

UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



Distr.
GENERAL

A/4423
25 July 1960
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: RUSSIAN

LETTER DATED 15 JULY 1960 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS TO THE UNITED NATIONS,
ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

New York, 15 July 1960

In accordance with the instructions of the Government of the USSR I request you to issue as documents of the General Assembly and of the United Nations Disarmament Commission the texts, attached hereto, of messages dated 27 June addressed by Mr. N.S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, to Mr. D. Eisenhower, President of the United States of America, Mr. H. Macmillan, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. C. de Gaulle, President of France, Mr. J. Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada, and Mr. F. Tambroni, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Italy, on the question of disarmament, together with the text of a note dated 27 June 1960 addressed by the Soviet Government to the Governments of all other countries on that question.

(Signed) A. SOBOLEV
Permanent Representative of the USSR
to the United Nations

MESSAGE FROM MR. N.S. KHRUSHCHEV TO MR. D. EISENHOWER

dated 27 June 1960

Sir,

Further to my letter of 2 June 1960, to which were appended the Soviet Government's proposals concerning the basic clauses of a treaty on general and complete disarmament, I feel it necessary to inform you of the following.

The situation which has arisen in the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee arouses the Soviet Government's serious concern.

During our conversations last autumn we observed that the question of general disarmament was the most serious one now confronting the world, and agreed that our two Governments would make every effort to achieve a constructive solution of that problem. It is a known fact that on matters of disarmament the Soviet Government has acted and continues to act in precisely this spirit.

On 18 September 1959 the Soviet Government introduced for examination by the United Nations a programme of general and complete disarmament. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR, wishing to make a fresh contribution to the cause of ensuring peace and creating the most favourable conditions for the attainment of agreement on general and complete disarmament, passed on 15 January 1960 an Act providing for yet another considerable reduction of the Soviet armed forces, by 1.2 million men.

The Soviet Government, desiring as it does to reach a practical agreement on the pressing problem of disarmament as soon as possible, worked out, as a development of the disarmament programme it had proposed on 18 September 1959, and prepared for discussion at the meeting of the Heads of the four Powers, detailed proposals for the realization of general and complete disarmament. In these proposals we took into account the views advanced by the Western Powers on a number of important matters, in particular as regards the priority to be assigned to the prohibition and elimination of all means of delivering nuclear weapons, including the elimination of military bases, and the elaboration of detailed measures of control over disarmament and of measures to preserve peace and security in conditions of general and complete disarmament, etc.

/...

Since, as a result of the intolerable actions undertaken by the United States of America against the Soviet Union, the summit meeting was wrecked, the Soviet Government, believing that examination of the problem of disarmament brooked no delay, sent the proposals it had prepared to the Governments of all countries and introduced them for consideration by the Ten-Nation Committee. These proposals were supported by the representatives of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria on the Committee, and by the Governments of various other countries.

It must be observed, however, that the delegations of the Western Powers, and first and foremost the delegation of the United States of America, adopted in the Committee a position calculated to achieve any imaginable purpose but progress in the cause of disarmament. Not content with doing nothing to facilitate the earliest possible attainment of agreement on disarmament, they appear to have made it their objective to do everything possible to prevent such agreement, to divert all the Committee's activity from solving the practical problems of disarmament, and to submerge the cause of disarmament in a sea of fruitless, interminable discussion on the subject of control without disarmament.

It is now more than three months since the Ten-Nation Committee began its work at Geneva. The Soviet Union presented for its examination specific and detailed plans for disarmament under effective international control, and at the same time expressed its readiness to examine any constructive ideas put forward by other members of the Committee with a view to the attainment of general disarmament. But the Western Powers, whose Governments had only recently voted in favour of the General Assembly resolution on general and complete disarmament, in effect refused in the Committee to examine any specific disarmament proposals.

For their part, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France, Italy and Canada, put forward in the Committee a plan which, with the best will in the world, cannot be regarded as a plan for disarmament. If anything, it is a plan for control without disarmament, i.e., for legalized military espionage, which some people in the United States would apparently not be averse to using to supplement the practice of intruding for espionage purposes into the air space of other countries which the United States Government recently proclaimed to be the State policy of its country. In point of fact, the Western Powers are trying

/...

to reduce the whole matter to the establishment of control over inter-continental ballistic rockets and artificial earth satellites. It is not difficult to guess the purpose of such a plan: it is an attempt to secure unilateral military advantages for the NATO Powers to the prejudice of the security of the Soviet Union. On such a basis, naturally agreement is impossible. Apparently the endeavour to prevent the attainment of agreement on disarmament questions is in fact the aim which the United States Government and the other Western Powers have set themselves in their participation in the Ten-Nation Committee. These Powers are using the Committee as a screen behind which they are trying to hide their unwillingness to disarm.

The same line is still being followed by the delegations of the United States and the other Western States in the Ten-Nation Committee at the present time, since the Committee resumed its work at the beginning of June. This clearly shows that the United States did not intend at the summit meeting either to adopt a position which would have made it possible to remove the disarmament question from the deadlock created through the fault of the Western Powers, in particular the United States.

As the actual talks in the Ten-Nation Committee showed, the Governments of the Western States participating in the Committee's work clearly do not desire the prohibition and destruction of those terrible means of mass destruction, atomic and hydrogen weapons. Nor do they desire the liquidation of armed forces and conventional armaments. On one or another pretext, the representatives of the Western Powers systematically reject all specific proposals on these matters and bury them in fruitless discussions.

Instead of considering specific disarmament measures, the representatives of the Western States, especially the United States of America, are endeavouring to justify their military preparations and the existence of the extensive network of bases which they have set up in foreign territories.

I should be lacking in frankness if I omitted to say in this letter that the main responsibility for the situation which has arisen in the Ten-Nations Committee and for the fact that the Western Powers' position makes it impossible to take even a single step towards solving the problem of disarmament falls on the Government of the United States of America. As a matter of fact, that is not

concealed by the NATO allies of the United States either, whether represented in the Ten-Nation Committee or not. It is precisely the Government of the United States which heaps one obstacle on another in the examination of disarmament problems, whether in connexion with conventional arms or with nuclear and rocket weapons.

Every time a proposal introduced by the Soviet Government for consideration by its partners in the negotiations improves the prospects for agreement and takes into account one or other desire of the Western Powers, it is at once declared unacceptable, and discussion of the problem of disarmament is thrown back to its starting point. More than once in the past we have witnessed such tactics, which may perhaps suit the purposes of those who fear the very idea of disarmament, but which prevent any progress in the examination let alone the solution, of the problem of disarmament. All this, unfortunately, is confirmed also by the behaviour of the United States representative at Geneva.

