DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND948832

old

DEPARTMENT OF STATE INSTRUCTION

1402 1402

OFFICIAL USE ONLY
(Security Classification)

FOR DC USE ONLY

NO.: CA-3398, October 19, 1959,

Received in Section
OCT 2 6 1959

SUBJECT: Khrushchev's meeting with American labor leaders

TO: ALL AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR POSTS

The first enclosure of this instruction is an unclassified summary, prepared by the American participants, of the conversation at the dinner meeting on September 20, 1959, of certain AFL-CIO leaders and Premier Khrushchev and some members of his party. Reference is made to the Department's Instruction CA-2343, September 11, 1959.

On September 24 "Tass" sent via radioteletype in English from Moscow to Europe a report on the meeting issued by the press group under the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, for the declared purpose of correcting the "distorted" transcript issued by the Americans. The Soviet report omits most of the polite conversation at the beginning of the meeting and some other passages, compresses the remarks of the AFL-CIO leaders (adding interpretative comments uncomplimentary to Carey, the Reuther brothers, Knight and Rieve, and complimentary to Curran and Weaver), and amplifies Khrushchev's remarks. Both accounts make clear that the discussion was lively and at times heated; there is no essential difference in reporting of opposing viewpoints, but the Soviet report brings out more clearly than the American version the cynical but dogmatic Leninist thinking of Khrushchev on such matters as Germany and his attempt to put across a crude falsification of events in Hungary. The Soviet version omits all reference to Reuther's proposal for a joint effort to aid under-privileged countries. It also indicates that Khrushchev apparently deliberately singled out Curran and Weaver for favor, the former because of the "class consciousness in your approach to questions of trade union activity", the latter because he is a Negro. Moreover, the "Tass" account repeatedly reports Khrushchev as urging contacts between Soviet and American trade unions. This is absent from the American account. Both versions agree that Khrushchev stressed his disarmament proposal heavily and disagreed with the US position on control.

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 948832

Enclosure no. 2 is a selection of passages from the "Tass" report illustrating some of the more significant points which the Soviets wish to emphasize.

The final comment of the Moscow press group on the meeting (last passage quoted in enclosure no. 2) attempts to perpetuate the Soviet line that the American trade union leaders are not representative of their members, with the added twist that in this case the "growing striving of the American people to improve American-Soviet relations and to strengthen peace is gaining the upper hand", so that one group of AFL-CIO leaders "found it necessary" to invite Khrushchev. This comment makes it appear that there is now a division among American labor leaders, one group desiring to establish friendship with the USSR, the other resisting such friendship. In fact, the Carey-Reuther group arranged the dinner with Khrushchev for the purpose of making clear to him that the American labor movement is united in its opposition to Soviet imperialism, and the American and Soviet accounts of the meeting both bring out that this is what they did. The majority of the AFL-CIO Executive Council differed only on the tactics of bringing this home to Khrushchev (refusing to see him), and both groups joined at the AFL-CIO Convention on September 21, in approving unanimously the foreign policy resolution, which stated, inter alia, that "Khrushchev has been more truculent and demanding in his aggression than Stalin".

Further information and comment on the dinner meeting will be forwarded after a conversation later this month with some of the American participants.

On the morning of September 21, Khrushchev unexpectedly paid two visits to the San Francisco headquarters of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. The first visit occurred before anybody else had arrived at the union offices. The second time Khrushchev was received by the Union's Communist-lining president, Harry Bridges, Mrs. Bridges, and a crowd of union members who readily consented to being addressed as "comrades". The Soviet chief in his short speech pointedly distinguished between these representatives of the working class and the labor leaders whom he had met the previous evening.

HERTER

Enclosures:

1. Summary of dinner meeting of Labor Leaders and Khrushchev.
2. Extracts from "Tass" report, September 21, 1959.

ENCLOSURE NO. 1

UNCLASSIFIED
(Security Classification)

SUMMARY OF MEETING OF AMERICAN LABOR LEADERS WITH PRIME MINISTER NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, OF THE USSR, MARK HOPKINS HOTEL, SAN FRANCISCO, SEPTEMBER 20, 1959

PARTICIPANTS

USA

Walter P. Reuther, President United Automobile, Aircraft & Agricultural Implement Workers of America AFL-CIO, and Vice-President AFL-CIO.

James B. Carey, President International Union of Electrical Radio and Machine Workers AFL-CIO, and Vice-President AFL-CIO.

Joseph Curran, President National Maritime Union of America AFL-CIO, and Vice President AFL-CIO.

Karl Feller, President, International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink & Distillery Workers AFL-CIO, and Vice-President, AFL-CIO.

O. A. Knight, President, Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers International Union AFL-CIO, and Vice-President AFL-CIO.

Paul Phillips, President, United Papermakers & Paperworkers AFL-CIO, and Vice-President AFL-CIO.

Emil Rieve, President Emeritus, Textile Workers Union of America AFL-CIO, and Vice-President AFL-CIO.

Les Finnegan, Executive Assistant to President Carey.

George L-P. Weaver, Assistant to President Carey.

USSR

Nikita Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Andrei Gromyko, Foreign Minister of the USSR.

Mikhail A. Menshikov, Soviet Ambassador to the United States.

Alexei Adzhubei, Editor of Izvestia.

