FINAL VERRATIM RECORD OF THE THIRTY-FIFTH MEETING

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, on Thursday, 9 June 1960, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: MR. MOCH (France)
PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Bulgaria:  Mr. M. TARABANOV
          Mr. K. CHRISTOV
          Mr. G. GUSELEV

Canada:  Mr. E.L.M. BURNS
         Mr. A.G. CAMPBELL
         W/Cdr. R.J. MITCHELL

Czechoslovakia:  Mr. J. NOSEK
                 Lieut.-Gen. J. HECKO
                 Mr. Z. TRHLIK

France:  Mr. J. MOCH
         Mr. M. LEGENDE
         Col. L. CONVERT

Italy:  Mr. G. MARTINO
        Mr. F. CAVALLETTI
        Mr. L. LANZARI

Poland:  Mr. M. NASZKOWSKI
         Mr. M. BLUSZTALN
         Brig.-Gen. J. SLUMINSKY

Romania:  Mr. E. NEZINCESCU
          Mr. C. BOGDAN
          Col. C. POPA

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:  Mr. V.A. ZORIN
                                    Col.-Gen. A.A. GRYZLOV
                                    Mr. A.A. ROSECHIN
Present at the table (cont'd)

United Kingdom:
Rt. Hon. D. ORMSEY-GORE
Maj.-Gen. RIDDELL
Miss B. SALT

United States of America:
Mr. F.M. SATOR
Mr. C.C. STELLE
Rear-Admiral P.L. DUDLEY

Representative of the Secretary-General:
Dr. D. PROTITCH

Deputy Representative of the Secretary-General:
Mr. W. EPSSTEIN
The CHAIRMAN (France) (translation from French): The thirty-fifth meeting of the Conference of the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament is called to order. I call on Mr. Burns, the representative of Canada.

Mr. BURNS (Canada): The remarks which I shall make today will be quite brief. The most important thing I have to say is that the Canadian Government is giving to the Soviet plan of 2 June the very careful study which its importance requires. The plan must also be the subject of certain consultations between our Government and other Governments concerned. This was conveyed by our Prime Minister to the Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers in reply to his letter transmitting the plan.

Pending completion of this governmental consideration and consultation, the Canadian delegation is not in a position to express views on the more important aspects of the plan. Although there are a number of points upon which we should like to have further information, we do not feel that we should begin to put questions now. As Mr. Ormsby-Gore said yesterday, it would be a mistake for any of us to commence asking questions and receiving information in a haphazard manner. It may therefore be a few days before we shall be able to start, in a systematic way, the process of obtaining the clarifications we shall need.

Mr. Zorin observed that the plan was issued on 2 June, and, as it is now 9 June, he professed to be unable to understand why we cannot discuss it. He observed that the plan is made up of provisions which were in the former Soviet plan and some ideas which the Western side had previously endorsed. I think that Mr. Zorin can hardly have been serious about this, since the changes which have been made in the stages and order of events in the former Soviet plan have produced what is in effect a new plan, and one that will require very careful assessment on our part. We wish to approach it in the most constructive way, which will lead to more general agreement between the two sides. "More haste, less speed".

In this connexion I should like to say that the Canadian delegation does appreciate the adoption of certain of the ideas that were put forward in the Western proposals. These are, in paragraph 3 of the first stage of the new Soviet plan, the prohibition of the launching into orbit or the placing into outer space of devices carrying weapons of mass destruction;
and, in paragraph 4 of the same stage, the control over the launching of rockets for peaceful purposes. Another item we are pleased to see is the proposal in paragraph 8 of the first stage for a joint study for the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and the destruction of stockpiles thereof. The idea of joint studies is a sound and necessary one which we are glad to see adopted in this respect. Another important modification to the original Soviet plan appears in paragraph 9 of the third stage; that measures to maintain peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations shall be carried out, and that States shall undertake to place at the disposal of the Security Council, as required, contingents of police (or militia) from those retained by the said States. We feel that this consensus that there must be some means of maintaining peace and security against possible aggressions in the final stage of disarmament is very important. No doubt, at an appropriate time it may be discussed further and a final agreement on this point reached.

Finally, I would say that in the meantime, until we are ready to put detailed questions, the Canadian delegation would greatly welcome further clarifications of the Soviet disarmament plan of 2 June by the Soviet Union or by any of the Eastern European delegations.