Looking at matters realistically, the conclusion is inescapable that, as the result of the position taken by the Western Powers, the Ten-Nation Committee's work has come to a dead end, degenerated into a fruitless exchange of idle words, and that the Committee itself has become anything but a body promoting the cause of disarmament. Apparently, there are in the West influential forces which are not interested in the realization of disarmament and which are obstructing agreement on disarmament by every possible means; and these forces have succeeded in setting their stamp on the position of the Western Powers in the Ten-Nation Committee. The Committee is indeed not merely failing to advance the cause of disarmament; on the contrary, it is doing that cause considerable harm, since it misleads the peoples by creating the illusion that something is being done in the disarmament field, whereas in reality the Western Powers are again intensifying the arms race which day by day increases the danger of the outbreak of a disastrous nuclear-rocket war.

The Soviet Government cannot reconcile itself to such a state of affairs. It cannot allow participation in the Ten-Nation Committee by the Soviet Union, whose sincere desire for agreement on disarmament is well known, to be used as a screen to conceal activity which has nothing to do with genuine disarmament.

To judge by all the evidence, the United States Government's position on the question of disarmament is determined by the general line in international affairs which the United States is now pursuing and which led to the collapse of the summit meeting, having made it impossible for the heads of the four States to hold a fruitful discussion on the most important international problems.

I must tell you quite frankly, Mr. President, that the Soviet Government, having considered the situation in the Ten-Nation Committee, came to the conclusion that the Western Powers, to judge from the position taken by their representatives at Geneva, do not wish to conduct serious negotiations on disarmament. They clearly have in mind their own special considerations, considerations which have nothing to do with the tasks of disarmament. This is reflected in the arms race which is still being pursued by the Western Powers, as also in the fact that during the discussion of disarmament questions in the Committee those Powers have sought to create merely the appearance of negotiation and thus to deceive the peoples, whose sincere desire is that a solution should be found to the disarmament problem.

In view of all the foregoing, the Government of the USSR came to the conclusion that it was necessary to suspend its participation in the Ten-Nation Committee's fruitless discussion, with a view to submitting to the United Nations General Assembly, for consideration at its regular session, the question of disarmament and the situation with regard to the fulfilment of the General Assembly resolution of 20 November 1959 on the question of disarmament. Clearly, the question of the Committee's composition also arises in this connexion.

The Soviet Government is firmly convinced that the question of disarmament, on which the issue of peace or war depends, can and must find a practical solution, and that no contrived obstacle and no procrastination in this great cause can be tolerated.

Such are the views on the question of disarmament which I have felt it my duty to communicate to you.

N. KHRUSHCHEV

MESSAGE FROM MR. N.S. KHRUSHCHEV TO MR. MACMILLAN

dated 27 June 1960

Sir,

I received your letter of 6 June 1960, and must tell you frankly, without equivocation, that we are seriously concerned about the state of affairs in the Ten-National Disarmament Committee.

As you will recall, during our conversations in Moscow early in 1959 we agreed that progress towards the solution of the problem of disarmament would be a substantial contribution to the maintenance of peace and would help to strengthen international trust and decrease the burden of military expenditure, and we recognized that it was essential to continue our efforts to make headway in this field. The Soviet Union, as you know, has acted precisely in this spirit.

On 18 September 1959 the Soviet Government introduced for examination by the United Nations a programme of general and complete disarmament. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR, wishing to make a fresh contribution to the cause of ensuring peace and creating the most favourable conditions for the attainment of agreement on general and complete disarmament, passed, on 15 January 1960, an Act providing for yet another considerable reduction of the Soviet armed forces, by 1.2 million men. These facts offer sufficiently conclusive evidence that in the matter of disarmament our country is closely following the line which found partial expression in the Soviet-United Kingdom communique of 3 March 1959.

The Soviet Government, desiring as it does to reach a practical agreement on the pressing problem of disarmament as soon as possible, worked out, as a development of the disarmament programme it had proposed on 18 September 1959, and prepared for discussion at the meeting of the Heads of the four Powers, detailed proposals for the realization of general and complete disarmament. In these proposals we took into account the views advanced by the Western Powers on a number of important matters, in particular as regards the priority to be assigned to the prohibition and elimination of all means of delivering nuclear weapons, including the elimination of military bases, and the elaboration of detailed measures of control over disarmament and of measures to preserve peace and security in conditions of general and complete disarmament, since as a result of

/...

of the provocative actions undertaken by the United States of America against the Soviet Union, the summit meeting was wrecked, the Soviet Government, believing that examination of the problems of disarmament brooked no delay, sent the proposals it had prepared to the Governments of all countries and introduced them for consideration by the Ten-Nation Committee. These proposals were supported by the representatives of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria on the Committee, and by the Governments of various other countries.

In sending you our letter of 2 June 1960, we hoped that the United Kingdom Government, in conformity with the spirit of the Soviet-United Kingdom communique of 3 March 1959 and with its own repeated declarations about the need for achieving general and complete disarmament, would show an understanding attitude towards the new Soviet proposals on disarmament and would make efforts to secure progress in the work of the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee.

It must be observed, however, that the delegations of the Western Powers, including the United Kingdom, adopted in the Committee a position calculated to achieve any imaginable purpose but progress in the cause of disarmament. Not content with doing nothing to facilitate the earliest possible attainment of agreement on disarmament, they appear to have made it their objective to do everything possible to prevent such agreement, to divert all the Committee's activity from solving the practical problems of disarmament, and to drown the cause of disarmament in a sea of fruitless, interminable discussion on the subject of control without disarmament.

It is now more than three months since the Ten-Nation Committee began its work at Geneva. The Soviet Union presented for its examination specific and detailed plans for disarmament under effective international control, and at the same time expressed its readiness to examine any constructive ideas put forward by other members of the Committee with a view to the attainment of general disarmament. But the Western Powers, whose Governments had only recently voted in favour of the General Assembly resolution on general and complete disarmament, in effect refused in the Committee to examine any specific disarmament proposals.