G. A. Zukov, Minister for Cultural and Foreign Exchanges.

N. A. Tikhanov, Chairman, Ukrainian Regional Economic Council.

P. A. Satyukov, Editor of Pravda.

Mikhail Sholokov, Author.

Mr. Sukhodv, Translator.

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 948832

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND948832

USA-(cont'd)

Victor Reuther, Assistant to President Reuther.

Chairman Khrushchev and his party appeared in the Golden Empire Room exactly at 8 p.m., as previously arranged.

As the group went to the dining table, President Reuther pointed out to Mr. Khrushchev that it had been discovered that the table legs fell precisely at the center of the oval, therefore he had shifted Mr. Khrushchev slightly to the right.

REUTHER: Even though I have shifted you to the right, Mr. Chairman, I assure you there is no political significance in it.

KHRUSHCHEV (Laughing): No matter how much you move me, I will still hold to a basic Communist position. Everything is fluid and everything progresses toward Communism.

CURRAN: Has this part of your journey been fairly restful?

KHRUSHCHEV: What do you think?

CAREY: We are impressed by the statements you are said to have made at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington. We are afraid, however, that you may have seen too many bankers and businessmen.

KHRUSHCHEV: That is because you didn't want to meet me. (Laughter)

REUTHER: Tell the Chairman we are happy he is going to the Garst farm. He must understand that here we eat corn as well as feed it to cattle. When I and my brother were in the Soviet Union in 1934 we went down the Volga to the Donbas and to Yalta and Batum and to Baku. I'd like to tell this little story. We know you have made great progress in terms of food since we were there in the early thirties. In the stores there was always one kind of canned goods we could readily buy. Amerikanski Corn, because the Russians did not eat corn. When we got to Baku we bought four cans of the corn, took it home and found it was pork and beans. The cans were so old the labels had worn off. We went back and asked for eight more cans, specifying we preferred ones without labels. The man at the store said it was the same with the paper or without the paper, so we got eight without the labels. We again found they were all pork and beans, and as a result we lived like capitalists for a while. I bet they still don't eat corn to any extent in Russia.

KHRUSHCHEV: Not much. Some of our northerners can't conceive of eating...

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 948832

eating corn. Some tried to eat it raw and found it impossible.

REUTHER: In Iowa you'll see big corn and we hope you will be able to use our techniques to raise more food and therefore raise living standards.

KHRUSHCHEV: That is so, and we thank you. But we want you to know we are at no lower level than the U.S. on corn growing.

REUTHER: Your major problem is with meat?

KHRUSHCHEV: Our hybrid corn is no worse than yours. Garst knows that. What we need is to extend the growing of corn, now we are extending limits up to the farthest north. We now want to devote one-third of the land of those northern areas to corn.

CAREY (laughing): By the way, this chicken is corn-fed.

KHRUSHCHEV: I once said that to take away corn from Americans would be to starve them to death.

CAREY: No, not that, but certainly it's one of our most important grains. President Curran, here, of the Maritime Union, knows that. He raises cattle and knows the importance of corn.

REUTHER: I worked in the technical division of the Gorki Auto Plant... I trained Russians to do what I did in Detroit. I worked 18 months and then made an 18,000-mile tour from one end of Russia to another. So I saw Soviet Russia during that period quite clearly.

KHRUSHCHEV (inquired about an engineer at Gorki who had worked at Ford, now a USSR minister).

REUTHER: What is the production in the Gorki Auto Plant these days?

KHRUSHCHEV: I don't think I could even suggest any figure.

CURRAN: In 1945, when I went through the Gorki Plant, they were making chiefly trucks then. I sailed to your country in the early thirties, bringing Ford Motor equipment and other materials to Russia.

KHRUSHCHEV: I remember in 1922 a group of U.S. workers came to the mines where they worked with their own tools. Fine men. A lot left when they saw the conditions.

REUTHER: I grew up in West Virginia, in a coal mine country and came to know...

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 948832

to know mines, and I have been into mines all over the world. I paid special attention to the mines in the Donbas.

KHRUSHCHEV: The Donbas mines are the most difficult for workers.

REUTHER: Like the most difficult mines for the British workers that extend out under seas. One thing we must do, most of all in the future, is to harness the atom for peace and get all of the miners out of the earth.

KHRUSHCHEV: Our scientists tell me we are approaching that. They want to produce coal by utilizing the hydrogen atom.

REUTHER: This is a venture in which we would favor a mutual effort to pool the abilities and scientific knowledge of all nations.

KHRUSHCHEV: A very noble goal.

CAREY: We are familiar with the speech that the Chairman made at the United Nations and your splendid comments at the Lincoln Memorial. We are familiar with the eloquent speech you delivered to the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament. We are also familiar with the history of the past efforts to get agreement on effective control procedures, which we of labor consider to be at the heart of the disarmament problem. Will you tell us what specific implementation you have in mind with respect to enforcement of any disarmament agreement?

KHRUSHCHEV: What is it you have difficulty understanding?

CAREY: It appears now that 25% of Soviet production goes for military purposes, and 8% to 10% of U.S. production goes to military services. All nations of the world are spending now about $100 billion-a-year for military purposes. Of this, the U.S. spends about $40 billion-a-year, and the Soviet Union spends about $40 billion. The rest of the world spends about $20 billion. Certainly with disarmament a large percentage of this could be devoted to development of under-privileged nations and areas.

