

**SUMMARY MEMORANDUM of discussion between Deputy Premier Mikoyan and Harold Stassen, at the invitation of the Soviet Ambassador, on January 6, 1959 at 7:30 P. M.**

Mr. Mikoyan wonders whether the United States realizes the dangers of war from Germany. It is not that the Soviet Union is concerned about German armed forces as such, but consider that such forces might provoke a war which would then involve both the United States and the Soviet Union and result in great devastation. He considers Defense Minister Strauss to be a German with the kind of irrational thinking that was involved in the Hitler period. He does not consider that Adenauer can curb Strauss.

From the standpoint of the Soviet Union a settlement including a United Germany would require four principal items:

1. Recognition of the governments of Poland and Czechoslovakia by such a United Germany and the affirming of these boundaries so that a Sudetan or Silesian issue would not be as likely to erupt thereafter.
2. Control over the armaments in a central European zone, including such a United Germany, with no atomic weapons permitted in the zone, and under United Nations inspectors, including Russians and Americans.
3. Some sort of federated government over the United Germany so that the nationalized industries of East Germany could continue to be nationalized and the private enterprise in Western Germany could continue to be private.
4. If such a United Germany continued as a member of NATO, then a non-aggression pact to be signed between the NATO countries and the Warsaw Pact countries.

The Soviet Union cannot understand why the United States will not join in a nuclear test cessation, since the longer testing continues the more additional countries will have nuclear weapons, and the greater will be the danger of war.

The Soviet Union does not like inspection, but reluctantly agreed to the scientists' inspection system worked out at Geneva, and are ready to install this system.

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Since the United States now makes such extensive efforts to obtain reconnaissance of Soviet territory, the Soviet Union is suspicious that under an international agreement the right of inspectors to go to the scene of a suspected test shot will be abused and the inspectors will run all over the Soviet Union for intelligence purposes. Some restraint on such abuse needs to be included for a successful agreement. In response to a question, he indicated that perhaps an express right to renounce the agreement in the event of abuses by the inspectors, could be a solution.

Expanded trade between the Soviet Union and the United States would be desirable, but would be difficult to accomplish in any sizeable extent because nearly everything which the Soviet has available for export is either in abundant supply in the United States, or the United States has established sources of such supply from other countries. Thus, while the Soviet Union would like to purchase production machinery for consumer goods, it would be difficult to expand exports to pay for them. The Soviet Union does not have available foreign exchange at the present time.

He realized that Stassen, and people generally in the United States, believe in God and believe in the power of God over the universe. He has studied in seminary when he was young, and studied this theory, but he rejected it as a Communist.

The Soviet Union has confidence in President Eisenhower, believes he is devoted to peace, but is not certain of the extent to which he has power over the foreign policy of the United States, and the extent to which he exercises that power. The Soviet Union is also uncertain about the effect of the situation where the opposing party is in such extensive control of the Congress.

The Soviet Union does not understand why there is such extreme reluctance to meet with and talk with Mr. Khrushchev, and why there is such opposition to permitting him to visit the United States for the first time.

At the conclusion of the talk Mr. Mikoyan said it was his understanding that he was to see Secretary Dulles again on the 19th of January and the President on the 20th.