FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FORTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, on Monday, 27 June 1960, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman:  Mr. NASZKOWSKI  (Poland)

Later:  Mr. ORMSBY-GORE  (United Kingdom)
PRESENT AT THE TABLE

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

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

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

France:
Mr. J. MOCH
Gen. P. GENEVEY
Mr. M. LEGENDE

Italy:
Mr. L. DAINELLI
Maj.-Gen. D. FANALI
Mr. D. PHILLIPSON

Poland:
Mr. M. NASZKOWSKI
Mr. M. BLUZSTAJNI
Maj.-Gen. J. SLIWINSKI

Romania:
Mr. M. MEZINESSCU
Mr. C. BOGDAN
Col. C. POPA

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Mr. V. A. ZORIN
Col.-Gen. A.A. GRYZLOV
Mr. A.A. ROSSCHIN
PRESENT AT THE TABLE (cont'd)

United Kingdom:
Rt. Hon. D. ORMSBY-GORE
Sir Michael WRIGHT
Miss B. SALT

United States of America:
Mr. F.M. EATON
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. EPSTEIN
The CHAIRMAN (Poland) (translation from Russian): The forty-seventh meeting of the Ten Nation Conference on Disarmament is called to order.

I have a number of speakers on my list.

First, I call on the representative of the Soviet Union.

Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): The Government of the Soviet Union has instructed the Soviet delegation to make the following statement today.

The Soviet Government is seriously concerned at the fact that, through the fault of the Western Powers, negotiations in the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament have reached an impasse.

The submission by the Soviet Union of a programme of general and complete disarmament for consideration by the United Nations General Assembly at its fourteenth session, and the adoption by the General Assembly on 20 November 1959 of a resolution calling on Governments to make every effort to achieve a constructive solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament, caused the peoples of the world to hope that disarmament would be moved forward from its state of standstill.

Unfortunately, instead of getting down to the drafting of a programme of disarmament in the Ten Nation Committee, the Western Powers have put forward proposals directed towards the establishment of control without disarmament; and, as before they are reducing the whole affair to a fruitless discussion about control.

It is significant that they place special emphasis on the establishment of control over military space rockets. It is easy to understand that the United States of America and its partners are hoping thereby to obtain unilateral military advantages for themselves and for the military blocs which they lead. This fallacious approach cannot fail to place additional obstacles in the way to agreement on disarmament.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, as distinguished from the Western Powers, do not aim to obtain any unilateral military advantages.

The proposals of the Soviet Union offer equal safeguards for the security interests of all States. Implementation of the programme of general and complete disarmament would lead to the abolition of all means of waging war, thus placing all States in an identical position and ensuring lasting peace on earth.
Having regard to the situation which had arisen in the negotiations in the Ten Nation Committee, and wishing to achieve a breakthrough in solving the most burning problem of modern times -- the disarmament problem -- the Soviet Government prepared for the Summit Conference in Paris, as a development of the disarmament programme which it had put forward on 18 September 1959, new proposals on general and complete disarmament, in which the wishes of the Western Powers also were largely taken into account, particularly with regard to the banning and destruction, in the first place, of the means of delivering nuclear weapons, including the elimination of military bases on foreign territories, and with regard to the organization of international control over disarmament, as well as measures for preserving peace and security under conditions of general and complete disarmament.

After the Summit Conference had been wrecked by the United States of America, the Soviet Government considered it necessary to forward its new proposals to the Governments of all States on 2 June, at the same time submitting them to the Ten Nation Committee for its consideration.

The essence of these new proposals is that, in spite of the generally recognized superiority which the Soviet Union enjoys in the most modern and effective means of delivery of nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union is prepared, even in the first stage of disarmament, to ban and to destroy all such means of delivery, including intercontinental ballistic missiles, with the establishment of appropriate international control.

How did the Western Powers react to these Soviet proposals?

One might, it seemed, have expected that, as the Soviet Union had gone a long way to meet the Western Powers, every possibility had been created for proceeding with the drafting of a treaty on general and complete disarmament. But this did not happen.

In spite of all the efforts made by the Soviet Union, it has not been possible to achieve any progress in the work of this Committee.

While stating that they recognize the great importance of the new initiative taken by the Soviet Government, the representatives of the Western Powers in the Committee are trying at the same time to reduce the whole matter to the establishment of control over intercontinental ballistic missiles and earth satellites, which would amount to the legalization of foreign intelligence and
espionage. The Western delegations are in fact evading consideration of a programme of general and complete disarmament, or any practical disarmament measures at all, in spite of the fact that they supported the resolution on general and complete disarmament adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its fourteenth session. They oppose real disarmament in virtually every stage in the implementation of the programme of general and complete disarmament.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly proposed to the Western Powers the banning and destruction of nuclear weapons, at any stage in the disarmament programme. But they, under various pretexts, have refused to carry out this measure.