REUTHER: I think we can all agree that the most pressing problem is how we can preserve the peace. We all understand that the U.S. and the Soviet Union have produced the kind of weapons that make war inconceivable, that make war now a question simply of human survival. The question today becomes, what will we do in a practical sense. The only war America wants to fight is war against poverty, hunger, ignorance and disease. It's the only war mankind can win. The Chairman has said repeatedly that he believes in no interference in the internal affairs of the U.S.

and the...

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 948832

and the kind of government we prefer to live under, and we share that feeling about the kind of government the Russians may prefer to live under. We think the people of Russia have a right to choose their own government and all other people should have the same right. Therefore, as we see it, the cold war is not an attempt to change each others systems of government, but to influence those that are uncommitted. Therefore, I want to ask the Chairman, is the Soviet Union prepared to contribute to the ending of the cold war by joining the U.S. and other countries through the United Nations in a cooperative effort to aid the under-privileged nations to abolish poverty and ignorance?

KHRUSHCHEV: (talking very quietly and into his napkin): In our proposal, which I submitted on behalf of the USSR, it is made clear that the outlays on armaments would be greatly reduced and a certain percentage of the reduction switched from the amount saved to the under-privileged countries.

REUTHER (reminds Khrushchev of a proposal Reuther submitted to the President of the U.S. in 1950 and passed a copy to him): It seems to me that if we wait for disarmament to start we lose great opportunities. Our proposal would create the better climate in which disarmament could be carried forward, faster and more effectively.

KHRUSHCHEV: I am not familiar with your program so at this moment I cannot comment on it. But we are not waiting for disarmament to render this economic aid to needy nations. (Editor of Izvestia interjects). We already render such aid through the United Nations and through the various funds, medical and food funds, and we have bilateral agreements to aid under-privileged countries. For example, we have contributed our designs and our equipment to chemical and pharmaceutical plants in India (He continued to cite the Arab countries, Indonesia, Ethiopia and others who received Soviet aid. He placed emphasis especially on the thousands of students who are brought to Russia as part of the aid program.)

CAREY: Let us go back for a moment. When there is such a tremendously high percentage of the national incomes of both countries spent on military preparations, doesn't it become more and more demanding that we find a formula of control and inspection. Your country is spending $40 billion-a-year on the military, our country is spending $40 billion-a-year. If there were a completely safe inspection and control system how much more aid could we provide to the under-privileged countries of the world?

KHRUSHCHEV: We agree, And that's why we submitted our proposals.

REUTHER:...

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND948832

UNCLASSIFIED
(Security Classification)

REUTHER: There's no value in this, just going around the barn, as we seem to be now. I am familiar with the steel plant in India and the other enterprises. When you do it, it's part of the cold war. When we do it, you charge it's capitalist imperialism. Why can't we do it together? Through the UN? --- do it together for their benefit, not for our separate advantage.

KHRUSHCHEV: We don't agree.

REUTHER: Why not?

KHRUSHCHEV: America has now surrounded us with military bases, alliances such as NATO and SEATO, and by these means the U.S. wants to obtain world domination. In the United Nations we are always out-voted. Thus it would be up to the U.S. to decide how the money would be used.

REUTHER: How about a U.N. Commission with equal representation? Equal representation of Russia and the U.S. and U.S. friends and Soviet friends.

KHRUSHCHEV: That would already be progress, but it won't be accepted.

REUTHER: Why not expose the two positions to public air? That's what we do with unreasonable employers.

KHRUSHCHEV: So long as we are surrounded by U.S. bases, we can have no agreement on this.

REUTHER: Why can't we work together to fight poverty and hunger with the U.S. entitled to no advantage, and the USSR entitled to no advantage?

KHRUSHCHEV: But we do take part in these programs.

REUTHER: You do it unilaterally, and that's the basis for the charge that you are penetrating economically and subverting politically.

KHRUSHCHEV: When the U. S. sends arms and creates bases, what kind of penetration is that?

REUTHER: But what we are proposing here is an equal commission with equal control. After all, most of the people who are hungry are workers and peasants.

KHRUSHCHEV: Unilateral bread has no smell. If it has a socialist smell, it is a pleasant smell.

REUTHER:///

UNCLASSIFIED
(Security Classification)

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND948832

UNCLASSIFIED
(Security Classification)

REUTHER: If it's politically motivated, it's not a pleasant smell.

KHRUSHCHEV: We've sent to Yemen thousands of pounds of wheat. That's not a Socialist country.

* * *

KHRUSHCHEV: A few words more on the preceding subject, one more motive in my United Nations speech. The U.S. exploits the wealth of other countries, under-developed countries, for profits, England and France do the same. They exploit the wealth of countries that need aid. We do not exploit any country -- we only engage in trade.

REUTHER: You exploit the workers of East Germany.

KHRUSHCHEV: Where did you dream that up?

REUTHER: If you don't exploit them, why should 3,000,000 of them cross the border into West Germany?

KHRUSHCHEV: You are hopelessly sick with capitalist fever. (Several voices interchanging across table.)

REUTHER: The workers in West Germany are free ...

KHRUSHCHEV: We are free, too.

REUTHER: Do you have credentials to speak for the workers of the world?

KHRUSHCHEV: Do you have credentials to poke your nose into East Germany?