For their part, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, France, Italy and Canada put forward in the Committee a plan which, with the best will in the world, cannot be regarded as a plan for disarmament. If anything it is a plan

/...

for control without disarmament, i.e., for legalized military espionage - an idea which, as you well know, is very much to the liking of certain circles in the West. In point of fact, the Western Powers are trying to reduce the whole matter to the establishment of control over inter-continental ballistic rockets and artificial earth satellites. It is not difficult to guess the purpose of such a plan: it is an attempt to secure unilateral military advantages for the NATO Powers to the prejudice of the security of the Soviet Union. On such a basis, naturally, agreement is impossible. Apparently, the endeavour to prevent the attainment of agreement on disarmament questions is in fact the aim which the Western Powers have set themselves in their participation in the Ten-Nation Committee. These Powers are using the Committee as a screen behind which they are trying to hide their unwillingness to disarm.

As the actual talks in the Ten-Nation Committee showed, the Governments of the Western States participating in the Committee's work clearly do not desire the prohibition and destruction of those terrible means of mass destruction, atomic and hydrogen weapons. Nor do they desire the liquidation of armed forces and conventional armaments. On one or another pretext, the representatives of the Western Powers systematically reject all specific proposals on these matters and bury them in fruitless discussions. This situation causes us serious alarm.

Instead of considering specific disarmament measures, the representatives of the Western States are endeavouring to justify their military preparations and the existence of the extensive network of bases which they have set up in foreign territories.

Consider the matter for yourself: what opinion can we form of the United Kingdom position, for example, when the United Kingdom representative in the Committee speaks as defender of the system of United States military bases, bases which have been set up in foreign territories as a threat to other States and are already being used for aggressive activities of the kind we witnessed in April and May of this year. It verges on the absurd: the United Kingdom representative tries to prove to us that United States military bases located in Turkey, near the Soviet frontiers, and the defensive measures carried out by the Soviet Union on its own soil are one and the same thing. What point can there be in carrying on talks when such positions are adopted on so important a problem as disarmament?

/...

Looking at matters realistically, the conclusion is inescapable that, as a result of the position taken by the Western Powers, the Ten-Nation Committee's work has come to a dead end, degenerated into a fruitless exchange of idle words, and that the Committee itself has become anything but a body promoting the cause of disarmament. Apparently, there are in the West influential forces which are not interested in the realization of disarmament and which are obstructing agreement on disarmament by every possible means, forces which have set themselves the purpose of reducing the Committee's work to idle debate. These forces have succeeded in setting their stamp on the position of the Western Powers in the Ten-Nation Committee. The Committee is indeed not merely failing to advance the cause of disarmament; on the contrary, it is doing that cause considerable harm, since it misleads the peoples by creating the illusion that something is being done in the disarmament field, whereas in reality the Western Powers are again intensifying the arms race which day by day increases the danger of the outbreak of a disastrous nuclear-rocket war.

The Soviet Government cannot reconcile itself to such a state of affairs. It cannot allow participation in the Ten-Nation Committee by the Soviet Union, whose sincere desire for agreement on disarmament is well known, to be used as a screen to conceal activity which has nothing to do with genuine disarmament.

I must tell you, frankly and openly, that recent events have caused us serious doubts as to the intentions of the United Kingdom Government in the sphere of disarmament. Worthy of particular note are reports of the recent visit of Mr. Watkinson, United Kingdom Minister of Defence, to the United States to agree on deliveries to the United Kingdom of new types of offensive rocket attack, as also the news of plans for joint round-the-clock flights by English and American bombers carrying nuclear weapons. It is absolutely obvious that such plans in themselves constitute a serious threat and in no way improve conditions for disarmament negotiations.

All this cannot fail to prompt the legitimate question: what are the aims of the policy being pursued by the United Kingdom Government, and does not that policy reflect the influence of the line being pursued in international affairs by the Government of the United States, a line which has prevented any fruitful discussion of the most important international problems by the Heads of the four

/...

States? This question is further justified by the position taken by the United Kingdom representative in the Ten-Nation Committee. We should like to believe that the position which the United Kingdom representative is now taking in the Ten-Nation Committee is not the United Kingdom's last word. We should like to hope that the United Kingdom Government which has frequently stressed the importance and urgency of the problem of disarmament, will very seriously reconsider the position which has come about in the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee.

I must tell you quite frankly, Mr. Prime Minister, that the Soviet Government, having considered the situation in the Ten-Nation Committee, came to the conclusion that the Western Powers, to judge from the position taken by their representatives at Geneva, do not wish to conduct serious negotiations on disarmament. They clearly have in mind their own special considerations, considerations which have nothing to do with the task of disarmament. This is reflected in the arms race which is still being pursued by the Western Powers, as also in the fact that during the discussion of disarmament questions in the Committee those Powers have sought to create merely the appearance of negotiation and thus to deceive the peoples, whose sincere desire is that a solution should be found to the disarmament problem.

In view of all the foregoing, the Government of the USSR came to the conclusion that it was necessary to suspend its participation in the Ten-Nation Committee's fruitless discussion, with a view to submitting to the United Nations General Assembly, for consideration at its regular session, the question of disarmament and the situation with regard to the fulfilment of the General Assembly resolution of 20 November 1959 on the question of disarmament. Clearly, the question of the Committee's composition also arises in this connexion.

The Soviet Government is firmly convinced that the question of disarmament, on which the issue of peace or war depends, can and must find a practical solution, and that no contrived obstacle and no procrastination in this great cause can be tolerated.

Such, sir, are the views on the question of disarmament which I have felt it my duty to communicate to you. I should like you to consider my observations with your usual realism, taking due account of the seriousness of the disarmament

question, which cannot fail to exercise all men on earth today who are really concerned, not superficially but in fact, for the fate of the world.

With respect,

N. KHRUSHCHEV

MESSAGE FROM MR. N.S. KHRUSHCHEV TO MR. C. de GAULLE

dated 27 June 1960

Sir,

I have received your letter of 11 June. In this letter you set forth your views on the Soviet Government's proposals concerning the basic clauses of a treaty on general and complete disarmament, which were sent to you on 2 June and then submitted by us to the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee at Geneva for its consideration.

I must state frankly that I found your reply somewhat puzzling and, what is more, disappointing. It is difficult to escape the impression that France's position on the vital contemporary problem of disarmament has recently undergone substantial modifications, modifications which, moreover, are not in the interests of disarmament and of a genuine relaxation of tension.

When you and I discussed this question during my visit to France in the spring of this year, we both subscribed to the view that the question of disarmament was the most serious and urgent of our time, and that the Ten-Nation Committee should reach an agreement on measures of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

In the course of our conversations you expressed the view that disarmament should be started with the destruction of the means of delivering nuclear weapons, including rockets, aircraft and so forth, as also military bases. At the same time, you stressed that the destruction of these means of delivering nuclear weapons was in your opinion the only practical measure which could facilitate a settlement of the disarmament problem.

