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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

Luncheon, The President's Villa
Geneva, Switzerland

July 20, 1955, 12:30 p.m.

PARTICIPANTS:

U.S.

The President
Ambassador Bohlen



U.S.S.R.

Marshal Zhukov
Mr. Troyanovsky

After he was met by the President at the doorway, Marshal ZHUKOV said he brought special greetings from Khrushchev and Bulganin for the President and their sincere thanks for the dinner the other evening. He added that Khrushchev and Bulganin had been greatly impressed and taken with the President.

The PRESIDENT asked Marshal Zhukov to take back his greetings also and to say that he had enjoyed very much meeting them.

Marshal ZHUKOV said that the regard with which the President was held in the Soviet Union dated from the period of the War and that even since then when certain aspects of the United States and its policy had been criticized or even attacked in the Soviet press, this had not extended personally to Mr. Eisenhower.

The PRESIDENT said that he did not go in for bad words and tried never to indulge in invective, although at all times he tried to speak the truth.

Marshal ZHUKOV replied that this was realized by the Soviet leaders and by the people of the Soviet Union and that is why Mr. Eisenhower was held in such regard in the Soviet Union.

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security system. He thought that Bulganin's proposal for gradual progress in two stages was a very useful proposal, but the Soviet Government would be glad to consider any other on this subject.

The PRESIDENT said a very specific and important question in the disarmament field was that of inspection. He said it was realized that you could not inspect everything and if, in the United States, we wished to hide five hundred atomic bombs, no inspector could find them and the Soviet Union could do likewise, but nevertheless large installations such as airfields, long-range bombers and guided missile factories could not be hidden. He inquired whether the Marshal thought they could look forward to an institution of inspection of this type.

Marshal ZHUKOV said he was sure they could.

The PRESIDENT then inquired whether such inspection would be politically possible in the Soviet Union.

Marshal ZHUKOV said it would be entirely possible and while its detail should be studied, he was, in principle, in full agreement with the President's remarks. He added that they should work seriously on the subject of collective security and a system of inspection designed to create confidence and assurance and not to deceive each other. As he understood it, the President was concerned with the possibility of a surprise attack.

The PRESIDENT said this was true, but it was also necessary to convey a feeling of confidence to the peoples in general. He said the people were now living in mortal fear, and while these fears may be exaggerated, they were generally held by millions of people and the fear of atomic destruction was very real.

Marshal ZHUKOV said he agreed with that but he had studied and seen with his own eyes on maneuvers the deadly power of these weapons, and he fully understood the President's concern.

The PRESIDENT said that not even scientists could say what would happen if two hundred H-bombs were exploded in a short period of time, but if atmospheric conditions were right, the fall-out might destroy

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entire nations and possibly the whole northern hemisphere.

Marshal ZHUKOV said that if on the first day of war the United States dropped three or four hundred bombs on the Soviet Union and they would do the same, it would be impossible to say what would happen to the atmosphere under those conditions. He said he was unqualifiedly for total abolition of weapons of this character.

The PRESIDENT repeated that before any such thing could be done there had to be genuine confidence among nations and that he had only mentioned the power of these weapons in order to emphasize the necessity of restoring confidence to the peoples of the world. He said if they proceeded step by step, they might begin in Central Europe where the experts could agree on the total number of forces to be stationed in that area and then have a system of reciprocal inspection. This inspection would not attempt to locate every bomb or weapon but would merely verify whether the force levels and installations agreed on were in conformity with the agreement. He envisaged this as a possible first step.

Marshal ZHUKOV said the main thing was to reduce forces.

The PRESIDENT replied that he agreed and had had in mind a reduction on the forces in this particular area.

Marshal ZHUKOV said that it should not be only in one area but should apply to the forces as a whole.

The PRESIDENT said he felt that the necessary first step was to have demonstrably effective system of inspection and that while bombs could not be located in all cases, large installations could be.

Marshal ZHUKOV said that inspection is an important element in any disarmament system but the main thing was reduction in forces and abolition of atomic and hydrogen bombs. Controls would be the test of the good will of the participants. He felt, however, a first step in the general direction of restoration of confidence would be to start on a system of collective security. He said he attached great importance to this matter and felt that its members would have

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great responsibilities in restraining or punishing any would-be aggressor.

The PRESIDENT inquired whether he had any concrete suggestions in this field.

Marshal ZHUKOV replied that he thought the first step would be for the Four Powers assembled here in Geneva and all other European countries to agree on a treaty of collective security to which both parts of Germany could join, as a step towards eventual elimination of blocs.

The PRESIDENT inquired if this would be followed by reduction of arms and abolition of nuclear weapons.

Marshal ZHUKOV said without question, since he could not envisage a system of collective security that did not involve reduction of forces and abolition of nuclear weapons. He said such a system must be founded on friendship and confidence to which every participant would have a moral responsibility to prevent aggression.

The PRESIDENT said the Marshal was painting a picture of the ultimate stage about which we were all thinking but he felt we must go step by step and by stages.

Marshal ZHUKOV agreed, but he said the main thing was to set your goal and that the actual nature of the steps was a technical question. The main thing was the inclination and desire, regardless of other differences. He said, for example, that he and ^{the} President held different opinions on many subjects. This did not affect his respect for the President or the fact that he would value his friendship as long as he lived.

The PRESIDENT said he had the same feeling in regard to Marshal Zhukov. He said, however, that the Marshal had touched on a very important factor, that of difference of viewpoints. He said that many people had become acquainted with the writings of Marx, Lenin and Stalin, which dealt with the final destruction of capitalism, and in many parts authorized the use of force and violence if necessary. He

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said these views have not been repudiated by the Soviet leaders and this is one of the chief causes of alarm and apprehension on the part of the American people.

Marshal Zhukov stated that the alarm was not justified, that there was no apparatus in existence for the direction of Communist parties abroad and he could tell the President the secret and that was that the Cominform had had no meetings since 1949. He said if a directing center existed, they would unquestionably turn their attention to the American Communist party and endeavor in every way to increase its influence and enlarge its membership, but as is well known, the U.S. Communist party is the weakest of all Communist parties. This was a matter for the American people to decide for themselves. He continued that the theory of Marx had been in existence for over a century and that the political convictions were up to an individual. Furthermore, there were other theories such as capitalism and imperialism.

The PRESIDENT said he did not wish to get into an ideological dispute with Marshal Zhukov, but nevertheless the documents which he had referred to spoke of use of force in order to destroy capitalism. He was glad to hear from the Marshal that there was no central apparatus of direction, which appeared to indicate that certain parts of the doctrine had been forgotten or at least laid aside. He said he thought it was a pity that the two greatest countries in the world with the productive power which would have a great opportunity by working together to benefit themselves and the whole world, should have reached a point where their fears and suspicions interfered with any such relationship. He said he was equally anxious with the Marshal to do away with these barriers.

Marshal ZHUKOV said in regard to doctrine, he thought it was not a question of forgetting or laying aside any portion thereof. The Soviet Government believed that each country must find its way to a higher form of organization through its own means. Some might do so gradually and peacefully; others through war or revolution; and still others by

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