CAREY: This is part of our difficulty: The fear of the Chairman that the U.S. actually wants to dominate the world.

KHRUSHCHEV: Not just wants -- striving!

CAREY: And the other way around, there is the fear in the U.S., based on much evidence, that the Soviet Union wants to dominate the world.

KHRUSHCHEV: The Soviet ruble does not kow-tow to the American dollar. (At this point, Khrushchev raised his voice loudly and vehemently.) You have been spoiled by everyone bowing down, by everyone cringing and crawling ...

CAREY: It is a privilege having this sort of discussion. We have been given...

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 948832

been given reason to wonder whether the Chairman's U.N. speech was chiefly for propaganda purposes. I want to re-emphasize that unless we can find some way to implement the Chairman's disarmament proposals then we might have to start hunting all over again. A reduction in the $40 billion military budget of the Soviet Union and our $40 billion budget, that reduction could be devoted to helping under-privileged nations as the Chairman cited as the most desirable objective.

KHRUSHCHEV: It is not $40 billion, but $25 billion, and that's no small sum either. I, as a former miner, have to say that I pity you as representing the working class, but your thinking is not of the working class. When Hearst says it, I am not offended. But when a representative of the workers says it, it is different.

REUTHER: The key is universal inspection and control, and to stop hydrogen bomb testing. We expect the same conditions as you expect. We believe that neither nation should be treated as a second-class power. Why can't you agree?

KH RUSHCHEV: Why are you so familiar with the Dulles arguments and not with the Khrushchev proposals?

CAREY: Dulles is dead.

KHRUSHCHEV: We say what we are saying because we have already clarified these issues.

REUTHER: You will not agree to universal inspection and control?

KHRUSHCHEV: Have you been asleep all the time? That is what we are for. I am sure you haven't read my speech.

CAREY: Yes, we have read your speech, and other propaganda. But we failed to find the basis for implementing the proposals.

KNIGHT: (Again raised the self-determination question.)

KHRUSHCHEV: (interrupting): I've never liked fleas when they jumped all over ...

REUTHER: We would prefer not to jump all over. We would prefer to exhaust one question at a time, but it's all a matter of time. Tell the Chairman we will go slower if he has the time.

VICTOR REUTHER: The Chairman has said he wants to talk to workers, and these are workers' representatives.

REUTHER:...

VICTOR R
and

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 948332

UNCLASSIFIED
(Security Classification)

REUTHER: How much time will the Chairman be willing to give?

CAREY: We want to be considerate of our guest but ...

KHRUSHCHEV: 10:30, another hour ... Disarmament is the question of questions, and if you misunderstand this there is almost no way out. What the Americans propose is control first, and then disarmament. What does this mean? Nothing! Let us station our bases in Mexico and Canada, then maybe you will have an understanding.

(There was a fast two or three minute interchange across the table. At one point Khrushchev, talking at Curran, exclaimed, "How can you open your mouth like that and represent the workers?")

(At this point Khrushchev became quite excited and pounded the table.)

CAREY: Here is the question on disarmament (passing it across the table) as I have phrased it. We fear there is lack of attention being given by you and your colleagues to the whole question of inspection and control.

KHRUSHCHEV: I would like to tell you, gentlemen, so long as America continues to manifest a high-handed attitude toward other people there can be no agreement.

CURRAN: We ought to talk sense here, and we're not talking sense yet. I don't want to be confused with statesmen, I am a worker speaking for workers and I'm pretty sure the rest of the guys here do.

RIEVE (raised the question of Socialism versus Communism, and particularly public ownership under capitalism, pointing out that social ownership is compatible with the highest forms of political democracy as practiced in Scandinavia.)

KHRUSHCHEV: There is a different understanding between us. Capitalist countries can own production and it doesn't make them Socialists.

REUTHER: It is more than a matter of degree ... We think that the country in the free world nearest to Democratic Socialism is Israel. Yet the Russian attitude toward Israel has been most unfriendly.

KHRUSHCHEV: We don't have an instrument that could measure the socialism there. (He tossed his head almost disdainfully here.)

REUTHER:...

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 948832

UNCLASSIFIED
(Security Classification)

REUTHER: You haven't been there, I have been there, and I have seen how Histadrut, the magnificent Israeli labor movement, which owns 60% of the production, supports the nation, and aids its progress.

CURRAN: I appreciate the Chairman's fatigue ...
(Here came a heated interchange with Khrushchev, for the most part apparently, over the interpretation of fatigue.)

REUTHER: Mr. Chairman, you are agitated again. You don't even understand a friendly question. Curran was inquiring about your weariness after a tough schedule.

CURRAN: Please accept my apologies. I was asking about your tiredness from your journey. (Curran, returning to issues under consideration, mentioned his sailings to Russia in 1945.) Curran's question was: "Specifically, will workers be permitted to exercise freedom to secure redress of their grievances by the only test of industrial democracy, the right to strike, the right collectively to withhold their labor power?" When will workers be able to negotiate agreements in Russia, including the right to strike?