Mr. NOSEK (Czechoslovakia): Exactly a week ago all the States Members and non-Members of the United Nations, and consequently all the Governments of the five Western Powers represented on our Committee, received the official text of the now and far-reaching proposals of the Soviet Union, which represent a significant elaboration and development of the idea of general and complete disarmament. The proposals of the Soviet Government are fully based on the resolution on general and complete disarmament unanimously adopted at the fourteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, the resolution which became the basis for the work of our Committee. The delegations of the Western countries have not yet expressed their views on these new proposals of the Soviet Union; this has been made clear again by the speech given by Mr. Burns this morning. Although we understand that the Soviet proposals require thorough and detailed examination, we think that in the interest of expediting the work of our Committee the Western delegations should make a point of expressing their opinion on these proposals as soon as possible.
As is generally known, the Soviet Government prepared its new proposals for consideration by the Summit Conference which was to have taken place in Paris. However, these proposals could not be discussed because the United States Government disrupted that Conference. This increases the responsibility of our Committee for discussing these new and far-reaching proposals of the Soviet Government in the most thorough and responsible way, in conformity with their importance, so that a treaty on general and complete disarmament can be drawn up as soon as possible on the basis of these proposals. The representatives of the Western countries could not fail to recognize in their interventions the fact that the Governments of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries took into consideration the previous proposals and standpoints of the Governments of the Western Powers, thereby showing their goodwill and willingness to reach an agreement. Unfortunately, we cannot say that there are the same goodwill and willingness on the part of the Western countries to expedite the reaching of an agreement on general and complete disarmament. It is becoming clear that in preparing for both the Summit Conference and the second stage of the discussions in our Committee the Governments of the Western countries did not move forward at all to meet the position of the socialist countries; instead, they are unyieldingly maintaining their previous standpoints.

The fact that, in view of the tremendous advance of science and technology, States have at their disposal today the means to attack other countries with lightning speed and possess large stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction, accounts for the necessity of solving the question of general and complete disarmament — this most urgent problem of the present day — in the shortest possible time, because such means of attack and the stockpiles to which I have just referred considerably increase the possibility of the outbreak of a conflict in which nuclear weapons would be involved and which would have disastrous consequences for all mankind. On the other hand, the accomplishment of general and complete disarmament would deliver mankind once and for all from the threat of war and preclude for all time the unleashing of a war. As a result, a lasting peace would be ensured for the nations of the whole world.

All the Czechoslovak people therefore fully support the idea of general and complete disarmament, and especially the latest proposals for its accomplishment put forward by the Soviet Union. Moreover, the interest of the Czechoslovak people
in attaining this goal is accentuated by the fact that general and complete disarmament would also remove for all time the danger of aggression from German imperialism which is again rising in the Federal Republic of Germany. The Czechoslovak Government, expressing the will of all the Czechoslovak people, has sincerely welcomed the proposals on the basic provisions of a treaty on general and complete disarmament put forward by the Soviet Government on 2 June 1960 and has endorsed them in full. At the same time it has instructed the Czechoslovak delegation to the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament to do its utmost, in concert with other delegations, to achieve a constructive solution of the question of general and complete disarmament on the basis of these proposals.

In its new proposals the Soviet Government has taken into consideration the ideas and opinions expressed by many Governments, particularly by the French Government. It has also taken into account many of the views expressed by the delegations of the Western countries in the course of the previous negotiations conducted in our Committee. By virtue of these facts the Soviet proposals create a new basis for further work by the Committee, and, provided that the other side too will show enough goodwill, these proposals will give us an opportunity to make a decisive step forward in the consideration of the question of general and complete disarmament, the radical solution of which by our Committee is awaited by the nations of the whole world. The new proposals put forward by the Soviet Government enable us to lead our negotiations out of the blind alley into which they were driven by the attitude of the delegations of the Western countries.

As is well known, the representatives of France have demanded on many occasions, both outside our Committee and during the course of our discussions, that the question of the means of delivery of nuclear weapons — that is artificial satellites of the earth, guided missiles, aircraft, warships, submarines and so on — be tackled first. Recently, on 31 May, the President of the Republic of France, General de Gaulle, speaking about the attitude of France towards disarmament, mentioned the destruction of the means of delivery of nuclear weapons as a measure of top priority.