This exchange of views showed that our positions on this question were fundamentally in agreement. As you will recall, I observed at that time that disarmament could be initiated in the manner you had proposed, that is, with the destruction of the means of delivering nuclear weapons.

I also agreed with your view that the question of nuclear disarmament and the elimination of the means of delivering nuclear weapons should be raised frankly at the summit meeting.

/...

Having regard to this identity of views, and desiring to reach a practical agreement on the pressing problem of disarmament as soon as possible, the Soviet Government worked out, as a development of the disarmament programme it had proposed on 18 September 1959, and prepared for discussion at the meeting of the Heads of the four Powers detailed proposals for the realization of general and complete disarmament. In these proposals we took fully into account the views you had expressed concerning the priority to be assigned to the prohibition and elimination of all means of delivering nuclear weapons, including the elimination of military bases. We also took into account a number of other proposals put forward by our partners in the negotiations, including those relating to the organization of control over disarmament and measures to preserve peace and security in conditions of general and complete disarmament, etc.

Since, as a result of the intolerable actions undertaken by the Government of the United States of America against the Soviet Union, the summit meeting was wrecked, the Soviet Government, believing that examination of the problems of disarmament brooked no delay, sent the proposals it had prepared to the Governments of all countries and introduced them for consideration by the Ten-Nation Committee. These proposals were supported by the representatives of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria on the Committee, and by the Governments of various other countries.

Yet in reply to these proposals, which to a considerable extent originated in the mutual understanding reached at the time of our conversations, you have sent me a letter which says nothing at all about the destruction of the means of delivering nuclear weapons and the elimination of military bases, but gives central importance to "control" over such means of delivery and such bases.

It is hardly necessary to demonstrate at length that the destruction of the means by which weapons of mass destruction can be delivered to their targets and the establishment of mere control over such means, without their actual elimination, are two completely different things, having nothing at all in common.

It is one thing to destroy military aircraft, ships and rockets capable of delivering atomic and hydrogen weapons and to eliminate the foreign military bases established for the purpose of threatening the security of other States, and thereby to give the peoples full protection against the danger of surprise attack and the outbreak of a nuclear war; it is quite another to preserve intact all these means of nuclear attack and to be content with discussions about control - which, unlike real measures for disarmament and the destruction of weapons, will not only contribute nothing to the cause of peace but, on the contrary, can only increase suspicion and aggravate relations between States.

I need not say that this departure from the spirit of the conversations which you and I had on disarmament questions can result only in blocking the way to agreement which was on the point of opening up. This is also confirmed by the position taken by the French representative on the Ten-Nation Committee. It must be observed that the delegations of the Western Powers, not content with doing nothing to facilitate the earliest possible attainment of agreement on disarmament, appear to have made it their objective to do everything possible to prevent such agreement, to divert all the Committee's activity from solving the practical problems of disarmament, and to submerge the cause of disarmament in a sea of fruitless, interminable discussion on the subject of control without disarmament.

In the light of the foregoing, how is the position of the French Government to be judged? It must inevitably be concluded that France has decided to make concessions to its Western partners and has retreated from its position as set forth to me in our conversations. Perhaps it did so in order not to offend France's partners. I, however, must state categorically that this position of the French Government is not the position which was set forth by you previously on behalf of France but an entirely different one.

All things considered, it appears that the Government of France does not consider it necessary to help direct the work of the Ten-Nation Committee into channels of constructive negotiation. In actual fact, France is acting in the Committee in concert with those who have brought the work of the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee to a deadlock.

It is now more than three months since the Ten-Nation Committee began its work at Geneva. The Soviet Union presented for its examination specific and detailed plans for disarmament under effective international control, and at the same time expressed its readiness to examine any constructive ideas put forward by other members of the Committee with a view to the attainment of general and complete disarmament. But the Western Powers, whose Governments had only recently vote in favour of the General Assembly resolution on general and complete disarmament, in effect refused in the Committee to examine any specific disarmament proposals.

For their part, France, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Italy and Canada put forward in the Committee a plan which, with the best will in the world, cannot be regarded as a plan for disarmament. If anything, it is a plan for control without disarmament, i.e., for legalized military espionage, which serves the interests only of those who are maturing plans for aggression - and of such people, as experience has shown, there is no lack. In point of fact the Western Powers are trying to reduce the whole matter to the establishment of control over intercontinental ballistic rockets and artificial earth satellites. It is not difficult to guess the purpose of such a plan: it is an attempt to secure unilateral military advantages for the NATO Powers to the prejudice of the security of the Soviet Union. On such a basis, naturally, agreement is impossible. Apparently, the endeavour to prevent the attainment of agreement on disarmament questions is in fact the aim which the United States Government and the other Western Powers have set themselves in their participation in the Ten-Nation Committee. These Powers are using the Committee as a screen behind which they are trying to hide their unwillingness to disarm.

As the actual talks in the Ten-Nation Committee showed, the Governments of the Western States participating in the Committee's work clearly do not desire the prohibition and destruction of those terrible means of mass destruction, atomic and hydrogen weapons. Nor do they desire the liquidation of armed forces and conventional armaments. This is the only explanation for the fact that the representatives of the Western Powers systematically reject, on one or another pretext, all specific proposals on these matters. It must be observed that as a result of the position taken by the Western Powers, the Ten-Nation Committee's

/...

work has come to a dead end, degenerated into a fruitless exchange of idle words, and that the Committee itself has become anything but a body promoting the cause of disarmament. Apparently, there are in the West influential forces which are not interested in the realization of disarmament and which are obstructing agreement on disarmament by every possible means; and these forces have succeeded in setting their stamp on the position of the Western Powers in the Ten-Nation Committee. Indeed, the Committee is in fact misleading the peoples, creating the illusion that something is being done in the disarmament field, whereas in reality the Western Powers are again intensifying the arms race which day by day increases the danger of the outbreak of a disastrous nuclear-rocket war.

The Soviet Government cannot allow participation in the Ten-Nation Committee by the Soviet Union, whose sincere desire for an agreement on disarmament is well known, to be used as a screen to conceal activity which has nothing to do with genuine disarmament.

We should like to believe that the position now being taken by the French representative on the Ten-Nation Committee is not France's last word. We should like to hope that the French Government will most seriously consider the situation which has come about in the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee.