KHRUSHCHEV: I quite understand you, but you do not understand anything of the workings of the Socialist system. I do not want to offend you -- you just do not know, you have not been there. You measure everything by U.S. standards. What I like about you is that you do have a class sense, that feeling, Yes, they do have those rights. (Presumably this refers to the right to negotiate agreements and strike.) I understand your question. The working class does have the juridical right to strike. Does the worker have the right to exercise, the right to strike? Yes. Have there been strikes since the October Revolution? Yes, I spoke at some of the strike meetings. Are there strikes now? No. Because workers and unions and the government have one thought, because in what other country would the government announce that wages would be raised and the working day reduced without pressure ... In capitalist countries they would need to fight for this.

KHRUSHCHEV: I would think that if our disarmament proposals were accepted -- we are now planning a six-hour day in 1964 -- we could immediately reduce it to a six-hour day and raise wages. Our workers are all organized in unions and they are learned and they know the economic conditions and the economic possibilities in our country.

[illegible] But in spite of that, knowing economic conditions and possibilities, do they have the right to strike?

KHRUSHCHEV: ...

Page 13

KHRUSHCHEV:

REUTHER: I

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 948832

KHRUSHCHEV: Juridically, yes.

REUTHER: I grew up in a working class home in West Virginia ... (interruption by Khrushchev, with hand-waving.)

REUTHER: Is he afraid of my questions?

KHRUSHCHEV: I am not afraid of the devil and you're a man.

REUTHER: I worked with the anti-Hitler underground in Germany before going to Russia ... What bothers me about your social system is not that you're not making economic progress for the workers and peasants. You're making tremendous technical progress. And I know all about your rationale of workers not striking against themselves. But the Chairman himself exposed -- in his exposure of Stalin's crimes -- the cult and power of an individual. How could the worker in that period get justice if he could not strike or publicly protest.

KHRUSHCHEV: His trade union.

REUTHER: The union is an extension of government, the Soviet Government. Does a union ever disagree with the government? Can you give us one single example in which one of your unions ever disagree with government policy?

KHRUSHCHEV: Why poke your nose into our business?

REUTHER: Freedom is everybody's business -- you are always expressing a concern for the workers of Asia -- there is a thing called international labor solidarity. When I was in Russia I was a member of a union, and it was what we would call a company union.

* * *

(Fast and frequently indignant interchanges between the Chairman and the labor side of the table, too fast to be recorded.)

REUTHER: Everytime we push a sharp question, the Chairman gets angry.

KHRUSHCHEV: (getting red in face, and just slightly loud): And what we call what you represent -- capitalist lackeys.

REUTHER: Every time I ask a question he has no answer for, he gets angry.

KNIGHT: Mr. Chairman, since it took me so long to get the floor, I want to exercise my democratic rights and ask two questions. Mr. Chairman, you have made repeated statements regarding self-determination..

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 948832

determination and the freedom of people from outside interference. We agree with you on both of these principles. However, we cannot understand, since you say you favor the right of the German people both East and West to decide for themselves on unification, how do you visualize the German people making this decision since you continue to oppose a free and democratic vote by the German people on this issue. My second question is, in view of your statements favoring self-determination and non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations and your statements supporting peaceful co-existence, how do you reconcile these statements with the harsh military suppression of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters by the Soviet military powers.

KHRUSHCHEV: The capitalists have certainly trained some very good cadres. May I just voice my thoughts aloud? Do you know anything about Germany? Have you ever been there? The German Democratic Republic is based on the most democratic foundations. There is no private ownership of the means of production.

KNIGHT: If it is on the most democratic foundations, then they should not be afraid of a democratic election.

REUTHER: In Eastern Germany there is only a one-party system. (Interchange of 10 voices.)

KNIGHT: Why do you oppose a democratic vote for reunification of Germany?

KHRUSHCHEV: It depends not on me but on the two Germanys.

KNIGHT: But you take a position against democratic reunification in your propaganda throughout the world.

KHRUSHCHEV: Tell me where I said that. Hungary has its own Constitution and laws, and is freely developing.

KNIGHT: Why did the Russians interfere in Hungary?

KHRUSHCHEV: There was no interference. There was a counter-revolution, thugs and hooligans who received arms from outside and took power in Budapest. And the government asked us for aid and we gave it, and we're proud of it. We are proud of it as a feat. There would be fascism there if we had not.

REUTHER: Was Nagy a fascist, I thought he was a Communist?

KHRUSHCHEV: Don't mix good things with dirt. (Exchanges around the table.) Have we exhausted the Hungarian question?

CAREY: ...

CAREY: We ha...
CA-33...
Pag...
PHILLIPS (brou...
Europe an...

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND948832

CAREY: We have touched on it; we have certainly not exhausted it.

PHILLIPS (brought up the question of radio jamming of Radio Free Europe and Voice of America).

KHRUSHCHEV: What do you prefer to have for dinner? (looking at Phillips) What is your favorite dish?

PHILLIPS: Probably roast beef.

KHRUSHCHEV; I, borscht ... You continue to enjoy roast beef, and I, borscht.

REUTHER: But you prescribe and insist on borscht for all.

KHRUSHCHEV: (rising to his feet at 10:22 p.m.): If you don't read what I have stated, what can I expect ...

REUTHER: You advocate more trade. How come you oppose a free flow of ideas.