The Western Powers also objected to the fact that the original Soviet proposal, of 18 September 1959, provided for the solution of the question of nuclear weapons, which are of decisive importance in waging modern wars, as late as the third stage of general and complete disarmament. For instance, at our meeting on 21 March, the representative of the United Kingdom,
Mr. Ormsby-Gore, criticized the statements of the representatives of the socialist countries, saying that although they emphasized the vital importance of nuclear disarmament,

"they nevertheless make no provision for any such measures until the last stage". (TNCD/FV.5, page 29)

The representative of France, Mr. Moch, declared on 18 March that:

"... since nuclear disarmament is the most important measure ... it must have a privileged place in disarmament measures and not be inserted at the end". (TNCD/FV.4, page 8)

In working out its new proposals the Government of the Soviet Union took these views into consideration and came forward to meet them. By comparison with the original proposal, which envisaged the solution of the question of the means of delivery of nuclear weapons in the third stage of general and complete disarmament, the new proposals of the Soviet Union provide for the removal of all means of delivery of nuclear weapons from the armaments of States and the cessation of the manufacture and the destruction of all such means as early as the first stage. This important measure would be implemented hand in hand with the liquidation of military bases and the withdrawal of troops from foreign territories. It is indisputable that the implementation of such measures would substantially reduce the feasibility of a surprise attack by one State against another, and would lead to a radical improvement in the international situation. In addition to providing for the prohibition and destruction of all means of delivery of nuclear weapons, the proposals of the Soviet Union provide for the liquidation of military bases in foreign territories. Thus, these proposals ensure equal security for all States concerned.

The magnanimity of the new proposals of the Soviet Union is underlined by the fact that the Soviet Government has proposed a radical solution in the very field in which the superiority of the Soviet Union is indisputable, that is, in the field of intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Taking into consideration the requirement of the Western countries that the most important types of weapons for waging modern wars should be eliminated at the very beginning of the disarmament programme, the Government of the Soviet Union, in addition to proposing the destruction of all the means of delivering nuclear weapons at the first stage, has proposed a complete ban on all weapons of mass destruction, as well as the discontinuance of their production and the liquidation of all existing stockpiles of such weapons as early as the second stage.
It follows from these facts that the Government of the Soviet Union took into account the views of the Western countries, both as regards the means of delivery of nuclear weapons and the question of the nuclear weapons themselves, and as regards many other questions which were referred to by the representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Zorin, on 7 June, and yesterday by the representative of Poland, Mr. Naszkowski.

The proposals of the Soviet Union also take into account the viewpoint of the Western countries on questions relating to the safeguarding of international peace and security after the accomplishment of general and complete disarmament. It accordingly proposes that at the second stage there should be joint study of what measures should be taken to ensure compliance with the treaty on general and complete disarmament when all measures provided for in the treaty have been implemented, and of how peace and security should be maintained in conformity with the United Nations Charter after the accomplishment of general and complete disarmament.

In this connexion we attach great importance to the proposal that States should assume the obligation that after the accomplishment of general and complete disarmament they will furnish to the Security Council, under Article 43 of the Charter, contingents of police (or militia) for collective action for the purpose of the preservation of peace and security in the world.

The Soviet Government proposals of 2 June 1960 also contain a detailed elaboration of an effective control system and an explanation of the control measures to be taken at particular stages of the disarmament programme. As early as the first stage of the discussions in our Committee the delegations of the socialist countries pointed out on numerous occasions that they were in favour of strict measures in the field of control which would ensure the exact fulfilment of agreed disarmament measures.

The new proposals of the Government of the Soviet Union have proved once again the futility of the attempts of the Western Powers to distort the position of the socialist countries on the question of control. The contention that the socialist countries are trying to sidestep effective control lacks any foundation.

Even the first round of our discussion showed that a considerable rapprochement of positions had been achieved on a number of basic principles of control. This fact was also confirmed by the representative of Franco, Mr. Moch, in his statement at our eighth meeting, in which he dwelt at length on the question of control.
In his speech, Mr. Moch said: "I note with satisfaction that we agree on a number of points ...". (TNCD/PV.8, page 8)

One of the basic principles on which we can say that both sides agree is the requirement to carry out control over the respective disarmament measures from the very moment when they begin to be implemented. The Soviet Union proposals of 2 June envisage the implementation of all disarmament measures, under strict and effective international control, from the beginning until the end. Thus, the new proposals of the Soviet Union provide for the establishment of an international control organization within the framework of the United Nations once the treaty on general and complete disarmament enters into effect.

In order that the control organization may be established in time, it is proposed to set up, immediately after the signing of the treaty, a preparatory commission which would take practical steps leading to the establishment of such a control organization before the treaty came into force.

Another important principle on which agreement has been reached is that there should be no control without disarmament and no disarmament without control. In accordance with this principle, the system of control over each disarmament measure has been elaborated in detail in the proposals of the Soviet Union. The control measures proposed for the first stage are comparatively simple and easy to implement, despite their importance and extensiveness, because they relate to concrete disarmament measures.

As regards the other questions of control which will require additional study, particularly from the technical point of view, the new proposals of the Soviet Union envisage that, as early as the first stage, there should be joint study of measures concerning the cessation of the manufacture of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the liquidation of the stockpiles of such weapons. This proposal ensures that for each stage of general and complete disarmament appropriate prerequisites for effective international control will be created in time.