I must tell you quite frankly, Mr. President, that the Soviet Government, having considered the situation in the Committee, came to the conclusion that the Western Powers, to judge from the position taken by their representatives at Geneva, do not wish to conduct serious negotiations on disarmament. They clearly have in mind their own special considerations, considerations which have nothing to do with the task of disarmament. This is reflected in the arms race which is still being pursued by the Western Powers, as also in the fact that during the discussion of disarmament questions in the Committee those Powers have sought to create merely the appearance of negotiation and thus to deceive the peoples, whose sincere desire is that a solution should be found to the disarmament problem.

In view of all the foregoing, the Government of the USSR came to the conclusion that it was necessary to suspend its participation in the Ten-Nation Committee's fruitless discussion, with a view to submitting to the United Nations General Assembly, for consideration at its regular session, the question of

disarmament and of the situation with regard to the fulfilment of the General Assembly resolution of 20 November 1959 on the question of disarmament. Clearly, the question of the Committee's composition also arises in this connexion.

The Soviet Government is firmly convinced that the question of disarmament, on which the issue of peace or war depends, can and must find a practical solution, and that no contrived obstacle and no procrastination in this great cause can be tolerated.

Such are the views on the question of disarmament which I have felt it my duty to communicate to you. Knowing the breadth of your views on major international problems and the interest which you have repeatedly shown in the problem of disarmament, I should like to hope that you will consider the ideas I have expressed with understanding and without prejudice.

With respect,

N. KHRUSHCHEV

MESSAGE FROM MR. N.S. KHRUSHCHEV TO MR. J. DIEFENBAKER

dated 27 June 1960

Sir,

I have received your letter of 6 June. I must tell you that the state of affairs in the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee causes us serious concern.

As you know, on 18 September 1959 the Soviet Government introduced for examination by the United Nations a programme of general and complete disarmament. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR, wishing to make a fresh contribution to the cause of ensuring peace and creating the most favourable conditions for the attainment of agreement on general and complete disarmament, passed on 15 January 1960 an Act providing for yet another considerable reduction of the Soviet armed forces, by 1.2 million men.

The Soviet Government, desiring as it does to reach a practical agreement on the pressing problem of disarmament as soon as possible, worked out, as a development of the disarmament programme it had proposed on 18 September 1959, and prepared for discussion at the meeting of the Heads of the four Powers, detailed proposals for the realization of general and complete disarmament. In these proposals we took into account the views advanced by the Western Powers on a number of important matters, in particular as regards the priority to be assigned to the prohibition and elimination of all means of delivering nuclear weapons, including the elimination of military bases; the elaboration of detailed measures of control over disarmament; measures to preserve peace and security in conditions of general and complete disarmament; etc.

Since, as a result of the provocative actions undertaken by the United States Government against the Soviet Union, the summit meeting was wrecked, the Soviet Government, believing that examination of the problem of disarmament brooked no delay, sent the proposals it had prepared to the Governments of all countries and introduced them for consideration by the Ten-Nation Committee. These proposals were supported by the Governments of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Bulgaria on the Committee and by the Governments of various other countries.

We sent you our letter of 2 June 1960 in the hope that the Canadian Government, in conformity with its repeated statements on the need to attain general and complete disarmament, would receive the new Soviet disarmament proposals with understanding and would endeavour to achieve progress in the work of the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee.

It must be observed, however, that the delegations of the Western Powers, including Canada, adopted in the Committee a position calculated to achieve any imaginable purpose but progress in the cause of disarmament. Not content with doing nothing to facilitate the earliest possible attainment of agreement on disarmament, they appear to have made it their objective to do everything possible to prevent such agreement, to divert all the Committee's activity from solving the practical problems of disarmament, and to submerge the cause of disarmament in a sea of fruitless, interminable discussion on the subject of control without disarmament.

It is now more than three months since the Ten-Nation Committee began its work at Geneva. The Soviet Union presented for its examination specific and detailed plans for disarmament under effective international control, and at the same time expressed its readiness to examine any constructive ideas put forward by other members of the Committee with a view to the attainment of general and complete disarmament. But the Western Powers, whose Governments had only recently voted in favour of the General Assembly resolution on general and complete disarmament, in effect refused in the Committee to examine any specific disarmament proposals.

For their part, Canada, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France and Italy put forward in the Committee a plan which, with the best will in the world, cannot be regarded as a plan for disarmament. If anything it is a plan for control without disarmament, i.e. for legalized military espionage which, as we know, is very much to the liking of certain circles in the West. In point of fact, the Western Powers are trying to reduce the whole matter to the establishment of control over intercontinental ballistic rockets and artificial earth satellites. It is not difficult to guess the purpose of such a plan: it is an attempt to secure unilateral military advantages for the NATO Powers to the prejudice of the

security of the Soviet Union. On such a basis, naturally, agreement is impossible. It is evident that the endeavour to prevent the attainment of agreement on disarmament questions is in fact the aim which the Western Powers have set themselves in their participation in the Ten-Nation Committee. These Powers are using the Committee as a screen behind which they are trying to hide their unwillingness to disarm.

As the actual talks in the Ten-Nation Committee showed, the Governments of the Western States participating in the Committee's work clearly do not desire the prohibition and destruction of those terrible means of mass destruction, atomic and hydrogen weapons. Nor do they desire the liquidation of armed forces and conventional armaments. On one or another pretext, the representatives of the Western Powers systematically reject all specific proposals on these matters and bury them in fruitless discussion.

Instead of considering specific disarmament measures, the Western representatives are endeavouring to justify military preparations and the existence of an extensive network of bases in foreign territories. I must tell you frankly that the Canadian representative in the Ten-Nation Committee is no exception in this respect. The position taken by the Canadian representative in the Ten-Nation Committee is such that one may legitimately ask whether it does not reflect the influence of the line being pursued in international affairs by the United States Government - a line which prevented any fruitful discussion of the most important international problems by the Heads of the four States.

Looking at matters realistically, the conclusion is inescapable that, as the result of the position taken by the Western Powers, the Ten-Nation Committee's work has come to a dead end, degenerated into a fruitless exchange of idle words, and that the Committee itself has become anything but a body promoting the cause of disarmament. Apparently there are in the West influential forces which are not interested in the realization of disarmament and which are obstructing agreement on disarmament by every possible means; and these forces have succeeded in setting their stamp on the position of the Western Powers in the Ten-Nation Committee. The Committee is indeed not merely failing to advance the cause of

/...

disarmament; on the contrary, it is doing that cause considerable harm, since it misleads the peoples by creating the illusion that something is being done in the disarmament field, whereas in reality the Western Powers are again intensifying the arms race, which day by day increases the danger of the outbreak of a disastrous nuclear-rocket war.