KHRUSHCHEV: As head of the working class I will protect workers from capitalist propaganda. (At this point, unexpectedly, Khrushchev, still on his feet, gave a burlesque demonstration of his idea of the can-can he witnessed during the Hollywood rehearsal of the forthcoming film, "Can-Can." He turned his back to the table, bent downward, flipped his coat up and gave an imitation of the can-can.) This is a dance in which girls pull up their skirts. You're going to see that, we are not. This is what you call freedom -- freedom for the girls to show their backsides. To us it's pornography. The culture of people who want pornography. It's capitalism that makes the girls that way. (Khrushchev still on his feet while saying this.)

PHILLIPS: Does the Chairman think that the girls should be prohibited by law from showing their backsides.

KHRUSHCHEV: There should be a law prohibiting the girls from showing their backsides, a moral law.

CAREY: I may not see it, I may not want to see it ...

KHRUSHCHEV: Your children will go to see it.

REUTHER: Perhaps it was a stupid movie -- it was stupid of them to show it to you. But that has nothing to do with our question of why not a free flow of ideas between our countries?

KHRUSHCHEV: ...

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 948832

KHRUSHCHEV: Why don't you want to trade with us? The sausage tastes the same in all countries. (Referred to the press conference statement by Zukov today on cultural exchange.)

CAREY: I will read this press statement and I'm sure that all of our colleagues will follow it up.

SATYUKOV (Editor of Pravda): We printed in Pravda in full Reuther's statement at the unemployment conference in Washington. We didn't change a word, but at the same time the New York papers said that it was a Red scheme. We wrote back in Pravda there was no collusion between us and Reuther. The Voice of America didn't broadcast it. If it did, we wouldn't jam it.

REUTHER: No, you wouldn't because that report on unemployment would reflect upon us. But why didn't you and why don't you publish my May Day speech of this year in West Berlin? I invite you to publish and broadcast that speech.

KHRUSHCHEV: We only publish speeches that contribute to friendly relations between countries.

REUTHER: There were at least 600,000 workers who heard my speech in West Berlin, and I am certain that my speech was far less provocative than the May Day speakers in the Eastern sector of Berlin.

CAREY: I think the Chairman answered the question, in part, in his reply to Spyros Skourus. Actually Skourus knows little about the problems of unemployment in the United States.

REUTHER: The record of struggle of U.S. unionism stands for itself. Personally, I have been shot and beaten. I have been criticized by the reactionary press as a Moscow agent and by you as a lackey of Wall Street.

KHRUSHCHEV: Without sharp edges, I would like to ask whether we cannot find a common approach. But we think differently. We pity you.

REUTHER: We don't want your pity.

CURRAN: Maybe the word he wanted was sympathize. Pity is a bad word. We don't want his pity.

KHRUSHCHEV: We are progressing toward Communism. You want to strengthen capitalism.

REUTHER: We are interested in how best to advance the interests of the...

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 948832

the workers under freedom. We disagree on how best to advance the interests of the workers.

KHRUSHCHEV: You have your point of view; we have ours. They are irreconcilable.

REUTHER: Why can't we believe in our system of individual freedom without your feeling it is a necessity to say we are betraying the workers ?

KHRUSHCHEV: We did not come to this meeting to aggravate our relations, they are bad enough as they are. Let's not raise questions that disunite us. Let us join our efforts for peace. Let us not be hot-headed. Questions like Hungary are pin-pricks. What good do they do? Suppose we raised the question of Guatamala.

REUTHER: We criticized the situation in Guatamala but the most important fact is that no one in Russia could or did criticize your intervention in Hungary.

CAREY: We are making some progress, however, when we can have meetings like this. This is more pointed than any discussion we have had in recent years. If this kind of discussion is continued it holds some hope for the future.

FELLER: Mr. Chairman, I cannot understand since the Communist Party proclaims itself to be the liberator of the working class, yet we see mass exodus of workers in other countries following the Communist seizure of power. You have the sample of 3,000,000 workers fleeing from East Germany to West Berlin, and about 3,000,000 fleeing from North Korea to South Korea, and as mentioned a moment ago, 300 or so thousands of Hungarians braved arrest and death in escaping to freedom. Mr. Khrushchev, can you tell us of a single instance where, following Communist seizure of power, there has been a mass influx of workers from surrounding non-Communist countries into the Communist country. If the Communist Party is the liberator of the working class, why don't we see this phenomena.

KHRUSHCHEV: Is that all? Think it over. Drink your beer. Perhaps that will help you to find the answer to your question.

FELLER: That certainly is no answer and apparently nothing will make you understand why millions want to escape from Communism.

KHRUSHCHEV: I've told you, I'm not even afraid of the devil.

CAREY: Wall Street says Reuther is a representative of the devil.

REUTHER: ...

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND948832

REUTHER: Wall Street says I am an agent of Moscow, and Moscow says I am an agent of Wall Street.

WEAVER: I would like to pose this question, Mr. Chairman. In fact, one of the problems as I see it and which you just referred to-- for example, Hungary as a "pin-prick" -- is how do we establish a basis of trust which must precede understanding. Recently I served as a labor representative at a conference of the World Association of United Nations, in Geneva. At this conference, the USSR and the United States delegations agreed on a resolution attempting to diminish the tensions of the cold war. However, at the same time the friends of the Soviet Union from the Eastern European countries were raising the kind of provocative questions you just referred to, that do not lead to understanding. How do we arrive at a basis of understanding with this kind of attitude? For our people the questions that have been raised here with you this evening must be answered.

