~~ex~~ economically.

18. The Prime Minister referred to newspaper reports about Israel obtaining arms from the U.S. and enquired whether a kind of arms race was not being set in motion in this area. Mr. Khrushchev said that he did not think so. If the Arabs were strong it would not profit the U.S. to start a war there. They are trying to press the Arab States.

19. The Prime Minister enquired whether Israel might not start a preventive war before the Arabs became strong. Mr. Khrushchev did not directly deal with this point but said that the Arabs' desire to be strong was a natural development; they have the right to be strong. In his view it is not in the interest of the U.K., U.S.A.

or France to start any war in the Middle East. France is deeply entangled in Morocco; it was like a powder barrel. U.K. is involved in the Suez Canal and the U.S. is interested in the large oil wells in the Middle East. If war started all of them will be thrown out by the Arabs. A new nationalist spirit has highly developed among the Arabs. Though this did not help them during the last war, ~~but~~ Mr. Khrushchev said ~~that~~ the situation is different now.

20. The Prime Minister then referred to the Baghdad Pact meeting tomorrow. He said that U.S. was giving 20 million dollars to Pakistan to improve their airfields, ports, etc. Mr. Khrushchev said that the Americans have told them indirectly that ^{the Baghdad meeting U.K.'s} ~~this U.S.~~ was doing. They have also told Russia that it was U.K. which was responsible for bringing Iran into the Baghdad Pact. The Prime Minister pointed out that all the same America is sending observers to the Baghdad Pact meeting and has declared its intention to link up militarily and politically with the Baghdad Pact. India was interested because of America spending on Pakistan's defences. Undoubtedly, they will send large number of technical personnel to Pakistan.

Mr. Khrushchev said that all this proved that the American talk of disarmament is intended only to mislead world opinion. It confirms the Soviet views.

21. The Prime Minister enquired whether in the Russian view the tension in the Far East and the Taiwan area is now greater or less. Mr. Khrushchev said that the tension was less. The Diem's ^{business} ~~business~~, he said, was a result of U.S. interference in South Vietnam. The U.S. are afraid of general election in Vietnam because they knew that Diem would lose. In Korea nothing will happen. Even Syngman Rhee keeps his mouth shut. The contact between China and United States in Geneva has

been very useful. The Chinese, he said, are good politicians. They will not take a wrong step. The talks at Geneva had lasted two months. That, however, does not matter.