The Soviet Government cannot reconcile itself to such a state of affairs. It cannot allow participation in the Ten-Nation Committee by the Soviet Union, whose sincere desire for agreement on disarmament is well known, to be used as a screen to conceal activity which has nothing to do with genuine disarmament.

We should like to believe that the position which the Canadian representative in the Ten-Nation Committee is taking at the present time does not represent the Canadian Government's last word. We venture to hope that the Canadian Government, whose leaders - including yourself, Mr. Prime Minister - have repeatedly recognized the need to solve the disarmament problem, will examine with the utmost seriousness the situation which has arisen in the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee.

I must tell you quite frankly that the Soviet Government, having considered the situation in the Ten-Nation Committee, came to the conclusion that the Western Powers, to judge from the position taken by their representatives at Geneva, do not wish to conduct serious negotiations on disarmament. They clearly have in mind their own special considerations, considerations which have nothing to do with the tasks of disarmament. This is reflected in the arms race which is still being pursued by the Western Powers, as also in the fact that during the discussion of disarmament questions in the Committee those Powers have sought to create merely the appearance of negotiation and thus to deceive the peoples whose sincere desire is that a solution should be found to the disarmament problem.

In view of all the foregoing, the Government of the USSR came to the conclusion that it was necessary to suspend its participation in the Ten-Nation Committee's fruitless discussion, with a view to submitting to the United Nations General Assembly, for consideration at its regular session, the question of disarmament and the situation with regard to the fulfilment of the General Assembly resolution of 20 November 1959 on the question of disarmament. Clearly, the question of the Committee's composition also arises in this connexion.

The Soviet Government is firmly convinced that the question of disarmament, on which the issue of peace or war depends, can and must find a practical solution, and that no contrived obstacle and no procrastination in this great cause can be tolerated.

Such are the views on the question of disarmament which I have felt it my duty to communicate to you.

With respect,

N. KHRUSHCHEV

MESSAGE FROM MR. N.S. KHRUSHCHEV TO MR. F. TAMBRONI

dated 27 June 1960

Sir,

I have studied your letter of 7 June acknowledging receipt of the Soviet Government's proposals concerning the basic clauses of a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

I must inform you forthwith that the situation with regard to the disarmament negotiations and, in particular, the position adopted by the Western States in the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee arouse the Soviet Government's serious concern.

In your letter you refer to the goodwill of the Italian Government and to the importance which any progress towards an agreement on disarmament will have for international peace. This would have appeared to support the assumption that the Italian Government would act accordingly and, in particular, that the Italian delegation to the Ten-Nation Committee would seek to secure progress in the work of that Committee and would make a constructive contribution to the solution of the disarmament problem.

What is the actual position?

It must be observed that, in point of fact, the delegations of the Western Powers, including that of Italy, adopted in the Committee a position which made it impossible to take even a single step forward in the matter of disarmament. Not content with doing nothing to facilitate the earliest possible attainment of agreement on disarmament, they appear to have made it their objective to do everything possible to prevent such agreement, to divert all the Committee's activity from solving the practical problems of disarmament, and to submerge the cause of disarmament in a sea of fruitless, interminable discussion on the subject of control without disarmament. In many ways all this is reminiscent of the 1930s, when the representatives of the West submerged any disarmament proposal in a flood of empty declarations, thus destroying the cause of disarmament and rendering a service to the aggressors.

/...

The Soviet Government, desiring as it does to reach a practical agreement on the pressing problem of disarmament as soon as possible, worked out as a development of the disarmament programme it had proposed on 18 September 1959, and prepared for discussion at the meeting of the Heads of the four Powers, detailed proposals for the realization of general and complete disarmament. In these proposals we took into account a series of proposals advanced by our fellow participants during the negotiations, in particular as regards the organization of control over disarmament, measures to preserve peace and security in conditions of general and complete disarmament.

Since, as a result of the provocative actions undertaken by the Government of the United States of America against the Soviet Union, the summit meeting was wrecked, the Soviet Government, believing that examination of the problems of disarmament brooked no delay, sent the proposals it had prepared to the Governments of all countries and introduced them for consideration by the Ten-Nation Committee. These proposals were supported by the representatives of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria on the Committee, and by the Governments of various other countries.

It is now more than three months since the Ten-Nation Committee began its work at Geneva. The Soviet Union presented for its examination specific and detailed plans for general and complete disarmament under effective international control, and at the same time expressed its readiness to examine any constructive ideas put forward by other parties directed towards the attainment of general disarmament. But the Western Powers, whose Governments had only recently voted in favour of the General Assembly resolution on general and complete disarmament, in effect refused, in the Committee, to examine any specific disarmament proposals.

For their part, Italy, France, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Canada put forward in the Committee a plan which, with the best will in the world, cannot be regarded as a plan for disarmament. If anything it is rather a plan for control without disarmament, i.e., for legalized military espionage. In point of fact, the Western Powers are trying to reduce the whole matter to the establishment of control over intercontinental

/...

ballistic rockets and artificial earth satellites. It is not difficult to guess the purpose of such a plan: it is an attempt to secure unilateral military advantages for the NATO Powers to the prejudice of the security of the Soviet Union. On such a basis, naturally, agreement is impossible. It is evident that the endeavour to prevent the attainment of agreement on disarmament questions is the aim which the Western Powers have set themselves in their participation in the Ten-Nation Committee. These Powers are using the Committee as a screen behind which they are trying to hide their unwillingness to disarm.

As the actual talks in the Ten-Nation Committee showed, the Governments of the Western States participating in the Committee's work clearly do not desire the prohibition and destruction of those terrible means of mass destruction known as atomic and hydrogen weapons. Nor do they desire the liquidation of armed forces and conventional armaments. On one or another pretext the representatives of the Western Powers systematically reject all specific proposals on these matters.

With regard to the position adopted by the Italian representative in the Ten-Nation Committee, it is obvious that Italy also refuses to consider the substance of the Soviet proposals on disarmament. Although the Italian representative admitted that the Soviet proposals went half-way to meet the Western Powers, he for his part made no attempt to meet the Soviet proposals half-way. Further, in the Committee, the Italian representative essentially upheld the need to preserve the existing level of armaments, urging the retention of foreign military bases and foreign troops in the territories of other States. All this prompts the legitimate question: does not the policy adopted by the Italian representative in the Ten-Nation Committee reflect the influence of the line being pursued in international affairs by the Government of the United States, a line which has prevented any fruitful discussion of the most important international problems by the Heads of the Four States?