In its latest proposals the Soviet Union has taken into account the position of the Western Powers, and in particular that of France, in regard to the elimination of the means of delivering nuclear weapons in the initial stage of disarmament. But, as soon as the Soviet Union agreed with this approach, the Western Powers retreated on this question as well. When the Soviet Union proposed the reduction and abolition of armed forces and conventional armaments in the first and second stages of the disarmament programme, the Western Powers objected to this. But when, in its new proposals of 2 June, taking into account the wishes of the Western Powers themselves, the Soviet Union proposed to transfer the implementation of this measure to the second and third stages of the programme of general and complete disarmament, they raised objections to this proposal as well. It is clear that, if the Western Powers do not show any readiness to accept either the banning and destruction of the means of delivery and the elimination of foreign military bases, or the reduction and eventual abolition of armed forces and conventional armaments, or the banning and destruction of nuclear weapons, then they make negotiations pointless.

It has become quite obvious that the Western Powers are trying to avoid discussing the new Soviet proposals, and that once again they have no intention of conducting serious and fruitful negotiations on disarmament. As a result, a clearly abnormal and intolerable situation has arisen in the work of the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament, since the Committee has been marking time for a long period, being unable to reach agreement on any single practical disarmament problem.
In these circumstances the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, N.S. Khrushchev, has addressed to the heads of Governments of the United Kingdom, France, the United States, Italy and Canada personal messages calling on them to examine with the utmost seriousness the situation which has arisen in the Ten Nation Committee. The head of the Soviet Government has drawn the attention of the above-mentioned Governments to the fact that, in the situation brought about through the fault of the Western Powers, participation in the Ten Nation Committee by the Soviet Union, whose sincere desire to achieve agreement on disarmament is well known, is being used as a cover designed to conceal the armaments race that has been unleashed by the Western Powers and to deceive the peoples of the world.

Under such circumstances the participation of the Soviet Union in endless discussions in the Ten Nation Committee would, objectively speaking, merely confuse world opinion, which has expressed the hope that serious negotiations on disarmament would be conducted in Geneva. The Soviet Union naturally cannot be an accomplice in deceiving the peoples of the world. In view of this, the Soviet Government is breaking off its participation in the Ten Nation Committee in order to place before the next ordinary session of the United Nations General Assembly the question of disarmament and of the situation that has arisen in connexion with the implementation of the General Assembly resolution of 20 November 1959 on this subject.

The Soviet Union has been and continues to remain a consistent advocate of negotiations between governments on disarmament and is prepared to participate in such negotiations in the future. But it stands for negotiations that would contribute to a businesslike and fruitful consideration of the disarmament problem and that would not be empty verbal exchanges.

The Soviet Union believes, as it has always done, that equal representation in negotiations of both socialist and Western States is a factor which contributes to favourable consideration of the disarmament problem. At the same time, the question arises of the participation in the negotiations, in the interests of the matter, of some other States besides those that are represented on the Ten Nation Committee.
The Soviet Government expresses its conviction that the consideration of
the disarmament problem at the ordinary session of the United Nations General
Assembly, in that same forum where the resolution on general and complete
disarmament was adopted, will contribute towards finding a positive solution of
the disarmament problem — a solution which is awaited by all the peoples of the
world.

Mr. TARABANOVI (Bulgaria) (translation from French): The Bulgarian
delegation has been instructed by its Government to make the following statement.

The Bulgarian Government, which has been following the work of the Ten
Nation Committee on Disarmament with sustained attention, has noted with regret
that an abnormal situation has arisen in the Committee.

For a long time now the Western countries participating in the work of the
Conference of the Ten Nation Committee have shown a tendency to lead the work of
the Conference into sterile discussions and secondary matters of detail not
directly connected with the basic questions and with the drafting of an agreement
on a set of measures for general and complete disarmament, which is the task
assigned to the Committee by resolution 1378 adopted at the fourteenth session of
the United Nations General Assembly and the object of all the aspirations of the
peoples of the whole world.

The delaying tactics adopted by the Western delegations have caused the Ten
Nation Committee to hold a semblance of a discussion on disarmament, while in
reality consideration of the essential and real problems of general and complete
disarmament has been abandoned.

While loading the discussion into secondary matters and details of no
importance for the solution of disarmament problems, the United States delegation
and other Western delegations have endeavoured to give world opinion the
impression that serious work is being done on disarmament. While making statements
designed to create the impression that they are in favour of general and complete
disarmament, the Western delegations have declined to discuss the matter at all
and have consistently adopted a negative attitude towards all proposals calculated
to solve the real problems of disarmament.