KHRUSHCHEV: It is true there are many issues on which we differ. Let us have more contacts. We may not solve all the issues at once but through contacts we can begin to settle the little issues which will lead to more progress. Let us not aggravate our relations. It is only our opponents who will benefit. Do you want to see a change in the social order of our country? No! We don't want to see a change in the social order of your country. I confess I myself have never been a trade union functionary. But why shouldn't you gentlemen visit us? You won't become Communists.

CAREY: We've been there; we've seen your country, time and again. I've been there three times, our other colleagues have been there.

REUTHER: It is important that the Chairman understand that changes are occurring here in the United States and that we have people as dedicated to advancing the working class as there could be anywhere else (throwing across the table to Khrushchev U.S. wage rates). How can he say these people are wage slaves exploited by capitalism, making these kind of wages in America? How can he say that they have nothing to lose but their chains?

KHRUSHCHEV: We say what we do in retaliation for what you say about us. Take, for example, Meany's speeches. I read most of them. They sound like Dulles -- they sound like Dulles.

REUTHER: We have our disagreements and we recall you had some disagreements with Molotov. However, when we have disagreements, no one is exiled.

CAREY: ...

UNCLASSIFIED
(Security Classification)

CAREY: We thank the Chairman. I suggest our guest of honor has been quite generous with his time. We thank you for joining us, and may our two great countries work together for peace and the good of all mankind.

(The meeting ended at 11:03 p.m.)

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND948832

UNCLASSIFIED
(Security Classification)

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 948832

EXTRACTS FROM "TASS" REPORT, SEPTEMBER 24, 1959
IN ENGLISH FROM MOSCOW TO EUROPE

Germany (This passage corresponds with the exchange between Khrushchev and Knight on free elections in Germany, pages 11-12 of the first enclosure.)

"The latter (Knight) asked two questions. In an impudent way he inquired about the so-called 'free elections in Germany'. This trade union leader spoke in the same vein on the so-called 'Hungarian question'.

"'Do you know anything about the German Democratic Republic? Have you been there ?' Khrushchev asked. 'For my part, I have been there frequently, and I can assure you that the German Democratic Republic is established on the most democratic basis. All questions are decided there by a democratically elected government. Private ownership of means of production has been abolished, and the power is in the hands of the working people. The working class in the German Democratic Republic is headed by a party devoted to their interests--the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. There are other democratic parties.

"'As to the elections in Germany, I have said repeatedly that this is an internal business of the Germans themselves. They can do as they agree among themselves. No one has the right to meddle in their home affairs.'"

Hungary (This passage follows the one on Germany)

"Then Khrushchev strongly rebuffed the attempts to fish up again the so-called 'Hungarian question'.

"In discussing this question, Mr. Reuther involuntarily revealed bewildering ignorance. He began 'defending' Comrade Janos Kadar as a ... (TASS ellipsis) bourgeois nationalist. After his colleagues burst into laughter, telling him that he meant Imre Nagy, he made clumsy excuses.

"Exposing the hypocritical stand of this 'champion of the Hungarian people', Khrushchev said:

"'The Hungarian Peoples Republic has its own constitution, its laws its lawful government, elected as it is by democratic methods. It develops in conditions of freedom and has big successes in socialist construction to its record. What happened in Hungary in 1956? A rebellion of antipopular elements, dissatisfied with the working class power, took place there. The Hungarian counter-revolution, instigated by the force of international reaction, tried to overthrow the...

UNCLASSIFIED
(Security Classification)

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND948832

the socialist system. In attempting this, the conspirators used arms received from the West. They were guided by directives coming from the same source. Having seized power for several days in Budapest, the counter-revolutionaries unleased a reign of terror, killed and executed honest people. At this difficult time the Hungarian Revolutionary Government, headed by Janos Kadar, asked us for help.

"'We complied with this request and are proud of it. If we had not come to the assistance of the people's government, headed by Janos Kadar, the fascists might have usurped power in Hungary. Rendering fraternal assistance to the Hungarian people in their struggle against the fascist insurgents, we fulfilled our international duty.'"

Dictatorship of the Proletariat (This section is in reply to Reuther's press conference after the dinner.)

"Very surprising after all this (the friendly parting at the end of the gathering) was the fact that a press conference was held shortly afterwards, at which Mr. Reuther permitted himself to distort the essence of the conversation and attack a person whom he, together with his colleagues, had just welcomed as a guest of honor. Mr. Reuther even stooped to say that during the conversation Khrushchev had allegedly banged the table and shouted 'I am a dictator of the working class'.

Such slanderous insinuations are obviously intended for people who have not the slightest idea of the Soviet Union and its leaders. It is not accidental, therefore, that many bourgeois newsmen asked Khrushchev about his reaction to Mr. Reuther's incredible statement about the conversation.

"'I do not know whether Mr. Reuther said this or whether it has been ascribed to him by dishonest newsmen,' Khrushchev said. 'Did he really say that?'

"The newsmen who attended the news conference confirmed that Mr. Reuther had made such a statement. Then Khrushchev said: 'If Mr. Reuther said that, he has been dishonest. This is a lie. I cannot respect a person resorting to such tricks. In our conversation we spoke about the dictatorship of the working class, and not about personal dictatorship. Marxism-Leninism teaches that when the power passes to the working class it must establish its own dictatorship to crush the resistance of the exploiting classes.