The conclusion is inescapable that, as the result of the position taken by the Western Powers, the Ten-Nation Committee's work has come to a dead end, degenerated into a fruitless exchange of idle words, and that the Committee itself has become anything but a body promoting the cause of disarmament. Apparently, there are in the West influential forces which are not interested in the realization of disarmament and which are obstructing agreement on disarmament by every possible means; and these forces have succeeded in setting their stamp on the position of the Western Powers in the Ten-Nation Committee. The Committee is indeed not merely failing to advance the cause of disarmament; on the contrary, it is doing that cause considerable harm, since it misleads the peoples by creating the illusion that something is being done in the disarmament field, whereas in reality the Western Powers are again intensifying the arms race which day by day increases the danger of the outbreak of a disastrous nuclear-rocket war.

The Soviet Government cannot reconcile itself to such a state of affairs. It cannot allow participation in the Ten-Nation Committee by the Soviet Union, whose sincere desire for agreement on disarmament is well known, to be used as a screen to conceal activity which has nothing to do with genuine disarmament.

You will, of course, recall that, in the joint Soviet-Italian communiqué on the visit of the President of the Italian Republic, Mr. Gronchi, to the USSR in February 1960, both parties expressed their firm conviction that general and complete disarmament under appropriate control was the most reliable means of preserving and strengthening peace, and that the achievement of practical results in the matter of disarmament would contribute to the strengthening of confidence among States and bring about a substantial reduction in the burden of military expenditure.

We should like to hope that the Italian Government will very seriously consider the situation which has come about in the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee.

I must tell you quite frankly, Mr. President, that the Soviet Government, having considered the situation in the Ten-Nation Committee, came to the conclusion that the Western Powers, to judge from the position taken by their representatives at Geneva, do not wish to conduct serious negotiations on disarmament. They clearly have in mind their own special considerations,

/...

considerations which have nothing to do with the tasks of disarmament. This is reflected in the arms race which is still being pursued by the Western Powers as also in the fact that during the discussion of disarmament questions in the Committee those Powers have sought to create merely the appearance of negotiation and thus to deceive the peoples, whose sincere desire is that a solution should be found in the disarmament problem.

In view of all the foregoing, the Government of the USSR came to the conclusion that it was necessary to suspend its participation in the Ten-Nation Committee's fruitless discussion with a view to submitting to the United Nations General Assembly, for consideration at its regular session, the question of disarmament and the situation with regard to the fulfilment of the General Assembly resolution of 20 November 1959 on the question of disarmament. Clearly, the question of the Committee's composition also arises in this connexion.

The Soviet Government is firmly convinced that the question of disarmament, on which the issue of peace or war depends, can and must find a practical solution, and that no contrived obstacle and no procrastination in this great cause can be tolerated.

Such are the views on the question of disarmament which I have felt it my duty to communicate to you.

I have the honour to be, etc.

N. KHRUSHCHEV

/...

NOTE FROM THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF ALL COUNTRIES

dated 27 June 1960

The Soviet Government regards it as its duty to draw attention to the manifestly unsatisfactory situation that has come about in connexion with the disarmament negotiations which in recent months, in accordance with a decision of the United Nations General Assembly, have centred in the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee. It addresses itself on this subject to the Governments of all the countries of the world, in the awareness that disarmament is the most urgent, the most vital problem now confronting all States - whatever their size and wherever they may be situated on the globe - and that a continuation of the armaments race may ultimately have tragic consequences for all mankind.

As is known, in September 1959 the Soviet Union presented to the United Nations a programme of disarmament the implementation of which would have meant the liquidation of all means of waging war and would thereby have ensured inviolable peace on earth.

After consideration of the Soviet proposals, the General Assembly, on 20 November 1959, unanimously approved a resolution calling upon Governments to make every effort to achieve a constructive solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament, thus giving ground for the hope that concrete results would at long last be achieved in the sphere of disarmament.

It must be stressed that the Soviet Union not only put forward a plan which showed clearly the way to the final solution of the disarmament problem, but also made a substantial and practical contribution to the cause of disarmament. Without awaiting the conclusion of an international agreement on disarmament, the Soviet Union decided early in 1960 to make a further major unilateral reduction in its armed forces, amounting to one-third. This decision is at present being put into effect. Thus the Soviet Union, for its part, has done everything possible to help to carry into effect the General Assembly resolution on disarmament and to create a more favourable atmosphere for successful negotiations in the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee.

Unfortunately, however, the negotiations of the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee have not justified the hopes placed in them by the peoples. What is the reason for the situation?

The reason is that, as the entire course of the negotiations shows, the Governments of the United States of America and the other Western Powers, acting in concert, showed no desire to come to agreement on the implementation of any real measures of disarmament. Instead, they drew the Committee into a discussion of their own proposals on control and inspection without disarmament. What the Western Powers represented in the Ten-Nation Committee thus sought to achieve was not disarmament under international control, as proposed by the USSR and other socialist countries, but control over armaments. But no matter how closely armaments may be controlled, the threat of war will not be diminished in the slightest. What is more, control over armaments would only increase mistrust and strain relations among States. Control without disarmament means intelligence activities and espionage, something to which no Government concerned with safeguarding the security of its people can assent. Although they voted for the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly on general and complete disarmament in November 1959, the Western Powers in the Ten-Nation Committee have in reality done everything in their power to nullify this United Nations decision and consign it to oblivion.

The position adopted by the representatives of the United States and the other Western Powers in the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee make it quite evident that if these States - members of NATO - are indeed desirous of achieving any practical results at all from the disarmament negotiations, it is only such results as would give unilateral military advantages to themselves and to the military alliances they lead. How else can we interpret, for example, the fact that the United States has laid special stress on the establishment of control over military space rockets, i.e. over the type of weapon in which the USSR has a generally recognized lead, while at the same time they would not even hear of eliminating the military bases they have set up close to the frontiers of the Soviet Union and other peace-loving countries. This utterly unobjective and manifestly unethical approach can only set up additional barriers to the achievement of agreement on disarmament.

/...

Wishing to bring about a turning-point in the solution of the disarmament problem, the Soviet Government, in development of the programme it presented in the United Nations General Assembly in September 1959, prepared for the Paris Summit meeting a new series of proposals on general and complete disarmament.

The Soviet Union met the desires of the Western Powers on a number of important points. In particular, it unreservedly accepted France's view that the means of delivering nuclear weapons should be prohibited and destroyed first. Although the Soviet Union has an advantage in possessing the most up-to-date and effective means of delivering nuclear weapons, it declared itself willing to prohibit and destroy all means of delivering nuclear weapons, including intercontinental ballistic missiles, at the very first stage of disarmament and under appropriate international control.