While discussion in the Ten Nation Committee has been condemned by the attitude
of the Western countries to a sterile process of marking time, the Governments of
these countries have continued the frantic arms race. Thus, through the fault of
the Western countries, a situation has been brought about in which discussions in
the Committee can only serve as a cover for continuing the arms race and for
concealing the true policy of certain Western circles from the peoples.

Under these conditions, the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria
considers that the work now being done by the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament
can no longer serve the cause of peace and disarmament, and no longer corresponds
to the objectives fixed by resolution 1378 (XIV) of the United Nations General
Assembly, on general and complete disarmament. On the contrary, it only serves
the interests of the circles which are profiting from a continuation of the frantic
arms race, while distracting the attention of the peoples from the dangers of such
a policy. For these reasons, the Bulgarian Government has instructed me to
announce that the People's Republic of Bulgaria has decided to break off its work
at the Conference of the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament. This decision by
the Bulgarian Government is to be regarded as definite evidence that it is
opposed to sterile and endless discussions which do not serve the cause of
disarmament and peace. The Bulgarian Government is in favour of serious and
fruitful negotiations to achieve general and complete disarmament.

Mr. NOSEK (Czechoslovakia): In his introductory speech at the first
meeting of the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament, on 15 March 1960, the
Czechoslovak representative said that the task of the Ten Nation Committee on
Disarmament was to work out a programme of general and complete disarmament, as
laid down at the fourteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations
in resolution 1378 (XIV). This resolution considered the question of general and
complete disarmament as the most important facing the world today, and called
upon governments to make every effort to achieve a constructive solution of this
problem in the shortest time.

The delegations of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have
done their utmost for the achievement of this noble aim. In the first part of
our Conference they submitted, as a basis of negotiation, a concrete programme for
the accomplishment of general and complete disarmament, a programme which was put
forward by the Government of the Soviet Union on 18 September 1959 and which
became the joint proposal of all the socialist countries.

However, the Western delegations rejected that proposal and, by their negative
attitude, drove the negotiations in the first part of our Committee's work into
a blind alley. In its desire to facilitate in every way the speediest possible achievement of agreement on general and complete disarmament and thus ensure total and lasting peace among all States, the Government of the Soviet Union took into account the results of the work in the first stage of negotiations in the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament as well as the proposals, views and wishes expressed both by States members of the Committee and by other countries, and on 2 June 1960, put forward a proposal for the basic provisions of a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

In the second part of the work of our Committee the delegations of the socialist countries have again shown the maximum of goodwill to reach agreement. They have answered all questions raised by Western delegations concerning the new proposal of the Government of the Soviet Union and have demonstrated their willingness to meet the proposals of the Western delegations half-way, as long as such proposals are aimed at the working out of measures leading to the implementation of the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations on general and complete disarmament.

On the other hand, despite the fact that at the fourteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations they voted in favour of general and complete disarmament, the Western Powers have submitted to the Ten Nation Committee proposals which do not contain measures aimed at the accomplishment of general and complete disarmament. The proposals submitted by the Western delegations contain primarily partial measures having the character of control, which avoid real disarmament. The United States and the other Western Powers therefore continue to maintain their old positions. They are not striving to achieve disarmament but require control of armaments. Because of this negative attitude on the part of the Western Powers the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament has been marking time since the beginning of its work and has made no concrete step towards working out a programme of general and complete disarmament.

In this situation it is not possible to continue to deceive world public opinion by making the people think that this Committee is constructively discussing general and complete disarmament. This is all the more so since the Western Powers have used the discussion in this Committee as a cover for a further stepping up of the feverish armaments race. The delegations of the socialist countries cannot take any share in this situation. On instructions from the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic I hereby declare that Czechoslovakia interrupts its participation in the work
of the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament. We expect that the General Assembly of the United Nations will evaluate the situation which has arisen in this Committee and the contributions of each State member of the Committee towards the implementation of the General Assembly resolution on general and complete disarmament.

The Czechoslovak delegation wishes to emphasize once again that Czechoslovakia is determined, with the other delegations of the socialist States, to continue to do its utmost to further the constructive solution of the most urgent problem of the present day, which is general and complete disarmament, so that nations may be forever free from the threat of war and so that lasting peace may be secured throughout the world.

Mr. Mezingerscu (Romania) (translation from French): Having considered the state of our Committee's work, the Romanian Government fully shares the views of the Soviet Government expressed just now by the representative of the Soviet Union.

As my delegation has had occasion to point out, all progress in the negotiations on general and complete disarmament has been blocked in the Ten Nation Committee by the negative attitude of the Western Powers, first and foremost the United States.

The delegations of the socialist countries have manifestly endeavoured to meet the views of the Western countries so as to make an agreement on general and complete disarmament possible. But their efforts have been rendered sterile by the rejection, almost without discussion, of the initial proposals of the socialist countries and by the refusal of the Western countries, since we resumed our work, to engage in serious discussion of the substance of the new proposals submitted on 2 June by the Government of the Soviet Union, with the support of the socialist countries represented on the Committee.