"'There can be different forms of working class dictatorship in different countries. If the overthrown class does not offer

resistance...

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND948832

resistance to the new trends emerging in the course of society's historical development after the revolution, the working class does not need to use means of coercion.

"'On the contrary, when the exploiters try to turn back the tide of history, to prevent the people from taking power into their own hands, to strangle the revolution, then the working class, all the working people, are obliged in their own vital interests to use suppressive means, so as to defend their social gains, to uphold the vital interests of the workers and all the people'.

"N. S. Khrushchev stressed that as the USSR draws closer to communism, measures toward the withering away of the state are being enacted on an even larger scale. We in the Soviet Union have already carried out a series of far-reaching measures in this sphere, he said. We are reducing the armed forces, the milita, the state security forces. Our public organizations are assuming an even larger share of the functions of maintaining order and governing the state".

WFTU (This statement refers to Reuther's remarks about freedom and labor solidarity, page 11 of the first enclosure).

"There is such a notion of international workers solidarity, Walter Reuther said pompously.

"'And you dare speak of international solidarity after you had split the world federation of trade unions, by pitching your trade unions against the unions of most of the other countries of the world', Khrushchev replied.

"Reuther did not answer. As usual, when he had nothing to say, Reuther hopped to another question and gave the floor to Mr. Knight."

Trade Union Contacts (These passages are scattered through the "Tass" account, beginning after Satyukov's assertions that "Pravda" printed the full Reuther statement at the unemployment conference in Washington, page 14 of the first enclosure.)

"'We do not have a common view on the question of exchanging information, just as on several other questions', Khrushchev said, 'but this does not mean that we cannot find a common language on problems concerning our two nations. We tell you to raise yourself higher and try to get a broader view of events. Do not stick to your parochial view on everything. Come to our country and see how the Soviet workers live and work, how the trade unions operate in our country, how they uphold the workers' interests. We pave different approaches to events. We are advancing to communism, along our own road, while you wish to consolidate capitalism. So we hold different positions.

Let us...

Let us rec
find groun
CA-3398, 10
Page

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 948832

Let us recognize this indisputable fact. But maybe we could try to find grounds for businesslike cooperation. We believe this is feasible. This cooperation is needed by all the working class in the struggle for its basic interests, in the struggle for peace.

"'We have come to this gathering not to aggravate relations; they are bad enough', Khrushchev noted. 'If we are to hurl accusations at each other, it will not yield anything for the working class. Let us be reasonable. Let us not touch on all questions dividing us. Let us pool efforts in the struggle for world peace.'"

* * * * *

"'I know that your trade unions are doing a lot to make the Negroes full-fledged citizens of the United States', Khrushchev said. As to the points on which your trade unions have conflicting views with trade unions of the socialist states, you know that we have a different approach to many social events and different evaluations of them.

"'To our mind, the trade unions should establish more frequent contacts. Of course not everything will be resolved at once. However, if cooperation among trade unions begins to develop and grow on individual, even insignificant, questions to begin with, the two nations will, in the final analysis, arrive at pooled efforts. You will not be able to understand the views of our trade unions right away, just as our trade union officials will not understand you at once. This is why both sides should watch each other more closely, delve into each other's activity, get to know each other's work better. We may argue, we may disagree with each other, but if we wish to strengthen peace, to improve the workers' living standards, why should we strain our relations? Only our common enemies will stand to gain from this.

"'Do you want to change our social system? I hope not! We also do not want to interfere in your home affairs--to try to change the system you have. We have always said, and we now say: let us be tolerant with each other. Although we are divided on many questions, we have a common cause, for the sake of which we should pool our efforts. It is the struggle for peace. The peoples want peace and they are fighting for it.

"'As to the concrete questions of the trade union movement, I, frankly speaking, have never worked in this field, and I am not an expert. But we have experienced trade union officials.

"'Why don't you contact them? They will not try to convert you into communists. I believe that you too will not make them advocates of capitalism...

of capitalism. But an exchange of views between you would undoubtedly be useful.'"

* * * * *

"Press group comment: What are the results of the meeting of the American labor leaders with the head of the Soviet Government?

"The very fact of the meeting shows that the situation in the United States is beginning to change for the better. However strong the anti-Soviet bias of certain American trade union leaders may be, the growing striving of the American people to improve American-Soviet relations and to strengthen peace is gaining the upperhand. It will be recalled that the leadership of the American labor unions have stubbornly rejected all contacts with the Soviet Union until now. Many of the speeches made by AFL-CIO President Meany did not differ in any respect from those of the reactionary-minded leaders of American capitalism.

"As recently as September 21, 1959, addressing a trade union congress in San Francisco, Meany made gross attacks on the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, attacks sustained in the spirit of the cold war. This position of Meany and his collaborators is in sharp dissonance with the sentiments of ordinary Americans, who want to strengthen peace and establish friendly relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

"This is why, apparently, a group of AFL-CIO leaders found it necessary to invite the head of the Soviet Government, N. S. Khrushchev, to a meeting to discuss a number of important questions concerning international affairs and Soviet-American relations.

"These are reasons to believe that this meeting may serve as a good start, that it may help to pave the way for the establishment of necessary contacts between the trade unions of the United States and the Soviet Union. These contacts are necessary, and may be very fruitful in the struggle for the common cause of strengthening world peace."

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 948832