The Czecho-Slovak delegation is convinced that the new proposals of 2 June of the Government of the Soviet Union, provide a suitable basis for reaching an agreement on general and complete disarmament and that they enable the Committee to proceed without delay, or at least without any unnecessary delay, to a concrete discussion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament.
However, from the statements of the representatives of the Western Powers, and particularly from what the representative of the United States, Mr. Eaton, had to say at our thirty-third meeting, on 7 June, it appears that the delegations of the Western countries continue to press for discussion in this Committee of partial measures instead of for negotiations on general and complete disarmament.

We have had occasion to show on numerous occasions that if the Committee were to adopt such an approach it would not be able to fulfil the task entrusted to it; that is, to work out a programme of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The question of disarmament is now ripe and must be solved without unnecessary delay. Only a radical and consistent solution can lead to the removal of the danger of war and the restoration of absolute confidence among States, and such a solution is contained in the proposals of the Soviet Union, which provide a realistic basis for the elaboration of a programme of general and complete disarmament.

In view of the fact that at our thirty-third meeting, two days ago, the representative of the United States, Mr. Eaton, again recommended to the Committee that it should consider the proposals on partial measures submitted by the United States delegation during the first stage of our negotiations, I deem it necessary to clarify once again the standpoint of the socialist countries on those proposals. The delegations of the socialist countries have made it clear that the proposals which the Western Powers have submitted to our Committee have nothing in common with general and complete disarmament. These proposals, and particularly those put forward by the representative of the United States, Mr. Eaton, contain measures having the character of control and represent nothing but control over armaments, which could serve no other purpose than to soak intelligence data. The correctness of these conclusions drawn by the delegations of the Socialist countries was unequivocally proved by the recent shooting-down of the United States U-2 spy aircraft over the territory of the Soviet Union. The purpose of the proposals submitted to our Committee by the Western delegations thus becomes clear.

But the resolution on general and complete disarmament, adopted unanimously by the United Nations General Assembly at its fourteenth session, set a different goal for our work. In this resolution (A/RES/1378(XIV)) the General Assembly called upon States to take concrete measures leading to a positive solution of the question of general and complete disarmament in the shortest possible time. The proposals of 2 June 1960 of the Government of the Soviet Union on the basic provisions of a
treaty on general and complete disarmament fully comply with this appeal. These proposals provide, first of all, for the disbanding of all armed forces of States, the prohibition and liquidation of all weapons of mass destruction, the cessation of the manufacture and the liquidation of all means of delivery of weapons of mass destruction, the liquidation of military bases on foreign territories and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other States, the discontinuance of the military training and military service of citizens, the abolition of war ministries and general staffs, and the cessation of the financing of military budgets from State as well as other sources.

It is up to the delegations of the Western Powers to make clear whether they agree to the scope of these measures and, consequently, whether they are in favour of general and complete disarmament.

The Soviet Union proposals of 2 June 1960 give further evidence of the unremitting endeavour of the Soviet Government and all the other socialist countries to reach an agreement on the solution of the most important question of the present day — that is, the problem of general and complete disarmament. By submitting its new proposals the Government of the Soviet Union has demonstrated the utmost understanding and goodwill, and desire to take into consideration the views of the Western Powers and thereby to create a suitable basis for reaching a mutually acceptable solution. It is now up to the Western Powers to show the same goodwill and understanding so that the solution of the question of general and complete disarmament may be achieved without delay, as peace-loving nations throughout the world demand.

Mr. Eaton (United States of America): As I stated the day before yesterday, I shall not dignify with a reply these comments with regard to the Summit Conference or the U-2. I should like to say, however, that if the new Soviet proposal is as profound and as far-reaching as we are told it is then it should be recognized that it is worthy of the most serious consideration by the Western delegations.

Why do we continue to hear that the Western Governments are not approaching this proposal with goodwill? This Conference resumed only three days ago. The proposal requires the most careful scrutiny, and it is our intention, as has been stated by each of the Western delegations, to give it that scrutiny. The constant reiteration of a lack of goodwill on our part will, if continued, make serious negotiation extremely difficult. If the other side really desires serious
negotiation, it will desist from these statements which serve no useful purpose and are not believed either here at this table or elsewhere in the world.

The CHAIRMAN (France) (translation from French): If no one else wishes to speak I will read out the draft communique:

"The thirty-fifth meeting of the Conference of the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament was held at the Palais des Nations, Genova, on 9 June 1960 under the chairmanship of the representative of France. "The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Friday, 10 June 1960, at 10.30 a.m."

Are there any objections?
The communique is adopted.

The meeting rose at 11.15 a.m.