Thus the NATO countries have, in fact, prevented the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament from giving satisfactory effect to the recommendations contained in resolution 1378(XIV) of the United Nations General Assembly.

All this, borne out by the increasing aggressive course of the United States policy and the intensification of the arms race by the United States and other NATO countries, proves that the Western countries intend to use the disarmament negotiations as a means of concealing their aggressive preparations and misleading world opinion. As I have already had occasion to state before the Committee, my Government can never be a party to such action.
Consequently, the Romanian Government has decided to break off its participation in the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament and has instructed me to inform the Committee of its decision. In these circumstances the Romanian Government believes it to be of the greatest importance that the United Nations should consider the problem of general and complete disarmament again. The Government of the People's Republic of Romania is still convinced not only that general and complete disarmament is a vital necessity for the international community, but also that it can be put into practice by means of negotiations in which all the parties make constructive efforts in conformity with the interests of all the peoples of the world. To make the success of negotiations on general and complete disarmament possible, however, the NATO Powers, and above all the United States, must radically change their negative attitude to disarmament and show, by concrete deeds, their desire to contribute to a constructive solution of this problem.

The CHAIRMAN (Poland) (translation from Russian): I shall make a statement in my capacity as representative of Poland.

I wish to state, on the instructions of my Government, that the Polish delegation fully shares the views expressed by the representative of the Soviet Union on the situation which has arisen in the Ten Nation Committee and on the conclusions to be drawn from that situation.

We consider — and we have stressed this at this table — that while serious steps have been taken by the socialist States in order to bring the positions of the two sides closer together, as has been done in the Soviet proposals of 2 June which take into account the views of the Western Powers, these Powers, and in the first place the United States, have stubbornly avoided in this phase of the work, as indeed in the previous phase, any constructive approach to the substance of our proposals and are trying once again to involve the Committee in fruitless technical studies, mainly in regard to control over armaments. It is quite obvious that this is not what the people of the world are expecting from the work of the Ten Nation Committee.

At present, when the development of more and more new means of mass destruction threatens the existence of whole nations, the speediest possible agreement on a programme of general and complete disarmament which would free mankind for ever from the nightmare of war is a task that brooks no delay.
Meanwhile, the course of discussion in the Committee has revealed that, despite the compromise proposals of the socialist countries, the United States not only does not want complete disarmament, but does not want any disarmament at all. This has become clear in the light of the unbridled armaments race carried on within the framework of NATO and of other Western military pacts, in the light of the continual re-arming of the militarists and revenge-seekers of Western Germany with the latest rocket weapons and the preparations for equipping the Bundeswehr with atomic weapons. Under these circumstances, any further continuation of the work of the Committee has not only become useless, but, more than that, it is becoming harmful since it creates an appearance of progress, whereas in fact, because of the position of the Western States, the Committee is in an impasse.

The socialist countries, including the People's Republic of Poland which experienced such intolerable sufferings during the second world war, sincerely desire general and complete disarmament and are fervent advocates of peaceful co-existence and of the peaceful solution of all problems on the basis of the equality of all the parties concerned. But we cannot reconcile ourselves with a situation in which our willingness to negotiate would be used as a cover for the continuation of the armaments race and as a means of misleading and deceiving the peoples of the world.

We have repeatedly pointed out in this Committee the impossibility of continuing such a situation indefinitely and have called upon the Western delegations to revise their negative position. This, however, has not occurred and we are therefore compelled to discontinue our participation in the work of the Committee and to refer this matter to the forum of the United Nations. There is no need to prove that Poland and the other socialist States desire negotiations on disarmament, but such negotiations have a meaning when both sides endeavour, in a businesslike manner, to advance negotiations towards the appointed goal. This goal is the drafting of a treaty on general and complete disarmament, which has become the most important problem of our times.

That, gentlemen, is the statement I wished to make in my capacity as representative of Poland.

Now I should like to say that, after the statements made by the representatives of the five socialist States, the work of the Ten Nation Committee is disbursed and, of course, the role of Chairman is finished.

The representatives of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics started to withdraw from the meeting.
Mr. MOCH (France) (translation from French): A point of order. Mr. Chairman, I asked to speak. I asked to speak, Mr. Chairman. I asked to speak. Mr. Chairman, do you know the rules of your office? What a scandal!

Mr. ORMSBY-GORE (United Kingdom): A point of order, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. EATON (United States of America): A point of order.

Mr. MOCH (France) (translation from French): I wish to speak. I ask that the meeting continue and that the next on the list take the Chair. Mr. Ormsby-Gore, would you kindly take the Chair. The meeting will continue. This is a scandal; it is shameful! Is this your democracy? A fine one I must say!

The representatives of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics withdrew from the meeting.