The Soviet Union has always stood for the adoption of immediate measures to eliminate the threat of rocket and nuclear warfare. It is for this very reason that the Soviet Government raised the question of destroying all means of delivering atomic and hydrogen weapons without exception, simultaneously with the liquidation of military bases on foreign territory and the withdrawal of foreign troops from such territory. The implementation of these measures would make an atomic attack virtually impossible.

However, after the Soviet Union had submitted its proposal on the destruction of the means of delivering nuclear weapons, the Western members of the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee retreated from their position.

The situation is no better as regards the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments. When, for instance, the Soviet Union proposed the reduction and liquidation of armed forces and conventional armaments in the first and second stages of the disarmament programme, the Western Powers objected. In its new proposals the Soviet Union took account of the wishes of these same Powers and suggested deferring the implementation of this measure to the second and third stages of the programme of general and complete disarmament. But the Western Powers raised objections to this proposal, too.

In its desire to meet the wishes of the Western Powers, the Soviet Union set forth in detail in its new proposals provisions relating to the organization of effective international control over disarmament measures. The Soviet Government also took into account the ideas put forward by the other parties in the negotiations on the subject of measures for the preservation of peace and security in conditions of general and complete disarmament.

The new Soviet disarmament proposals addressed to the Governments of all countries on 2 June after it had proved impossible through the fault of the United States Government to hold a summit conference received the widest support throughout the world. They were fully endorsed by the Governments of all socialist States and also met with a favourable response from the Governments of many other countries, as indicated inter alia by the replies of the Heads of these Governments to the messages of 2 June 1960 from Mr. N.S. Khrushchev, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. The public in all countries, including the Western States, regarded the new initiative of the Soviet Government as a further proof of the Soviet Union's desire to find ways of reaching an agreement on disarmament, and as another important and constructive step paving the way for a generally acceptable solution to the problem of disarmament.

What was the answer the Western Powers represented in the Ten-Nation Committee to the Soviet Union's new proposals.

The United States and the other Western Powers not only failed to take a single step to meet the Soviet Union's position, but did everything in their power to prevent any practical discussion of the new Soviet proposals, which in great measure meet the desires of the Western Powers themselves. What is more, by resorting to endless procrastination and evading any discussion of the substance of disarmament problems, they clearly adopted the course of torpedoing the negotiations in the Committee.

Experience of the work of the Ten-Nation Committee has shown that the United States of America and the other Western Powers participating in the negotiations in the Committee manifestly have no desire for the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, the liquidation of armies or the liquidation of military bases on foreign territory.

Thus, the position of the Western Powers doomed the work of the Ten-Nation Committee to complete futility.

In these circumstances, Mr. N.S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, addressed to the Heads of Government of the United Kingdom, /...

France, the United States of America, Italy and Canada personal messages urgently appealing for the most serious examination of the situation in the Ten-Nation Committee. It was intolerable, the Head of the Soviet Government pointed out to the Governments of these countries, that a Committee instructed to examine the paramount and most urgent problem of contemporary international relations should have worked for a considerable period to no purpose and should be unable to resolve a single practical issue of disarmament.

The Western Powers, particularly the United States of America, while carrying on disarmament talks in the Ten-Nation Committee, made constant new efforts to intensify the armaments race, to conclude new military pacts and to stimulate the activity of the aggressive military blocs NATO, SEATO, CENTO, and so on. These actions make it quite obvious that the position of the Western States represented in the Ten-Nation Committee was actually subordinated to the tasks of the aggressive foreign policy of the United States, a policy which has found expression, notably, in the perpetration as a matter of State policy of incursions into the airspace of other countries.

Quite obviously, the Soviet Government could not allow participation in the Ten-Nation Committee by the Soviet Union, whose sincere desire for disarmament is universally known, to be used as a screen to conceal from the peoples the real concerns of the Western Powers, which have nothing to do with disarmament.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries participating in the work of the Ten-Nation Committee were brought face to face with the fact that the Western participants in the Committee plainly did not wish to conduct serious negotiations on disarmament or to solve the problem of disarmament. The question arose: could it be tolerated that negotiations - or, to be more accurate, the appearance of negotiations - on a problem so important to all peoples as disarmament should be used as a screen to conceal the policy of military preparations and intensified rearmament pursued by military circles in some Western countries? The Soviet Government cannot reconcile itself to the use of the Ten-Nation Committee for such purposes, for to do so would be tantamount to complicity in deceiving the peoples. Accordingly, the Soviet Government suspended its participation in the fruitless discussion in the Ten-Nation Committee and requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations

to place the question of disarmament and the situation with regard to the fulfilment of the General Assembly resolution on disarmament of 20 November 1959 before the United Nations General Assembly for consideration at its regular session.

The Soviet Union has been and remains a consistent advocate of negotiations between States on disarmament and is still prepared to participate in negotiations. But it stands for negotiations of such a kind as to promote the serious and fruitful examination of the disarmament problem, and not for mere idle debate.

The Soviet Union still considers that equal representation of representatives of the socialist and Western States in the negotiations is a factor calculated to improve conditions for the consideration of the problem of disarmament. At the same time, the question arises whether it would not be desirable, in the interest of the cause, to draw some other States, in addition to those represented in the Ten-Nation Committee, into the negotiations.

The Soviet Government expresses the hope that the discussion of the problem of disarmament at the regular session of the United Nations General Assembly, the forum in which the resolution on general and complete disarmament was adopted, will help the noble idea of disarmament to bear fruit at last in the form of specific deeds.

The problem of disarmament affects the vital interests of all peoples, large and small, and of all States, irrespective of their social relations and way of life. On its solution depends the direction of world development - towards peace or towards war. That is why the overwhelming majority of the world's population desire disarmament. It is the Soviet Government's profound conviction that disarmament in our day is not only vitally necessary but also entirely feasible, provided that the necessary efforts are made to that end.

The obstacles and artificial barriers which certain Western Powers are endeavouring to erect in order to impede disarmament can no longer be tolerated. Men and women throughout the world desire to live without fear for the future, to cast off the heavy burden of military expenditure, and they are entitled to expect that their Governments will find a way to meet these aspirations of the peoples.

So far as the USSR Government is concerned, it will not slacken its efforts to help to bring the armament race to an end and to deliver mankind for all time from the threat of devastating wars.

The Soviet Government hopes that Governments will give due regard to the considerations set out in this note and that they will make their contribution to the noble and humanitarian cause of disarmament.
